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Editorial

David M. Morris
Editor

Once again, it is with great pleasure that we publish another issue of the *International Journal of Mormon Studies* (*IJMS*). This issue brings together a combination of scholars from different parts of the world and academic disciplines. Drawn from Mormon and non–Mormon perspectives, the articles found herein provide interesting insights to Mormonism globally, encouraging further attention and examination. Following on from the successful *European Mormon Studies Association* (EMSA) conference in Tilburg, The Netherlands (2010), we publish a number of the papers that were presented during that conference, as well as publishing direct submissions. These include papers from Walter E. A. van Beek, Eric R. Dursteler, Terryl L. Givens, Bryan R. Monte, Matthew L. Rasmussen and Peter Vousden. Accompanying these articles is a number of reviewed books, including those of non-English publication, which supports the expanding international dimension of Mormon Studies.

We, as always, extend our appreciation to those who took time to blind peer-review articles that have been submitted for publication. We hope as an editorial board that you will enjoy the contents of this issue.

FRAUD, PHILANDERY, AND FOOTBALL: NEGOTIATING THE MORMON IMAGE[1]

Terryl L. Givens

Speaking of that new religious phenomenon known as Mormonism, Charles Dickens gave his opinion in 1851 that 'What the Mormons do seems to be excellent; what they say is mostly nonsense.'[2] With those two lines, Dickens managed to succinctly capture the contemporary perception of Mormonism—but he also provided a cogent key to understanding the public's engagement with this religion that continues to the present day. His observation has proven relevant through three fairly distinct phases of public perception that Mormonism has passed through, which we could roughly demarcate as Fraud, Philandery, and Football. After surveying those phases, I will conclude by considering how Mormonism might conceivably break free of the stage it has been stuck in for one hundred years, and forge a new relationship to the public eye.

PHASE I: FRAUD (E. B. HOWE/SPAULDING THEORY) - 1830–1850S

In 1834, Eber D. Howe published *Mormonism Unvailed: A Faithful Account of that Singular Imposition and Delusion*. It was the first—and one of the most widely circulated and influential of all nineteenth century books published on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This was the book that laid out two related theories that would dominate discourse about Mormonism for the first few decades: Joseph was a Fraud, and the Book of Mormon was a theft from Solomon Spaulding. His book chronicles 'the fooleries, and forgeries, and lies of

[1] This article was originally delivered at the EMSA 2010 Conference in Tilburg, The Netherlands, and later presented at the BYU Mormon Media Studies Symposium in the present form.

[2] Charles Dickens, 'In the Name of the Prophet—Smith!', *Household Words*, 19 July 1851, p. 385.

Jo Smith," in order to "expose in a becoming manner, the falsehoods which have been interwoven for the purposes of fraud and deception."

An entire line of books and pamphlets followed suit. Several stories circulated in confirmation of Smith's fraudulence. Warren Foote recorded in 1835 that a Methodist preacher in Greenwood, New York, related the following story: 'On a certain occasion, J. Smith proclaimed that he would perform a miracle the next Sabbath, by walking on the water. Accordingly, he went to work and fixed some planks on some posts, just under the water of a pond. After all things were arranged, some fellows went in the night, and sawed his planks nearly in two. When Sunday came a multitude came to gather to witness the miracle. When the hour appointed arrived, "Joe Smith" walked boldly into the water, and on reaching the middle of his last plank, down he went, and came nearly being drowned, before he could be got out.'[3] Both the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune later reprinted the story.

Another fable circulated by Henry Caswell had it that Smith, upon being shown a Greek Psalter, pronounced it to be a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics before being told the real nature of the book. So Smith was a fake and the victims of Mormonism were gullible and credulous. By means of such representations, the content of Smith's message was effectively rendered unworthy of serious consideration. The labels invalidated the message without a hearing.

Even otherwise good historians long bought into the scenario of Mormonism as largely appealing to bumpkins and the uneducated. In actual fact, recent scholarship has shown that is not an accurate characterization. For instance, of the first 80 converts to the fledgling faith identified by profession, eleven were schoolteachers and fifteen were doctors or lawyers.[4]

To counter this pervasive image, Latter-day Saints initially did very little by way of published response. This was in large measure because an 1831 revelation had declared, 'Wherefore, confound your enemies; call upon them to meet you both in public and in private; and inasmuch as ye are faithful their shame shall be made manifest.' (D&C 90:2 [1835]). So Mormons did a lot of public debating, with mixed results.

[3] *Autobiography of Warren Foote*, 3 vols. (Mesa: Dale Arnold Foote, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 5–6.

[4] *Improvement Era*, 53 (1950), no. 12.

In Parley Pratt's 1832 mission with William McLellin, for example, he boasts of demolishing in debate a Baptist minister by the name of Dotson, who opposed his work in Greene County, Illinois. Dotson, apparently finding himself out of his league as a debater, appealed to the Baptist missionary extraordinaire, John Mason Peck for support against Mormon inroads. As Pratt admitted in the aftermath of the debate, 'we baptized only a few of the people.'[5] In 1840 on the Isle of Man, John Taylor was challenged to debate by one Reverend Thomas Hamilton, who had accused the Mormon of dishonesty and blasphemy. Taylor accepted the invitation and the Market Hall where the debate was held was filled to capacity. According to the *Manx Liberal,* a local newspaper, as soon as the Reverend Hamilton proceeded, "it soon became apparent that he was a mere braggadocia, possessing no qualifications save ignorance and presumption. ... He ... made not even the most distant allusion in reference to the gross and unfounded charges he had pledged himself to prove."[6]

But the Mormons didn't always come off victorious. Jump back to 1838, and Pratt's New York mission. He had arrived in the city the previous summer, in the aftermath of the Kirtland implosion. Six months of labor, and precious few converts to show for his work. He wrote, "From July to January we preached, advertised, printed, published, testified, visited, talked, prayed, and wept in vain. To all appearance there was no interest or impression on the minds of the people in regard to the fulness of the gospel...We had hired chapels and advertised, but the people would not hear, and the few who came went away without being interested."[7] There may have been some connection between his lack of success, and a well-attended public encounter Pratt had in these months with the redoubtable Origen Bachelor. Usual adversaries of Mormon missionaries were local, relatively untrained and ordinary clergymen. Bachelor was a pro, having, for example, debated religion in ten letters with Robert Dale Owen, the freethinking son of Robert Owen, in 1831. More recently he had

[5] Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography*, ed. by Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), p. 109.

[6] John Taylor, letter to the Editor, February 27, 1841, *Millennial Star*, 1 (March 1841), pp. 276–280.

[7] Pratt, *Autobiography*, pp. 211–212.

been writing articles for Alexander Campbell's *Millennial Harbinger*.[8] Bachelor was soon to be known, in fact, as 'the great Goliath and champion of the Cross,"[9] and was invested enough in debunking Mormonism to publish a book on the subject in 1838.[10]

Pratt did not record the results—most likely because he did not come off very well But the *Detroit Tribune* did. They reported that in this "celebrated discussion...Mr. Bacheler proved" two contentions. First, that Solomon Spaulding was the true author of the Book of Mormon, having written a work that Sidney Rigdon plagiarized and attributed to Joseph Smith. Second, that Professor Charles Anthon of Columbia College had discredited the Book of Mormon plates as "having been so arranged and engraved for the purpose of deception and confusion. To these various facts and charges," the journalist declared, "poor Parley P. Pratt made a feeble reply, and utterly failed to controvert the proofs produced by Mr. Bachelor."[11] Bachelor himself gave more details in his subsequent exposé of Mormonism. Alarmed at the "degree of public attention" Pratt's preaching had excited, he challenged the elder to "a public discussion" which turned into a marathon debate. Pratt withstood Bachelor's attacks for three consecutive days, but on the fourth he tried to withdraw, protesting that his adversary was ridiculing the Book of Mormon. Under pressure from the audience, Pratt agreed to continue, but objected again on the sixth evening when Bacheler impugned the character of Smith, Rigdon, and others. They sparred a while longer, but "in the very heat of the battle," Pratt "beat a retreat and left poor old *Mormon* to take care of himself!" Not wanting to lose the momentum he had gained, Bacheler

[8] Origen Bacheler and Robert Dale Owen, *Discussion on the existence of God and the authenticity of the Bible* (London: James Watson, 1853).

[9] Charles Knowlton, *Speech of Dr. Charles Knowlton, in support of Materialism, Against the Argument of Origen Bacheler, the Great Goliath, and Champion of the Cross* (Philadelphia: 1838).

[10] Origen Bacheler, *Mormonism Exposed, Internally and Externally* (New York: 1838).

[11] The debate was described only long after the fact in 'The Mormon Church', *The Detroit Tribune*, 1 February 1872. Excerpt cited in Rudolph Etzenhouser, *From Palmyra to Independence* (1894), pp. 269–70. Article republished in full in *Chicago Tribune* XXV.180 (4 February 1872). Both cited in 'Uncle Dale's Readings in Early Mormon History', http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/IL/mischig.htm.

continued to regale the crowd for two more evenings. Pratt had neither the experience nor the popularity of an Origen Bacheler, and found himself outmatched.

This incident is illuminating because it so perfectly illustrates this first phase of Mormonism's public image. Pratt realized that he couldn't win against ridicule and defamation. He, too, succumbed to the tried and proven technique of mocking the man and evading the message. Time and again this was a winning strategy for the anti-Mormons. The lesson would not be lost on Pratt, as we will see later, but one might say that it was on his fellow Mormons.

PHASE II: COERCION (WHITE SLAVERY AND BRAINWASHING) – 1850–1890S

A second phase of the public relations battles opened up in the 1850s, with the advent of publicly acknowledged polygamy. Polygamy, like the charge of fraud, was a tremendously powerful distraction. Like Smith's alleged con gimmicks, plural marriage was good for ribald humor. Cartoons continued the tradition of reducing Mormonism to a simple joke. From Brother Brigham in bed with a dozen Mrs. Youngs, to an eager polygamist who saves himself arduous courtships by making a collective proposal to the collective "Widow Gloverson," Mormonism was not to be taken too seriously. The image of the Mormon polygamist, like the image of the prophet-fraud, allowed a facile dismissal of the religion in its entirety.

But there was another, more malevolent side to popular depictions of polygamy, which took two forms. First, once the laughter of initial depictions faded, a stream of literature linked plural marriage to various forms of coercion. The evil eye, mesmerism, hypnotism, the administration of drugs, and blatant violence, all became the modus operandi of fictive polygamists. The psychology was fairly transparent. Mormons could achieve conversion—like plural marriages- only be circumventing the will. To put it in other terms, popular portrayals assured American readers that Mormonism had no power to persuade them. It could only take its victims by coercion—physical or mental. Thus the American public preserved a comforting sense of moral distance from this Viper on the Hearth, as a Cosmopolitan article denominated the religion. Once again, the end result was a lack of serious engagement with Mormon theology, with Mormon scripture, or with Mormon practices that extended beyond the marital system. Mormon resort to coercion was proof that they too recognized their

message was not really worthy of thoughtful consideration by the public.

A second pattern was to further insulate the public from the fear of this "viper on the hearth" by depicting Mormons in ways that created a false sense of radical difference. They dressed different (like caped cavaliers or klansmen), they talked different (like Elizabethan gentlemen) and they looked different – usually like Orientals. The illusion of their radical otherness created the comforting fiction that Mormons were different enough to be easily recognized and safely avoided. That they would never get close enough to the American hearth to contaminate or seduce.

Even science joined in the attempt to construct Mormons as distinctively, even racially, different. In a meeting of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences in 1861, Dr. Samuel Cartwright and Prof. C. G. Forshey gave a paper using parts of a report made by Assistant Surgeon Roberts Bartholow of the U.S. Army on the "Effects and Tendencies of Mormon Polygamy in the Territory of Utah."[12] The findings described characteristics of a new racial type, at least, as reported by Bartholow. Attached to the army corps sent to Utah from Fort Leavenworth in the expedition known as the "Utah War," Bartholow was charged with reporting on diseases and topography incident to their travels. Once in the Territory, he turned his attention from local flora and fauna to "the Mormon, of all the human animals now walking this globe…the most curious in every relation." "Isolated in the narrow valleys of Utah," he observed**,**

> and practising [sic] the rites of a religion grossly material, of which polygamy is the main element and cohesive force, the Mormon people have arrived at a physical and mental condition, in a few years of growth, such as densely-populated communities in the older parts of the world, hereditary victims of all the vices of civilization, have been ages in reaching.

This condition, he continued, was characterized by what he saw as evidence of general debilitation (high percentage of female births and infant mortality). More surprisingly, perhaps, he insisted that the Mor-

[12] Stanley Ivins, 'Note on Mormon Polygamy', *Western Humanities Review*, 10 (Summer 1956), pp. 238–39.

mons shared numerous physiological features, so much so, in fact, as to be constitutive of a new human type. And while Bartholow was not as confident as the New Orleans physicians that polygamy was the culprit, he was as certain as they that a "new race" had evolved.

> This condition is shown by...the large proportion of albuminous and gelatinous types of constitution, and by the striking uniformity in facial expression and in physical conformation of the younger portion of the community....The yellow, sunken, cadaverous visage; the greenish-colored eyes; the thick, protuberant lips; the low forehead; the light, yellowish hair, and the lank, angular person, constitute an appearance so characteristic of the new race, the production of polygamy, as to distinguish them at a glance. The older men and women present all the physical peculiarities of the nationalities to which they belong; but these peculiarities are not propagated and continued in the new race; they are lost in the prevailing type.[13]

Ironically, what strikes a modern audience as transparent and ridiculous attempts to create a new ethnicity—actually worked. Today, Mormons have their own entry in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups*.

One surprising fact about these early phases of Mormon representation is that Mormons have been complicit with their public portrayal. In the first and second phases, they largely played defense. Missionaries fanned out to counter what they perceived as misrepresentations of Joseph Smith. The Book of Mormon was not read on its own terms, or for its doctrinal content; instead it was largely subordinated to the task of serving as visible emblem of Joseph's prophetic calling. Little effort was made to plumb—or communicate—the content of the scripture itself. And in 1852, Brigham Young dispatched the foremost intellect of mid-century Mormonism, Orson Pratt, to defend and debate the practice of plural marriage. It was hard to move on to other topics, when the Mormons agreed to focus their intellectual energies on the topic of greatest prurient interest to other Americans.

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[13] Surgeon General's Office, *Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), pp. 301–302.

But there were, ironically, two principal advantages which Mormons derived from all the negative publicity. First, the depiction of the Mormons into an alien people, with distinctive cultural mores and practices, played into Mormon aspirations to forge a community with a powerful sense of its own identity, a covenant nation, a people apart. Second, the narrative of perpetual persecution has always served as an index of God's special favor. Victimhood and blessedness have always been close companions.

Phase III: Triumph of Culture - 1890s

The decisive turning point in Mormonism's contemporary image occurred with such suddenness that we can trace it to the very week and year. It came about toward the end of 1893. In that year, the Mormons were persuaded to participate in the Great Columbian Exposition at the Chicago World's Fair. The result of the LDS church's participation was to set in stone a dual public consciousness regarding Mormonism.

The World's Fair was unprecedented in scope; it covered 600 acres, involved hundreds of specially constructed buildings and exhibition halls, and was attended by over 27 million people. A major incentive for Mormon participation was a much heralded choral competition organized by the Welsh: called an Eisteddfod. The Tabernacle choir was relatively young and unpracticed in choral competitions, but their director Evan Stephens was eventually persuaded that they had a real chance at a medal. The obtained First Presidency approval, raised funds, and made the trip to Chicago. It was a historic return to the East. For the first time in 50 years, a Mormon delegation—accompanied by their Mormon prophet-- walked among fellow Americans east of the Rockies. The Mormons were transitioning out of their polygamous phase, but still a few years away from securing statehood. Public sentiment was still generally adverse to Mormons.

In Chicago, on Friday September 8, in front of packed crowds, the Tabernacle Choir dazzled the audience and the judges alike, to win the silver medal in the grand choral competition. The general consensus of Mormon and gentile was that they had actually earned the Gold. Overnight, they were the recipients of rapturous acclaim. Suddenly they became America's sweetheart. They were invited to provide the patriotic music for the placement of the Liberty Bell at the Chicago Exposition. Their farewell concert was standing room only,

journalists raved to a receptive public about the singing sensation, and Concert promoters lobbied the choir to tour the east. Suddenly, Mormons were not just legitimate, they were popular.

And then, a funny thing happened on the way to the festivities. In conjunction with the grandiose Columbian Exposition, organizers had planned a World's Parliament of Religion for September 11–22, 1893, in order to "promote and deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among religious men of diverse faiths. Over three thousand invitations had been sent worldwide, to bring together representatives of every world faith and Christian denomination in a momentous gesture of interfaith respect and dialogue. Many faiths were underrepresented—but only one group was deliberately and conspicuously left out altogether. And that was, not unpredictably, the Mormons. Learning of the parliament, feisty Mormon intellectual and Seventy B. H. Roberts began to lobby church members and leaders to demand a seat at the table. Initially, they were reluctant. They were rather used to not being invited to the party and felt protest would be futile and undignified. Finally, mere weeks before the event, the First Presidency petitioned the Parliament chair, Charles Bonney. They then dispatched Roberts in person. Roberts was ready for a brawl, and he got one. He learned that the LDS proposal did not have committee support, but persistently appealed to basic principles of fair play. A bare two weeks before the Parliament convened, the organizers relented and granted the Mormons provisional representation, conditional on acceptance of a paper proposal. As the opening ceremonies approached, they gave permission. The parliament began on Monday the 11th of September. Taoists and Zoroastrians, Unitarians and Swedenborgians and more than a hundred others made presentations over ensuing days. Then, without warning, Roberts was informed that he could not present his paper on Mormonism in the conference hall. He could, if he wished, do so in a small room off a side street away from the main event. Justifiably indignant, Roberts refused.

What I am most interested in from the perspective of a history of the Mormon media image, is the lesson Church members and officials gleaned from this decisive week in Chicago. One minute, Mormons won silver medals and were America's darling. The next minute, in the same venue, they were once again demeaned, marginalized, silenced. Reid Neilson, in his forthcoming history of the Chicago Exposition, frames the lesson learned this way: "LDS administrators realized…the importance (from a public relations perspective) of

deemphasizing their church's polarizing *spiritual* beliefs and practices and emphasizing their religion's *cultural* contributions."[14] In other words, from the days of Chicago to the present, the church has achieved a kind of accommodation with the American public, that looks a little like this: They will let Mormons sing and dance, enjoy their terrific football, and say great things about Mormons as a cultural phenomenon. Mormons produce great business leaders, create good pop groups, win all the slots on "You think you can dance," and keep the NFL supplied with a steady stream of quarterbacks. Oh, and they are pretty good in a disaster, too. As Charles Dickens said, What the Mormons do seems to be excellent." But in return for such qualified esteem, the public reserves the right to not have to take Mormonism seriously as a belief-system. As Dickens again said, "what they say is mostly nonsense."

PHASE IV: THE FUTURE

Mormons might have chosen another strategy. And still may. I wish to spend the balance of my remarks revisiting an instance of this alternative path, and ask what it might mean as a possible pattern for future directions.

This story goes back to the first anti-Mormon book I mentioned earlier—*Mormonism Unvailed*. Building on that book's anti-Mormon foundations, was the work of La Roy Sunderland, a revivalist preacher who had come to be deeply engaged in social reform movements.

In 1834 he presided at the organization of the first Methodist anti-slavery society, and the next year helped found, and became editor of, *Zion's Watchman*, organ of the movement. Sunderland would transition from preacher to abolitionist then on to mesmerism, spiritualism, and atheism before his career was over. But in 1838, enough of the Christian apologist remained for Mormonism to arouse his ire.[15]

Pratt's promotion of Mormonism had been widely disseminated, with his 1837 *Voice of Warning* quickly achieving a quasi-

[14] Reid L. Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). I have made ample use of Neilson's excellent treatment.

[15] J. R. Jacob, 'La Roy Sunderland: Alienation of an Abolitionist', *Journal of American Studies*, 6 (April 1972), pp. 1–17.

canonical status both within and outside the church. It was largely in reaction to Pratt's book that Sunderland published a weekly series of eight installments on Mormonism in the first months of 1838. The intensity of his denunciations must have struck a sensitive chord in a Mormon who had already suffered persecution and expulsion from his home as a result of anti-Mormon rhetoric that rapidly escalated to violence in the state of Missouri. Sunderland condemned Mormonism as "a delusion ... manifestly and monstrously absurd," "nonsense and blasphemy." (You see, we are back into that first phase of Mormonism as fraud).[16]

Sunderland lists several of what he considers absurdities and evidences of fraud: the doctrine of "infallible inspiration," spiritual gifts accessible to all members, visitations by angels, a New Jerusalem situated in Missouri—and most outrageous of all, the Mormon belief that their leaders were on a level with the New Testament apostles, and their teaching that humans could eventually be equal with Christ.
In his reply, Pratt broke sharply with Mormon precedent. Until Pratt, Mormon missionaries had done little to respond in print to criticisms from without. Those who did venture into print as Mormon apologists and expositors often emphasized commonalities with Christian tradition. Even Joseph Smith, in his articles of faith written in 1842, would neglect to mention most Mormon distinctives: pre-mortal existence, God's corporeality, human theosis, suggesting instead a trinitarianism and Christology shared with most Christians.

Pratt, on the other hand, gave Protestant writers a target painted in florescent colors. He might have had a deliberate strategy in mind. The focus on Mormonism as a fraud kept Mormons on the defensive. Alleging fraud and deception, or lascivious motives, detractors steered the debates away from serious theological engagement with Mormon beliefs.

The very title of Pratt's response to Sunderland demonstrated his determination to take control of the discussion. If anyone is to unveil Mormonism, he was clearly suggesting, we will do the unveiling. Pratt injected doctrines into the discussion in ways impossible to ignore. He noted that Sunderland objected to Mormons "placing themselves on a level with the Apostles." He replied unapologetically, 'this, we acknowledge, of course, for they were men of Adam's fallen

[16] La Roy Sunderland, 'Mormonism', *Zion's Watchman*, 13 January 1838.

race, just like everybody else by nature....I know of nothing but equality in the Church of Christ."[17] But Pratt pushes his point much further. Sunderland indignantly quotes the Saints as believing that they 'shall be filled with glory, and be equal with [Christ]," which is a paraphrase of *Doctrine and Covenants* 88:107. Similar phraseology is biblical (i.e., the "joint heirs" of Rom. 8:17), but Pratt ignores the innocuous readings of precedent, and pushes possible metaphor into a literal reference to theosis (human divinization). Indeed, Pratt proclaims, 'they [will] have the same knowledge that God has, [and] they will have the same power....Hence the propriety of calling them "Gods, even the sons of God""[18] The latter language was from Mormon scripture (D&C 91:5 [1835]), but it had never been explicated publicly to mean literal deification. Modern Christians like Sunderland may call this blasphemy, yet Pratt will not retreat from what he celebrates as "this doctrine of *equality*." Here we have a clear intimation of Mormonism's most audacious doctrine, not taught publicly by Joseph Smith until six years later in the King Follett sermon.

Pratt took Mormon blasphemy a step further a few pages later, when he implicitly introduces an emphatically non-creedal conception of God, without Sunderland even having referred to the belief. Pratt mocks the Methodist Episcopal Church for believing (as did all who subscribed to the Westminster Confession), in "a God without body or parts." Why worship a God, he wonders, "who has no ears, mouth, nor eyes," and then adds with humorous sarcasm, "that we do not love, serve, nor fear your God; and if he has been blasphemed, let him speak and plead his own cause: but this he cannot do, seeing he has no mouth. And how he ever revealed his choice of La Roy Sunderland, as a "Watchman" for his Zion, I am at a loss to determine." On the other hand, Mormons, he affirms without apology, "worship a God, who has both body and parts; who has eyes, mouth, and ears, and who speaks when he pleases."[19] Pratt's explicit pronouncements in his 1838 pamphlet were now forcing Mormonism's most heterodox teachings into the public arena. Emphasizing radical difference, not commonality, was where Pratt excelled.

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[17] Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked* (New York: Pratt and Fordham, 1838), p. 9.
[18] Ibid., p. 27.
[19] Ibid., p. 31.

What Pratt accomplished with his pamphlet was to successfully force the conversation toward theology. He did this by leading with an unabashed presentation of those doctrines that most radically differentiated Mormonism from its competitors in the marketplace of ideas. That reversed the usual dynamic, by putting his audience in a position where they could not help but respond to the bold ideas he put forward. In analyzing the persistence of religion even in our enlightened age, a Marxist critic notes that, "the so called 'new atheism'" notwithstanding, "science, reason, liberalism and capitalism" all have had their chance—and they "just don't deliver what is ultimately needed." What is needed, he continues, is something that can address not "local satisfactions," but "nothing less than the nature and destiny of humanity itself, in relation to its transcendent source."[20]

Pratt understood that Joseph Smith posited a story of human origins and human destinies unlike anything else in the religious or secular world. Presenting that story without compromise was a risky undertaking. But it was better than the alternatives, which involved fighting a defensive war against, fraud, and against philandery, or being happy with success at football--and singing and dancing. Pratt's attitude seemed to be, if you will excuse the anachronism, Christendom was a ship beginning to sink. Mormons had reached the lifeboats. While some of his fellow believers were paddling furiously to return to the Titanic, Pratt wanted to strike out for the open sea. How Mormonism will steer its ship in the 21st century is not yet clear.

[20] Stanley Fish paraphrasing Terry Eagleton in 'God Talk', *New York Times*, 3 May 2009.

THE INFALLIBILITY TRAP:
THE SACRALISATION OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

Walter E.A. van Beek

Roma locuta, causa finita[1]
When the prophet speaks, the debate is over[2]

This article develops the thesis that religions with an exclusive truth claim, a hierarchical organization and a clear follower commitment almost inevitably tend to define their ecclesiastical authority in terms of infallibility. Though the latter concept is couched in different terms in various religious traditions, the pattern of defining authority as such as sacred is clear. This is called "creeping infallibility", a process that, in the eyes of the author, represents a theological trap, a severe problem that is hard to avoid. The processes leading to overt or creeping infallibility are compared between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, religions that share these major characteristics. First, the text zooms in on the intricacies of the Catholic notion of "infallible", which shows to be a problematic issue, much debated and part of a political process; then the equivalent notions within the Mormon tradition are explored. LDS theology and discourse focus on "authority" and "obedience", but LDS history shows how political developments informed the formulation of these concepts into infallibility-like notions. Such a contagious discourse does present a severe problem, if only because of the supreme values of humility, repentance and atonement. The work of Bourdieu and Giddens provides some insights into the processes leading to this "infallibility trap", which the author illustrates with his personal experiences in the LDS scene.

[1] Common Roman Catholic expression: "When Rome has spoken, the case is closed".

[2] Statement of first counsellor N. Eldon Tanner in the church's *Ensign*, August 1978, a repetition of an *Improvement Era* message from June 1945.

INFALLIBILITY AS A PROBLEM

A well-known quip in the Mormon scene runs: "Catholics are taught that their pope is infallible, and they do not believe it. Mormons are taught that their prophet is fallible, and they do not believe that either".[3] Both churches wrestle with the notion of infallibility in their own way, and in this article I try to show that they face a similar "infallibility conundrum" due to their similar theological and organizational structures: a hierarchical organization, where authority is handed top down coupled with a monopolization of symbolic capital.[4] My crucial notion is this article is "creeping infallibility", the idea that given a certain type of ecclesiastical organization and theological discourse, the idea of "infallibility" creeps into the Church, even uninvited. This conundrum implies that on the one hand this type of organization-*cum*-ideology almost inevitably leads to some idea of infallibility, while on the other hand in human terms infallibility is a highly problematic concept, especially in a religion where man is defined – at least partly – as a sinner, and humility is considered a virtue. Add to this the detailed information available to us in the electronic age, plus a general cultural decline of the notion "authority" in general, and the theological trap is not only clear but also actual. So the basic thesis of this article is that some Christian formations through their organization and theology are bound to have a cognitive clash between the doctrinal inevitability of a form of infallibility, and the human impossibility of the same notion.

The comparison between LDS and RC might seem far-fetched, but in no way is. The Roman Catholic Church, in many ways, is important other for Mormonism, more than Protestantism; even if the cultural roots of LDS lie in Puritanism[5], the claims, structure and ambition of the LDS church is modeled much more after the Roman Catholic Church: a centrally led world church with a recognized claim of uniqueness and of divine mandate. The RC Church as relevant other is a subtext in the LDS dealing with mainstream Christianity; the cultural milieu in which Mormonism emerged was emphatically

[3] This article results from a presentation and discussion at the July 2010 conference of the European Mormon Studies Association at Tilburg University, The Netherlands.

[4] I thank my colleague Jan Jans from Tilburg University for his guidance in Roman matters, as well as the anonymous reviewers of the IJMS.

[5] Rex E. Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers. Mormon Covenant Organization* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

Protestant, and in its drive towards respectability Church officialdom addresses evangelical Protestantism more than the Catholic Church[6], yet church structure and authority discourse is definitely Catholic.

The recent "*approchement*" between LDS and RC over the temple in Rome, Italy, provides a good illustration. The building permission hinges on the *nihil obstat* of the Catholic vicar of Rome – in fact from the "assistant pontiff" of the city, as the pope is *ex officio* the pontiff of Rome. City and Roman Catholic Church still operate under the concordat rules of Mussolini. So, in these days good relations with the Roman Vicariate are actively sought for by the LDS church, trying to bank on the joint support for Proposition 8 in California. Speaking with LDS leaders in Frankfurt I was struck by their eagerness for Catholic recognition on the one hand, and their expectation that this would be obtained within a few months. Specialists of Roman Catholicism, when interviewed, tended to estimate the time needed in terms of years. Eternity has a different implication in Catholic terms than in LDS thought.

So, the days of Bruce R. McConkie seem to be over; in the first edition of Mormon Doctrine he defined the Catholic Church as the church of the devil. Instigated by the Brethren he deleted that passage in a later edition, but pro-Catholic he never became. In this he reflected the anti-papal stance of early Puritanism, one of the roots of Mormonism, but anyhow his position was not isolated as the relation between LDS and RC has been very ambivalent through the LDS history. At least as the Mormons see it; the reverse view has been more consistent (and negative). In sociological terms this LDS ambivalence *vis à vis* the RC Church can be read as a variation on one consistent underlying theme, i.e. that the Roman Catholic Church is the 'relevant other' for the LDS church. Either as adversary, as reluctant ally, or as ultimate model,[7] the Roman church is the embodiment of the claim to apostolic succession, while the LDS embodies the claim to apostolic non-succession-*cum*-restoration. So I think the comparison is highly relevant, even inescapable. I will start out with a short overview of the dynamics

[6] Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive. The Mormon Struggle for Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 201.

[7] Walter E.A. van Beek, 'Mormon Europeans or European Mormons? An Afro-European Look at Religious Colonization', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought,* 38, 4 (2005), 33.

of the infallibility concept in RC thought, and then compare the LDS position.

INFALLIBILITY: THE POPE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Exposés about the Roman Catholic dogma of infallibility usually start with a few disclaimers, and for a fair understanding these are often needed. Papal infallibility does not mean that the "pope is always right", nor that "the pope commits no sins", or "makes no mistakes", just as it does not mean that anything the pope says is scripture even if he speaks as a pope. Actually the dogma is not about the pope, but about a specific kind of statements the pope is in a position to make.[8] The dogma has been posed by the First Vatican Council in 1870 but is formulated very restrictive and concerns only a very specific kind of statements. The accepted conditions for an infallible declaration are, since 1870, that: 1. the pope has to utter it; 2. he has to speak *ex cathedra* (i.e. "in discharge of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, and by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority"); 3. He has to use the word "define"; 4. The doctrine has to regard faith or morals; 5. and he has to state that the belief must be held by whole Church. Finally, the text must indicate that the teaching is definitive and binding, in any type of wording, usually expressed by: "We declare, decree and define ..." (the teaching as definitive); as final indication the text has a so-called *anathema* attached, stating that anyone who deliberately voices dissent is outside the Catholic Church and no longer belongs to the flock.[9]

Thus, in order to be infallible, the papal statement has to be very precisely worded; if the wording is different, then the statement has (considerable) authority as coming from the pope, but is not considered infallible. In actual fact, there are very few infallible papal statements formulated in the history of the RC Church. In the 1870 Council the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary was formulated by pope Pius IX as an infallible dogma, i.e. the belief that Mary, the mother of Christ, had been conceived beyond the influence of the original sin. In

[8] The following description is indebted to I.A.R. Costigan, *The Consensus of the Church and Papal Infallibility* (Catholic University of America Press, 2005); P. C. Empie, T. A. Murphy and J. A. Burgess, *Teaching Authority and Infallibility in the Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publ. House, 1980).

[9] The Encyclical *Pastor Aeternus*, (1870), Chapter 4.

1950 pope Pius XII gave the Church the dogma of the Assumption of Mary, the belief that Mary went to heaven without experiencing death, i.e. was "assumed body and soul into heavenly glory". The next Council, the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council 1962–65, reaffirmed the principle of infallibility, speaking of the "sacred primacy of the Roman Pontiff and of his infallible magisterium", but did not state any new dogma, and the following popes have not used the prerogative. Some statements come close to it, though, but that will be discussed later.

Papal infallibility is a special expression – the term often used is "manifestation" – of the infallibility of the Church as a whole, also called the indefectibility of the Church, or perennial in the truth. This belief states that the Holy Spirit will not allow the Church to err in belief or teaching, and is part of what is called the "Sacred Magisterium" (*magister* = teacher). This Magisterium is in principle undivided, but in practice has an extraordinary and an ordinary side; the first concerns the declarations of ecumenical (ecumene = the entire Catholic world) councils, which, if properly worded, are considered infallible as well; the second is the "ordinary and universal" magisterium, in principle the consensus of the catholic bishops all over the world church, including the pope, who is after all the *primus inter pares* as bishop of Rome. But they are two sides of the same coin, the Magisterium. Examples of the first kind are slightly more numerous, and include the decree on justification by faith plus works[10] of the council of Trent (1545–63), and the very notion of papal infallibility in 1870, in order to make the new dogma of papal infallibility valid. Examples of the second kind, the "ordinary magisterium" are more numerous; the decree by Pope John Paul II that priesthood ordination was reserved for males belongs to that category. However, the large majority of doctrine never has been formulated in "infallible" terms, simply because there has been no dissent on it, or not enough to warrant such a heavy institutional mechanism.

Historically, the dogma on papal infallibility took a long time in emerging. Though set in stone as recently as 1870, it has early roots: already in the 6th century the bishop of Rome was defined as the preserver of apostolic truth.[11] In 1075 pope Gregory VII wrote that the

[10] A decree countering the Reformation belief in justification by faith alone.

[11] The Encyclical *Formulae of Hormisdas.* In fact, this stemmed from a much earlier and broader definition of Christian orthodoxy in the 4rd century, where in order to be counted as orthodoxy, one had to follow one of the four estab-

papacy "will never err to all eternity according to the testimony of Holy Scripture".[12] Papal decrees, however, never stood alone, as they were the "manifestation"[13] of the general Magisterium of the church. The reasons for formalizing and solidifying the papal infallibility were political. In the late 19th century the Italian unification had dethroned the pope as ruler of the Papal States, reducing the territory of the church to the Vatican mini-state. The reduction in mundane power triggered, in all probability, a move to spiritual centralization, also the reason why this Council was held in the Vatican itself, unlike all its predecessors.[14]

But in practice *Roma locuta* is not exactly *causa finita*. The doctrine of papal infallibility – in contrast with church indefectibility – was not without its critics, though, and still is the subject of fierce debate, also within the Catholic Church. One leading Catholic theologian, Hans Küng in 1980 lost his teaching rights as professor of theology at Tübingen University, over his well-informed, closely reasoned and strongly critical book on infallibility;[15] after and amidst a host of other critical commentaries he wrote, it was his critique on this issue that brought him into open conflict with the bishops' synod. And he is by no means alone. Internal critique uses various arguments. First, the Scriptural founding of the dogma is weak, as neither the Gospels nor the letters in the New Testament paint a clear picture of any central position of the apostle Peter; Paul seems to trump Peter in several instances, while James seem to have had the decisive voice in the first council in Jerusalem. Second, the long history of the Catholic Church has furnished quite a few examples of popes being, in retrospect, quite fallible. Third, the scriptural basis of the Bible should be considered infallible, not a human person, a Protestant argument that is shared by

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lished "metropolitans", i.e. the bishops from Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and – indeed – Rome. By the 6th century, the other three had fallen away – and would soon become Muslim – and Rome alone was left.

[12] The Encyclical *Dictatus Papae* (1075).

[13] The instruction with the Encyclical *Donum Veritatis*, uses the term "manifest", *Donum Veritatis* (1990), pt 15.

[14] B. Hasler and H. Küng, *Wie der Papst unfehlbar wurde: Macht und Ohnmacht eines Dogmas* (München: Piper & Co, 1980).

[15] Hans Küng, *Unfehlbar? Eine Anfrage* (Zürich: Benzinger, 1970), pp. 178 and 181.

some Catholic scholars as well.[16] Four, power configurations seem to have been crucial in the attention for infallibility, at least for the processes leading up to its definition.[17] A detailed analysis of the First Vatican Council shows how much of a political struggle the establishment of the dogma has been, in 1870.[18] The simple conclusion is that the pope won.

No Infallibility? The LDS Case

The quip at the start states that the Mormons are taught that their prophet is not infallible. Is that so? How different is the LDS church in fact from the Roman Catholic one? The term "infallibility" is seldom used, as the Catholic flavour is not appreciated. On the other hand "fallible" is definitely a word that Mormon leaders use, also when describing themselves. Joseph Smith is often depicted as a prophet who liked to shock visitors, by welcoming them when he emerged from a jocular bout of wrestling. Sweaty and covered with dirt he would introduce himself as: "Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet". This became more evident in the Nauvoo part of his career, when he had accrued enough self-confidence for such a confrontational approach.[19] But in any of part of his career Joseph Smith took great pains to deny any kind of infallibility; in fact at several times he just escaped being considered a fallen prophet. Throughout he made it clear that he could make mistakes, and that a prophet was only a prophet when he was acting as such. However, even when he felt himself at first inspired, he later acknowledged that things had gone wrong, so failed predictions abound.[20] But for his followers the difference between a *fallible* prophet and a *fallen* prophet was never easy. Simply, the position as a prophet of

[16] M.E. Powell, *Papal Infallibility: A Protestant Evaluation of an Ecumenical Issue* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

[17] An early example is the struggle for monastic power by Franciscan monks for whom papal infallibility simply was convenient. See B. Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

[18] Hasler and Küng, *Wie der Papst unfehlbar wurde*.

[19] Richard L. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005).

[20] D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), p. 84.

the Lord, plus the concomitant inspiration that belongs to that office – in fact forms the very foundation of that office – makes the notion of some form of infallibility almost inevitable. After all, it is not easy to see someone who speaks with the voice of the Lord as fallible; in principle Mormons agree with Küng: "In the strict sense of the word, only God is infallible".[21] And living at close quarters with the religious leader, it is not easy to separate the things the prophet officially says from what one hears and sees in daily life. Mormons always had their prophets next door. Thus, many crises for Joseph Smith originated from wrong decisions, which then reflected on his religious status. The collapse of the Kirtland 'bank' was an obvious example, which in retrospect showed that he was either not an adroit banker or set out on a mission impossible, probably both.[22] Other instances are his severe misjudgment of John Bennett, and on a larger scale the failure of the Missouri settlement[23]. When some of his predictions for which inspiration was claimed, did not pan out, Joseph Smith was the first to admit that he could make mistakes, or he was in his own eyes and words, a fallible prophet. Also, he was the one who applied numerous corrections to the Book of Mormon manuscript before it was sent in print, considering it both a revealed text and his own.

As in the RC Church, the attitude towards infallibility has shifted in the LDS Church in the direction of infallibility. In the early Church, as Michael Quinn showed, the leadership after Joseph Smith repeatedly stressed its fallibility.[24] In a situation in which the cohesion of the Utah Saints was never in doubt, given their exilic situation in Deseret, the LDS leadership could function without spiritual centralization; in fact till WW II, the leadership could well stress: "We are not infallible in our judgment, and we err".[25] Quinn views this as a grasp for political control of the membership,[26] but external growth might be a factor as well. A more global church needed to be redirected towards

[21] Küng, *Unfehlbar? Eine Anfrage*, p. 173.

[22] The Kirtland bank had no official legal statute, so could not call itself a bank, but a 'safety society'. But it operated like a bank, and definitely folded like a bank; Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling,* p. 330.

[23] See Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, Chapter 9.

[24] Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), p. 368.

[25] *Conference Report, April 1940*, p. 14.

[26] Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, p. 369, like the Catholic example, thus.

its organizational apex. Anyway, the trend towards centralization was clear in the '70s and the '80s, with a personality cult developing around David McKay, Spencer Kimball and Gordon Hinckley. At the end of the century, under the influence of Hinckley, this shifted to some extent from the person of the president – Hinckley hated adulation – to the collective of the First Presidency and the Twelve. Whether this shift will last is not clear, but it does fit in an increased focus on collective leadership in the Church as a whole, which also reflects in the new *Handbook of Instructions*.[27] And, as Shepherd and Shepherd stated some time ago: "The increased distance between members and leaders undoubtedly contributes to the awe with which church authorities are held and to the successful routinization of charisma in the ecclesiastical structure."[28] However much inerrant authority the fifteen apostles as a body are allotted, the president of the Church still is, in Catholic terms, the *manifestation* of that "de facto infallibility".[29]

How close is the LDS Church position to the Roman one? First, human frailty indicates that we all are fallible as persons, both in LDS and RC thought, though with some slight differences in anthropotheology. In Catholic thought we are sinners by nature and by inheritance, from the original sin onwards, to be saved by the redeeming sacrifice of Jesus Christ, mediated through sacraments administered by a priesthood that derives its authority from apostolic succession. In Mormon thought we are sinners by nature, without inherited original sin, to be saved by the redeeming sacrifice of Jesus Christ, through entering into a covenant with him mediated by a priesthood that derives its authority from an apostolic succession after restoration. So both are variations on the theme of authority and succession, in fact of the heavenly mandate.[30]

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[27] In this important internal administrative document, the traditional leader-oriented administration is – to some extent – supplemented by a reliance on councils, amply represented in the Church.

[28] Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), p. 124.

[29] Cole R. Capaner, 'Individual conscience and de facto infallibility', *Sunstone* 9 (Autumn 1984), pp. 26 and 30.

[30] The lemma "Catholic and Mormon" in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* gives the differences in doctrines between the two churches; though presented as

So for the church as an institution this anthropo-theological difference has little impact, and the Catholic notion of the infallible Sacred Magisterium is quite recognizable in Mormonism. Numerous are the declarations from General Authorities that the "Church shall not fall again", that the "prophet shall not lead the church astray"; thus, in many different wordings the message is preached loud and clear: the church will not err. Though not voiced as "infallibility", the notion of inerrancy of the Church is similar to the Catholic position, with the Catholic term "indefectibility" being quite apt. The notions of "infallibility", "inerrancy", "not leading astray" and "indefectibility" are not exactly synonyms; infallible concerns – if anything – statements, indefectibility the institution, inerrancy script or human authority, but to separate them strictly is not very relevant, as they all are based on the same process, that of sacralization of authority.

Who, then, is the Church? That question is seldom posed in LDS circles, but answers itself once formulated, but in opposite ways. One could be the total of the membership, in its internal organization, similar to the way CS Lewis defined the Christian Church, as the huge, historical conglomerate of Christ-inspired organizations and people throughout the ages, amounting an enormous mass movement fired by "peace and good will". And at times fired by petty resentment and bigotry,[31] one has to admit. Thus, in the Mormon case, the broad panorama of Mormon experience would define the LDS church: the deacon gathering in fast money in small town Utah; the home teacher reluctantly making an appointment with his assigned family at the last day of the month; the high priest group leader exhorting his high priests group to attend the temple next month; the relief society teacher preparing her lesson for next Sunday; the high school girl rubbing her eyes while her mother drives her to early morning seminary; the priest' quorum clearing the garden of an old sister; the ward enjoying an outing in the warm summer sunshine; a missionary trying desperately to offer his testimony in understandable Dutch; a father taking his newborn child in his arms to give him a blessing, assisted by two of his kinsmen; a couple checking their food storage before trying to get the children together for family home evening. The list is endless, and of course has to be completed with the meetings themselves, in the

different theological systems, close reading shows how much they are alike, indeed variations on a theme.

[31] C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (Harper & Collins, 2009 [1942]).

branches, wards, stakes and – also – general conference, as well as in the temple, but with the most important aspect of all included, i.e. the social visiting, exchange news, greetings and some gossip. This inclusive view clearly is my definition of choice, but this is not the church that could be characterized as "indefectible".

The other definition is the top down one: the Church is the prophet, the First Presidency, the Apostles, the Seventies, in short the whole amalgam indicated as "General Authorities". And after them come all the lay priesthood, in their many functions and positions, and then the rest of the membership. Any statement on inerrancy of the church, views this as the core of the church: the Authorities of the church leading the membership, under the divine mandate, which is handed top down from prophet to the young deacon. That is the Church that which will neither err nor lead "astray" (a popular expression, by the way).[32] And it is here that notions on infallibility pop up, not only on the church but also of individual leaders. Papal infallibility, we saw, is a special manifestation of church infallibility. Though rejecting the notion of papal infallibility, LDS culture clearly flirts with the same notion with respect to its prophet. In August 1979 the Church's *Ensign* magazine publishes first counsellor N. Eldon Tanner's talk: "When the prophet speaks the debate is over"; he there quoted with full support Young Women President Elaine Cannon, who at a Church-wide fireside meeting for the women of the Church, phrased, the now famous dictum: "When the prophet speaks, ... the debate is over."[33]

Basing themselves on a content analysis of General Conference talks, Shepherd and Shepherd have shown that the themes of acceptation of authority, obedience and proprietorship of exclusive religious truth run as a common theme throughout talks of General Authorities,[34] or: "Reverence for the oracular authority of the prophets has ... been a consistent and powerful conference theme throughout Mormon

[32] As one among many possible examples, I give a quote from Hinckley at General Conference in October 1996: "It is in the hands of God, and should any of its leaders ever attempt to lead it astray, His is the power to remove them. He has said that He has restored His work for the last time, 'never again to be destroyed nor given to other people' (D&C 138:44)".

[33] Speech given in November 1978, published in *Ensign* (August 1979), p. 108.

[34] Shepherd and Shepherd, *Kingdom Transformed*, pp. 88, 96, 99 and 272 n5.

history."[35] If the routinized charisma of authority is a permanent feature in Mormonism, so the question is at what time the more pointed expressions and manifestations of the doctrine emerge, like the RC example in 1870.

The speeches of Cannon and Tanner were given at the very moment the debate over the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment raged in the USA,[36] so the fact that it was addressed in a Women's conference, by a Young Women's president, is significant.[37] Timing did not change content, though, but led to a more pointed formulation, or "manifestation". An earlier *Improvement Era* message of June 1945 had already given the same message. The October 2010 General Conference listened with approval to brother Costa, a Seventy who repeated an injunction of Ezra Taft Benson, an earlier Apostle, from 1980.[38] He quoted Benson's 14 "fundamentals" highlighting the special position of the prophet, as the only one who could speak for the Lord in everything; the living prophet is considered more vital to the members than the standard works, and more important than a dead prophet, and, most important of all, the prophet will never lead the Church astray. These points were later at the same conference repeated verbatim. So far, the prophet is clearly ascribed infallibility inside his ecclesiastical mandate, but then the "14 fundamentals" move to other fields as well, extending the "infallibility claim": "The prophet is not limited by men's reasoning"; "The prophet is not required to have any particular earthly training or credentials to speak on any subject or act on any matter at any time".[39] Finally, an indictment reminiscent of the

[35] Ibid., p. 125.

[36] In 1979 the campaign for the ratification of the ERA, approved in 1972, just had been extended, in order to arrive at the needed number of 38 ratifying states. Utah did not sign, Idaho rescinded its earlier ratification, and the total number never came above 35.

[37] One early claim to infallibility came as a response to huge internal debates, i.e. to the Manifesto. Wilford Woodruff, in his defence of the Manifesto during the sixth session of the 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, stressed: "The Lord will never permit me or any other man to lead you astray"; see *Doctrine and Covenants*, Official Declaration 1.

[38] *1980 Devotional Speeches of the Year* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 26 ff. The Benson speech was given in the wake of the ERA campaign, see former footnote.

[39] In the Catholic case the range of papal decrees is a matter of serious debate: can the pope give decrees on things which have not been revealed? See J.-F.

Catholic *anathema* is there as well: "The prophet and the presidency – the living prophet and the first presidency – follow them and be blessed; reject them and suffer". With the latter expression we are completely on Roman turf.

This broader definition of the "expertise field" of the prophet is highly problematic, especially in our scientific day and age. If the prophet really has his authority in any field, without any other credentials for that particular field, the notion of infallibility collapses under its own weight, as he then is deemed to "know everything about anything under inspiration". That is blatantly impossible. The only solution to such a quandary would be to say nothing at all, or limit oneself to doctrine and morals. In effect, that is exactly what is happening: the prophet as well as the other Fifteen, concentrate themselves mainly on moral matters,[40] except when they move into political issues, as we will see below.

Are the "living oracles"[41] more vital than the standard works? The relationship between the living prophet and the Standard Works, the Scriptures, is rather complicated, but usually defined not that one-sided in the LDS discourse: new revelations should be consonant with Scripture, and one living prophet should not contradict the dead ones. The Scriptures are much more than a thing of the past, as in Mormon thought they are the loadstone of doctrine. A quote from an apostle who wrote much about doctrine, Bruce R. McConkie:

> As Joseph Smith so pointedly taught, a prophet is not always a prophet, only when he is acting as such. Prophets are men and they make mistakes. Sometimes they err in doctrine. This is one of the reasons the Lord has given us the Standard Works. They become the standards and the rules that govern where doctrine and philosophy are concerned. If this were not so, we

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Chiron, *L'infallibilité et son objet: l'authorité du magistère infallible de l'Église s'étend-elle sur des vérités non-révélées?* (Paris: Cerf, 1999). The LDS answer would be that the prophet could, but in practice never does.

[40] Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, (1984). The Proclamation of the Family, though, does make a significant statement about gender. See especially Gary J. Bergera, *Statements of the First Presidency* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007). This small encyclopedic book does have the lemma "infallibility", but the quotes under that heading do not use the term, even if they point in the direction.

[41] A favorite expression of Brigham Young.

> would believe one thing when one man was president of the Church and another thing in the days of his successors.
>
> Wise gospel students do not build their philosophies of life on quotations of individuals, even though those quotations come from presidents of the Church. Wise people anchor their doctrine on the Standard Works.[42]

Why did the claim on prophetic infallibility surface again in October 2010? These surges in 'follow the leader' rhetoric seem to coincide with the political battles the Church engages in, so like with the ERA campaign, one major reason might be the debate on homosexuality in general same and sex marriage in particular. This is one of the few issues on which 'the Church' (in the second definition) has taken an overt political stance,[43] and one which is also hotly debated within the church. Basis of the debate was the denial by the leadership of a genetic basis for homosexuality, a denial not in terms of a scholarly discussion, as nowhere the mounting evidence for a genetic basis of sexual orientation was even touched upon. Packer simply said of the evidence: 'I do not accept it', an *argumentum ad autoritatem* that might be appropriate when facing opinions but not facts.[44] Evidently, the authorities try to define such a venture into politics as a purely moral one, as they did with the ERA.[45] For instance, Oaks tried to build up an argument that the public political action for proposition 8 fell under the rubric of 'freedom of religion'; in doing so he stretched the meaning of ´freedom of religion´ from the right of any denomination to worship as it sees fit, into going into the public arena in order to influence laws.[46] However,

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[42] From a published letter to Eugene England, a BYU professor, dated February 19, 1981.

[43] On Proposition 8, in California, which aimed at ending same-sex marriages in the state. Later a Federal judge declared the proposition to be unconstitutional, because of its discriminatory nature. The issue is still pending.

[44] One straightforward illustration of a major genetic factor for sexual preference is the following statistic: If one is homosexual oneself, the chances that a random stranger is homosexual is 1:32, if the other is one's brother 1:9, if the other is one's identical twin 1:2. R.C. Kirkpatrick, 'The evolution of human homosexual behaviour', *Current Anthropology*, 41, 33, pp. 385–413.

[45] Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, p. 384 ff.

[46] Speech by Oaks to BYU Idaho on 13 October 2009, available at http://www.lds.org, accessed 14 April 2011.

also when the issue itself might be construed as moral (here the definition of marriage) any political action on the issue (such as the right of homosexuals to legal marriage) is the exercise of democratic freedom, i.e. of the political right of a minority to become a majority through legitimate means. Of course, the Church has this democratic right like any player in the public arena, but it still is a political right, which has no inherent relation with freedom of religion. Even if religious convictions urge towards activities in the public arena, the implementation of that urge is still a political issue. And a political move to "freedom from religion", i.e. freedom from religious interference, is just as legitimate as any other ideologically based political stance.[47] In short, public action is political action, also for moral issues. Furthermore, many political issues do have a moral side to them, as morals are an inherent aspect of politics anywhere, not in the least in the USA.

But the political action on Proposition 8 was more a an exception than the rule, as overt political stances of the church in the 20th century are rather rare, in fact limited to opposing the end of abolition, the Equal Rights Amendment and nuclear testing. These topics are all domestic debates within the USA, and this domesticity of church politics breathes a general conservative outlook, conform the – unofficial but pervading – Republican political allegiance. World political issues are never object of political church action; the main worries for the planet, such as climate change, are beyond leadership interest.[48] Thus, as the church upholds itself image as being beyond – or outside – politics, when it does engage in USA politics, it does so in a defensive mode, protecting those areas where the church feels threatened, or sees a menace. On the other hand, political reticence has the advantage of freeing the church's hand for humanitarian efforts in natural disasters, irrespective of political signature of the "other", and the LDS church has built up quite a reputation is this field.

So the religious infallibility tends to spill over into more mundane issues, and religious authority may come face to face with scientific findings. The classic case is, evidently, biological evolution, and here some caution shows on the side of the LDS authorities. Even inside a religious American scene where a dominant evangelical strain has large

[47] The current direction in gay and lesbian civil movements.

[48] The author has personally inquired of the General Authorities what the church position was on climate change. The written answer was that the Brethren had no opinion on the matter.

problems with evolutionary theory, the LDS church has showed itself quite restrained, defining the matter as an issue for scientists, the proper realm of religion being that of saving mankind. In the present debate on homosexuality the church still has to regain that attitude. The usual reaction of the leadership has been to say less, not more, and to refrain from statements on issues outside the realm of religion as such. This amounts to an internal secularization of the church itself, as it more and more defines itself as an institution with a specific function in modern society, no longer as a complete society in itself.

In the public discourses, such as General Conference talks, one aspect stands out: the infallible individual is always the "other", the "prophet". The Twelve or the Seventies who speak out about the prophetic infallibility, not the office holder himself. The discourse is on "follow the prophet", not "follow me". Prophets themselves are more reticent with this discourse – as we clearly saw with Joseph Smith – and with an increasing media exposure also show a mounting reserve. Gordon Hinckley, the 15th prophet, was especially modest and honest, defining his prophethood as a form of gentle inspiration, while denying all insider knowledge concerning the future (the popular interpretation of prophethood). In his administration a gentle shift was discernible, away from the personal "infallibility" to the collective inerrancy of the First presidency plus the Twelve Apostles. Both Hinckley and the apostles stressed the collective nature of inerrancy at several occasions. On November 6, 1994, Apostle Russell Ballard told 25,000 students at BYU, that general authorities "will not lead you astray. We cannot." This claim was officially published, and was repeated at another BYU devotional meeting in March 1996.

"We cannot" is an intriguing expression. It may have a mystical component, that God would intervene directly, either by confounding the speech of the one concerned, or strike him down. Woodruff's words in the official declaration would lead to that view: "If I were to attempt that, the Lord would remove me out of my place ..."[49] The other interpretation is an inherent infallibility which is not personal, but purely institutional: the institution of the Presidency plus the Twelve is of such a nature that the collective will not and cannot err. This is the more probable one. Otherwise we would have to read the early demise of presidents who stayed much shorter in office than ex-

[49] *Doctrine and Covenants*, Official Declaration 1.

pected, as corrective acts of God. And I never heard explanations on the short "reigns" of Harold Lee or Howard Hunter as a divine steering mechanism. Also, when actual prophecies did not pan out, the prophets did not suffer from divine intervention either.

All in all the resemblance between the RC and LDS goes a long way. We saw that the Catholic Church made a great effort to formulate the principle of papal infallibility as manifestation of the general Magisterium, and then almost never used it. Even the declaration by Pope John Paul II that ordination to the priesthood would remain reserved for men, was not issued as a papal infallible decree, but kept under the ordinary Magisterium. What is much more common is that the many encyclicals, the pastoral "letters" the pope regularly sends to the whole Church, take a form like a papal decree but with slightly different phraseology. The popes seem to flirt with infallibility, without going the whole way, carefully choosing his words in order to be similar to a decree, but not the same. The kind of "creeping infallibility" is not unknown in LDS circles, too. A full papal decree becoming dogma has a similar status as a new revelation, in Mormonism, in fact as a new section in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. The encyclicals which skim the infallible status are recognizable as the Official Declarations the LDS church issues from time to time, the last one being on Marriage and the Family. These do not have the full weight of the Standard Works, are not scripture, and do not require the sustaining vote of the church for acceptance. Yet, they are considered important and more or less decisive. RC bishops' synods may issues statements which have a considerable authority, a position recognizable as the talks of General Authorities, either at General Conferences or large devotionals (at BYU e.g.). A fourth echelon in the RC Church would be theological treatises, which find their parallels in the writings, books, pamphlets and articles by General Authorities, including the semi-official Encyclopedia of Mormonism.[50]

This pyramid of statements illustrates two essential points: the trickling down of religious authority under the umbrella of something like "inerrancy", and the parallel trickling down of legitimate inspiration. The combination is a heady one. As said, the early Mormon Church quickly transformed from a charismatic church with a free-for-all inspiration, into one where inspiration was linked to position; the

[50] *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. by Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

idea that an office holder is entitled to inspiration over his administrative fief only, is well-engrained in the church. This process is often called "the domestication of inspiration"[51] and is crucial in the trickling down of the institutional infallibility to the power of priesthood officers in the lower echelons of the church. If anything, it does avoid the "holy bedlam"[52] of charismatic movements, but also easily leads to abuse of authority. The present-day Catholic Church, again, is a not-so-shining example in this respect as well.

But our main attention here is on the dynamics of sacralization of authority between leaders and followers; after all, our epigraph indicates that the view from on high need not be the same as the one from below and "sacred authority" does impact on the functioning of the membership in general. The discourse is done in different terms, those of "authority" and "inspiration", so we turn now to the definition of the church from the grass roots: what actually happens vis-à-vis the "infallibility", and here the story becomes more personal.

CREEPING INFALLIBILITY IN MORMONISM: AUTHORITY AS A SACRED CONCEPT

I start here with a story about obedience, at least which is how Latter-day Saints would define it, but obedience evidently is intricately linked with authority. An acquaintance of mine, living near Salt Lake City was to be called, by the "Brethren" to serve in a Language Translation Committee. The stake president extending the call, felt truly honoured to represent the General Church Leadership in this capacity, fully expecting that the candidate would be honoured and flattered as well. To his huge amazement the brother in question said that heeding to that call was highly inconvenient at that very moment, and that he had to decline for the time being, respectfully of course. For the coming month he was preparing for final exams of a Master's Program and he could not afford being distracted, not with the enormous pressure on him to finish his schooling on time. He was willing to accept the call after a month, when final exams were over. The stake president could not believe his ears: "What do you mean, 'No'?" This was unheard of

[51] Walter E.A. Van Beek, 'Mormon Europeans or European Mormons?', pp. 3–36.

[52] Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

and completely unacceptable. The candidate gently requested the stake president to explain the situation to the Brethren. The stake president explained he would send a message to the Brethren that the call had been extended, the person was worthy and that he did accept the call. After all, one could not decline a calling from an Apostle. And sure enough, not long after that the candidate received a telephone call from the Central Office thanking him for accepting the call and requesting to set up an appointment for training. He then had to set the stake president straight by explaining he had not accepted the call for the time being. But also at the central level, a decline to a calling was no option. Under pressure an appointment for training was set despite his strong opposition. Whether the stake president had any fallout on his "wishful reporting" is unknown, but my point here is the sheer impossibility, in the eyes of the stake president and the Translation office in Salt Lake, of saying "No" to a General Authority. Unthinkable, unimaginable and almost heretical.

The problem is that refusing a call would not only be disobedience – the usual definition of the situation – but would imply that the call was wrong, so the caller was wrong; thus the refusal would reflect back on the calling authority, i.e. on the principle of authority itself. How can a GA make a wrong call? The obvious answer would be that he had been poorly informed and that inspiration does not usually supersede information, but that is not an easy concept, especially not in a culture which hallows inspiration beyond information, thinking in terms of right or wrong and true or false. Obedience, after all, is the major constant in General Conference talks, and is stressed in a very somatic way during the ritual sustaining of the Church authorities at General Conference, but also yearly in each stake and each ward or branch. Simply by raising their hands, the membership signals its consent in the leaders themselves, in their heavenly mandate.[53]

A similar example from my own past illustrates this at a more modest level. It was early 1972 (yes, indeed, some time ago) and I was preparing for my Ph.D. project, for which I would spend one and a half year in North Cameroon, with my family, for anthropological fieldwork. At that very moment I was called by the counsellor of the Mission President (we were still a district under the Mission Presidency) to be-

[53] See also Shepherd and Shepherd, *Kingdom Transformed,* p. 125. The focus on obedience is constant, that on dissent waned with the decline of dissent itself; ibid., p. 169.

come branch president of Zeist. He heard my rebuttal: "But I am preparing to go to Africa." He answered that a lot of water would flow through the river Rhine before I would be in Africa (a Dutch expression indicating an indeterminate time). I had to convince him that my departure was close, but he did not believe me, and left, not fully conconvinced of my dedication. I left for Africa two months later for a field period of one and a half year. He would later become the first Dutch General Authority as a Seventy.

Such an example from the International Church might not have the same weight as the first one from the heart of the Domestic Church, but the principle is the same. The notion of authority itself is at stake, inspired religious authority and its relation to inerrancy or infallibility. My thesis is that "authority" in LDS discourse is a theological derivate of "infallibility", and thus represents a "creeping infallibility".

For a further interpretation I rely on the work of the sociologists Bourdieu and Giddens, in their analysis of power and authority.[54] Anthony Giddens zooms in on structural power, the interaction between structure and agency; through the structure in which the actor operates, the agency of the actor is both limited and empowered. For him power is transfer of agency, with both restrictive and constructive aspects, the structure operating as an "enabling restraint". Authority then is the dominance of a legitimating structure, producing a moral order through the internalization of values and norms. With Pierre Bourdieu I zoom in on the importance of symbolic capital for power relations. He distinguishes several sources for power and authority: economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. The latter one includes control over the expressions and conceptualisations, thus the power of definition.

In this view power is agency transfer; authority is an internalized transfer of agency, when a legitimated structure creates an internalized hierarchical relationship between agent and structure. If defined in terms of cultural capital, authority for Bourdieu would mean the recognized expertise of the power holder in a particular field: a recognized artist, scientist, scholar, sportsman or the like. Mastery of foreign languages is a good example of cultural capital: the mastery gives

[54] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

both expertise about that foreign language itself, plus the general recognition that this is a desirable and admirable expertise, knowledge with a rarity value. So, cultural authority is based on content, on proven expertise and on societal recognition of that expertise. On the other hand, symbolic capital is based on recognized access to the means of public definition of a discourse. Religion is a symbol dominated field, in which symbolic capital means the right to define doctrine, even the right to define the standards by which others have to judge themselves. An exclusive dominance over symbolic capital may lead to what Bourdieu calls "symbolic violence". Thus symbolic capital can be one major factor in the construction of hegemony, which happens when the dominating party ensures that the dominated other will not recognize the arbitrary character of the social order. Hegemony shows in a homogenized discourse, where concepts and arguments all are shaped according to the defining power of the dominating group.

The LDS Church obviously is a good example of symbolic power. Authority is a crucial notion, embedded in the organisation itself which is led by self-styled "General Authorities". In terms of cultural capital, i.e. in the realm of content, this notion of "general authority" would be self-contradictory, just as the notions of "general specialist", or "universal expertise" would be. In terms of content, no one can be an authority on everything, so in terms of cultural capital "General Authority" would read as "authority in no particular field at all". However, in terms of symbolic capital the notion reads quite differently: "The one holding the power of definition within our joint field". And it is exactly from the position in the religious structure that the power holder (GA) derives this symbolic power, as his positional charisma, the cluster of values and emotions attached to the office itself. Though charisma is usually defined as a personal gift (the Greek χαρις, *charis* = gift, often translated as grace), the one that makes the bearer attractive and fascinating for other people, also social positions have their charisma. With Giddens I define "positional charisma",[55] as the values, emotions and attractions that are part and parcel of the office one holds. Monarchs have it,[56] the pope has it, and so do the LDS "General Authorities". Not only is becoming a General Authority the apex for many an aspir-

[55] The term originated with the German sociologist Max Weber.

[56] For a magnificent overview of the "religio regis" in early modern Europe, see E. Bertelli, *The King's Body* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

ing priesthood bearer, any GA is met with reverence, awe and an obedient attitude in the church. Well, not always, as we saw in the opening example, but the complete incomprehension of that stake president forms a perfect indication of the positional charisma. Who of the Brethren was inconsequential, "Authority" demanded it, so it had to be delivered.

The LDS notion of authority as positional charisma is firmly rooted in the authority structure, or as Giddens would have it, the structure is enabling for the agent, the office holder, but at the same time limiting as well. A GA is endowed with great symbolic power, but then has to behave accordingly, conform the rules of the office and the expectations from below. He is part of a hierarchy, and as such imbued with sacredness, with the paradox that the higher the office the less leeway one has. His assigned power severely limits his freedom in expressing himself.

In LDS culture hierarchy itself has some 'ιερος, holiness as well. The Mormon leadership operates in the shadow of the prophet's mantle, sharing some of his huge authority. The First Presidency and the Quorum of Apostles together form the highly visible leadership (the "Brethren"), under which the quorums of "Seventies" operate, all of them General Authorities. Any General Authority shares in the tremendous charisma of the top leadership, based upon the chair he occupies. The authority of "the Brethren" is unchallenged and any appeal they make to the membership should not and does not go unheeded. Authority, in the LDS Church, is a property, a "thing" conferred by calling and setting apart, something "conferred" and not earned, something "one has to live up to", and not build up.

A specific characteristic of the LDS hierarchy is its high visibility. The members know their "Authorities" from seeing them at the six-monthly General Conferences and through televised conference sessions relayed to numerous stake centers around the world. The rest of the General Authorities are less well known, and new Seventies can come and go unnoticed by the majority of the Saints. However, if they appear at a stake conference, their being a GA is sufficient to generate the proper respect and distance from the members. Telling is the virtual reception that automatically develops after the meeting: many of the members want to introduce themselves to the visiting GA, have a small chat, in order to have touched flesh with the Authority, making it

sometimes hard for the GA to leave after his talk, and I witnessed some General Authorities who just made it in time to their flight.[57] In 2004 the National Public Affairs Committee of the Dutch province was instructed in these matters: we[58] had to screen the GA in this "reception", to shield him from all kind of idiosyncratic members and – nonmembers. In the Netherlands, however, it is not the deviant members who are a problem, but the sheer enthusiasm of the "regular" members who cannot get enough of an Authority, any Authority.[59]

Any GA visiting a church function is automatically the presiding officer, and any stake president is relegated to second rank immediately, as the conductor of the meeting. I learned that the hard way when I was stake president of the Rotterdam, Netherlands stake in the '80s. During the Saturday leadership session of "my" stake, the visiting Authority was the last speaker, and he had a long drawn-out talk. I knew that a part of the audience for the next meeting was coming in, a whole bunch of youngsters who just had their sports competition, and now were waiting, rather boisterously, in the hall. As the meeting drew on and went severely over time, I signaled the speaking GA that his time was up and we had to close. He immediately drew himself up to his full length (still considerably shorter than me, though) and gave me a severe public dressing down. If I was ignorant of the fact that any GA was always the presiding officer of the meeting, and could go on speaking as long as he wanted, then I had still a lot to learn as a stake president. He went on for some time, then turned back to his audience and finished his talk, not too quickly. Of course I knew he was in charge, but the schedule had been discussed with him, had received his approval and I simply thought that he should keep to our joint arrangements. Punctuality, as the saying goes in Europe, is the quality of kings, but that seemed not to hold for his kind of rule.

[57] This phenomenon is by no means restricted to the "International Church", and seems a factor for changes in Church security protocols.

[58] The author is member of the Dutch National Committee for Public Affairs, and high councilman for Public Affairs in the Rotterdam, Netherlands Stake.

[59] Not too different, though, from the audience reaction to Mormon pop hero Donny Osmond, when he recently (17 April 2011) gave a series of firesides when he visited his son Chris in the Dutch mission field. The fans flocking around Osmond were strangely reminiscent of the members crowding on the General Authority, with the only difference that a GA does not have to hand out signatures.

He thought that he had put me on my place, but actually I was not overly impressed. He made a severe mistake here as the audience did not understand his attitude and had no appreciation whatever for his action. In their eyes he failed in one major aspect of his calling, as that is not how a General Authority should behave, at least not in Dutch definition of a church official: those things should be handled with gentleness, and any correction should have been done afterwards in private. So he lost quite some authority here, and I gained a reputation of someone who stood his ground, a real Dutchman. Everyone in the audience knew that the kids were knocking at the door, and for them I was simply doing what should be done. Of course, they were right. Later I heard that his report in Salt Lake City has shocked people at Church Headquarters: a stake president who shuts up a General Authority, how unspeakable, how unthinkable! He never realized how harmful his action had been.[60] Of course, there is a cultural issue here as well, the Dutch culture being much more egalitarian and less deferential than the LDS Deseret one,[61] so this particular GA missed out in cultural capital.

Later, during one of the instruction meetings at General Conference in Salt Lake City, he, again, reproached me, though more gently and privately, that I had the 'wrong view of my calling', i.e. I saw it as my duty to shield the stake members from the full impact of the general authorities, instead of being the extension of the leadership top down. I interpreted this as being an umbrella instead of an amplifier. By then I knew how to handle those things, so I just sat down and nodded, noting for myself that this was an excellent job description for a stake president: to be an umbrella for the members (Holland is a wet country!), and not simply an amplifier, a good analysis, though the wrong advice. After finishing my term, I have seen to it that my successors adopted the same job description, and in our stake it still holds: umbrellas!

> A similar choice is voiced, slightly more polarized, by the Catholic Church in the Netherlands. In a small booklet called "Herder of huurling", ("shepherd or mercenary"), some bishops (the structural equivalents of stake presidents in the Catholic sphere) took on the same question. Is it the task of a

[60] It is clear I will not reveal his name here: not all GAs are equal.

[61] The same holds for the Vatican culture, compared to Northwestern Europe.

> bishop to guide his 'sheep' in their own values and rights, or should he just be an amplifier for anything that comes out of the Roman Curia? The choice made in the booklet – nobody should be astonished – is the first. Also in the very hierarchic Roman Catholic Church, the 'middle management' is carving out its own mandate.[62]

The discourse on authority is contagious. Another example of various attitudes versus authority is a petition that recently has been offered to the General Authorities.[63] The idea originated with some members from Alberta, Canada, who noticed a severe problem at weddings where one of the partners is a recent convert.[64] Non-LDS parents and family of a bride or groom are not allowed inside the temple. In most areas of the Church, usually called the "International Church", civil law requires that couples have a civil wedding first, and this ceremony everyone can attend; after the public festivities bride and groom head for the temple for the "sealing" of the marriage, attended by family and friends that happen to be members. In North America and Canada, however, temple marriages are recognized as legal, and the Church does not allow having a civil wedding first. Church policy rules that if these LDS couples have a civil wedding first, they have to wait a year before their temple sealing. Thus, under this pressure most couples in the "Deseret Church" marry in the temple without a prior civil wedding; this means that many non-LDS parents of a member bride or groom are prohibited from participating in their son's or daughter's wedding. In fact, most LDS couples being sealed in any temple, do have some relatives or friends who are barred from attending the ritual. Especially with close kin like father and mother, this is both a terrible affront to these parents and a public relations disaster. If any policy incites calling the LDS church a "sect" or "cult", it is this one, and it is impossible to counter.[65]

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[62] *Herder of Huurling*, ed. by Jan Jans (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 2006).

[63] Presented officially 15 October 2010 to the Church Headquarters.

[64] Or, for that matter, when part of the family has left the church.

[65] As member of the Public Affairs Committee in the Netherlands, I often have to counter the term "sect" in the press, regarding the LDS Church. Luckily, this argument is never used in the Dutch press, as I would simply have to acknowledge defeat.

So the petition asked for a change in policy, simply to allow for a civil wedding before the temple sealing, like the saints in other continents enjoyed, without any sanction. Actually, in many other countries this is the normal procedure, and fully accepted by the Church leadership; in the Netherlands, like in most European countries, all couples have to have a civil wedding first, before their confessional celebration or sealing. That means that all family and friends, which are routinely non-LDS, can participate; after the wedding the couple goes to the nearest temple in a reasonable delay, and gets sealed. The best solution is the procedure in Great Britain, where the civil ceremony in done inside an LDS (or other) chapel, with the civil registrar sitting in the service and performing the formal wedding as part of the liturgy. So in most of Europe we see no weeping moms and dads on the steps of the temple, a sorry sight all too familiar in North America. And in no way this detracts from the special position of the temple (which the General Authorities fear), but if fact heightens it.

I brought the petition into our ward, one Sunday, both in priesthood and relief society meetings. All the women immediately signed the petition, without any ado: mothers should be at their child's wedding! The men, however, became engaged in a lively discussion on the matter. Not on the content of the petition, as everyone agreed that having an option for a civil wedding in North America was a good thing, surely the petition pointed the brethren in the right direction. However, the discussion centered on the proper way to address authorities: "We are dealing here with General Authorities, inspired men who will get their directions from God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit. This is not how revelations work, from beneath".

Actually, viewing church history, this is exactly how revelation does often work. Many revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants* originated in questions or observations by members, which Joseph Smith then took to the Lord.[66] Revelation is a far more interactive process than the rank and file realizes.

[66] Out of the 140 sections in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, at least 61 stem directly from questions from "below", especially the earlier ones, as indicated by the captions of each Section. See for instance Sections 1–18 (except 2, 13), 22–28 (except 24, 26, 27), 32, 35, 40–58 (except 42, 44, 46, 52), 61, 63, 66–68, 71, 75–77, 85, 87, 89, 91, 96, 100, 103, 107, 108, 113, 118, 119, 133, and both Official Declarations.

It took the whole hour, and in the end half of the men signed, a few of them later in private. Reporting this back to the Canadian members who started the initiative, they assured me that in their ward or any other in North America, such a discussion would have been impossible, would simply have been cut off at the start, and the petition never would have stood any chance of entering the group debate. This may be a cultural difference, but it is definitely a difference in control and in the permeated character of institutional authority. One does not – especially in North America – give any advice up the ladder, and one definitely does not offer criticism, however positive, on the policies of the leadership. It would be denying their inspiration, thus their authority.

This was shown also in the presentation of the petition in question. After announcing their coming in advance, the petitioners came to SLC (from Canada) with a cameraman, but were kept off professionally. First by security personnel, who advised them they would put the petition into the right hands, then by the Public Affairs representative, who wanted just to sit down and talk with them, off camera. They are planning for another presentation later.

One inherent problem of positional charisma in a "holy hierarchy" is denial of the possibility for feedback. Some GAs are on record stating that they feel to be out of touch with the experiences of the common membership. Viewing the above, this is hardly surprising, as the very structure they embody, is effectively blocking any relevant communication from bottom to top. And the hegemonic definition of doctrinal discourse does not help either, a hegemony the Brethren stress often enough, thus effectively blocking feedback:

> Those at the head of the Church have the obligation to proclaim that which is in harmony with the Standard Works. If they err then be silent on the point and leave the events in the hands of the Lord. Someday all of us will stand before the judgement bar and be accountable for our teachings. And where there have been disagreements the Lord will judge between us.[67]

[67] From the same letter, quoted above in note 21, by Bruce R. McConkie to Professor Eugene England.

Long time church professionals[68] see two ways in which the upwards flow of communication is blocked. The professionals themselves never relay bad news to a superior, unless it is clearly part of a job description and one has the needed goodwill "upstairs". And then they only give only negative information that is explicitly demanded. Whistle blowers are not appreciated, but are considered whiners or losers who cannot adequately perform their duties. And anyway "the Brethren are too busy to hear bad news". Second, the lay priesthood, in fact the local leadership, is judged on their meticulously following of the instructions of their superiors; if not they are considered disobedient, a recipe for failure.[69]

Also on the lower echelons, position-*cum*-inspiration can lead to symbolic violence. Local callings, like the one I described above, but also lower echelon callings within wards, easily use a discourse on inspiration. Coming from "above", such a claim on divine inspiration can easily function as a kind of white blackmail on the one called: if the bishop, counsellor, quorum president says he is inspired, how can the underlying party counter it? The fact that such a heavy-handed discourse may stem from insecurity, misunderstanding or simply ill applied good intentions, makes this all the more serious and such priesthood abuse is an all-too-ready example of symbolic violence, especially where it happens between the genders.

Symbolic capital is the most important asset in the world, and has to be defined and defended. In any dispute on authority the self-image of the church is at stake. Just like the Catholic Church, the LDS Church defines itself as the one and only church enjoying the full acknowledgement of Christ, so the very authority of the church is in LDS view equal to the mandate of heaven. Though the RC notion of the *vicarius Christi* is not used in LDS discourse, essentially the same is the case in LDS. One implication is that there is no leeway between the gospel and the church, and thus no theological margin between Christ

[68] Though a lay church, the LDS church does employ a fair number of professionals: translators, staff at the various central and regional offices, lawyers, and teaching staff in the Church Educational System (CES), the teaching arm of the church serving secondary and tertiary schooling.

[69] Thanks to several good friends serving as professionals in the European setting. My Roman Catholic reviewer of this article readily recognized this admonition to obedience as pertaining to the Roman Catholic situation as well.

and the church hierarchy. Hierarchy is authority, authority is the heavenly mandate, and thus hierarchy is holy[70] and authority is inviolate.

A different view would be that the Church viewed itself as a spiritual resource, a foundation of priesthood aiming to be a helpmate for salvation, in fact a vehicle on individual pathway for spiritual and priesthood growth and development. That is not the dominant discourse – even if it is the leading discourse among most of the cultural and liberal Mormons in the church. The clearest expression of that difference was the famous incident of Poelman's speech in 1984. Ronald Poelman, a General Authority (a Seventy), once was the visiting authority at my stake conference, and we connected very well. He had just remarried as a widower, was happy to be back in his old Dutch mission field as a General Authority, and even spoke quite acceptable Dutch. At the next October General Conference he gave a talk that has become famous. In this speech, which was broadcasted, he expressed the same as indicated above: the church as a gateway, a facilitator into Christ, our real goal and test being our relationship with Christ, with the church as a means, not a goal in itself. An inspiring talk, but the upper echelon leadership was not amused. They persuaded him to rewrite the speech and then perform the whole speech again,[71] in an empty Tabernacle, to be taped and distributed with the other General Conference tapes to the International Church. So when we got it on video tape, as was the custom these days, it was changed, a canned performance without an audience but with a cough track dubbed in.[72] The message was clear: there was to be no space between the "church" and the "gospel", no possibility that the hierarchical authority was anything less than crucial for salvation; in short, authority was to remain infallibly sacred.

[70] Walter E.A. van Beek, 'Hierarchies of Holiness: The Mormon Temple in Zoetermeer, Netherlands', in *Holy grounds in the Netherlands,* ed. by Paul Post and Arie L. Molendijk (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 255–300.

[71] Peggy Fletcher, 'Poelman revises conference speech', *Sunstone* (1985, 1), pp. 44–45.

[72] Elbert E. Peck, 'The editing of a General Authority', *Sunstone* (1990, 4), pp. 50–53.

CONCLUSION

Given the "mandate of heaven" as symbolic capital, given a religious hierarchy as social capital, and given the means to define and control the symbolic expressions in a hegemonic fashion, infallibility will creep in, almost inevitably. The Roman Catholic and LDS churches show a remarkable similarity here, following only slightly diverging pathways to hegemonic control of symbolic capital. In practice this can, in both cases lead to symbolic violence, the overuse of symbolic hegemony. The Catholic predicament is these days is the celibacy related history of pedophilia on the one hand, and on the other the institutional culture of almost "*omerta*", silence, the overall policy of covering up. Protecting the institution is deemed more important than protecting or comforting victims, and that is exactly the risk any institution runs based upon a discourse of – creeping – infallibility. Who is infallible cannot be seen to make mistakes, so also has a huge problem apologizing for past mistakes. Who has the monopoly on atonement, has no means to atone himself. *Time Magazine* ran a major article on 7 June 2010, titled "Why being pope means never having to say you're sorry". Indeed, at the head of an infallible church, one's hands are severely bound, too much so; Giddens' notion of "enabling constraint" is apt here: any structure makes agency more efficacious, but also restricts its leeway. Each institutions has dark corners in its past. The LDS church has been accused of a lot of things – though never of celibacy! – and of course does have its dark pages, and indeed had similar problems in acknowledging these past errors as serious mistakes. It took the LDS Church over a century to come clean with the Mountain Meadows Massacre, as the ultimate judgment hinged on the measure in which the prophet, Brigham Young implicated.[73] Past detours in theology, like the Adam-God theology or blood-atonement still are difficult to acknowledge, and sometimes are denied. Thus, one other arena is created by the notion of infallibility, the struggle for historiography. For any hierarchical church claiming divine guidance and mandated authority, its own history often is a threat, a potential minefield, which the leadership would like to control. In the RC Church the papacy has

[73] Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960). The consensus is that he was involved, possibly directly but in any way indirectly by producing a culture of vengeance, through the doctrine of "blood atonement", and by rousing speeches against the "gentiles".

lost this battle long ago, in the LDS case the struggle still is on. As in the RC case, ecclesiastical leadership and LDS academia are on perpendicular courses. The '80s and '90s of the last century have seen some clashes, but it seems that the leadership has become less combative.

How to avoid this theological trap? The Roman Catholic Church has domesticated the notion of infallibility inside a huge and complicated network of theological reasoning, limiting it severely but keeping it intact as the ultimate authority to which one can sneak up: it works as long as one does not use it. That will not be the way of the LDS, as this kind of systematic internal discussion is neither developed, nor wished for.[74] A major help in LDS is the deep practicality that pervades much of LDS church practice; in many ways the present Handbook of Instructions is a condensation of common sense. One of the most important commentaries I ever heard as a stake president came from my Regional Representative,[75] after hearing a General Authority talk on inspired guidance. He said: "But we are still human". I do not know whether he consciously referred to Triumph marches of old imperial Rome, but the parallel is striking. During the entire glorious Triumph a slave stood behind the proud victorious general, whispering in his ear: "You are still mortal". We all need such a whispering voice, and the higher up, the more we need it.

In short, infallibility is a trap, a conundrum that is hard to escape, but has to be avoided or softened as much as possible. The *argumentum ad autoritatem* that "When the prophet speaks, the debate is over" in the long run is counterproductive, one that has to give way to empathic debate, in which the spirit is allowed to run free, undomesticated, in order for truth to emerge, and after which errors can be avowed and conflicts mended. In short, we better see sacred history as a slow and gentle unfolding of grace and deep humanity, and one's own personal history as a series of inspiring mistakes.

[74] Walter E.A. van Beek, 'Meaning and Authority in Mormon Ritual', *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, 3 (2010), pp. 17–40.

[75] A liaison function between stake and Church Office, in the '80s, discontinued after the creation of Area Presidencies.

SEAL, CROSS AND NAUTILUS: RLDS/COMMUNITY OF CHRIST ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Bryan R. Monte

This article explores three, primary sacred symbols – the church seal, the cross, and the nautilus – and how they were developed and used by artists and architects for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (known after 2001 as Community of Christ).[1] Special emphasis is paid to buildings around the Temple Complex in Independence, Missouri and how these symbols and designs can be found in two, purpose-built RLDS/CofC Church buildings in the Netherlands. In addition, a local "invention" by a Dutch artist is also explored. The author surmises that the spread of architectural and artistic styles from the US to the Netherlands may reflect the church's changing philosophy or its place in post-World War II society, but argues that more data from primary and secondary sources is necessary to make any substantial conclusions.

The Community of Christ (CofC), formerly the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) until 2001, with 250,000 members, is the largest divergent church within the Latter Day Saint tradition. Although claiming a common founder with the LDS church, Joseph Smith, Jr., this church, founded in 1860 and incorporated in the American state of Illinois in 1872, has developed over the last 150 years its own religious iconography and symbolism which differs from that of LDS churches and temples. This paper will explore the three major religious symbols used by the RLDS/CofC church over the last 139 years – its church seal, the Christian cross and the nautilus – and how these symbols have been used in both some of its "Center

[1] I would like to thank Michael J. Hahn, Gudgell Park Community of Christ Congregation pastor, and Michael G. Reed, independent researcher, for their assistance with this article.

Place," Independence, Missouri, US buildings (the CofC equivalent of the Salt Lake Valley) and in two, purpose-built chapels in the Netherlands. In addition, it will discuss one Dutch sacred artistic expression – a mural in the Rotterdam congregation building – unique to the Netherlands.

As far as the definition of a symbol is concerned, one lexicographic and another anthropological meaning of this word will be used in this paper. The first is from the *Oxford Online Dictionary* which states that a symbol is "1. a mark or character used as a conventional representation of an object, function, or process, e.g. the letter or letters standing for a chemical element or a character in a musical notation: ... a shape or sign used to represent something such as an organization, e.g. a red cross or a Star of David."[2] The anthropological definition is taken from Sherry Ornter's taxonomy of symbols as being either "summarizing or elaborating". The elaborating symbol is seen as being either a root metaphor or key scenario. Root metaphors ... are analogies that help us organize our thinking on a particular subject such as a model of the atom for that of the solar system and the key scenarios are "scenes, plots or bits of the story."[3]

Undoubtedly, the most important symbol in RLDS/CofC art and architecture is the church seal, probably as important and as easily identifiable as the Angel Moroni is to LDS church members. The design, evolution and use of this seal is perhaps the easiest of the three symbols to document due to General Conference resolutions related to its change and development and due to its frequent use on church structures.

The first seal was commissioned by the RLDS Church on 4 April 1872 at the church's bi-annual conference in Plano, Illinois. Here church president, Joseph Smith III, Jason W. Briggs and Elijah Banta were appointed to a committee "to design a church seal".[4] Four days later, this committee reported back saying that: "We, your committee on Church Seal, respectfully submit the following design, with legend,

[2] *Oxford Dictionary Online* at http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/symbol as of 18 October 2011

[3] Sherry Ortner, 'On Key Symbols', *American Anthropologist*, 75, 5 (1973), pp. 1338–1346, definition here given in Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion* (New York and London: Routledge Publishing, 2009), pp. 64–65.

[4] *The True Latter Day Saints Herald* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing), vol. 21 (1881), p. 271.

date and motto: "'Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.' Emblem a Lion and a Lamb lying down at rest. Motto, 'Peace' 'Incorporated 1872.'"[5] Thus, four of the five basic elements in the present church seal – the lion, lamb, the peace motto and the name of the church were present from the very beginning. According to the conference minutes, "The report was adopted, and the committee empowered to purchase the seal."[6]

Over the years, the seal's design has evolved. According to the authors of *Community of Christ, An Illustrated History*, a palm tree was also added in the background to reflect the church's presence in French Polynesia.[7] In 1917, due to General Conference Resolution 163, the following alterations were approved to the seal:

> Insert, "a child" after emblem and cross out "lying down at rest" following the word "lamb." "Third line same paragraph insert "and 1891" after "Incorporated 1872."[8]

Thus the seal was altered so that the newly added standing child would have a standing lamb on its left and a now sitting lion on its right. It also added the church's Iowa incorporation date of 1891. (Figure 1)

The image of the lion, lamb and child were to convey the idea of the peaceable kingdom found in Isaiah, chapter 11. Carlotta Davis explained in a November 1943 *Saints Herald* (the RLDS church magazine) article that:

> Our church seal is an emblem of peace...the lion... signifies strength, the lamb representing meekness, and the little child symbolic of that which is recently come from God and that which is most like him, revelation.... Man in meekness with God-given strength, through Divine revelation shall establish peace in the midst of the nations.[9]

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[5] Ibid., p. 272.
[6] Ibid.
[7] John Hamer, David Howlett and Barbara Walden, *Community of Christ, An Illustrated History* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2010), p. 33.
[8] *Saints Herald*, vol. 94 (1947), p. 260.
[9] *Saints Herald*, vol. 90 (1943), p. 1478.

Another more extended explanation of the significance of the church seal can be found in Leonard J. Lea's 1958 *Question Time* column article "How does the church seal indicate our Christian beliefs?"[10]

> (It) is a symbol that represents the gospel teaching that the highest good for the world and humanity will be attained with the coming of the kingdom of God in power and glory when the millennium is ushered in. "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid... and the lion shall eat the straw of the ox...and the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp...and the little child shall lead them...They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain." It is from these sources that the motifs for the church seal have been taken.

In the mid to late 1960s, the church seal design also became more streamlined. The round, corded border framing the church name, (Figure 2), was deleted. The double palm beneath the peace motto became a single, and the size of the child, lion and lamb and the church name were increased. (Figure 3)

Figures 1, 2 and 3 - 1891 RLDS church seal (left), 1950s church seal (centre) and 1960s streamlined church seal (right).

This streamlined design was used on some of the more groundbreaking and controversial theological books of this era such as *Exploring the Faith*, the new "Articles of Faith" for the RLDS church, published in 1970. Thus, this seal became associated with a more modern church philosophy.

In the 1970s, an international seal was used which added the latitude and longitude lines of a Mercator-style map to the seal back-

[10] *Saints Herald*, vol. 105 (1958), p. 659.

ground and translated the "Peace" motto into the local language. The name of the church, however, was deleted from the seal's rim.

This seal was used by the church to facilitate its global outreach especially in areas of the world where it was the developing its own identity, somewhat independently of the Latter-day Saint movement such as Africa where the church had different legal names such as the Church of Christ or the Restored Church of Jesus Christ and wanted to differentiate itself from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). In 1980, a special seal was created for the RLDS church's sesquicentennial. It had a globe-rastered background, no church name and added the dates 1830 and 1980 on the left and right sides of the seal respectively.

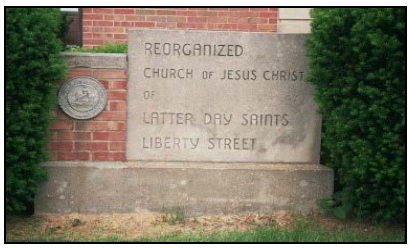
The church seal is such an integral part of church art that almost every major large congregation includes Sunday or Vacation Bible School activities centred around drawing or colouring "peace" seal designs or plaster casts of the church seal. One CofC church apostle, Susan Skoor, has even written a children's book entitled, *The Lion and the Lamb*, around the characters of a lion and a lamb and the theme of peace.[11] Many congregations have church seal sculptures or tapestries in their lobbies, on their communion tables on the rostrum or pulpits which have been hand-carved, sculpted or sewn by church members. In many churches this seal is used as the exclusive means of identification on the church building's steeples and exterior walls.

Church seals are also found on church legal documents requiring dates of incorporation and on baptismal and evangelist blessings. As President Israel Smith commented in a 1952 Herald article, church members had the right to have the church seal etched on their headstones and to wear church seal pins for recognition such as those used by Rotary members.[12] Herald House, the CofC Deseret Book, also offers a wide variety of peace seal jewellery, books, bookends, soft toys, bumper stickers, etc. which feature the lion, lamb and little child theme.

Another artistic and stylistic change that the church has more recently undergone, and concurrent with another redesign of the church seal has been rebranding of the church name in 2001. On 6 April 2001 the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

[11] Susan Skoor (Marie Shipley, illustrator), *The Lion and the Lamb* (Independence, Mo: Herald House Publishing, 2003).
[12] *Saints Herald*, vol. 99 (1952), pp. 267 and 276.

became Community of Christ. In this more recent seal, the lion and the lamb are larger above the Peace "motto" has been removed. This new seal is included on all new church signs in the US. Churches were asked to display the new signs and to remove old, non-uniform church signs. Some congregations, however, such as the Liberty Street Congregation, about a half-mile from the Temple, decided to retain their old sign with its previous seal and church name as well as to display the new one. (Figures 4 and 5)



Figures 4 and 5 - Old (left) and new (right)Liberty Street Independence, Missouri, RLDS/CofC Congregation seals.

In addition, with the church name change in 2001, the seal was modified again. This time the three characters, the lion, lamb and child, where still together, but with a somewhat larger lion (shoulder height to the Christ child instead of waist height as in the 1950s symbol. The lion in the new seal also fills in most of the background behind the Christ child and faces forward versus the 1950s seal design which had the lion entirely off to the left hand side away from the child) were put together sometimes without the peace motto but just above name of the church as on the back of the church pamphlet, *Community of Christ Sacraments*, or in the centre of a white circle or spotlight on the new church signs with the peace motto but excluding the name of the church probably since it appears on the sign directly above. A third variation of the post-2001 seal includes the three characters in a yellow circle against a background of Mercator latitude and longitude lines.[13] Once again, the "Peace" motto has been retained but the name of the church is not mentioned.

[13] Howlett, Walden and Hamer, *Community of Christ*, p. 52.

RLDS/CofC like LDS chapels also have a very distinctive style of church architecture although not far as uniform as the new CofC church signs and certainly not as uniform as the A, B and C LDS chapel architectural plans used around the world. A good example of the interior of a large RLDS church building would be a large, late 1800s congregation such as that of the Stone Church, completed in 1892, located across the street from the Temple Lot. Here you can see typical older style, large sanctuary with fixed-pew seating, a balcony and/or choir loft, with organ pipes centred above the rostrum Figure 6 (Note: the photo shows the Stone church sanctuary was it was set up for wedding in August 2004. The pulpit and speakers chairs have been removed).

Figures 6 and 7 - Interior sanctuary (left) and stained glass window with post-1917 seal, (right) Stone Church CofC Congregation, Independence, Missouri.

Over the last 120 years, Stone Church has given birth to at least ten other congregations in Independence. In the photograph below, a post-1917 church seal design, from a stained-glass window in the Stone church, rises above the towers of the future Zionic city as shown in Figure 7 above.

The use of the cross in RLDS/CofC art and architecture is much more difficult to pinpoint and describe although it probably was adopted by some RLDS groups after the creation of the church seal in

1872 and certainly before the introduction of the nautilus design in the late 1980s. It had limited use, however, in RLDS purpose-built churches until the 1990s. In Michael G. Reed's book, *Banishing the Cross: The Emergence of a Mormon Taboo*, he discusses the uses of the cross in the RLDS church, a study that he has just begun but which has revealed some interesting facts. For example, Reed has found photographs from the 1890s of RLDS church members wearing crosses. In the early 1900s, the RLDS church purchased two churches, one in Kansas City and another in St. Louis previously owned by Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations respectively which had crosses on their steeples or roofs. These crosses were left in place once the RLDS congregation moved into these buildings.[14] Mr Reed also describes how in the 1920s, RLDS congregations held pageants that included large crosses. In addition, he mentions anecdotal conversations with Ron Romig, former CofC archivist, and Bill Russell, former Graceland college professor about the use of crosses at in Lamoni, Iowa (the RLDS church's second headquarters after Plano and before Independence) and Akron, Ohio near Kirtland. Romig mentions that in 1959, Harry Black, a British church administrator, successfully persuaded the RLDS congregation in Akron, Ohio to break with tradition and include a large cross on the exterior of its church building.

On the other hand, Russell reports that Roy Cheville (the RLDS church's charismatic presiding patriarch in the 1950s and 60s) said at the 1977 ground-breaking ceremony for a chapel on the Graceland campus that would later bear his name that: "No crosses in this chapel! If you put a cross in this chapel, take my name down. I worship a living Christ and not a dead Jesus."[15]

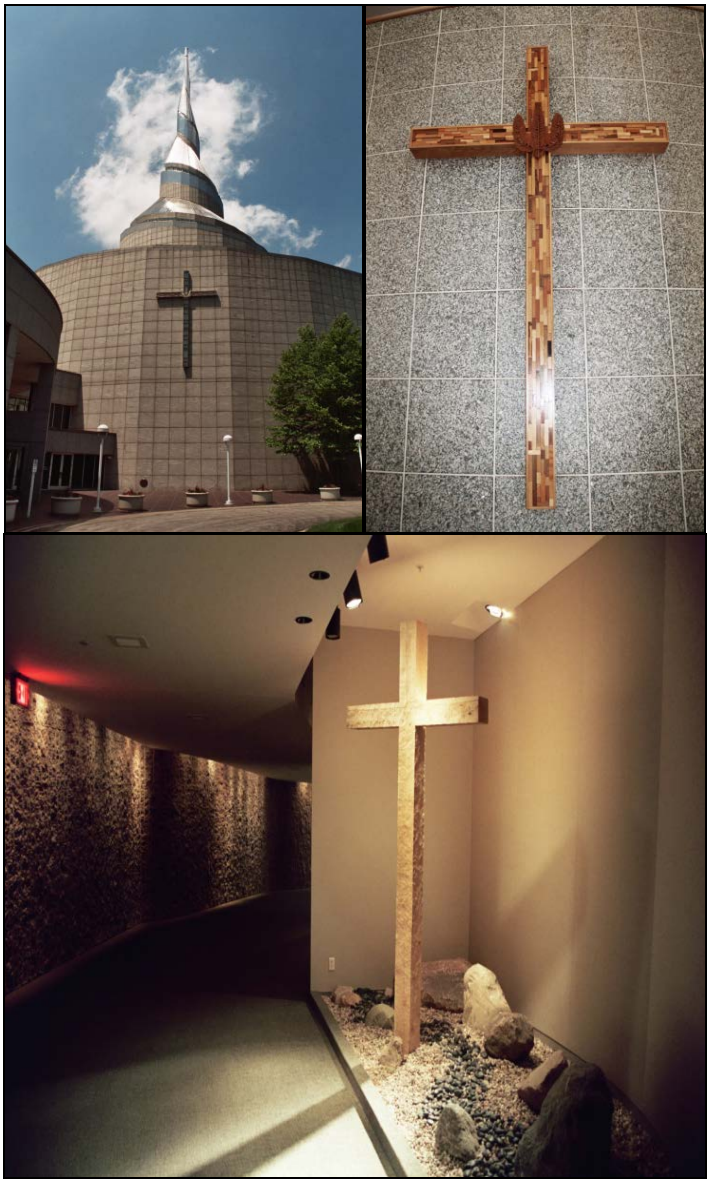
[14] Michael G. Reed, *Banishing the Cross: The Emergence of a Mormon Taboo* (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2011), read in manuscript, chapter 10.
[15] Reed, *Banishing the Cross*, MS, Chapter 10.

Figure 8 - Stone Church Cross and Crown, stained glass window, Stone Church Museum. Photo provided by Michael G. Reed.

Figure 8 above shows the detail from an original stained glass window from the Stone Church courtesy of Reed. In this window, is the emblem of a cross and crown, a phrase made famous by William Penn, In addition, are photos of 1.5 meter and a 1.2 metre crosses outside of the New Walnut Garden and College Park CofC Independence congregations respectively. (Figures 9 and 10)

Figures 9 and 10 - Crosses outside of New Walnut Gardens (left) and College Park (right) CofC congregations, Independence, Missouri.

Once again the reluctance or ambivalence about placing crosses directly on RLDS church buildings can be seen. The cross really came to prominence in RLDS architecture in 1992 when two were permanently installed in the interior and one on the exterior of the Temple in Independence. The cross is the first religious symbol visitors see as they approach Temple's Eastern entrance. Affixed to the building's exterior is a 9.1 metre brushed stainless steel cross as shown in Figure 11 below:



Figures 11, 12 and 13 - Exterior Cross (upper left), Interior Cross (upper right), and Interior Cross, Worshipper's Path, CofC Temple, Independence, Missouri (bottom).

Once inside the Temple, there are two more prominent crosses – one a 3.1 metre wooden cross and outside the Meditation Chapel (Figure 12 above) and the second, an 2.7 metre wooden cross on the Worshiper's Path (Figure 13 above), the raised spiral entrance leading to the temple's interior great sanctuary.

The interior cross has special significance for CofC church members because it is made of over 300 pieces of 100 types of wood from the 50 different countries where the church is present. Both the exterior cross and the one outside the Meditation Chapel have three olive branches in the form of a descending dove in their cross beams. There is also a second, eight-foot cross on the Worshiper's Path, the raised, spiral entrance to the Temple sanctuary. Here, visitors pass under the shadow of the cross to remember Christ's atonement and the scriptural admonition to take up one's cross and follow Christ.

The Temple sanctuary itself does not include any permanently-affixed crosses or images. There is, however, usually a small cross statute on the rostrum table or a banner with a cross-and-nautilus design on the back rostrum wall under the choir loft (Figure 14).

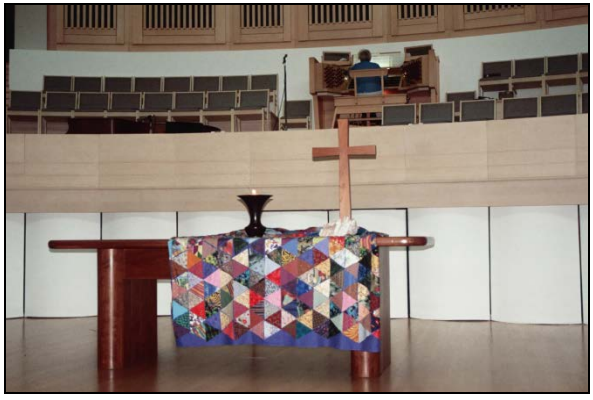


Figure 14 - Interior Cross, RLDS/CofC Temple Sanctuary.

This cross is sometimes removed, however, as was the case during the 2010 Peace Colloquy ceremony when Greg Mortenson received of the CofC Peace Prize for his building of schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Lastly, the most recent and increasingly the most prominent symbol in RLDS/CofC church art and architecture is the nautilus. It

was first used on a building for the Temple in Independence in 1992. President Wallace B. Smith wrote: "This symbol was chosen because it will express growth, dynamicism, harmony, unity and the worldwide presence of the church."[16] The Temple was designed by the First Presidency, the architectural firm of Hellmuth, Obata and Kassabaum, and an eighteen-member church committee. Due to this unique nautilus shape, every girder of the Temple differs in length and the building itself could not have been designed, tested and built without the use of computer-aided design programs. However, as far as other artistic expression is concerned, a nautilus shaped pin were designed and worn by church women in the 1920s who were members of Temple Builders chapters across the country, including chapters in Columbus, Ohio and Spokane, Washington. Whether the First Presidency, the architects or the temple committee were aware of these chapters and pins in the 1980s when they were designing the building, however, has not been documented.

In preparation to look at the use of religious symbols in church buildings in the Netherlands, it might be best to look at typical RLDS church building (chapel) from the same period. One such building is the Gudgell Park Congregation, built in the mid-1950s and the former home congregation of the sixth RLDS church president, Wallace B. Smith, great-grandson of Joseph Smith, Jr. These images below show the simplicity and functionality of this 1950s purpose-built church as shown in Figure 15 below.

Figures 15 and 16 - Gudgell Park Congregation, Independence, Missouri (left), Church seal detail, Gudgell Park church steeple (right).

[16] *Saints Herald*, v.135, p. 459.

The sanctuary or chapel is to the right and the administrative wing and classrooms are to the left. The church basement includes a kitchen and social hall in which adult Sunday school classes are held. The church bell tower includes a church seal but no cross as seen above in Figure 16.

The first view of the sanctuary is from the left side of the rostrum looking towards the congregation. (Figure 17)

Figure 17 - Sanctuary interior facing rostrum, Gudgell Park CofC Congregation, Independence, Missouri.

The exposed ceiling beams and trusses emphasize the functionality and simplicity of the building. Once again there are no crosses in the sanctuary. Fabric tapestries with a dove of peace, reminiscent of the church motto, and the word "joy" are to the left and right of the organ pipes respectively on the back wall of the rostrum.

Now it's time to compare these examples of RLDS architecture and art in the US with expressions here in the Netherlands. The first purpose built Dutch RLDS/CofC church building is that of the Rotterdam congregation. This was completed within a few years of the Gudgell Park church in 1958 and shares some common elements. The most striking element of church is its five-story high spire composed of four independent steel girders that come together at the top to form the base for a cross. Fred Kullberg, the man who drew the plans for the church for the architectural firm of Hupkes and van Asperen, describes how difficult it was to build this feature and the glass walled baptismal font for the Rotterdam church:

> The construction of your church on the pond was something completely new for us. The church's baptismal font with the big glass (front) wall gave us some problems. (In addition), four steel girders for the steeple are connected together to form a base for a cross. Mr Van Asperen spent an entire afternoon working on calculations (for this spire). He wrestled with the wind resistance among other things, but eventually he found a solution. He asked Mr Hupkes (his partner in the firm) "How strong/heavy do you think it should be?" (Hupkes said) I think 4 i-30 girders (will be needed). That was the same girder size/format Mr Van Asperen had concluded was necessary after his afternoon of calculations.[17]

The building includes a chapel in one wing, but also another wing with two apartments for church administrators. Like the Gudgell Park building, its kitchen and social hall are below the chapel on the ground floor (since this is the Netherlands and water tables are so high that basements are not common). This is also where the adult Sunday school class is held. The Rotterdam church also has a church seal above its entrance albeit a modified, streamlined church seal without the 1950s cording and the name of the church around a circular rim, a precursor, perhaps, of the 1970s, nameless international church seal. (Figure 18)

Figure 18 - Rotterdam, The Netherlands CofC congregation Peace Seal.

[17] Fred Kullberg, translation of comments (from Dutch) posted on Herstellings website at http://www.mvgcontact.org/RestoratonsHistory.htm as of 18 September 2010.

This seal does include the Dutch word "Vrede" for Peace, but the positioning of the lion, child and lamb is also different. This peace seal is not as peaceful as the standard 1950s Gudgell Park seal, but features a lion and a lamb which are physical overlapping, whose bodies are pointed opposite directions and which looking backwards at and some would say staring somewhat unpeacefully at each other. In the background is not a Christ child but rather more the figure of a man with a large staff in his hand, which he might have to use to separate the lion and the lamb. Perhaps this reflected more clearly the post-World War II beliefs of the Dutch congregation than the more idyllic, standard 1950s American peace seal. On a facing wall of the administrative wing's exterior is a sign which reads: Gemeenschap van Christus in the standard church font used in the US as shown below in Figure 19:

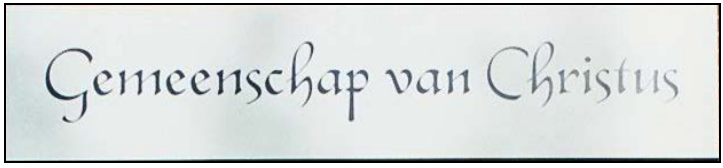
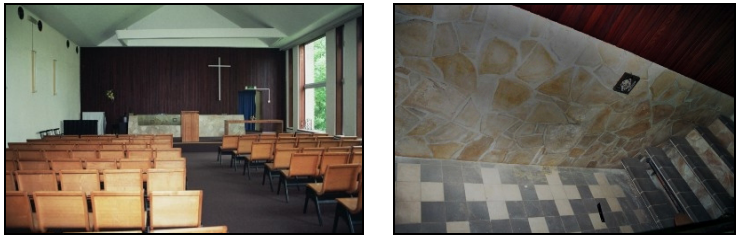


Figure 19 - Gemeenschap van Christus (Community of Christ) church sign used at Rotterdam and Zwaagwesteinde (De Westeren) congregations.

The name of the congregation, however, is not given, nor is the times for the church meetings as are on some illuminated signs used in the US. Inside, the church also has a very simple, functional sanctuary, but one which includes a permanently affixed, thin white cross on the back wall of the rostrum. Roman crosses are also part of the decorative tiling in the baptismal font as can be seen below in Figures 20 and 21.



Figures 20 and 21 - Rotterdam congregation interior sanctuary facing rostrum (left), and baptismal font in detail (right).

A mass-produced gold-painted sculpture of the lion, lamb and child (available from Herald House) is usually found on the front rostrum table at least for communion (sacrament) services. The communion is served in the same silver trays, topped by a cross, which are used in the US. (Figure 22)

Figure 22 - Communion trays (left) and gold peace sculpture (right).

Until 2001, this congregation also had an embroidered tapestry with the church seal and the Dutch name of the church, Gereorganiseerde Kerk van Jesus Christus der Heiligen de Laatste Dagen, hung on the front wall to the left of the cross. When the church changed its name in 2001, however, this banner was eventually taken down.

The second purpose-built RLDS/CofC building in the Netherlands is in the town of Zwaagwesteinde (called De Westeren in Friesian) in Friesland, a linguistically and culturally distinct region in northwest Netherlands. This building, completed in 1977, houses the largest European congregation with around 50 in attendance on a Sunday. Unlike the Rotterdam church, however, this church does not have a steeple or any prominent, permanent interior or exterior crosses. It does include, however, have a church seal on its rostrum. This church has a very simple interior similar to the Gudgell Park church, the most prominent interior element being the ceiling beams or ribs (Figure 23).

Figure 23 - Zwaagwesteinde (De Westeren) congregation sanctuary interior.

The building has a sanctuary on the right and an educational wing on the left. It also has a prominently displayed new church nameplate.

What the Rotterdam and De Westeren churches have in common is their semi-flexible and flexible seating in the sanctuaries (chapels) versus the fixed pews in the Gudgell Park church. The Dutch churches are used for community activities such as choirs and neighbourhood councils at least twice a week, and, in the case of the Rotterdam church, its space is also made available to other faith groups for worship on Wednesdays and/or Sundays.

Now that the general architecture of these two purpose-built Dutch RLDS/CofC churches along with their similarities and differences with US chapels, it's important to mention an artistic expression, which is unique to the Rotterdam building. In the hallway outside the sanctuary entrance is a five-panel mural painted by artist and member, Jan de Mik. The five panels include seminal scenes from the scriptures including the Creation, The Expulsion from Paradise, the Nativity, The Crucifixion and Redemption and the Future Peaceable Kingdom, as shown in Figure 24 below.

Figure 24 - Mural by Jan de Mik outside of Rotterdam congregation sanctuary.

The panels include Native American colours and are all connected by a thin, light-blue ribbon. The murals also become less representational and more abstract the closer the viewer gets to the sanctuary entrance.[18]

The Creation panel (Figure 25) includes the sun, planets and stars shot through from above by parallel beams of light symbolizing the light of creation.

Figures 25, 26 and 27 - Creation panel (left), The Expulsion from Paradise (centre), and The Nativity (right).

[18] Truus Heijdenrijk, letter to the author (in Dutch), 18 June 2008. A copy of this letter can be found in the Community of Christ Archives, Independence, Missouri.

In the middle are dark and light circles symbolising night and day and below are waves, fish and sea creatures.

The second panel (Figure 26) depicts "The Expulsion from Paradise" and shows prominently the outline of the head of the angel brandishing the flaming sword, banishing Adam and Eve, who can be seen with the heads facing each other. At the bottom are the snake and the apple.

The third panel (Figure 27) is entitled "The Nativity" and includes a six-pointed Star of Bethlehem as its most prominent feature above. Just below on the right and left hand sides are angels with the trumpets or horns. In the middle is the Christ child's crib and on both sides of that are the shepherds with their staffs.

The fourth panel (Figure 28), Crucifixion, Atonement and Communion, features a cross upon which the rest of the objects are painted. At the top are Greek initials G and R for Christ and also the Roman initials INRI for Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. In the centre is the chalice of the Last Supper. To the left and right are shapes that are meant to represent grapes and bread, the centre and at the bottom, the foot of the cross.

Figures 28 and 29 - Crucifixion and Redemption (left) and The Future Peaceable Kingdom (right).

The last panel, as shown above in Figure 29, the Future Peaceful Kingdom, is the most abstract and what follows is the artist's own description via Ms. Heijdenrijk. "From the above left to below right are

the beams of God's eternal light inside of which are grapes, symbols of the Voede. Right: angels with horns. Left: The lion, lamb and the child. The three symbols merge into each other."[19]

To conclude, both purpose-built Dutch RLDS/CofC church buildings have adopted/adapted the standard simple, functional style of the US RLDS/CofC church buildings. The Dutch churches have also adopted and adapted the new nameplate signage and older church seal designs. Where the Rotterdam and De Westeren buildings differ, however, is in their use of the cross – Rotterdam displaying a very prominent cross at the top of its steeple and De Westeren having neither steeple nor cross. An interesting question to answer would be why one church adopted the cross in the late 1950s whilst the other in the mid-1970s didn't contrary to the more ecumenical direction the RLDS church was moving in the States with its desire for inclusion in the American National Council of Churches in the 1980s and 1990s (which it achieved in 2010) and its own increased display of cross on church buildings. It would be interesting to find out if difference in the presence of a cross on the two Dutch buildings had to do with the degree to which these two culturally different RLDS congregations wanted to cooperate or even assimilate more with their Christian neighbours and/or perhaps to differentiate themselves from their LDS cousins. Answers to these questions could be found perhaps through interviews with surviving adult church members from the late 50s and 70s or through correspondence between architects and world church headquarters where this is available. Oral histories and press clippings could also shed light on such local artistic expressions such as the Rotterdam mural as well as comments by those working for the architectural firms which built the churches.

Based on the conclusions above, the following recommendations could be made. Firstly, a survey of RLDS/CofC church buildings and archives could be made in order to come to a better understanding of the development of the use of that church's culture similar to Reed's study of the banishment cross in LDS culture. In addition, an understanding of the rationale between the use of the cross in Rotterdam and its absence in De Westeren might possibly give insight into different theologies and histories of these two linguistically and culturally different congregations. Thirdly, research could be done to follow the spread

[19] Heijdenrijk, p. 2.

of nautilus in overseas churches as this perhaps could indicate the spread of US church's new theology to the Netherlands. Lastly, more investigation and preservation should be done regarding local information through taking oral histories and collecting newspaper clip-clippings, programmes, and other forms of information from church members as well as non-church members as was done concerning the description of the Jan de Mik mural and the construction of the Rotterdam congregation building in this paper.

A Home for the Saints: Developments in LDS Worship Accommodation in Lancashire, England

Matthew Lyman Rasmussen

Abstract: Notwithstanding the impressive institutional longevity of Mormonism in Lancashire, the history of the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation in North West England remains shrouded by a lack of architectural evidence and insufficient identification of sites where, historically, church members have gathered for services. The fact that no currently occupied meeting place in the county pre-dates the late 1950s is strikingly at odds with the oft-celebrated continuity of the LDS congregations in Lancashire—the very region where British Mormonism first took root in 1837. This article examines the evolution of LDS worship accommodation in Lancashire through the lens of doctrinal development, *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, and various oral history accounts. It argues that the transition of Mormon meeting places from homes and rented halls in the mid-nineteenth century to purpose-built facilities in the mid-twentieth century is both a reflection and an extension of the less-expectant eschatological ethos which coincided with the administration of President Joseph F. Smith, sixth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In October 1992, at the rededication of the London Temple at Lingfield, Surrey, Gordon B. Hinckley, then a member of the First Presidency of the Church, announced that the construction of the Church's second temple in England would soon commence at an unspecified location in the Preston area of Lancashire.[1] The actual construction site at Hartwood Green, on the northern outskirts of Chorley, had been selected in 1991 by Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, an American church authority then presiding over the affairs of the Church in Britain. Although the search for a suitable property was never limited deliberately to the Preston area, Holland could not help but note the significance of the site within the history of British Mormonism: "It just seemed to

[1] Gerry Avant, 'Site acquired for second temple in England', *LDS Church News*, 24 October 1992, p. 3.

ring all the bells", he later stated. "What a way to celebrate the work of the early missionaries".[2]

Since its completion in June 1998, contemporary Mormonism in Lancashire has been dominated by the presence and influence of the Preston Temple. Twelve years on, an understanding of the temple's impact upon LDS congregational dynamics throughout the north of England is just beginning to emerge.[3] Although the temple may be regarded as the foremost symbol of regional Mormonism's presence, promise, and institutional maturity, it is hardly suggestive of its local past—particularly in regards to the history of its many other places of worship scattered throughout the North West. In this respect, the Preston Temple could be interpreted as the capstone of the Saints' multigenerational pursuit to secure adequate accommodation for their worship services. It does not, however, reveal much about the foundation. Indeed, the temple now occupies a place of such prominence and visibility within the Mormon interpretation of Lancashire as to overshadow what little is known about the history of Latter-day Saint worship accommodation elsewhere in the English North West. Overall, the identification and analysis of Lancashire Mormonism's places of worship remains one of the least researched aspects of its history. Such is the focus of this article.

CONTEXT

It must be noted that, within contemporary Mormonism, the chapel or meetinghouse occupies a fundamentally different role than does the temple, which is not to suggest that the two structures are altogether unrelated in either purpose or form. The chapel is a space devoted to and concerned with the gospel's daily practice and to the

[2] David M. Pickup, *The Pick and Flower of England: The Illustrated Story of the Mormons in Victorian England and the Story of the Preston Temple* (Burnley, Lancashire: Living Legend Press, 1997), pp. 132–33.

[3] One of the most dramatic consequences of the temple has been a sharp increase in local membership numbers, the likes of which precipitated the division of the Preston Stake in 2005 and the creation of a new Stake based at Chorley. The Chorley Stake is the 37th stake organised by the Church in Britain and the first since the formation of the York and Watford Stakes in 1996. For a complete listing of the LDS stakes in the United Kingdom and their dates of organisation, see *2007 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Morning News, 2006), pp. 476–477.

performance of baptisms and confirmations: the ordinances of salvation which, when received, serve as one's introduction to the covenant life of the Latter-day Saint. The baptismal covenants associated with the chapel, although crucial, are also clearly preparatory within Mormon theology. It is the temple, with its sealing ordinances and endowment system which must be regarded as the site of Mormonism's covenant fulness. Whereas the chapel is oriented primarily toward the mortal realm, the temple concerns itself with the eternities. Although each structure is concerned with, and organised around, manifestations of priesthood authority in the administration of these sacred rites, it must be remembered that the rites of the chapel are linked to the pursuit of salvation while those of the temple are regarded as requisite to salvation's fulness, i.e. exaltation.

In his theological and phenomenological analysis of the developments within Christian worship accommodation, Harold Turner has classified meeting places into two general categories: domus ecclesiae, the house of an assembled group of worshipers, and domus dei, the house of God.[4] Turner's examination centres largely upon the theological tensions manifest between these two categories and notes how various denominations' construction of each building type bespeaks the wide spectrum of Judeo-Christian thought, dissonance, and practice in contemporary religion. The difference between these two categories, domus ecclesiase and domus dei, within both Mormon thought and Christian architecture generally, has been meaningfully clarified by Douglas Davies who has explained that the temple "is a place where the divine is believed to be present", and that "the deity dwells there in some particularly special way" whether or not the worshipper is present. By contrast, the chapel "is simply a meeting place, an assembly hall, a mere container for a designated congregation, and when that group is absent, its status as domus ecclesiae ceases and it may serve other purposes."[5] As this article will demonstrate, and as Davies has already asserted, in contemporary Mormonism, the chapel or meetinghouse does not fit fully to Turner's domus ecclesiae classification because these structures "are always retained as a formal place of worship, even

[4] Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979), pp. 323–345.
[5] Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Grace, Force, and Glory* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), pp. 72–73.

though they may also be used for other purposes".[6] For the purposes of this article, examination of the evolution of worship accommodation within Lancashire Mormonism will be restricted to variants of the domus ecclesiae.

The historian will find that the evolution of Mormon worship accommodation beyond the "Mormon corridor" of the American Intermountain West must be viewed in the context of the administration of Joseph F. Smith, the sixth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In October 1903, at the 74th semi-annual general conference of the Church in Salt Lake City, President Smith addressed the needs and opportunities associated with Mormonism's global agenda at the dawn of the twentieth century. In his sweeping assessment of the condition of the Church, both domestically and abroad, Smith announced his intent to expand overseas the Church's investment in the development of physical facilities as means to improving the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation. Demonstrative of his hopes for Mormonism's expansion and permanence on the international stage, Smith explained:

> Other meetinghouses for our people in other missions [abroad] are in contemplation, and, perhaps in the near future we may have headquarters for our Elders, and a meetinghouse, or church, if you please to call it that, in other mission fields, where we can advertise our name and our principles, and where we can have a permanent foothold and exhibit our works to those who are inquiring after the truth, and not leave the people, as in years gone by, under the impression that we are constantly on the wing in these distant lands, having no permanent abiding places there.[7]

Smith's declaration suggests something vital about the fundamental role and purpose of worship accommodation within international Mormonism. Curiously, the establishment of such facilities does not appear to have been motivated, at least initially, by the desire to convenience the long-established overseas membership who, at the time of Smith's pivotal 1903 proclamation, were being urged to

[6] Davies, *Mormon Culture of Salvation*, p. 75.

[7] President Joseph F. Smith, opening address, General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1903, *Conference Report* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1903), p. 4.

remain in their respective homelands. The very invitation to remain rather than remove was markedly different from the westward orientation encouraged by Mormonism's nineteenth-century gathering ethos—a powerful doctrinal and cultural influence which motivated thousands of British and European Latter-day Saints to forsake the "Babylon" of the Old World in favour of building up "Zion" in the providentially preserved Great Basin of the American West. The twentieth-century reinterpretation of the gathering doctrine, therefore, which caused the British membership to stop looking westward and start looking inward, would seem to have offered sufficient justification for the construction of meetinghouses wherever the Saints resided. Nevertheless, Smith's announcement suggests that the development of permanent worship accommodation was intended primarily to benefit, not the members, but the missionaries—giving them an advantage, or "foothold", as he termed it, in their wide-ranging efforts at spreading the word. In short, the development of facilities in which to meet had at least as much to do with growing the world-wide flock as much as it did accommodating those already in it. Later in his address, Smith turned his attention to the British Mission, where the need for worship accommodation had, within the international Church, been apparent the longest. Smith continued:

> Our mission in Great Britain, for instance, has continued for the last 60 years or more, and yet we have never attempted to build houses of worship there, and many of the people have supposed that our work there was only temporary. But we desire it [to be] distinctly understood that "Mormonism", as it is called, has come to the world to stay.[8]

There may be no clearer manifestation of regional Mormonism's transitioning view of Lancashire as "Babylon" to Lancashire as "Zion" than in its changing attitudes toward worship accommodation. In the sections which follow, I shall analyse the evolution of the Saints' various meeting places and argue that developments within worship accommodation in the North West are historical indicators of broader developments within Mormon doctrine and policy as well as expressions of the Church's shifting institutional expectations and intent. Thus, this article is organised in a manner consistent with the various

[8] Ibid., p. 4.

types of accommodation the Saints have sought and, at times, to which they have been relegated. I have, accordingly, categorised the Saints' meeting places into a four-tier structure. These tiers are organised by accommodation type and, conveniently, follow a general chronological sequence.

The first tier is made up of the earliest and humblest worship settings used by the Latter-day Saints in the opening years of the Lancashire mission: those comprised of individual homes, barns, and open-air gathering places. They also included several regional Nonconformist chapels in which the earliest missionaries were invited to preach as guests. Second are the numerous rented rooms and halls which were used by members and missionaries in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, typically on an ad hoc basis. The third tier consists of existing properties which the Church acquired in the early twentieth century and then adapted as needed and into chapels and offices. The fourth tier, and indeed the climactic one, concerns Mormonism's purpose-built chapels constructed in the mid-twentieth century by local church members under the direction of visiting American supervisors. Combined, these evolving places of worship present the historian with a symbolic picture of the evolution of Mormonism in the North West. For organisational ease, I have grouped the four tiers into two broader and successive categories: temporary rented facilities and permanent church-owned structures. I shall now examine each tier in turn, compare their general characteristics, and assess the relative benefits and drawbacks of each accommodation type, from the point of view of the Lancashire Latter-day Saints. The scope of this analysis will both precede and follow Joseph F. Smith's landmark 1903 announcement, at which time the acquisition and development of properties became official, and seemingly irreversible, church policy.

MAINTAINING THE PRIORITY OF THE TEMPLE: EARLY WORSHIP SITES

The Mormons' earliest use of space in Lancashire was both a reflection and an extension of the agenda laid out by its founding Prophet, Joseph Smith. Although the Prophet clearly anticipated the eventual globalisation of the movement he had founded, his primary intention, and indeed his life's work, was not the creation of an empire,

but rather the establishment of an exultant city-state.[9] What he envisioned was Zion at its most elemental: a people, their prophet, and their God—whose presence was both symbolised and realised through the existence of a centrally located temple, or "House of the Lord". It is important to note, therefore, that at no point in his ministry did Smith direct his followers to build any other structures (in addition to those enterprises necessary to the economic and cultural stability of the Saints) than homes and temples.[10] Chapel building was simply not a part of the early programme. Even when church membership in Nauvoo surpassed 10,000, Joseph Smith refused to direct building resources toward anything other than the temple.[11]

The Saints in Lancashire were captivated by the concept of the temple and, although they scarcely understood the still-developing purposes of the edifice, including the crucial ordinances and rites that would be offered therein, they nevertheless recognised its spiritual centrality.[12] Accordingly, throughout the North West, both individual

[9] Admittedly, this is an over-simplification of one of Mormonism's enduring paradoxes, what Terryl Givens has described as an inherent tension between Mormonism's "sequestered exclusivity and optimistic universalism". See Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 105, for further discussion.

[10] It should be noted, however, that Smith's original "Plat for the City of Zion" anticipated the erection of twelve temples on each of two centrally located city blocks. Each temple was intended to serve manifold purposes, beyond the performance of sacred rites. Instructions in the margins of this plan indicate these structures were to operate jointly as temples, schools and houses of worship. The plans never materialised since they were reserved for the settlement at Jackson County, Missouri, the divinely appointed place for the "centre stake of Zion". The Saints' subsequent settlements at Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois were much pared-down versions of Smith's original intention. Moreover, aspects of this general pattern are still evident in the hundreds of Mormon settlements in the western United States, Canada, and Mexico. For further insight into Smith as a city planner and the general pre-eminence of the temple, see Richard L. Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 173–98.

[11] Bushman, 'Making Space for the Mormons', in *Believing History*, pp. 185–86.

[12] Interestingly, as Terryl Givens has noted, Webster's 1828 *Dictionary* reveals the cultural ambiguity of the term "temple" in Joseph Smith's day, then defined simply as "a church; an edifice erected among Christians as a place of public worship." Indeed, the full development of the temple as sacred space with clearly specified purpose would take a generation to develop.

members and entire congregations contributed funds to the temple's construction. For some, donations of this order assumed such a priority as to rival even the financing of one's own emigration and settlement in the new world. For example, in September 1844, John Druce of Salford instructed his emigrated confidant, John Snider, to redirect the £6 he formerly had sent with him "to purchase a plot of land ... in Nauvoo" and give it over "as tithing to the Temple, on my account that the house of the Lord may be built".[13] Similarly, the members of the Liverpool Branch, eager to improve the quality and design of the sacred structure awaiting them in Zion, challenged the temple's architects to incorporate a large clock on its single tower, and pledged to do their part to finance the inclusion of the same.[14]

As a natural extension of the Prophet's priorities, Heber C. Kimball and the earliest missionaries dispatched to Lancashire were likewise concerned little with the establishment of places of worship. The missionaries were a people on the move, inviting their converts to follow. The destination was ever Zion and her temple. This is not to suggest, however, that houses of worship had no place in early Mormonism in the North West. To the contrary, the first sermons the missionaries delivered were in Nonconformist chapels in the Ribble Valley where, ironically, two local clerics, the Reverend James Fielding of Preston and the Reverend John Richards of Walker Fold, each unaware of the "sheep stealing" which would soon follow, had invited the missionaries to preach in their respective chapels: a fatal decision which devastated both their livelihood and the viability of their own congregations.[15]

In Preston, the now demolished Vauxhall Chapel was the original forum for the sounding of Mormonism's restored gospel.[16] To this day, Latter-day Saints reflect on it as the hallowed site of British Mor-

[13] LDS Church Archives, Letter from John Druce to John Snider, 15 September 1844, MS 15543.

[14] *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 6 (1845), p. 43.

[15] Pickup, *Pick and Flower*, pp. 33–35 and 52–55.

[16] For a description of the chapel and a history of its occupancy, including the visit of the Mormons in 1837, see Anthony Hewitson, *Our Churches and Chapels, Their Parsons, Priests, & Congregations; Being a Critical and Historical Account of Every Place of Worship in Preston* (Preston, Lancs.: Preston Chronicle Office, Fishergate, 1869), pp. 82–88. Hewitson also lists the several locations of LDS places of worship in Preston during 1837–69, pp. 112–113.

monism's inception. A brick from the demolished structure remains on display in the current chapel occupied by the congregation at Preston, and is a perpetual reminder of the Church's Ribble Valley roots and the Apostolic origins of its latter-day legacy. In the village of Walker Fold, northeast of Longridge, Lancashire, the Independent Methodist Chapel, long since converted into a private residence, was the scene of several conversions which were crucial to the early development of the Church in the Upper Ribble Valley.[17] Reflecting on his work in Walker Fold, and the utility of the local chapel in augmenting his proselytising success, Kimball recalled:

> After Mr. Richards let me preach in his chapel, I baptised all of his young members, as I had before baptised his daughter. He then reflected upon himself for letting me have the privilege of his chapel; told me that I had ruined his church, and had taken away all his young members. I could not but feel pity for the old gentleman, but I had a duty to perform which outweighed all other considerations.[18]

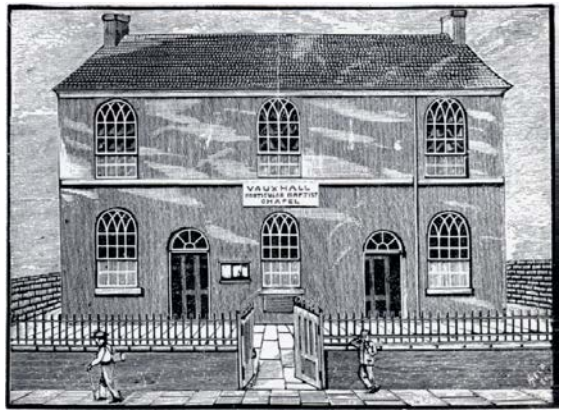


Figure 1 - Engraving of the Vauxhall Chapel at Preston, as it would have appeared in 1837. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

[17] James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin and David J. Whittaker, *Men With a Mission 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1992), pp. 39–41.

[18] Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 2nd collector's edition reprint (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1996), p. 142.

Thus, early missionaries were quite comfortable preaching in the formal environment of the chapel, and clearly benefitted from open access to such ready-made congregations, although it appears they had no intention of creating for themselves similar circumstances in which to worship and preach.

Once the missionaries' intentions became apparent, and they began baptising new adherents gleaned from these smaller Nonconformist sects, chapel doors were closed to them. Logistically, such rejection may have been a favourable factor for the Saints. Within weeks of arrival, the missionaries' rapidly growing following had exceeded the capacity of the smaller chapels, and alternative venues were sought. Because the missionaries had virtually no financial resources at their disposal, the converts' homes became a popular and natural alternative. Although the size restrictions inherent to cottage meetings prevented the Saints from gathering regularly on a large scale, the more intimate setting lent Mormonism and its expounders a useful informality which appears to have encouraged its growth within close-knit social and familial networks. The early missionaries relished the practicality of their religious iconoclasm and used their casual meeting style to contrast themselves further from the clerical conventions of the day which, by comparison, were decidedly more formal and restrictive. As Kimball remembered:

> We had to speak in small and very crowded houses, and to large assemblies in the open air. Consequently our lungs were often very sore, and our bodies worn down with fatigue. Sometimes I was guilty of breaking the priestly rules. I pulled off my coat and rolled up my sleeves and went at my duty with my whole soul, like a man reaping and binding wheat, which caused the hireling priests to be very much surprised. They found much fault with us, and threatened us continually, because we got all of their best members.[19]

The essential transience of early Mormonism yielded several important advantages in Lancashire, particularly in regards to proselytising. Unfettered by the restrictions of a stationary place of worship, missionaries were able to respond with promptness to preaching invitations, to detect communities where interest in Mormonism was high

[19] Whitney, *Kimball*, p. 156.

and invest their efforts accordingly, thereby maximising effectiveness. Put simply, rather than demand that the people go to the Mormons, and their place of worship, the Mormons went to the people. However, although this approach augmented proselytising success, it did not, as we shall see, make full provision for the needs of the recently converted, particularly in regards to important familial and social functions such as marriages and funerals.

Several important illustrations of the challenges which attended the Mormons' lack of formal worship accommodation are found in the experiences of the early members of the Clitheroe and Chatburn Branches of the Upper Ribble Valley: John and Ellen Ormerod, James and Nancy Smithies, Isaac and Lucy Dacre, and William and Nancy Barton. John Ormerod converted in the village of Waddington in 1841 and Ellen was baptised in nearby West Bradford in 1848.[20] In 1850, despite their apparent orthodoxy, the two were married at Clitheroe by Methodist, and not Mormon, authority.[21] Membership records certify the full activity of the Ormerods within the Mormon congregation at Clitheroe at the time of their marriage, eliminating the possibility of lapsed membership as a cause for being wedded beyond the purview of their own church leadership.[22]

Arguably, the Ormerod's marriage at the local Wesleyan chapel would have been deemed both acceptable and necessary among Latter-day Saints of the day. At a time when Mormonism as an institution was still striving for legal recognition and protection in Britain, the Ormerod's Methodist wedding ensured marital respectability attainable only through complying with local custom. It seems probable that other regional Latter-day Saints would have pursued marriage in like fashion, with the understanding that after arriving in Utah their union would be solemnised, or "sealed" by Mormon priesthood authority.[23] The compromise demonstrated by the Ormerods was thus temporary and,

[20] LDS Family History Library, membership register of the Clitheroe Branch 1838–1885, 86992, items 14–16.

[21] http://www.familysearch.org, Family Group Record of John Ormerod.

[22] In 1850 John Ormerod was serving either as branch clerk or branch president, strongly evidencing his Mormon orthodoxy at the time of his marriage to Ellen.

[23] "Celestial" or "eternal marriage", so called, is the climactic, and arguably the most crucial, temple ceremony in Mormonism and is deemed a prerequisite to the post-mortal exaltation of man: see *Doctrine and Covenants* 131:1–4.

conveniently, would have satisfied the Saints' marriage regulations on both temporal and spiritual fronts: temporally in the sense that it was compliant with the law of the land, and spiritually because entrance into the marriage compact legitimised cohabitation while preserving members' personal worthiness (particularly in regards to the Mormonism's stringent moral codes) and thereby paved the way for receipt of the sealing ordinance then available only in Utah. For the Ormerods, however, the promise of "eternal marriage", secured through temple rite, was not even an eventuality. John's leadership of the Clitheroe Branch extended nearly until his death in 1901, and his devoted service appears to have precluded outright his family's emigration opportunities.[24]

The Church's lack of permanent accommodation proved especially problematic for the early Saints in regard to infant mortality, wherein the conspicuous absence of both church and churchyard complicated matters of burial. In this, Mormon doctrines concerning baptism became frustratingly at odds with the highly mobile nature of Mormon membership, as informed by the Church's persuasive gathering doctrine. Infant baptism, regarded in the Book of Mormon as a "solemn mockery before God", was a keen source of anguish for James and Nancy Smithies, early converts from Bashall Eaves village.[25] Converted by Heber C. Kimball, the Smithies defied the tenets of their new

[24] Although failure to emigrate was regarded a sign of faithlessness within the Church throughout much of the nineteenth century, John Ormerod appears to have been an important exception. Branch records indicate that Ormerod was active in his membership throughout his life and presided over the Saints at Clitheroe for decades. Having helped facilitate the emigration of all those in the Upper Ribble Valley who so desired, Ormerod eventually became the sole representative of the Church in the region. In his leadership role, Ormerod held open the door to Zion for his fellow Latter-day Saints for over 40 years. Ironically, Ormerod himself failed to emigrate before Church policy concerning the gathering had shifted, effectively denying him the opportunity. With characteristic obedience, Ormerod tarried at Low Moor, Clitheroe until his death in 1901. Notifying the readership of the *Millennial Star* of his father's passing, John Franklin Ormerod wrote, 'I beg to assure you that he has always been, and died, a faithful believer in the true religion of Jesus Christ', thus verifying the enduring commitment of one of the few Latter-day Saints whose life spanned the breadth of gathering season up to its close: see *Millennial Star,* 63 (1901), p. 588.

[25] Moroni 8:9–12.

religion by insisting that their daughter, Mary, be christened by the local Anglican vicar. Unaware of their true motivation in seeking what he had formerly convinced them to be a corrupt practice, Kimball urged the Smithies to desist. He later recalled:

> I used every kind of persuasion to convince them of their folly; it being contrary to the scriptures and the will of God; the parents wept bitterly, and it seemed as though I could not prevail on them to omit it. I wanted to know of them why there were so tenacious. The answer was, "if she dies, she cannot have a burial in the churchyard."[26]

Ever subordinating temporal concerns to the powerful, spiritual verities he perceived in Mormonism, Kimball allayed the Smithies' fears by blessing the child himself—a theologically suitable alternative. Mary survived her infancy, fraught with illness, emigrated with her parents, and in adulthood became one of Kimball's plural wives.[27]

The blessing of infants became commonplace among the early Saints of the Upper Ribble Valley and, indeed, throughout Lancashire. Conveniently, it was one of the few crucial Mormon sacraments which required no physical facilities at all. Although the practice helped assuage the fears of parents concerning the afterlife, it never resolved the problem of burial. An additional, and equally compelling, example is found in the lives of Isaac and Lucy Dacre, also of the Clitheroe Branch. Unlike the Ormerods, the Dacres were married in October 1840, before either of them had joined the Church. Lucy was the first to convert, baptised at Clitheroe in August 1841. Isaac joined one month later. Lucy's baptism was administered toward the end of her first pregnancy, only two weeks before the birth of her daughter, also named Mary. Mary was born on 10 October, blessed by Stephen Longstroth, the same priesthood leader who had baptised both her parents, and died on Christmas day. In the years which followed, an additional seven children were born to the Dacres, of whom only two survived.[28]

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[26] Whitney, *Kimball*, p. 156.

[27] http://www.familysearch.org, Family Group Record of Heber C. Kimball and Mary Smithies.

[28] LDS Family History Library, membership register of the Clitheroe Branch, 86992, items 14–16.

With the Dacre family setting the unfortunate example, questions surrounding infant mortality and burial were faced by every growing family within the Clitheroe Branch. Membership records indicate that 70 children were born to branch members between 1841 and 1861, of whom thirteen died at or near birth. The Ormerods confronted the matter of infant burial in a manner comparable to how they had approached their marriage—through carefully employed compromise. Between 1851 and 1862, John and Ellen Ormerod bore four children at their home in Low Moor, Clitheroe. Like the Dacre children, each was blessed by a priesthood leader from within the congregation approximately one month after birth. The Ormerod's youngest child, Mary Ellen, was born on 15 February 1862. Mary Ellen was particularly frail at birth and her parents, fearing an imminent death, had her christened the following day. Although unknown, it may have been that her christening was performed in the same Methodist chapel where John and Ellen were married twelve years earlier. Despite their fears, Mary Ellen survived and was blessed a month later by the local Mormon elder, Thomas Dugdale.[29]

The role of denominational allegiance within burial matters takes on further significance when one considers the experiences of William and Nancy Barton. Also of Low Moor, Clitheroe, the Bartons lost two children, Mary and Isaac Heber. In 1846 Mary was buried at a Methodist churchyard in town while Isaac Heber was interred at the cemetery adjacent to the Anglican chapel of St. James in 1854. One must wonder if William and Nancy, who had been Latter-day Saints since 1838, had professed some form of allegiance to both the Methodists and the Anglicans long enough to secure burial plots for their deceased children. Had they done so, it was clearly not at the expense of their Mormon faith, since membership records certify that the Bartons eventually emigrated and joined with the Latter-day Saints at Ogden, Utah.[30] Thus, for the earliest Saints in Lancashire, the lack of accommodation was a source of perpetual frustration, both in life and in death.

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

From Homes to Halls: Rented Facilities

Despite the benefits associated with the informal accommodation types examined above, the need to establish and maintain denominational identity required the reservation of facilities that were both more spacious and more suitable. When larger convocations were called for, such as at quarterly conference, church leadership in Lancashire adapted their meeting practices to suit their temporary needs. In Preston, the old "Cockpit" was engaged which, in 1837, could accommodate attendances of up to 800.[31] When the Saints first engaged it for purposes of worship accommodation, the structure had been converted into a Temperance Hall. Mormonism's likeminded policy concerning the avoidance of intoxicants appears to have helped missionaries secure accommodation with temperance societies elsewhere in Lancashire. The returns of the 1851 religious census reveal that in Clitheroe the Latter-day Saints held regular services in the upper room of the Temperance Hotel on Moor Lane.[32] A harmonious association between the Saints and regional temperance societies appears to have existed as late as 1908, at which date the Oldham Branch occupied the Temperance Hall in Horsedge Street.[33]

Overall, the desired qualities of the properties hired by the Saints in the North West were few. Sufficient space in which to gather the membership for instruction and the administration of key sacraments appear to have been the primary criterion during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Storage space was an obviously low priority, as the Saints retained very little by way of actual property. An 1844 inventory of the assets of the Liverpool Branch reveals just how meagre were the belongings of the Church, even though the size of the congregation was approaching 400: "9 forms, 2 temple boxes, 4 collection boxes, 3 wine cups, 2 sacrament bread baskets, and 1 sacrament wine urn".[34]

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[31] Pickup, *Pick and Flower*, p. 59.

[32] Public Record Office (PRO), HO 129/479, 1851 census returns for Clitheroe, microfilm reproduction in possession of the LDS Family History Library, 2206701.

[33] LDS Church Archives, Oldham ward dedication material, 1987, MS 9595.

[34] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 6 September 1844, LR 4948 2. The "temple boxes" mentioned were for the collection of funds dedicated to the construction of the Saints' temple at Nauvoo, Illinois.

Of greater concern to local leadership was the extent to which the status of their rented facilities influenced both the image and reputation of the Church. In Liverpool, the Saints found accommodation initially at the Music Hall on Bold Street. Although this was spacious, local leaders worried that the hall and its location tarnished Mormonism's still-developing public image and caused it to appear disreputable. This concern is reflected in the following correspondence shared between two church leaders, James Linforth of Liverpool and John Davis of Merthyr Tydfil. In April 1852, Linforth wrote:

> I have just returned from meeting, having had the privilege of preaching the last discourse in the Music Hall. Next Sunday we open our new chapel ... I have been over it today and am much pleased with it. It will be opened with prayer and fasting and instruction from Brothers [Franklin D.] Richards and [Lorenzo] Snow and others. On the day after we have a Festival and if it was not so far I should be tempted to invite you. We anticipate much good from the change of our place of meeting for the discreditable character of the Music Hall was a great injury to us.[35]

The rented accommodation used by the Saints fluctuated in size and description to a degree proportionate to the ebb and flow of membership numbers. Because the renting of meeting halls was financed by the general membership, there was an obvious relationship between the numbers of Saints in any one location and the quality of their accommodation. Lancastrians who converted to Mormonism during the peak years of its popularity in the mid-nineteenth-century, and later returned to the region when the Church was in obvious decline, were able to analyse the Saints' accommodation as means to ascertaining both the relative size and welfare of local church units. After returning to his native Lancashire from Utah in 1867, George D. Watt rendered the following comparison:

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[35] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 25 April 1852. The Saints would have viewed their departure from the Music Hall as more than fortuitous. Shortly after vacating the hall, it burned down and was rebuilt in 1853. See www.liverpoolwalks.co.uk/003/hallv.htm, accessed 25 September 2009. Their avoidance of such a disaster would no doubt have been regarded as providential.

> In 1851 I attended a meeting of the Saints in Liverpool, which was held in one of the finest halls in the city and addressed a congregation of nearly one thousand people. In the month of March, 1867, I again attended a meeting of the Saints in Liverpool, and spoke to a congregation of not more than twenty persons, in a room or garret situated in the back streets of the city, measuring about ten feet wide and twenty-five feet long, being lighted by skylights from the roof.[36]

The substandard accommodation observed by Watt in the later 1860s became the norm for the Saints in the North West throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and well into the early decades of the twentieth. Although Joseph F. Smith's 1903 announcement concerning the Church's intention to establish permanent worship facilities in Britain was indeed promising, progress was slow to materialise. In Lancashire, local members and missionaries combined their meagre resources in order to maintain even the most basic and unadorned places of worship. The halls they rented were often in undesirable and inconvenient locations, such as above railway stations or within the upper stories of commercial buildings. When asked to recall the many settings in which the Latter-day Saints at Wigan worshipped in the early twentieth century, Elsie Rickard shared her predominant memory: "I can remember climbing the stairs".[37] Another member of the Wigan branch noted how the Saints' lowly accommodation was both an embarrassment and a point of ridicule:

> We used to meet in a little hall right at the top of a building. The bottom of the building, it was a wine shop where they sold all kinds of liquors. And then over them, there were some attorneys, and over them there was a pawnbroker, and then on the top floor [were] the Mormons. We used to climb these [four] stories up to the top of the building and [onlookers] used to laugh and say, "the Latter-day Saints like to get as close to heaven as possible while they're on earth," because about

[36] 'The Mormons in England', *New York Times,* 1 August 1867, p. 2.

[37] LDS Church Archives, Elsie Rickard, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1986, typescript p. 2, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, CR 884 85.

> the only places that we could afford in those days were little tiny rooms that nobody else wanted on top of the building.[38]

Investigators of Mormonism in the early twentieth century indeed found the Saints' places of worship to be peculiar, if not off-putting. One convert in Preston, Gertrude Corless, noted that at the time she began attending meetings, the local Saints were gathering "just in a little room behind some boards and up some stairs. It seemed kind of strange after going to the Church of England building".[39] Horace Hayes of Wigan found the comparative splendour of the meeting places of neighbouring faiths a continual and painful reminder of the Mormons' indigence:

> Across the street from [our meeting hall] was a beautiful Methodist church, and on the corner further down there was a beautiful Baptist church. And then on the opposite corner of the street across there was a lovely Catholic church. People would come to [our] little meeting hall stuck on the top of those stairs, and they [felt] they just about didn't belong to a church.[40]

Insufficient accommodation appears to have been a significant obstruction to Mormonism's growth in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although church members were urged continually to invite friends and acquaintances to worship services, their humble facilities caused considerable hesitation. Hayes remembered, "Sometimes I'd feel a little uncomfortable inviting my friends there and then having them comment, you know, 'is this where you go to church? What a place this is. I wouldn't go to church there.' You know comments like that. So I think this played a big part in not being able to have converts."[41] After worshipping with the members of the Burnley Branch in their rented rooms above the Cooperative Society on Trafalgar Street, one visiting

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[38] LDS Church Archives, Horace Hayes, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1988, typescript, p. 2, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 1243.
[39] LDS Church Archives, Gertrude Corless, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 10, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 868.
[40] Hayes, Oral History, p. 34.
[41] Ibid., p. 19.

church leader observed that the Saints "had to have real faith" to worship therein, and that it "was useless to expect investigators to come to such a place".[42]

In an attempt to offset the discreditable nature of individual meeting places and the deterrent they had proven to successful missionary work, the membership often withheld inviting acquaintances to worship services until opportunities arose for larger gatherings of regional Latter-day Saints. In the 1920s, annual and semi-annual district conferences served two valuable purposes in that they gave the scattered members of the various congregations the rare opportunity of associating one with another, and offered the missionaries the chance to put on a production of such scale as to portray Mormonism as a locally thriving denomination, large in membership and of impressive means. Throughout the 1920s the Liverpool District gathered every six months, usually in Blackburn, where they hired the Independent Labour Party rooms at a reasonable price. Compared to the impoverished settings in which the individual branches customarily met, the rooms at Blackburn were spacious, well-lit, and finely furnished. Members from throughout the region would come, and attendance usually peaked at around 500. Horace Hayes remembered, "Investigators would come to something like that where they wouldn't come to some little meeting hall".[43]

In addition to giving the illusion of both size and strength, the impressive meeting place also falsely suggested the Church's wealth. In reality, the Saints' regular meeting places were an accurate representation of their meagre size and means. One Latter-day Saint described the dimensions of their 1920s meeting hall as "about thirty [feet] by twenty [feet]", heated by "a little potbellied stove" with "no carpets or anything down" to cover "a plain pine board floor".[44] Despite the modest scale of their accommodation at Wigan, it was all the local Saints could do to meet their financial obligations associated with their meeting hall, which included a weekly payment of six shillings for rent and two shillings for light. The cost of heating the hall was offset by revolving donations from the membership's personal stores of coal.[45] Although

[42] LDS Church Archives, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', bound mimeograph, organised and privately published by Robert Gordon Larsen, 1961, p. 16, MS 17882.
[43] Hayes, Oral History, p. 53.
[44] Ibid., p. 38.
[45] Ibid., p. 36.

contemporaneous Mormonism in America was, by comparison, both deeply rooted and sufficiently accommodated by their purpose-built places of worship, throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, Mormonism in Lancashire appeared to be a denomination on the brink of demise.

The quest for permanence: early twentieth-century property acquisition Lancastrians who converted to Mormonism in the early twentieth century were joining a church very much in transition. Despite the obstacle which inadequate accommodation appears to have been to missionary work, the realisation of President Smith's above-mentioned challenge to prove the permanence of Mormonism in Britain through the development of fixed places of worship was an endeavour which, in some cases, appears to have attracted followers. James and Susan Howarth of Oldham were baptised in 1908 and immediately became engrossed in the fundraising for the Saints' new chapel on Neville Street: the first purpose-built meeting-house of the Church in Lancashire.[46] Indeed, the Church's twentieth-century property acquisition programme was an ambitious undertaking which incrementally redesigned Mormonism's outward appearance and imbued the local membership with a profound sense of purpose. As with so many aspects of British Mormon history, the Saints in Lancashire were among the first to experience the challenges and benefits which stemmed from the development of permanent places of worship. Indeed, the pursuit impacted the regional membership of the Church on all levels, from the common Latter-day Saint to the president of the British Mission.

It should here be noted that twentieth-century property acquisition was not without precedent in the North West, where long-standing administrative necessity had kept upper church authorities resident in a series of office locations which often doubled as chapels used by the local congregations. By tracing the locations of these sites, it is possible to uncover something about the evolving nature of Mormon worshipping and administrative space. The first office of the British Mission was established at 47 Oxford Street in Manchester. In the early 1840s, mission headquarters were removed to Liverpool, with accommodation first secured at 36 Chapel Street. In 1845 mission offices were estab-

[46] LDS Church Archives, Sylvia Mills Whalley, Oral History, interview by Chad M. Orton, 1987, typescript, p. 4, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 879.

lished in the Stanley Buildings on Bath Street, Liverpool, which was later demolished to make way for a new street. When the Apostle Orson Hyde took charge of the British Mission in 1846, the mission and *Millennial Star* offices were temporarily located at 135 Duke Street, but were soon thereafter moved to 6 Goree Piazza, Liverpool, where it remained until June 1847, when it was removed yet again to 39 Torbock Street. The next relocation occurred in August 1848, this time to number 15 Wilton Street, where the office remained until April 1855. At that point church offices were more permanently located at 36 Islington, not far from Liverpool town centre. Shortly after establishing themselves at this site, the municipal government adjusted the number configuration on Islington which changed the office's mailing address to number 42.[47] For nearly 50 years the British Mission was overseen by authorities headquartered at this address. In 1904 Heber J. Grant, then president of the British Mission, acquired a large home at 10 Holly Road in Fairfield, Liverpool, where headquarters remained until January 1907, when superior premises were chosen and purchased in the adjoining street at 295 Edge Lane, a site more familiarly known as "Durham House". The offices of the British and European Missions were divided in 1929, the former relocating to 23 Booth Street, Handsworth, Birmingham.[48] In 1932, the British Mission office again relocated, this time to 43 Tavistock Square, an up-market address in Bloomsbury, London.[49] The headquarters of the European Mission and the printing office of the *Millennial Star* remained at Edge Lane until March 1933, when mission officers relocated headquarters to 5 Gordon Square, London, never to return to the North West.[50]

[47] Ronald G. Watt and Kenneth W. Godfrey, '"Old 42": The British and European Mission Headquarters in Liverpool, England, 1844–1904', *Mormon Historical Studies*, 10 (Spring 2009), p. 88.

[48] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1941), p. 94.

[49] *Millennial Star,* 94 (1932), p. 122.

[50] *Millennial Star,* 95 (1933), p. 340. Importantly, the move to Gordon Square was in an area where other denominations maintained their headquarters, such as the Society of Friends on nearby Euston Road. Gordon Square also houses the most important Nonconformist archive, Dr. William's Library. It may be that the relocation of the Latter-day Saints administrative offices to this area of London was intended to give Mormonism increased visibility and a

Of the many locations listed above, only 42 Islington and Durham House have occupied a place of such distinction for the local Latter-day Saints as to imbue each with a historical significance unrivalled by any other property subsequently developed in the North West, the only clear exception being the Preston Temple. This is no doubt attributable, at least in part, to their combined continuity of use—a total of 75 years of service between them. When one considers that Mormonism had been in Britain fewer than 100 years when its headquarters were removed to London in 1932, the deserved prominence of these two Liverpool properties becomes apparent. For the several succeeding generations of Lancastrian Saints and American missionaries who made use of these facilities, both 42 Islington and Durham House were valuable places of refuge: veritable embassies of their American Zion in the midst of a British Babylon. For those hailing from Utah, each was as an extension of home. The affection with which the Saints regarded the property on Islington was expressed in the *Millennial Star* on the eve of its closure:

> For half a century, lacking but a few months, "42" has been the old world mission home of Elders and Saints, and the sacred memories that are connected with the historic building will be awakened in tens of thousands of hearts, the wide world over, when they realise that the dear old place is, for us, a thing of the past. From the "prayer room" of "42" has every Elder who has laboured in Great Britain or on the continent of Europe been sent forth to his work with the counsel and blessing of the servants of the Lord, and in the same room have they received parting instructions and a blessing for their faithfulness ere they set sail homeward. Here, too, have the Saints assembled, time and time again, preparatory to gathering with the people of God in the distant valleys of [Utah]. These little incidents of life are treasured upon the hearts of those who have helped to make the history of this mission, no matter how small or apparently insignificant the part that they have taken. To them the

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more established place among the major Nonconformist faiths—an image they would not have been able to encourage as long as they remained in Liverpool.

> mere mention "42" will bring a sense of joy and happiness—a testimony of duty done, a knowledge of approbation won.[51]

For the Saints in Liverpool, the society at Durham House was Zion in microcosm: a practical representation of the communal harmony and purpose of Latter-day Saint life in Utah which, in the post-emigration Church, was little more than an abstraction to the local members. Adelaide Tope, who was employed at Durham House as the mission secretary in the early 1920s, described the property's Zion-like qualities, explaining that "when you went to Durham House, you were going from home to home. You were mixing with these people that you were mixing with on Sundays. All week you were with the missionaries that worked in the office. [The mission president and his wife] were always there. People treated us so nicely. It was lovely because it was Durham House."[52]

Following the sale of the property in 1933, the *Millennial Star* announced to the British membership the departure of mission headquarters from the site. In decidedly elegiac terms, the editors wrote:

> Durham House, the Liverpool home of the European Mission and British Mission Office Staffs for more than a quarter of a century, has become, by name at least, almost an integral part of the Church in Europe. Within its walls, hospitality and goodwill have garnished intense industry and devotion to the latter-day cause in Europe. But, the mission of Durham House was finished. In location and size it no longer met the new demands; and the tooth of time threatened expenditures which could more profitably be expended elsewhere.[53]

Acquired by the University of Liverpool, Durham House met the same fate as the previously occupied offices at 42 Islington: demolition. In 1936 the structure was razed, further obscuring the historical imprint of Latter-day Saint activity in the North West.[54]

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[51] *Millennial Star,* 66 (1904), p. 282.

[52] LDS Church Archives, V. Adelaide Tope, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 5, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 885.

[53] *Millennial Star,* 95 (1933), p. 346.

[54] *Millennial Star,* 98 (1936), p. 63.

Figure 2 - Photograph of 42 Islington, Liverpool, which housed for fifty years the headquarters of the British and European Mission and the printing office of the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, circa 1885. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Figure 3 - Photograph of "Durham House", 295 Edge Lane, Liverpool, taken by George Easter, circa 1930. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Although the acquisition and development of fixed places of worship finally gave the Saints a home, it also proved problematic in that it made of them a stationary target to their growing numbers of opponents. Durham House was attacked repeatedly by antagonists, particularly during the years of acute anti-Mormonism, 1910–14.[55] The most extreme example occurred in 1911, when the nineteen-year-old John Lowry led a small mob on a midnight attack on the house, result-

[55] See also Tope, Oral History, p. 2.

ing both in extensive property damage and personal injury to the resident office staff.[56] That same year, the Saints in Oldham complained of repeated instances of mobs stoning their newly constructed chapel during worship services.[57] In a less grievous, yet still disturbing case, the members in Burnley, then meeting in the Piccadilly Rooms, regularly had their meetings disrupted "by children and adults opening doors and throwing in stones, clumps of earth, etc."[58] Thus, while early twentieth-century property acquisition gave the membership a much desired sense of permanence, it did not offer an equally valued sense of security. The fixed geographic position of the Saints' meeting places occasionally made battle-grounds out of sites otherwise dedicated for worship.

As the Church's collective financial resources became increasingly accessible to the Saints in Lancashire, the leadership of the British Mission undertook the purchasing of existing structures intended to replace permanently the unfailingly inadequate rented meeting halls. While this policy signalled to the lay membership the Church's institutional commitment to improve its places of worship, the condition of the newly purchased properties was, in some cases, frustratingly on par with the dismal sites previously occupied. For example, in 1934 the Saints in Burnley acquired a former Baptist chapel constructed on Liverpool Road. Although the local membership appreciated finally being able to attend meetings in a structure which, by outward appearance, was unmistakably a place of religious worship, inwardly the chapel was scarcely more commodious than the meeting halls of the past. One member of the branch referred to it as "a very big barn of a place", while its offices 'which were in a tiny enclosed yard at the back of the building ... were dirty and they were crumbling and they were smelly'. The kitchen "was in a terrible state. It was a dump there".[59] Although the chapel had been nicely fitted with pews and curtains by the Christian Scientists, who were making use of the building when the sale was initially agreed upon, the Saints were disappointed to discover that,

[56] *Millennial Star,* 73 (1911), pp. 155–157.
[57] Oldham Ward dedication material, 1987, MS 9595.
[58] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 17.
[59] LDS Church Archives, Albert and Jeanie Pickup, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, pp. 21, 70, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 932.

upon assuming occupancy, the chapel had been "stripped clean to the church door".[60] Albert Pickup, a Burnley resident who joined the Church during the time in which the branch was occupying the chapel, described his first impressions of Mormonism as "a very strange one", on account of the site's inadequate interior. "The floor was not carpeted or polished", he remembered,

> It was a rough wood floor. When I say rough, it was rough! You know, the splinters of the wood were sticking up like spikes. And the walls were colourwashed a pale green, and not a very good finish.[61]

Figure 4 - Photograph of the chapel on Liverpool Road, Burnley, originally constructed by the Baptists, and later occupied by the Christian Scientists and then the Latter-day Saints. The structure was formally dedicated in 1937 by President Heber J. Grant as part of the Church's centenary celebrations. Courtesy of the LDS Church archives.

Elsewhere in Lancashire, the state of newly acquired properties was equally poor. In Wythenshawe, Derek Plumbley, a local convert, described their accommodation as "a very difficult environment", in which teaching would occur "in a room which sat about a hundred people at the most, and there would be four classes in there without partitions, without anything". Most of the other meeting places, he recalled, "were worse than that, meeting in dingy sort of premises, in

[60] Pickup, Oral History, p. 21.
[61] Ibid., p. 16.

unpleasant areas."[62] Plumbley, who had been assigned to serve as a circuit speaker, had the opportunity of examining each of the meeting places used by the various branches within the Liverpool District.[63] In Rochdale, Plumbley remembered, the Saints

> had an old hall. It belonged to the Church, but it was a real ancient place. They had a big stand. I stood up to speak ... and the branch clerk, who sat at a table on the stand, actually disappeared through the floor when I stood up, because the floor went through! And it was also [an urgent] matter of getting your words in quickly before the carbon monoxide from the gas heaters in the winter put everybody to sleep. That was the sort of thing that happened. That's how the Saints survived.[64]

Where possible, the membership of the various congregations attempted to update and personalise their newly acquired places of worship, adorning them with decorations and improvements that were distinctly Latter-day Saint in style and significance. Upon the wall above the small rostrum in the Burnley chapel the Saints had artfully stencilled the words "the glory of God is intelligence", a canonical truism

[62] LDS Church Archives, Derek J. Plumbley, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript p. 17, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, OH 820.

[63] The reader should note that, although identical in meaning and usage, the term "District" replaced "Conference" in LDS vocabulary beginning in 1927. As James E. Talmage, then president of the British and European Missions, explained in the *Millennial Star*: "There has been something akin to incongruity in the double usage of the term *Conference* as designating (1) a church assemblage of people, and (2) a geographical area of specified boundaries constituting a territorial unit in a Mission. The custom of using this word *Conference* with plainly different meanings is objectionable on the grounds of inconsistency and of the inevitable uncertainty or confusion arising therefrom. By recent action of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve the term *District* shall be substituted for the word *Conference* when reference is made to a territorial division of a Mission." See *Millennial Star*, 89 (1927), p. 216. The "District" was the organisational forerunner to the "Stake", the likes of which was first formed in Lancashire in 1960.

[64] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 17.

taken from one of Joseph Smith's early revelations.[65] In time, the members of the Burnley Branch refitted the chapel with new pews, carpets, curtains, and a wooden proscenium for dramatic performances and the recreation of scenes from church history. Horace Mills, a convert from Oldham, was commissioned by the leadership of several branches in Lancashire to paint small murals upon the walls of the local chapels which depicted Joseph Smith's first vision in 1820 and the sylvan setting in upstate New York where he received the pivotal revelation.[66] Beyond these few improvements, however, there was little about the purchased properties which could otherwise have indicated their new denominational affiliation.

No adaptations made to the newly acquired properties were of greater significance to the Saints than those which attended the administration of "saving ordinances", particularly baptism. Although naturally-occurring baptismal sites such as the Irish Sea, the Rivers Mersey, Ribble, Dee and others had long been resorted to by missionaries as suitable venues for the sacred rite, it appears the Mormons preferred to baptise in settings reserved, if not created, for that purpose.[67] The earliest evidence of this is found in the manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, which indicates that in 1849 the local Saints constructed a wooden baptismal font within their rented meeting place on Bold Street. In the ceremonial proceedings which attended the font's completion, Milo Andrus, then Liverpool Conference President, dedicated the font to God "for the ordinance of baptism for the remission of sins

[65] *Doctrine and Covenants* 93:36.

[66] Whalley, Oral History, p. 13.

[67] This preference may have its origins in Joseph Smith's 1841 proclamation which required that baptisms performed vicariously for the deceased occur solely within the temple: see *History of the Church*, vol. 4, p. 426, taken from the minutes of a Church conference held on 3 October 1841, in Nauvoo, Illinois, published in *Times and Seasons*, 15 October 1841, p. 578. Prior to this declaration, baptisms for the dead were practiced in the Mississippi River. In a similar strain, early convert baptisms in Lancashire were performed in natural, open-air settings until the Mission leadership deemed the practice better suited to private facilities. Importantly, Carol Wilkinson has recently identified the most probable baptismal site of the early converts of the Upper Ribble Valley in her article, 'Mormon Baptismal Site in Chatburn, England', *Mormon Historical Studies* 7 (2006), pp. 83–88.

and for the healing of the bodies of Thy Saints".[68] Andrus so prized the newly erected font that, in his dedicatory prayer, he petitioned God that "those [who] shall attempt to pollute [it] may be cursed before Thy face".[69] Given the priority of the baptismal ordinance to the Saints at Liverpool, it may be that the earliest chapel building proposal, issued by the officers of the local branch council in 1862, was motivated at least as much by the desire to construct a suitable site for private baptismal services as it was a longing for an established setting for weekly worship.[70] Oral history evidence suggests that in the early decades of the twentieth century, those meeting places that were properly outfitted for the administration of baptisms were more highly prized by the local Saints than those that were not. The above-mentioned chapel in Burnley, having been constructed by the Baptists, had the most comfortable baptismal facilities of any of the church-owned structures, and converts were known to travel from as far as Liverpool for the privilege of being baptised in a font that was both owned and maintained by the Church.[71]

Elsewhere in North West, makeshift baptismal fonts were constructed by church members throughout the first half of the twentieth century in meeting places of sufficient size. These fonts were of simple yet adequate construction, although rarely plumbed. Phillip Ambrose, whose parents joined the Church in Lancaster in the early 1900s, remembered the laboriousness of having to pump water in and out of the font at Durham House in order to accommodate baptismal candidates.[72] Despite the inherent inconveniences, mission officers did their best to establish a suitable environment. Describing her baptism at Durham House, May Gartland recalled:

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[68] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 13 July 1849, LR 4948 2.

[69] Ibid.

[70] LDS Church Archives, manuscript history of the Liverpool Branch, 10 February 1862, LR 4948 2. Incidentally, the 1862 proposal never received authorisation from the First Presidency of the Church, and it was nearly 100 years later when plans for a purpose-built chapel were finally approved.

[71] Pickup, Oral History, p. 21.

[72] LDS Church Archives, Phillip Ambrose, Oral History, interview by Brenda Roak, 1986, typescript, p. 3, British Isles Oral History Project, Church Educational System, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, CR 884 94.

> [The] baptismal font was in the middle of the meeting room. All the congregation was sitting there. I can remember the hymn they sang was "Lo, On the Water's Brink We Stand". As we were walking down into the waters, all the congregation was singing this hymn. It was a lovely sensation that. I can remember coming out of the water. Some of the sisters wrapped us up in big towels and took us into another room with a big blazing fire.[73]

Not all baptismal services, however, were as comfortable as Gartland's: one male convert from Oldham found that the font erected beneath the floorboards in a meeting hall in Manchester "was so small that they banged his head three times before they managed to baptise him [properly]", resulting in his nearly being knocked unconscious.[74] The Mormons' development of a sacred, or dedicated, space in Lancashire thus began with the erection of individual baptismal fonts and gradually expanded outward to include the construction of chapels possessing amenities intended to accommodate all aspects of Latter-day Saint life, both spiritual and social.

FROM THE GROUND UP: CHAPEL BUILDING

As noted in the introduction, although the development of purpose-built places of worship in Britain was anticipated by Joseph F. Smith as early as 1903, it was not until the middle of the century that the Church succeeded in making actual progress. Prior to the organisation of the Manchester Stake in 1960, at which time the membership in the North West were granted access to the Church's collective resources, financial and otherwise, individual congregations desiring chapels of their own had no choice but to pursue the matter themselves, virtually unaided by church authorities in Utah.

In recent years, the historiography concerning Mormon property ownership in Britain has been centred largely upon the restored Gadfield Elm chapel in rural Herefordshire—a structure built by a primitive Methodist sect known as the United Brethren and deeded to the Church in 1840, following the group's collective conversion to Mor-

[73] LDS Church Archives, May T. Gartland, Oral History, interview by Richard L. Jensen, 1987, typescript, p. 9, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, OH 885.
[74] Whalley, Oral History, p. 6.

monism at the hands of the Apostle Wilford Woodruff.[75] As with many other aspects of the history of British Mormonism, this structure has received abundant, if not undue, attention by LDS historians on account of its connection with the fabled Apostolic missions of the late 1830s and early 1840s. Much less discussed is the old Mormon chapel at Llanelli, South Wales, which was dedicated in January 1849, and is now thought to be the first purpose-built structure of the Church anywhere in Britain.[76] Although each is an important structure in its own right, within the context of the Church's nineteenth-century westward orientation, neither the 1840 Gadfield Elm chapel nor the 1849 chapel at Llanelli can be seen as anything but a compelling aberration within the principles and practices of early British Mormonism. Simply stated, property acquisition and chapel building are decidedly twentieth-century features of British Mormon history and are perhaps the most important outward manifestation of the Church's reinterpretation of the gathering doctrine, wherein British church membership were encouraged to build-up Zion locally.

In the North West, as mentioned above, the first building project directly undertaken by a group of local Latter-day Saints occurred at Oldham where, between 1907 and 1909, the branch membership successfully erected the region's first purpose-built chapel. Fashioned out of corrugated iron and lined with matched lumber, the original Oldham chapel on Neville Street was an architectural curiosity and modest both in size and appearance.[77] According to the *Millennial Star*, the chapel's

[75] Ronan James Head, 'Creating a Mormon Mecca in England: The Gadfield Elm Chapel', *Mormon Historical Studies*, 7 (2006), pp. 89–102. See also Richard Woolley Jackson, *Places of Worship: 150 Years of Latter-day Saint Architecture* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003), p. 52.

[76] James R. and LaVelle R. Moss, 'Names and Places: Locales of British LDS Interest', *Ensign*, July 1987, p. 16.

[77] It should be noted that a similar structure was planned, but never built, in Liverpool. The LDS Church Archives retains the architectural plans for the proposed "mission room", drafted in 1907 by Bullen Brothers & Sons, a Liverpool building firm. The front elevation of the Liverpool chapel plans bears a strong resemblance to photographs of the exterior of the Oldham chapel. Accordingly, it appears probable that the professionally rendered design, although unused in Liverpool, may have been acquired by the Saints at Oldham who then followed the blueprint when determining the dimensions and features of

main gathering room was no larger than many of the meeting halls then occupied by Mormon congregations throughout Lancashire, covering an area of 25 by 32 feet, with two separate classrooms at the rear of the building.[78] The simplicity of its design seems reflective both of the simplicity of Mormonism's "first principles" and of the unadorned nature of its weekly worship services.[79]

Figure 5 - Photograph of four missionaries posed outside the original chapel at Oldham, circa 1913. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives.

Notwithstanding the Oldham chapel's diminutive dimensions, the editors of the Star described it with pride and exulted over its modern amenities such as gas lighting and a self-contained water heater.[80] The chapel itself, constructed at a total cost of £110, was home to Oldham's Latter-day Saints for nearly 50 years. Although undeniably amateurish in scope and craftsmanship, this first attempt by the Lancashire Latter-day Saints to establish a home of their own is an important reflection of the local membership's growing internalisation of the new task of the twentieth-century: quite literally to construct Zion at home.

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their own chapel: see LDS Church Archives, architectural drawing of proposed Mission Room at 295 Edge Lane, Liverpool, 16 January 1907, MS 11588.

[78] *Millennial Star,* 71 (1909), p. 197.

[79] As Terryl Givens has noted, "A people's religious structures are visible manifestation of religious values, or, more specifically, a way of ordering those values." While this is certainly true in relation to LDS temples, it is also an important element in LDS chapel building, both in the United States and in Britain. See Givens, *People of Paradox*, pp. 107–115.

[80] *Millennial Star,* 71 (1909), p. 197.

The acquisition of existing structures continued, albeit at a relatively slow pace, throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. However, it was not until the years following the Second World War that the chapel building programme, pioneered by the Saints at Oldham, began in earnest. An initial obstacle faced by the local membership was the identification and purchase of lots of sufficient size on which to build. The acquisition of land proved an enormously difficult task for the local congregational heads, and the difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that church administration in Utah insisted that each building site occupy a minimum of one acre.[81] The difficulties which stemmed from meeting this criterion are evident in the histories of both the Burnley and Oldham Branches. In Burnley, the Saints succeeded in obtaining a suitable building site only after a branch member who belonged to the local town council used his political connections drive down the price of a specific parcel of land until it was within reach.[82]

In 1958, when the Oldham Branch leadership deemed their original chapel unfit for further use, the membership attempted, and failed, to find a new building site in town. In consequence, the congregation faced a temporary and discouraging reversal in their quest to improve their worship accommodation, having no option but to resume the former practice of occupying an existing structure which had never been intended for religious worship—in this case a public dance hall.[83] Frustrated with the lack of progress at Oldham, upper church administration assumed control of the project and ultimately secured a building plot at Ashton-under-Lyne, much to the chagrin of the Saints at Oldham who felt their congregational identity was now being threatened by what they saw as the inappropriate placement of their soon-to-be constructed chapel.[84] Work on the chapel at Ashton was commenced in 1962 and the members in Oldham watched in frustration as their spiritual centre of gravity slipped away from their own community into a place where, by comparison, the numbers of Latter-day Saints were relatively few. [85] In what was deemed an injustice by many of the local Saints, the Oldham Branch would not occupy a new chapel of its

[81] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 9.
[82] Pickup, Oral History, pp. 71–72.
[83] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 23.
[84] Whalley, Oral History, p. 48.
[85] Jackson, *Places of Worship*, p. 313.

own until 1987.[86] This incident represents a compelling tension within the Saints' on-going quest for suitable worship accommodation—namely, opposition from within church administration. Oral history records suggest that the frustrations associated with the subjugation of matters of local importance, such as the precise placement of new chapel, to the administrative workings of church headquarters in Salt Lake City, may have put a mild strain on the relationships between local membership and general leadership. However abiding the frustration may have been, the Lancashire Latter-day Saints had no option but to submit to decisions handed down from far-off church headquarters, as the local congregations had neither the manpower nor the financial resources to bring about desired ends by their own power.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, after discovering that the acquisition of undeveloped land on which to build was nearly impossible, upper church leadership launched an initiative intended to overcome the challenge of obtaining building sites of sufficient size. The First Presidency of the Church approved the purchase of a series of undervalued Victorian villas in varied locations throughout the North West, each situated on sizeable acreage.[87] In Blackburn the Saints acquired "Oman Brae", in Stockport they purchased "Beaconfield", and in Radcliffe, just south east of Bolton, the Church obtained "Wilton House". In Liverpool, following the sale of Durham House, the Church purchased "Devonia", another spacious home also on Edge Lane, which served as a meeting place for the Liverpool Branch following the exodus of the British and European Mission personnel to London in the early 1930s. In 1952, the Liverpool Saints occupied "Summerfield" in nearby West Derby—the site whereupon the LDS chapel at Liverpool presently stands. Although the attractive, newly purchased sites were appreciated by local leadership and membership alike, church administration in Utah regarded the properties in strictly utilitarian and forward-thinking terms. One by one, the homes were either sold or, as was more often the case, demolished in favour of capitalising on what church administration perceived as the properties' primary value: space. Thus, the manicured gardens which surrounded many of the homes were replaced

[86] LDS Church Archives, dedicatory prayer of Oldham chapel offered by Martin A. Cook, 18 January 1987, LR 6490 21.

[87] Anecdotal evidence suggests that the changing housing market in post-war Britain rendered a large number of no-longer-needed Victorian villas inexpensive, thus enabling the purchase of the same by local LDS congregations.

by ample car parks, and where the homes themselves once stood, new chapels were erected from the ground up—giving Lancashire Mormonism its modern, standardised, and some would say, American, architectural image by which it is recognised today. Terryl Givens is of the opinion that the standard architectural plan employed in both Britain and America is "eminently practical, and largely hostile to both aesthetic sense and the articulation of sacred space".[88] Although the architectural image of LDS chapels in Britain has in recent decades undergone several outward revisions, it has remained essentially the same in its blend of functionality and sacrality—a marriage of purposes which Givens regards as a "premeditated porousness between the secular and the sacred".[89]

Paul Anderson has explored the peculiar architectural developments and various amalgamations of style within Mormonism and has rightly interpreted the Church's stylistic preferences as an effort to distinguish itself deliberately from other Christian traditions. For the Mormons, Anderson noted, the process of selecting (if not creating) an architectural style was "at times a delicate balancing act, wanting to be different, but not different enough to be marginalised."[90] In Lancashire, the local members were keenly aware of how incongruous some of the new structures appeared within their surrounding environs. Apart from looking out of place, many of the new chapels were also poorly adapted to the local climate. Derek Plumbley of Wythenshawe referred to the modern edifices, each of which was designed by an American architect, as "California buildings, not built for rain and cold, and [therefore] not cost-effective for us to operate".[91] Notwithstanding the chapels' problematic idiosyncrasies, the new meeting-places were undeniably more comfortable than anything the Saints had before known. Concerning the newly-completed chapel on Ribbleton Avenue, Gertrude Corless noted that:

> the Saints in Preston were so proud of it after all the terrible halls we'd met in. They were just awful. After getting a new

[88] Givens, *People of Paradox*, p. 245.
[89] Ibid., pp. 244–45.
[90] Paul Lawrence Anderson, 'Mormon Moderne: New Directions in Latter-day Saint Architecture, 1890–1955', unpublished manuscript cited in Givens, *People of Paradox*, p. 244.
[91] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 25.

> chapel all of our own, it was wonderful. That was a very wonderful day when we [got] our own chapel. It was quite small, but it was good.[92]

The Saints' building programme advanced rapidly in the 1960s and 70s and garnered much attention from local presses. In some cases, the increased publicity was attended by public suspicion and even various forms of protest. This also was not without precedent. Concerning the original Oldham chapel, constructed at the height of the LDS revival in Lancashire in the opening years of the twentieth century, it was rumoured locally that the large floor-mat installed just inside the building's entrance was a carefully disguised trap-door through which attractive young women would vanish.[93] As the Liverpool chapel was under construction in the early 1960s, local children believed the structure was little more than a portal to a transatlantic tunnel which surfaced at Salt Lake City, through which converts, or perhaps misbehaving children, were abducted.[94]

As with other instances of anti-Mormon expression in the North West, much of the opposition faced by the Saints in response to their chapel building originated with other local faiths. Gertrude Corless remembered being invited to attend Pentecostal services as the new chapel at Preston was under construction. Once present, she observed that the worshippers prayed aloud and in turn that the "the Lord would stop the Mormons from building their church." Corless further recalled:

> It just got to us in the end that each one would say that. Though they were Christian people, yet they were talking about another Christian group and hoping they wouldn't be able to complete their building. We were going to complete our chapel. It was the Lord's work.[95]

The determination expressed by Corless was an outgrowth of a more general mid-twentieth-century ethos within the Church—a type of spiritual "manifest destiny" which attended British Mormonism in its

[92] Corless, Oral History, p. 14.
[93] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 23.
[94] Author's field notes, Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, April 1997.
[95] Corless, Oral History, p. 14.

years of rapid growth in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Indeed, it appears a rather distinct sense of religious conquest may have undergirded the Saints' pursuit of property throughout the middle of the twentieth century. Given the Saints' widely-held perspective that the region had formerly been blessed or "dedicated" by ancient prophets within their faith, subsequent efforts at securing properties were more akin to reclamation of a sacred space to which they held divine entitlement more than it did mere acquisition. Indeed, all advancements made in the building programme were interpreted by the membership as evidence of divine providence at work in finally finding a permanent home for the Latter-day Saints. Reflecting on the progress the congregations of the Manchester Stake had made in improving their worship accommodation, Robert Larsen, an American expatriate who presided over the stake for the first year following its organisation, proclaimed that "the hand of the Lord has been in all of these happenings, and the way has been opened up for this great building programme to get underway in our stake in a way that can only be described as a miracle".[96]

Such was the perspective of the upper leadership, particularly among those who, like Larsen, hailed from Mormonism's American core, where the long-established stability of the Church seems to have falsely engendered the belief that comparable growth throughout the world was a foregone conclusion: a near-effortless fulfilment of certain prophecy. For the rank-and-file membership, however, on whose backs the work in the North West progressed, the miracle may have been that the local Saints endured the many ordeals which attended the building programme. It must be recognised that significant financial sacrifice and protracted physical labour, both of which were provided by the members themselves, fuelled the programme's progress. An unsanitised or "real-world" perspective of the hardships borne by the membership was expressed by Albert Pickup of the Burnley Branch. Refusing to idealise the circumstances surrounding the programme, Pickup regarded the years in which the local Saints built their chapel as "terrible" and "a very hard period". He continued:

> The digging, the actual manual work was very, very hard. We didn't have the current advantage of contractors. The members did the building under the supervisor's eyes. I organised

[96] Larsen, 'Manchester Stake 1960–1961', p. 9.

> a building committee in accordance with the Church's requirements. I think we had four members on it, who were doubling up or trebling up on several things. The time when we 'lost ground' in the Church as a whole, the time when we lost people, was always during the building of a chapel. People couldn't stay the pace. The hard work, the money, the sacrifice, and the displacement, really, was very killing.[97]

Pickup later recalled that the cumulative strains associated with the construction of the Burnley chapel "decimated the branch" and noted that the difficulty of the experience was reflected in the loss of membership. By the time the project was completed, he remembered, only six of the many families within the branch remained active in their faith.[98]

By contrast, elsewhere in Lancashire, the membership-driven building projects appear to have rejuvenated the region's long-time membership and unified them in their congregational life with the many new converts won in the 1950s and 60s. Moreover, the myriad sacrifices inherent to the programme took on profound spiritual significance and deepened the religious roots of members young and old. For example, in the Manchester area, the financial donations required from the local membership became a type of rallying point for the Saints, and one which possessed a great spiritual potency. As means to paying down the Manchester Stake's enormous building debt, the local presidency gave the membership a three-month notice whereupon the faithful were requested to submit a full week's pay. Most of the local membership participated in the scheme, the likes of which blended matters of spiritual and temporal concern so completely as to become comparable with the collective strivings of the nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints, whose economic sacrifices facilitated the emigration programme. For the faithful, modern converts of the North West, the very nature of the sacrifice required of them imbued the entire project with a tremendous sense of urgency and purpose. The result was a shared, religious euphoria. Concerning the membership's involvement in stake's debt-relief programme, Derek Plumbley recalled:

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[97] Pickup, Oral History, p. 69.
[98] Ibid., p. 73.

> Oh, they [the members] were fantastic. [The debt relief programme] did more for the members than anything I've ever seen done in my administration in the Church. You could see it build up ... We talked about nothing else for three months, and you could see the spirit and the dedication and the sacrifice build up. And when [the deadline] came and the members queued up at the bishop's office to pile a week's wages, usually in cash, on this table and then went into a fast [and testimony] meeting, that was something.[99]

Perhaps of greatest significance, the Saints' involvement in the actual construction process diverted their attention from the still-beckoning Salt Lake Valley and fixed it firmly upon the Church in their own communities. Zion, or at least the physical structures representative of the same, was now within reach and, consequently, the labours expended by the membership resonated with a distinctly spiritual quality. Importantly, as with so many other aspects of Mormon life, the chapel building programme was regarded as a family affair—women and children engaged in the work alongside the men.

In time, the labour itself became a type of religious metaphor. Every aspect of the building process took on a spiritual counterpart as the structure itself, and all its component parts, became divinely allegorical.[100] This fact is reflected in the dedicatory prayer of the recently completed chapel at Oldham in 1987, offered by Martin A. Cook, then president of the Ashton Stake. In confident terms more reminiscent of an authorised injunction than a prayerful supplication, Cook directed divine favour upon the structure, exhorting the hearer that the chapel's walls would "surround the spiritual vagrants of society", that the roof would withstand "the hail and the snows of the disfavour of the world", and "deflect the ignorance of criticism". The doors were to be "hinged upon the principle of love" while its locks would forbid entrance of

[99] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 26.

[100] The chapel as religious metaphor finds abundant substantiation in the dedicatory prayers offered by Church leaders. This is particularly so in the dedicatory prayers of the Oldham chapel and Preston Temple, each of which serves as compelling evidence of the Latter-day Saints' spiritual interpretation of physical space and structure. For a useful discussion of the evolution of dedicatory prayers of LDS temples, see Samuel Brown, 'A Sacred Code: Mormon Temple Dedication Prayers, 1836–2000', *Journal of Mormon History*, 32 (Summer 2006), pp. 173–96.

"vandals and not the visitor", and "be closed . . . against inclemency and not the investigator".[101]

Cumulatively, the chief lesson learned through the membership building programme was that "Zion" and "Lancashire" were now synonymous. As Rodney Fullwood, a convert from Liverpool, recalled:

> A lot of families ... started to get involved in the excitement of helping [lay] the bricks and [dig] the trenches and all these other things. We were getting involved in something that was our own. That I'm sure, must have contributed to some people thinking, 'Well maybe we don't have to emigrate' ... Because when you invest in something with your own labour, you tend to value it. It becomes a part of you. Those men and women and kids were all involved in something that was a part of them, rather than looking to the Salt Lake Temple and general conference and all these other things as being the most exciting things in the Church.[102]

In a similar strain, Derek Plumbley asserted that the chapel building programme "filled a need" which had formerly been associated with allure of the Utah Zion. "I don't think the Saints have that need now", Plumbley maintained, "You don't today see people saying, 'I must go to Salt Lake. It's Mecca.' They feel they have the Church. Although there's always a curiosity and everybody would like to go, there's no great desire."[103]

CONCLUSION

The various types of worship accommodation sought and maintained by the Lancashire Latter-day Saints must be interpreted as a direct outgrowth of the regional membership's changing regard for matters of migration: which outlook was revolutionised by Mormonism's amended, and less-expectant, eschatological ethos at the opening of the twentieth century. Herein the primacy of Mormon doctrine within and upon the denomination's local history and broader development

[101] Oldham Chapel dedicatory prayer.
[102] LDS Church Archives, Rodney A. Fullwood, Oral History, interviews by Richard L. Jensen, 1987–88, typescript p. 25, James Moyle Oral History Programme, Historical Department, OH 830.
[103] Plumbley, Oral History, p. 28.

becomes evident. Throughout the Church's nineteenth-century history, during which time Zion was associated primarily with the American West, worship accommodation in Lancashire was consistently poor and always regarded as temporary. For decades, British Mormonism's westward orientation reinforced the central role of the temple and the "city of Zion" as the Saints' centre place. Consequently, the rented rooms and halls occupied by church members in Lancashire were, at most, regarded as local way-stations: momentary places of gathering intended to accommodate local clusters of Saints anticipating emigration.

In regards to broader developments within worship accommodation, the North West remains anomalous within the history of British Mormonism primarily because of its long-established role as the administrative centre of the British and European Missions. Accordingly, the facilities at Liverpool were always more elaborate and spacious than those maintained by congregations elsewhere in the North West, among which 42 Islington and Durham House are particularly illustrative. In the decades following President Joseph F. Smith's 1903 announcement that property acquisition would commence in the British Mission, the Saints in Lancashire undertook the purchasing of existing properties which both strengthened the denomination's local identity and yielded the first impressions of Mormonism's permanence within the variegated, and often competitive, religious landscape of the English North West.

The steady acquisition of properties in the first half of the twentieth century sent a clear message of institutional intent to the members of the Church and wider public alike—both of which needed convincing that Mormonism should no longer be deemed synonymous with Utah. Consistent with Smith's declaration, Mormon leaders in Lancashire undertook to demonstrate their intent to remain indefinitely by investing heavily in the acquisition and development of fixed places of worship. Beginning with the erection of the chapel at Oldham in 1909, church members throughout the North West became increasingly committed to the process of creating a local home for the Saints. Their success in doing so contributed to the gradual and collective fading of the regional membership's long-standing fascination with the LDS communities in the American West and contributed to the diminution of the formerly insatiable desire to emigrate. Crucially, the membership-driven building programme, although defunct by the later 1970s, helped galvanise the religious commitment of the new generation of post-war converts who became the first to divest local Mormon

congregations of their long-standing reliance upon the American Church and its missionaries. For the first time, congregational independence was on the horizon. Ironically, as local jurisdiction increased in the later decades of the twentieth century, property acquisition and chapel building became an endeavour with which the local membership had little to do. By the 1980s, all such projects were managed strictly by upper church administration, overseen locally by representatives from the Church's European headquarters at Solihull, Warwickshire.

When viewed in a broader context, it becomes clear that all developments within the Latter-day Saints' worship accommodation are united by one common priority: the creation of a sacred, or dedicated, space within a specific locale. Indeed, the chapel building programme, especially when based on the labours of the local membership, may be the single most important development within the history of Lancashire Mormonism. The shared undertaking of the enormous project, fraught with difficulty and sacrifice, effectively bound Lancashire's Latter-day Saints to one another and, perhaps of equal importance, to the location wherein their labours were expended. The cumulative result of these "works of consecration"[104] was of profound importance in that it made Mormonism's Zion ideal immediately proximate for the members themselves, for their families, and future generations of church members. Thus, from the Vauxhall chapel to the Preston Temple, the creation of a spiritual heartland or centre place has remained vital to the endurance of Mormonism in the North West and, indeed, laid the foundations upon which modern church leadership clearly anticipates future growth. An additional, and indisputable, benefit which Lancashire Mormonism has derived from the establishment of permanent places of worship is an increased level of denominational identity and congregational stability which has, in turn, encouraged both spiritual and social solidarity among believing Latter-day Saints.

[104] Michael H. Madsen, 'The Sanctification of Mormonism's Historical Geography, *Geographies of Religions and Belief Systems*, 1 (2006), p. 52.

"We Do Not Make Fun of Any Religion in My Newspapers": The Beaverbrook Press Coverage of Mormon Stories in Britain, 1912–1964

Peter Vousden

The coverage of Mormon activity in the British press in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the first decade of the Twentieth Century were concentrated on scandal and outrage. The main focus of press interest was in stories of female abduction from Britain to the United States for forced polygamous marriages. The principal organ in an overt anti—Mormon campaign was the *Daily Express*, which pioneered the strategy of what the media scholar; Jean Chalaby termed 'Crusaderism'. The *Daily Express* was happy to lead an overtly anti-Mormon crusade with the intention of ridding Britain of all Mormons. The term 'anti-Mormon' is an emotive term with Mormons applying it to any criticism. However, between 1910 and 1912, the *Daily Express* proudly positioned itself as the pre-eminent anti-Mormon organiser in Britain and often printed the term on its front page. However, in 1938, it made a staggering declaration:

> The faith of the Mormons, which began in ridicule, now stands in dignity and respect. They have created a worthy and useful institution whose members do good by teaching and by the example of their upright lives.

This article examines the change of tone with particular reference to the views of Lord Beaverbrook. It is argued that Beaverbrook took a personal interest in meeting Mormon leaders and hearing their side of the story, and that he also intervened editorially to ensure the unfair ridiculing of Mormons by the *Daily Express* ceased.

The British press coverage of Mormon missionary work in Britain in the years before the World War One has been well documented.[1]

[1] Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Mormon Peril: The Crusade Against the Saints in Britain 1910—1914', *Journal of Mormon History*, 2 (1975); Davis S. and Roy

Fleet Street's most critical voice was the *Daily Express* which pulled no punches in attacking the "ridiculous travesty of a religion which goes by the name of Mormonism",[2] "The Mormon religion, a foul and bestial apotheosis of animal passion and sexual degradation, is the vilest superstition that ever masqueraded in the civilised world."[3] The paper accused missionaries of "employing vicious propaganda whereby English girls are lured to Utah".[4] The only solution the *Daily Express* could suggest was "the total expulsion of the Mormon agents of polygamy".[5]

At the height of the 1911—12 anti-Mormon campaign, the *Daily Express* did not limit itself only to journalism, but also financed an anti-Mormon rally in Holborn Hall, London. This was not an exercise in rational debate. At the time of the so called "Mormon Peril" of 1911—12, the *Daily Express* was still a burgeoning newspaper owned by its editor, R.D. Blumenfeld. Blumenfeld, a native of Wisconsin, USA, became a British subject in 1907 and was an exponent of the movement labelled New Journalism. "Modern newspapers" said Blumenfeld, "give the public what it wants, thrills, sensations, frivolities".[6] He also said, "a certain amount of exaggeration is legitimate, even necessary."[7] Scandal and crusades sold a lot of newspapers. "Net sales are the blood circulation of a newspaper" he wrote in 1933, "advertising revenue the air which fills its lungs."[8]

Scholars such as Chalaby and Mark Hampton have identified the New Journalism trend away from politics and hard news towards amusement and entertainment of readership, even if that meant "an artificial, even contrived news item manufactured to sell newspapers."[9]

Hoopes, *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson* (Lanham, Md.; Madison Books, 1990); Peter J. Vousden, 'The English Editor and the "Mormon Scare" of 1911', *BYU Studies*, 41 (2002), pp. 65–75.

[2] *Daily Express*, 29 April 1911.

[3] *Daily Express*, 3 April 1911.

[4] *Daily Express*, 24 April 1911.

[5] *Daily Express*, 29 April 1911.

[6] Jean K. Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 185.

[7] *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422–1992*, ed. by Dennis Griffiths (London: Macmillan, 1992).

[8] R. D. Blumenfeld, *My Time in the Press* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1933).

[9] Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain: 1850–1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 41.

Edward Dicey, the radical politician lamented being informed by a producer of New Journalism in 1905, that "the newspaper reading public of today wants to be amused not instructed. They do not wish to use their minds more than they can help."[10] In such an environment Blumenfeld showed no compunction about printing lurid, unsubstantiated allegations about Mormons.

A journalist and historian of the British press has written that "The *Daily Express* was the first paper to triumph by proving it did not actually matter whether what you said was right or wrong, as long as you said it with conviction and élan."[11] Blumenfeld was certainly keen to sell more newspapers as funds were low. In 1911, on the steps of the casino in Monte Carlo, he met the Canadian tycoon and British Member of Parliament, Max Aitken. Blumenfeld told Aitken of hard times keeping the *Daily Express* going. Aitken wrote a cheque for £25,000 as a personal loan with the proviso that the paper was to give him some positive coverage. Five years later and no longer a Member of Parliament Lord Beaverbrook, Aitken having accepted a peerage and title, purchased the *Daily Express* and kept Blumenfeld as the editor.

Under Beaverbrook the *Daily Express* was to achieve phenomenal growth. In 1913 the Express had a circulation of 277,048 copies a day, just a quarter of its main rival the *Daily Mail.*[12] By the mid-1930s, the *Daily Express* circulation was approaching two million copies a day. By Beaverbrook's death in 1964 they were selling four and a half million copies every day. Moreover, he started from scratch in December 1918 with the *Sunday Express* and later purchased the London centred *Evening Standard*.

After the anti-Mormon campaign of 1911—12 had subsided, a British Home Office investigation in 1911 concluded that there was no reason for the government to curtail Mormon activity; the newspapers therefore turned their attention to other matters. The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914 diverted everybody's attention. Mormons remained anonymous until they resumed missionary work after World War One.

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[10] Alan J. Lee, 'The Radical Press', in *Edwardian Radicalism, 1900–1914*, ed. by A.J.A. Morris (London: Routledge, 1974), p. 47.

[11] Matthew Engel, *Tickle the Public. One Hundred Years of the Popular Press* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996), p. 92.

[12] Viscount Camrose, *British Newspapers and their Controllers* (London: Cassell and Company, 1947).

In 1922 The *Daily Express* resumed where it left off a decade earlier. "Mormons must be banned!"[13] screamed one headline, "Deport the Mormons!"[14] implored another, and "Girl Victims of the Mormons"[15] proclaimed yet another.

> The *Daily Express* exposed the scandal of Mormon missionaries in 1911. Now these apostles of a pestilential gospel are here again. Once more the *Daily Express* has exposed and will continue to expose the vile degradation that awaits any English woman who falls into the hands of the Mormon Church.[16]
>
> No woman who gets to Utah can ever escape. She is lost to decency and dead to her friends. Yet the nauseous hypocrites who lure girls in the name of a God they provoke are allowed to run free in this country. The peril is shocking. The scandal is intolerable.[17]

In reality the quality of journalism was shocking and the headlines intolerable. The *Daily Express*'s anti-Mormon view was almost a lone voice in 1922. The *Daily Mail* printed one Mormon story in the early part of 1922, and *The People* did not resurrect its own anti-Mormon campaign that it had abandoned in 1912.

Undeterred, Blumenfeld and the *Daily Express* ploughed a lone furrow of bigoted outrage. The accusations became hysterical and ludicrous. In January 1922 it ran a story under the banner of "The most Sinful City in the World".[18] This was not an article about Berlin, Paris, New York, London or Shanghai, but of Salt Lake City in Utah, the home of the Mormons. Up until this point Beaverbrook did not get involved with the Mormon question personally and the decisions all seemed to be Blumenfeld's. But Elder James E. Talmage, a British-born academic and ordained Latter–day Saint Apostle who also served as president of the British Mission between 1924 and 1928, took it upon himself to engage newspaper editors, both at a local and national level.

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[13] *Daily Express*, 11 January 1922.
[14] *Daily Express*, 12 January 1922.
[15] *Daily Express*, 19 January 1922.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] *Daily Express*, 18 January 1922.

On New Year's Day 1926, Dr. Talmage secured a two-hour interview with Lord Beaverbrook and Viscount Castlerose. He noted in his diary:

> We met Lord Beaverbrook for tea. Shortly after our arrival Viscount Castlerose came in and for a period but a few minutes less than two hours we discussed Mormonism. Lord Beaverbrook was full of questions and they were all good ones, showing that he had given the subject of our missionary work in this country careful consideration. The outcome of the meeting was that Lord Beaverbrook gave brother Pugh and myself positive assurance that in the not very distant future he would give the subject of Mormonism fair treatment in one or more of his papers. [19]

On Valentine's Day 1926, writing in the *Sunday Express*, Castlerose noted that "the Mormons, whose creed debars the persecution of other religions, have not had fair play in this country owing to popular misconceptions". He also noted that having met Dr Talmage, "a member of the Philosophical Society and a man of unquestioned distinction and integrity" he felt it "absurd to stigmatise a religion to which such men belonged as one consisting of crazy or immoral fanatics."[20] Talmage observed in his diary, "This is the article promised by Lord Beaverbrook. It is plainly inspired by Beaverbrook."[21]

It is worthy of note that Castlerose's tone represented almost an apology, something Beaverbrook's rivals at the *Daily Mail* and *People* did not consider. From his point of view, James E. Talmage made no attempt to overestimate his own influence upon the changed perceptions of the press but when he completed his mission to Britain in 1928, he wrote in the *Millennial Star:*

> I have had wide experience with the British editors, and regard them as a very honourable body of men. Some of those I met were at the head of publications of a somewhat sensational character; and misrepresentations of our Church and people

[19] Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, James Edward Talmage, *Diary*.
[20] *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837–1987*, ed. by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss and Larry C. Porter (Solihull: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), p. 349.
[21] Talmage, *Diary*.

> had been made through contributions to such papers and magazines. But when the misrepresentation was pointed out and demonstrated, in almost every instance the editor extended a courteous invitation to us to make reply, giving freely of their space. [22]

The evidence seems to suggest that Talmage's intervention was crucial. Certainly Dr Talmage's interview with Beaverbrook seemed to have had an impact because the Mormon coverage in his publications became far more temperate and even supportive. For example, in 1936 Sir William Goodair, a wealthy City of London insurance executive, hosted a party in his mansion in Mayfair, an exclusive residential area of London. The occasion was reported by the society correspondent of the *Daily Express.* "Dr Richard R. Lyman, newly appointed European Mission president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints stood in a Mayfair drawing room last night surrounded by English actors and actresses, a Mayfair host, members and missionaries of the Mormon church. Dr Lyman, guest of honour, neither smoked nor drank."[23]

Mormon sportsmen also began to be noted in the pages of the British press. In 1935 the New Zealand All Blacks rugby football team toured Britain and Ireland. The press highlighted Tori Reid, the only Maori player in the team, and also a third generation Mormon. "The Maori is a shy giant" noted the *Daily Express* "22 years old, six feet two inches tall, close to 15 stone, a tremendous worker on the field."[24] Reid's observance of the Word of Wisdom was noted as a contributory factor to his athleticism. In 1938 the *Express* made a staggering declaration:

> The faith of the Mormons, which began in ridicule, now stands in dignity and respect. They have created a worthy and useful institution whose members do good by teaching and by the example of their upright lives.[25]

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[22] Bloxham, Moss and Porter, *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 350.

[23] *Daily Express*, 9 December 1936. Also quoted in *Millennial Star*, 17 December 1936.

[24] *Daily Express*, 7 September 1935.

[25] *Daily Express*, 25 August 1938.

By the mid-1930s the press articles on Mormon issues were far more rational than those of the previous decades. Upon the passing of King George V in 1935, a young missionary by the name of Gordon B. Hinckley, who was working in London, was assigned to write in the *Millennial Star* a brief salute to the late monarch. Having done that he turned his attention to the growth of the Church during the King's reign:

> In few things has this progress been more notable than in cutting down the fences of ill-founded hatred that resulted in bitter persecution. The integrity of Mormonism has been proved in the House of Commons, in the public press and in the minds of thinking people generally ... our church has become established in these Isles.[26]

A few months later the *Star* noted that "The increasing number of newspaper articles about Latter-day Saints which are submitted by Durham's news clippings service bespeaks the growing esteem held for the church in Great Britain. During the past month there have been turned in 40 articles, all fair and favourable."[27]

Lord Beaverbrook was not only a powerful man as a newspaper tycoon, he had also been a member of the House of Commons and served in the cabinet of Lloyd George during World War One and the cabinet of Winston Churchill in the Second World War. He had influence with men of power. He also had enemies and detractors. He had his own motives for courting certain individuals and better than almost any other man in London understood the power of propaganda. He was distrusted by those outside of his sphere of influence as a manipulator of men and events. There was almost always suspicion of an ulterior motive.[28]

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[26] *Millennial Star*, 2 May 1935.

[27] *Millennial Star*, 22 August 1935.

[28] An example of this suspicion is the attitude of Winston Churchill's wife, Clementine. Beaverbrook proved to be a long-time friend of Churchill's beside him through thick and thin but Mrs. Churchill was always suspicious of Beaverbrook. On 12 February 1942 she wrote to her husband: "My Own Darling, I beg you to reflect whether it would be best to leave Lord B entirely out" (of the government). "My darling try ridding yourself of this microbe which some people fear is in your blood." Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill* (London: Cassell, 1979), p. 352.

The Mormons were very small fry indeed and amounted to no influence in his world. He had nothing to gain by showing tolerance to such a small and maligned society. There were no political or business interests to improve by showing respect to Mormons. His motives in his sporadic defence of their religion, was probably founded upon his own Calvinist upbringing, upon ideals of religious toleration and fair play. He was famous for interfering in the editorial content of his newspapers, on one occasion allegedly telephoning the editor of the *Express* 149 times in one day with instructions what to print and what to leave out. The hand of Beaverbrook was evident when the *Daily Express* commented on matters of religion. In December 1935 the *Daily Express* ran a series of articles seeking an answer to declining British church attendance and in turn examined the Church of England, Scottish Presbyterians, Catholics, Christian Scientists, and Methodists.[29]

In 1955, Mrs. Margaret King, a psychology lecturer at Aberdeen University, broadcast a programme on the BBC entitled "Morals Without Religion" in which she argued that religion should not be taught to children because they could develop their own moral framework without religious education. The *Daily Express* took up the debate with Mrs. King, registering its own disapproval and giving space to Church of England clerics to oppose her ideas.[30] These articles certainly bear the finger prints of Beaverbrook. In 1958 in Scotland a proposal was mooted to unite the Presbyterian Church and the Church of Scotland. Beaverbrook was against this on the grounds that one combined church would equal less overall church attendance than two independent churches. He began a personal campaign using the *Scottish Daily Express* to run articles against the idea and to organise public meetings. The last leader Beaverbrook wrote in his successful campaign concluded with the words "Glory Hallelujah!"[31] He did not confine the exercise of his religious conscience to large scale campaigns. He once telephoned an employee in the middle of the night to admonish him for an article he had written making light of religion. He told his astonished employee, a lapsed Scottish Presbyterian, to repent and go to church. The call con-

[29] *Daily Express*, 19 December 1935. See the Christian Scientists for example.
[30] *Daily Express*, 13–14, 17, 20 January and 8 February 1955.
[31] A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), p. 642.

cluded with an imperial edict. "We do not make fun of any religion in my newspapers."[32]

In 1962 he published an essay on Christ he wrote in 1925, entitled "The Divine Propagandist." He sold seven thousand copies and gave three thousand away to schools and religious ministers.[33] His friends questioned the wisdom of publishing as his theology was questionable and his views unorthodox but he was determined to publish. He received a withering assessment for his views on Christ from Malcolm Muggeridge, the best known Christian commentator of the age.

A man noted for his personal financial generosity, Beaverbrook did not forget his own ministers of religion and paid $300 a year to retired Presbyterian ministers and their widows in the Canadian provinces of his youth. "It appears to me," he explained in a letter to a friend, "that the complete failure of Christianity will come to pass because the Ministers now in the church will die off swiftly of worry and new men will refuse to enter upon a career of poverty."[34]

His interest in religion certainly did not wane with age and he telephoned John Junor, editor of the *Sunday Express*, upbraiding him for printing disparaging remarks about Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses. He told Mr. Junor he was sending him a letter which he might like to consider publishing in the letters page of the next edition of the *Sunday Express*. Naturally, Junor gave way and published his boss's letter.

> Mormon missionaries represent an important and dignified branch of the Christian religion. Their people in Utah and elsewhere are good-living and God-fearing citizens ... "Paragraphs and interviews denouncing Mormon missionaries should not be given publicity in the Sunday Express." The letter was signed "Beaverbrook"[35]

At around about the same time as the communication to Mr Junor the Church was beginning to grow fast in Great Britain and the Hyde Park chapel in London was built and nearing its dedication. T. Bowring Woodbury, the British Mission president wrote a personal

[32] Logan Gourlay, *The Beaverbrook I Knew* (London: Quartet Books, 1984), p. 116.
[33] Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, p. 650.
[34] Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, p. 624.
[35] *Time Magazine*, 10 November 1961.

letter to Beaverbrook addressed to his private residence in France asking whether he might enjoy an invitation to the dedication service which was to be conducted by President David O. McKay. In a letter dated 25 April 1960 Beaverbrook replied saying he would like to receive an invitation. He also noted that he enjoyed listening to his Mormon Tabernacle Choir record collection and personally thanked President Woodbury for writing to him.[36]

When he was only twelve weeks from death the *Scottish Daily Express* rejected an advertisement from the Free Presbyterians prompting a letter from Beaverbrook, who as proprietor stated:

> The Scottish Daily Express will not exclude any religious institution wishing to advertise in its columns. The paper will never attack any form of religious teaching – Mormons, the Salvation Army, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Free Presbyterians.[37]

The changing attitude of the press says something not just of the standards of journalism but of the maturing of the church itself. People in Britain began to recognise Mormon people as worthy of commendation and certainly not as posers of an immediate threat. For example, in the 1960's, local newspapers were commenting upon new Mormon buildings with something approaching civic pride. As early as 1936 the *Liverpool Evening Express* declared:

> Let us hope readers will no longer look upon the Mormons as decadent ministers, luring women to a shameful life in Salt Lake City. They are a clean living band of young men, anxious to convert Gentiles into God fearing members of a pioneer church. And they do it without reward of any sort.[38]

Once past the *Daily Express's* sole attempt to reignite old style anti-Mormonism in 1922, the press as a body showed no appetite for news print bigotry. Journalists and their readers were no longer prepared to believe in Mormon female abduction myths. Press coverage in

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[36] *Millennial Star*, January 1961, carries a copy of the letter.

[37] Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, p. 665.

[38] Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain: A Brief Summary of the Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the United Kingdom* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1937), p. 212.

the years ahead was often neutral and could still be ill informed but never again plumbed the depths of the early twentieth century anti-Mormon crusade.

Other papers pedalled the female abduction myth and then abandoned it for other sensational stories. For example *The People* turned its attentions to immoral happenings within the spiritualist community in London. It ran a series of shocking revelations at fortune telling parties and séances.[39] Similarly, the *Daily Mail* once weary of anti-Mormon abduction stories, simply stopped running them.

The Beaverbrook publications were alone in the ranks of the national press in not simply abandoning the female abduction myth but in trying to redress the balance by printing positive opinions and stories about Mormons. The shift from avowed enemy of Mormonism to the advocate of fair play was the most pronounced in Beaverbrook's publications. Beaverbrook bought his way into newspapers in order to personally influence politics and ideas and the evidence suggests in the small matter of reporting Mormon activity his interventions were crucial in changing the media climate.

[39]*The People*, 8 September 1912.

One-Hundred Years of Solitude: Mormonism in Italy, 1867–1964

Eric R. Dursteler

Abstract: After establishing one of the first non-Roman Catholic missions in Italy in 1850, less than two decades later the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints recalled its missionaries and had no official presence in the peninsula for 100 years. Traditionally, the explanation for this has focused primarily on the domestic situation in Italy, including a combination of economic hardship, cultural disinclination, political and especially religious opposition from the Roman Catholic Church, which prevented Mormon missionaries from finding success initially, and from returning subsequently. While these factors influenced the decision to abandon Italy, the absence of the LDS church from 1867 to 1964 was less a product of circumstances in Italy, and more a result of historical events in the heartland of Mormonism and of cultural attitudes regarding Italians and Roman Catholicism which were widespread among Mormons in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the second wave of missionary work that began in 1850 following the Mormon exodus to Utah, Italy was one of the first non-English speaking countries to receive missionaries. Led initially by the apostle Lorenzo Snow and Giuseppe Taranto (anglicised as Joseph Toronto), the first Italian convert, missionaries toiled in the Waldensian valleys of the north-western Piedmont region sporadically over the next seventeen years. They found very limited success: the Italian mission produced fewer than 200 baptisms, an average of approximately 11–12 per year, though the bulk occurred in the first few years of the mission. Of these converts, 73 emigrated to Utah between 1850 and 1861, and an equal number were excommunicated, for reasons ranging from apostasy, negligence, rebellion, immorality, absurdity, to criticism,

nonchalance, cowardice, lying, and fear of the world.[1] Already in 1861 the *Millennial Star* reported that "the work in Italy ... has been at a standstill for a long time." By 1863 there were only 13 Mormons in all of Italy, and in 1867, when the mission was definitively closed; their numbers had dwindled to six.[2] Save for several brief forays of individual missionaries, Italy was overlooked for almost a century; for the LDS presence in Italy, these were a hundred years of solitude.

On the surface it is surprising that Mormonism should have disappeared from the Italian scene so quickly and completely. The Mormons were among the very first to send missionaries to proselytize in Italy following the establishment of the constitution, known as the *Statuto*, accepted by the House of Savoy in 1848, which attempted, among other things, to curb the privileged position that Roman Catholicism enjoyed in Piedmont.[3] This significant event marked a first step toward a more open and even tolerant religious atmosphere and a religious pluralism. It would seem that the Mormons would have been ideally situated to take advantage of this situation, and yet their missionaries were withdrawn in 1867, "too early to reap any significant benefit" from the evolving religious atmosphere and the strongly anticlerical political environment which characterized Italy from unification in 1860 until the Lateran Accords of 1929, "when the growth of non-Catholic churches in Italy stalled until after World War II." During this seventy-year period numerous Protestant denominations established permanent missions in Italy, and experienced significant growth.[4] The failure to maintain an active presence in Italy, and their belated return,

[1] Michael W. Homer, '"Like the Rose in the Wilderness": The Mormon Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia', *Mormon Historical Studies*, 1, no. 2 (2000), pp. 25–62 (p. 34).

[2] *Millennial Star*, vol. 23 (1861), pp. 510, 524, 711, 760.

[3] Anthony Cardoza, 'Cavour and Piedmont', in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century, 1796–1900*, ed. by John A. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 118.

[4] Michael W. Homer, 'LDS Prospects in Italy for the Twenty-first Century', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 29 (Spring 1996), pp. 139–158 (pp. 151–152).

are central to explaining their relative lack of LDS growth, compared to other denominations, in more recent decades.[5]

Traditionally, the explanations given for the Mormon departure and delayed return have cantered on factors associated primarily with the domestic situation in Italy.[6] A combination of economic hardship, cultural disinclination, political and especially religious opposition from the Roman Catholic Church, all conspired to prevent Mormon missionaries from finding much success initially, and from returning subsequently. The roots of this view, which has become axiomatic, were derived from the attitudes of the first missionaries to Italy, who explained, and perhaps attempted to justify, their relative lack of success by pointing to Italian cultural attitudes and the political environment. As for the factors, which permitted the Mormons to return, according to this interpretation, it was again internal Italian developments, particularly World War II and Vatican II, which opened up previously closed doors by loosening the grip of Roman Catholicism over the peninsula. While these certainly were among the factors that influenced the decision to abandon Italy, it seems clear that the absence of the LDS church from 1867 to 1964 was much less a product of circumstances in Italy, and more a result of attitudes and historical events in the heartland of Mormonism.[7]

There is ample evidence that had the Mormons wished to remain in Italy, or to return, they would have been able to do so, which undercuts the assertion that the country was closed to non-Catholic religious groups. The experience of the first Mormon missionaries to Italy clearly belies this; beyond this we have the evidence of numerous

[5] Massimo Introvigne, *I Mormoni* (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1993), pp. 195–197; Homer, 'LDS Prospects in Italy', p. 153; Franco Garelli, *Religione e chiesa in Italia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 112–115.

[6] See for example, A. Bryan Weston, 'Europe', in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2000), pp. 344–345; Richard G. Wilkins, 'All'Italiana—The Italian Way', *New Era* (March 1978), p. 30; Ralph L. Cottrell Jr., 'A History of the Discontinued Mediterranean Missions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints', M.A. thesis (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1963), p. 69.

[7] The most perceptive analysis of the shortfall of the first mission is in James R. Moss, et al., *The International Church* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1982), p. 32.

other Protestant sects who actively proselytized among the Italians during this period, especially in the decades after the Mormons' departure. Indeed, save the Waldensians, all the major Protestant congregations present in Italy were established in the decades after 1850.[8]

Just as the Mormons were encouraged by mid-nineteenth century political developments in Italy, so too many Protestant leaders and influential figures in Great Britain and the United States followed with "lively interest" the events of the *Risorgimento*.[9] In the years leading up to and following the 1860 unification, the Kingdom of Italy appeared to many Protestant sects as "an open field, full of promise." As one British Methodist official reported, Italy was "already moving toward a religious revitalization" that paralleled the political events of the Risorgimento.[10] This hope in an Italian religious revival was rooted in the controversies surrounding Italy's unification, one of the thorniest of which was religion. Prime Minister Camillo Cavour famously declared the new kingdom's politico-religious formula as "a free church in a free state." Indeed, the first article of the new Italian constitution addressed the question of religion: it acknowledged the unique position of the Roman Catholic Church within Italian society, but also sought to limit its power and to protect the rights of religious minorities.[11]

This attempt to define and circumscribe the power of the Catholic Church was a product of a long tradition of Italian anticlericalism, which was widely embraced by many of the often only nominally Catholic leaders of unification. This latent suspicion of the Rome was accentuated by the events of the Risorgimento in which the papacy

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[8] Giorgio Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses: The Waldensians Across 800 Years* (Turin: Claudiana, 1989), p. 215.

[9] "At one time or another, Hawthorne, Cooper, Melville, Longfellow, Tichnor, Emerson, Bryant, Lowell, and Whittier paid tribute in prose or verse to the cause of the Risorgimento." John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 7.

[10] Valdo Vilnay, *Storia dei valdesi* (Turin: Claudiana, 1980), vol. 3, p. 75; Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, p. 203.

[11] David I. Kertzer, 'Religion and Society, 1789–1892', in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century 1796–1900*, ed. by John A. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 193–194; Michael W. Homer, 'Discovering Italy: The Mormon Mission and the Reaction of the Kingdom of Sardegna, The Catholic Church, and Her Protestant Rivals', (unpublished paper), pp. 9, 13 and 20; Homer, 'LDS Prospects in Italy', pp. 140–141.

strongly opposed Cavour and other liberals' secularizing efforts. As a result, the Church came increasingly to be seen "as the enemy not only of the new state, but also modernity itself," which led many Italians to question their identity as Catholics.[12] Indeed, post-Risorgimento Italy came effectively to be divided into two camps, the liberal and the Roman Catholic. Each side "had its own organization, newspapers and banks," and their rivalry was often violent: when Pius IX died in 1878, liberals attempted to halt the funeral procession, and to push his casket into the Tiber. Ironically, because of this church/state conflict, in some ways non-Catholic sects in unified Italy enjoyed more liberty of action than did the majority religion.[13]

The growing disjuncture between liberal Italy and Rome was most clearly manifest in Pius IX's famous 1864 encyclical, *Quanta cura* and its accompanying *Syllabus of Errors*, which emphatically stated the conservative and reactionary position of the papacy against what it termed "the principal errors of the day." These included pantheism, rationalism, naturalism, socialism, communism, and liberalism - in short a laundry list of the most influential developments of the nineteenth century.[14] Many Catholics perceived the papacy's entrenched conservatism and opposition to a unified Italy as a "tragic blunder," indeed the Church came to be perceived as the principal obstacle to the new state's consolidation. As a result, the kingdom's officials implemented numerous measures directed solely at reducing ecclesiastical power. Church property was confiscated, monasteries and convents were closed, secular public schools weakened its monopoly on education, clergy lost their exemption from military conscription, access to military academies and other prestigious positions in society was opened to non-Catholics, and marriages by priests ceased to be recognized by the state. The relationship between church and state in Italy, the so-called "Roman Question," would haunt the new nation through-

[12] Kertzer, 'Religion and Society', p. 202; Cardoza, 'Cavour and Piedmont', p. 119; Guido Verucci, *L'Italia laica prima e dopo l'Unità 1848–1876. Anticlericalismo, libero pensiero e ateismo nella società italiana* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1981).

[13] Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, p. 181; D.A. Binchy, *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 581–583.

[14] Anne Freemantle, *The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Context* (New York: New American Library, 1956), pp. 134–155; Kertzer, 'Religion and Society', p. 190.

out its formative years, and only be resolved by Benito Mussolini in 1929 with the Lateran Accords.[15]

Before the fascist agreement with the Holy See that blocked almost all proselytizing, however, the conflict between the liberal Italy of the Risorgimento and the papacy created an environment that permitted non-Catholic religious groups to evangelize openly. Indeed, after 1860, Italy became a veritable battleground as competing Protestant sects vied to save its soul. The first to arrive were the Wesleyans in 1861, over a decade after the Mormons, and the English Baptists, the Adventists, the American Baptists, and the Methodists followed them over the next decade.[16] The end of papal temporal powers in the fall of 1870 had a catalytic effect that led many Protestants to think the papacy's "spiritual domain" would soon also collapse. Indeed, within several weeks the United States' Methodist Episcopal Church sent missionaries to Italy "to contribute to the spiritual transformation of the country," and the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Salvation Army soon followed them.[17] Even the RLDS church became involved in 1873 when John Avondet spent two years among the Waldensians, with limited success.[18] Indeed, the Waldensians themselves began to evangelize actively

[15] Alice A. Kelikan, 'The Church and Catholicism', in *Liberal and Fascist Italy, 1900–1945*, ed. by Adrian Lyttelton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 45–58; Harry Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870* (London & New York: Longman, 1980), pp. 288–289; Kertzer, 'Religion and Society', pp. 183, 193–94; Martin Clark, *Modern Italy 1871–1982* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 81–88. On education, see Beatrice Pisa, 'Cesare Correnti è il dibatito sulla laicità dell'insegnamento', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 62 (1975), pp. 212–232; Vincenzo Paglia, 'I programmi governativi nel ginnasio-liceo dell'apollinare (1870–1904)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 35 (1981), pp. 40–73; Fabrizia Gurreri, 'Il "Visconti": Un liceo romano in età liberale (1870–1911)', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea*, 3 (1995), pp. 727–758.

[16] Vilnay, *Storia dei valdesi*, vol. 3, pp. 75–79; Kertzer, 'Religion and Society', p. 201; also Michael W. Homer, 'The Church's Image in Italy from the 1840's to 1946: A Bibliographic Essay', *BYU Studies*, 31 (1991), pp. 82–114 (p. 87); Binchy, *Church and State in Fascist Italy*, p. 594.

[17] Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, pp. 172, 207; Giorgio Spini, *Italia liberale e protestanti* (Turin: Claudiana, 2002), p. 40.

[18] Homer, 'The Church's Image in Italy', p. 88; *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1906), vol. 4, pp. 16–17, 22, 59–60, 73.

throughout the kingdom in the same decades in which the Mormons were retreating.[19]

While the hoped for religious reformation never materialized, these evangelizing efforts produced significant fruits, at least in comparison to the earlier LDS effort. By 1883 the Wesleyans counted 1451 members, and in 1881 after only eight years of work the Methodists counted over 1400 members among adults and children. By 1906 the Methodists numbered 2689 adult members, and had an established ecclesiastical structure, including pastors and schools, in place throughout Italy. Other new religious denominations appeared in this era: Pentecostalism was introduced by returning Italian immigrants who had converted in the Americas, and by 1929, there were congregations in 149 localities throughout Italy.[20]

Contemporary census figures indicate a significant increase in the number of Italians describing themselves as Protestants: they numbered 32,684 in 1861, 58,651 in 1871, and by 1911 123,253 Italian's self-identified as Protestant. Of course these numbers were insignificant within the broader demographic context: in 1871 Italy's population numbered 26.8 million, and by 1901 it had risen to 32.5 million, despite massive emigration.[21] Thus, though Protestant numbers quadrupled between 1861 and 1911, they represented under a quarter of one per cent of the total population, which remained predominantly and persistently Catholic.

As this overview suggests, the period following the unification was a dynamic time in the religious history of Italy. A number of sects without historical roots in Italy were able to make modest inroads into the peninsula after 1850, including Wesleyans, Pentecostals, and Methodists. This in turn points to the need to reconsider the traditional Mormon explanation for the closing of the mission in Italy, namely that the field was not ripe for the harvest.

There is, to be sure, some truth to this traditional explanation, however. Although no laws prevented their return, there were still strong cultural and social barriers, which made missionary work in Italy extremely difficult, and these certainly influenced Mormon hesitation.

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[19] See the very detailed discussion of this in Vilnay, *Storia dei valdesi*, vol. 3, pp. 79–173; also Spini, *Italia liberale e protestanti*, pp. 151–220.

[20] Vilnay, *Storia dei valdesi*, vol. 3, pp. 234–237, 241; Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, pp. 208, 210, 222.

[21] Spini, *Italia liberale e protestanti*, p. 85; Clark, *Modern Italy*, p. 31.

While Protestants and Mormons could generally work freely and legally in Italy, there was powerful cultural opposition, and occasionally outright violence, which made it difficult and even dangerous to try to do so. The arrival of Protestant missionaries in a new town was often met by "fanatical crowds" who abused the evangelists verbally and even physically. Local police often turned a blind eye, or even arrested the victims for disturbing the peace. Investigators and converts faced tremendous social pressures, and "risked reprisals," including the loss of their employment. In 1866, this opposition turned deadly in the so-called "Massacre of Barletta," in which a violent crowd, allegedly incited by local Catholic clergy, lynched several Protestants.[22]

Another factor that must be considered in any comparison of LDS and Protestant missions is the political and legal persecution and marginalization the Mormons experienced in their own homeland. Throughout much of its first century, the Mormon Church was specifically targeted for discriminatory treatment by the United States government. In 1879 President Rutherford B. Hayes and his Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, became convinced that Mormon immigrants represented "potential violators" of anti-polygamy laws, and thus ordered American ambassadors in Europe to seek the aid of local officials "in stopping any further Mormon departures to the United States."[23] In the same year, the American charge d'affaires in Rome, George W. Wurts, met with the Italian Prime Minister, Benedetto Cairoli to discuss the "Mormon problem," and he noted (apparently unaware of the brief mission two decades earlier) that there was no need to fear a "Mormon crusade in Italy where as yet Mormonism is unknown." Cairoli responded that although Mormonism was not present in his country, "all civilized Christian powers should cooperate to terminate the existence of a sect whose tenets are contrary to the recognized laws of morality and decency."[24] In contrast, the more successful Protestant sects enjoyed the strong support and protection of their governments.

In the end, however, the evidence seems unequivocal: Italy after the unification, at least until the fascist era, was a religious open

[22] Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, pp. 206, 213.

[23] James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), pp. 397–398.

[24] *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1879* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), pp. 601–604.

ground, worked with success by numerous religious groups both native and imported. There was no insurmountable legal or cultural impediment to the Mormons remaining or returning to work Italy. While factors in the new Kingdom of Italy certainly played a role in the tardy Mormon return, to fully understand this decision it is necessary to look across the Atlantic, to the heartland of Mormonism.

There is no question that events both in Utah and beyond played a significant role in the decisions about where to allocate limited missionary resources. After a flurry of missionary activity in the middle of the nineteenth century, the LDS Church entered into an extremely difficult period in its young history marked by limited resources and significant external challenges. Though the commitment to taking the message of the restored gospel to the world did not waver, these challenges had a substantial impact on missionary work world-wide, which ebbed and flowed according to local, national, and international events.

The initial slowdown in the Italian mission in the later 1850s was part of a general retreat from missionary work due to the so-called Utah War of 1857. In response to the threat from federal troops sent to Utah under the command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, President Brigham Young recalled settlers from outlying settlements as well as most missionaries from all over the world to return and defend Zion. This not surprisingly resulted in a "swift decline" in missionary work.[25] The Mormons' challenges did not subside following the resolution of the confrontation with the federal government; indeed things went from bad to worse. The decade following Brigham Young's 1877 death was one of the most challenging in Mormon history. The issue of polygamy finally came to a head, and a series of federal court decisions and laws proved severe threats to the church's legal and financial situation, and indeed to its very survival. The most serious of these was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which allowed for the confiscation of most LDS church properties. While the 1890 Manifesto promulgated by LDS President Wilford Woodruff ended the practice of polygamy and some of the political pressure, in the subsequent decade the church

[25] B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), vol. 4, p. 124; Leonard J. Arrington, 'Historical Development of International Mormonism', *Religious Studies and Theology*, 7 (1987), pp. 9–22 (p. 14); Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 322, 344; *The Deseret Morning News Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Morning News, 2005), p. 635.

experienced extreme financial difficulty, accentuated by a national economic depression. This severely impacted tithing receipts, and by 1898 the church was $2.3 million in debt.[26]

The impact of these events on Mormon missionary efforts was profound, but also complex. Missionary numbers initially declined as a result of the Utah War, only to experience a revival after 1860. The number of missionaries sent out between 1865 and 1869 increased to 417, almost double the 222 who had departed the previous four years. A majority of these missionaries were directed to European countries. Missionary numbers continued to follow an upward trajectory: more than 2,300 served in the turbulent 1880s, and in the following decade, despite the near bankruptcy of the church, over 6,000 missionaries were called to labour. Overall, the missionary force "doubled by 1880 and doubled again to nearly 2,000 missionaries by the early 1890s."[27] In fact, one of the primary causes for the church's financial troubles near the turn of the century was its on-going investment in missionary work. As these financial difficulties receded in the early twentieth century, missionary numbers increased. In the years preceding World War I, an average of 900 missionaries was called annually. And while the war dramatically reduced missionary activity, especially in Europe, with the end of hostilities missionary numbers quickly returned to pre-war levels.[28]

As these statistics suggest, despite the serious problems the Mormon Church faced from 1858 to 1900, and notwithstanding broader national and international circumstances, its leaders remained committed to expanding missionary work. In 1860, for example, three apostles were called to preside over the European mission, initiating a new wave of conversion and immigration. A decade later, Brigham Young instructed Lorenzo Snow, who was traveling through Europe and the Mediterranean (including Italy), to "observe closely what openings now exist, or where they may be effected, for the introduction of

[26] Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 5, 216–217.

[27] Arrington, 'Historical Development of International Mormonism', pp. 14–15; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 322, 343–44, 396, 426, 460; *Church Almanac* (2005), p. 635.

[28] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, pp. 5, 217–218; Moss, *The International Church*, p. 71; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, p. 506.

the Gospel."[29] Around 1900 Mormon leaders proposed opening missions "in those areas where the gospel was not being preached," and in 1901 Brigham Young, Jr. declared, "The eyes of the Twelve have been roaming over the habitable globe, and they have looked upon Turkey, Austria, Russia, and especially South America."[30]

The on-going evangelical commitment is evident in the geography of Mormon missionary work. In the first heady years of the church's international missionary effort, missionaries laboured throughout Europe, in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), "Australia, Chile, India, Burma, Malta, Germany, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, New Zealand, South Africa, Siam (Thailand)." The pace slowed somewhat in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but between 1888 and 1900, eleven new missions were opened, and ambitious attempts were made to proselytize in Turkey, Palestine, Austria-Hungary, Mexico, Russia, Samoa, and Tonga.[31] As part of now church president Lorenzo Snow's renewed stress on the worldwide missionary effort, in 1901 Heber J. Grant opened the twentieth foreign mission, Japan, though it was soon closed because of "almost negligible results."[32]

The next significant wave of mission openings followed World War I. The French Mission was reopened a second time in 1923, the

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[29] Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow: One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884; reprint, Salt Lake: Zion's Book Store, 1975), pp. 496–497; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 322–323.

[30] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, pp. 216–217; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 441–442, 459–460.

[31] David J. Whittaker, 'Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources', in *The Disciple as Witness: Essays on Latter-day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson*, ed. by Stephen D. Ricks et al. (Provo: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000), pp. 463–464; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 396, 426, 459–460; R. Lanier Britsch, 'Missions and Missionary Work', in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, p. 760; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 212; F. LaMond Tullis, 'Reopening the Mexican Mission in 1901', *BYU Studies*, 22 (1982), pp. 441–453 (p. 441).

[32] Whittaker, 'Mormon Missiology', pp. 463–464; R. Lanier Britsch, 'Missions and Missionary Work', p. 760; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, pp. 235–236; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Paul Thomas Smith, 'Snow, Lorenzo', in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. by Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 3, p. 1370.

German-Austrian and South American Missions in 1925, the Czechoslovakian Mission opened in 1929, and the Japanese Mission was reopened in 1937. By 1930 there were 29,000 Saints throughout Europe, and despite political problems, the Mexican mission doubled in size to 4700 members. Over the next ten years "eight new missions were opened in Europe and the United States," and the Book of Mormon was translated into Czech, Armenian, Portuguese, and Hungarian. The work proceeded so well that a number of international missions were divided. At the outbreak of World War II in 1939, 697 missionaries were serving in Europe.[33]

The growth in missionaries and missions as well as the commitment to opening new areas suggest that the LDS church in the last half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was not in a retrenchment mode, on the contrary, the dedication to proselytism was a constant, despite numerous political and economic troubles that plagued the church. The decision not to return to Italy then was not a product of insufficient missionary commitment or resources; rather the decision was more a result of the failure of the first mission combined with cultural attitudes towards Italy, Italians and Roman Catholicism that were common among Mormons, and Americans, in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

Though a few LDS Italian converts immigrated to Utah and became influential members of the community, the overall experience of the first missionaries to Italy was in the end a disappointment. Other, even less successful missionary efforts in predominantly Roman Catholic lands, such as Parley P. Pratt's mission to South America in the early 1850s, and recurring efforts in Mexico and Chile, served to reinforce the negative views of Catholic Italy.[34] This spectre loomed over Italy, and was only dispersed in the post-1945 period when a

[33] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 235; Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), p. 102; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, pp. 508–509, 531; Gilbert Scharffs, *Mormonism in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970), pp. 88, 99.

[34] Gordon Irving, 'Mormonism and Latin America: A Preliminary Survey', *Task Papers in LDS History*, no. 10 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1976), pp. 7–20; A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover, 'Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile', *BYU Studies*, 38 (1999), no. 4, pp. 115–138.

changed set of circumstances led to fundamental shifts in Mormon attitudes toward Roman Catholicism and Italians.

While the first missionaries set off for Italy with high hopes of success – aspiring perhaps to replicate what had happened in Great Britain a decade previous – in relatively short order these dreams were tempered by the formidable reality of their task. Already in the early days of the mission, there was a sense that Italy presented a particular challenge: Lorenzo Snow observed, the "Italian states are well known as being the most hostile upon earth to introduction of religious truth." Snow seems also to have sensed that success in Italy would have to be measured by a metric that differed from other mission fields:

> It is not our expectation to convert all these Catholic nations, ... we feel that there are a few among them who will appreciate the sacrifices we make in their behalf; and giving heed to the call, will come forth fulfilling the words of the holy Prophets, that a remnant shall come to Zion, gathered 'from every nation, kindred tongue and people.'[35]

By the time Snow departed from Italy in January 1851, the seeds of disillusionment had already begun to take root. He wrote to Orson Hyde of his frustrations, as well as his lingering hopes for the work:

> After a residence of seven months in Italy, I am about to bid it farewell ... I might long linger to gaze upon these realms of loveliness. One might travel far over the earth before he finds a fairer clime. ... But the remembrance of the moral scenery amid which I have been moving will be more imperishably engraven on my spirit than all the brightness of the firmament, or the verdure of prairies enameled with ten thousand flowers. Amid the loveliness of nature, I found the soul of man like a wilderness. From the palace of the king to the lone cottage on the mountains, all was shrouded in spiritual darkness. ... Every man holds a creed, which has been transmitted from sire to son for a thousand years, whether he be Protestant or Catholic; and often he will lay his hand on his heart, and swear by the faith of his forefather, that he will live and die as they have lived and died.[36]

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[35] Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 209–210, 217–218.

[36] Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 169–170.

Snow was not alone in this assessment of Italy. The letters of other missionaries published in the Mormon *Millennial Star* increasingly suggest their dismay at the limited results of their difficult labours.[37] Jabez Woodard, who accompanied Lorenzo Snow to Italy in 1850 and replaced him as head of the mission in 1852, wrote:

> We cannot proceed here with public preaching, as in England and America. I have been twice summoned before the magistrates for having given religious instructions to persons in my own room. ... as the police have refused to legalize my passport, it will be necessary for me to obtain a signature on the French frontier, ... but to be compelled to change residence in that manner, is one of the many vexations to which we are subjected in those countries where freedom is yet only a name.[38]

When Woodard reported the results of his mission in 1854 in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, Brigham Young responded that the Waldensians were "like the brute; they are not to blame for their superstition, and they are not the people to readily receive the Gospel."[39]

The creeping disillusionment of the first elders in Italy was in full bloom by the time the last missionaries were removed from the valleys. One of these, Guglielmo Giosue Rossetti Sangiovanni, left southern Utah and laboured alone in Italy in 1865, where he suffered unhappily the poor living conditions, the smallness of the local branch of the church, his own homesickness, and the indifference of the people.[40] He wrote:

> I also find that it is the same now as in the days of the Savior. Wherever the Gospel was rejected in the days of Jesus, it is rejected now, thus the Scriptures teach us that the Gospel was

[37] See *Millennial Star*, 12 (1850), pp. 370–374; 13 (1851), pp. 25–26, 89–90, 107–108, 186, 252–253, 301–302; 14 (1852), pp. 107–108, 282, 461–462, 555–558, 670–671; 15 (1853), pp. 9, 61–62, 110–111, 155, 191–192, 204–206, 350–351, 457, 707; 16 (1854), pp. 46, 53–58, 454–456; 17 (1855), pp. 154–156, 490–491, 666–667; 18 (1856), pp. 218–220, 634–636; 19 (1857), p. 655.

[38] Cottrell, 'History of the Discontinued Mediterranean Missions', p. 25.

[39] Homer, 'The Church's Image in Italy', p. 86.

[40] LDS Church Archives, Sangiovanni, Susanna Mehitable Rogers, 1813–1905, Collection 1825–1905, MS 2986, Guglielmo Giosue Rossetti Sangiovanni, Letter to Susanna Mehitable Rogers Sangiovanni, December 21, 1864.

> preached in Italy, and rejected. Therefore the children of those people are still withering under the curse entailed upon them through their Fathers [sic] rejecting the truth, so that no firm flesh remains for the Gospel to rest upon. Man proposes, but God disposes, we can preach the gospel as we may be inspired by the Almighty but we cant [sic] make the people receive it.[41]

A few months later, when Sangiovanni was transferred from Italy to Geneva, he enthused,

> It is with great pleasure that I again take my pen to address you. Italy is given up for the present. I left there the morning of the 22 bidding farewell to the "garden of the world," hoping never again to be under the necessity of going there to preach the Gospel. In the language of Paul, "I have fought a good fight I have finished my course (i.e. in Italy) and have kept the faith."[42]

Implicit in the observations of Snow, Sangiovanni, and other missionaries was an attitude which was widely held among mid-nineteenth century Saints. In the early church, Mormons were possessed of a strong sense of millenarianism: they believed that theirs were literally the "latter days." This had a profound impact on missionary work. Missionaries were sent throughout the world to invite all to gather to Zion and to warn of the imminent "great and dreadful day of the Lord." The expectation was that the few elect in all lands would heed the message, but the majority would reject it, and thus be destroyed at the coming of Christ.[43] Closely associated with this millenarianism, was the doctrine of gathering and the creation of a new Zion in the wilds of the American west.[44] Among many missionaries and leaders then, the difficulties of the first Italian mission, combined with beliefs regarding the limited number of God's elect in the world, contributed to a view

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[41] LDS Church Archives, Sangiovanni, Susanna Mehitable Rogers, 1813–1905, Collection 1825–1905, MS 2986, Guglielmo Giosue Rossetti Sangiovanni, Letter to Susanna Mehitable Rogers Sangiovanni, May 8, 1865.

[42] LDS Church Archives, Sangiovanni, Susanna Mehitable Rogers, 1813–1905, Collection 1825–1905, MS 2986, Guglielmo Giosue Rossetti Sangiovanni, Letter to Susanna Mehitable Rogers Sangiovanni, July 31, 1865.

[43] Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 43, 50–51.

[44] William Mulder, 'Mormonism's "Gathering": An American Doctrine with a Difference', *Church History*, 23 (1954), no. 3, pp. 248–264.

that Italy harboured only a few chosen souls. These had been identified and had gathered to Zion, and therefore there was probably not a need to expend precious, limited missionary resources on such a barren spiritual landscape.

Mormon views of Italy were certainly not unique. Protestant missionaries, such as Seventh Day Adventist leader Ellen White, arrived at a similar conclusion: "This field is not an easy one in which to labour, nor is it one which will show immediate results." Even the great French poet Lamartine characterized Italy "as the land of the dead, culturally, politically, and spiritually."[45] Similar views also existed among the handful of Italian Saints who immigrated to Utah. One of the original converts; Marie M. Cardon Guild described the difficult situation that missionaries faced in Italy in broken English:

> it seemed that the pregudice against the Latter day Saints was racing throghout the Country Especially among the Papists, and in fact among the majority of the Waldensee people were also ready To drive the elders out of the Country.[46]

These initial impressions, born of more than a decade of difficult labour, became the default Mormon view. When John Henry Smith presided over the European Mission later in the century, he went to Italy "in the hope that I might see some chance of making an opening in that country." He wrote of this experience,

> I regard Italy as in such a condition that there are but few chances at the present time for any opening to be made. The Italians are bound up in the religious faith that they have been reared in, or they are infidel almost entirely. I noticed in my attendance at the churches, that they are usually well filled with priests and beggars, and that few, comparatively speaking, of the well-to-do classes, or the middle classes, were paying any attention whatever to religious observance.[47]

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[45] D.A. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe 1885–1887* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1975), p. 138; Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses*, pp. 164–166.

[46] LDS Church Archives, Guild, Marie Madeleine Cardon, 1834–1914, Correspondence 1898–1903, MS 894, Marie Madeleine Cardon Guild, Letter "To My Children and to Whom it May Concern," January 12, 1903.

[47] John Henry Smith, April 6, 1885, *Journal of Discourses* (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), vol. 26, p. 177.

As Smith's quote suggests, the character of the Mormon reaction to their labours in Italy was rooted in both their direct experience in proselytizing in the country, but also their views of Italy, Italians, and Roman Catholicism. These cultural attitudes are crucial to understanding the long reluctance of Mormon leaders to reopen the Italian mission. They were not unique to Mormons; indeed they grew out of common perceptions generally held among nineteenth century Protestant Americans, who tended to view Italy and Italians with a complex combination of admiration and disdain, pity and awe.

Nineteenth-century Americans entertained two seemingly contradictory images of Italy: "the 'romantic' and the 'nativist.'" The romantic picture was a product of travellers and writers who looked upon Italy as the conservatory of all the cultural values of the old world: creative spontaneity, artistic sensibility, moral idealism, and worldly experience. It represented to American travellers a "quasi-sacred ground of art," where they could "cultivate aesthetic consciousness."[48] As Henry James, who lived in Italy for a time, wrote, "We go to Italy, to gaze upon certain of the highest achievements of human power," which illustrate:

> to the imagination the maximum of man's creative force. ... So wide is the interval between the great Italian monuments and the works of the colder genius of neighbouring nations, that we find ourselves willing to look upon the former as the ideal and perfection of human effort, and to invest the country of their birth with a sort of half-sacred character.[49]

The striking flip side of this idealized Italy was the nativist picture. As more and more American tourists were traveling to Italy, large numbers of Italians were beginning to immigrate to the Americas. In 1880 there were about 44,000 Italians in the United States, but by the first years of the twentieth-century Italians represented one-fourth of all immigrants, and in a span of forty years, they went from a marginal minority to the most visible immigrant group in the country. The Italy

[48] Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism*, pp. 6–8; Richard H. Brodhead, 'Strangers on a Train: The Double Dream of Italy in the American Gilded Age', *Modernism/Modernity*, 1 (1994), no. 2, pp. 1–19 (pp. 3–4).

[49] Brodhead, 'Strangers on a Train', p. 13; Alexander DeConde, 'Endearment or Antipathy? Nineteenth Century American Attitudes toward Italians', *Ethnic Groups*, 4 (1982), pp. 131–148 (pp. 132–33); Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Work of Henry James* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 5.

that most Americans encountered was not the lofty land of James, rather it was personified by the

> young, robust, male, swarthy and emotional, frequently unlettered and unskilled, who worked in lowly jobs, usually as a day labourer, and lived in a ethnic ghetto. He seemed to many a mere bird of passage determined to return to Italy. ... He quickly acquired the reputation of a sojourner with no sense of commitment to his host country.

Italians were perceived as being racially inferior: they were "the dark or swarthy one, the untidy, non-self-improving one, natural resident of the slum and natural doer of the most unskilled labour ... the organized murderer, and thus ... a 'cause' of violence in the world at large."[50]

American views of Italy and Italians were schizophrenic, a complex combination of admiration for the seed-bed of great civilizations, combined with disdain for the people "who had clearly become decadent, and therefore not worthy descendants of their illustrious and proud ancestors." Americans admired Italy's cultural treasures, revered ancient Rome, "but detested the Italy of their time," which they perceived as "dominated by the Papacy." Italy was, as Mark Twain quipped, a "vast museum of magnificence and misery."[51] James adored Italy's "special beauty," but he despised Italians, especially immigrants, whom he found physically and morally unclean. The novelist Henry Blake Fuller admired Italy's "high culture" but disdained "its social and moral decadence." Most American travellers returned home awed by Italy, but disturbed, even disgusted, by Italians. As John Diggins argues,

> There were really two Italys in the American mind. One was conceptual, the other existential; one a diffuse image of some hopeful ideal, a humanistic fantasy born of the frustration of all that seemed to be lacking in America; the other, a concrete and particular Italy discovered by direct experience, a corporeal reality of unabashed decadence and pungent confusions, a

[50] DeConde, 'Endearment or antipathy', pp. 138–39; Brodhead, 'Strangers on a Train', pp. 2, 6.

[51] Angelo Principe, 'Il Risorgimento visto dai Protestanti dell'alto Canada 1846–1860', *Rassegna storica del risorgimento*, 66 (1979), pp. 151–163 (p. 152); Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism*, p. 6, 8.

> country whose people were suffocating under the dust and dirt of their tragic history.[52]

These views permeated Protestant American society, and informed Mormon views as well. Like their fellow citizens, Mormon travellers were drawn to Italy, yet the country they experienced alternately fascinated and repulsed them. Against the backdrop of monumental beauty, to Mormons the Italians themselves "presented a sorry spectacle" of indolence, deceitfulness, squalor, and immorality.[53] When Brigham Young, Jr. travelled to Italy in 1863, he was scandalized. In Bologna he noted:

> I did not like this place at all. They show their vices a little too plain. As soon as we had arrived and fairly got the dust off from us, several ladies dressed in white presented themselves for us to pick from. They waited long and patiently but were disappointed at last. Such things as these make me disgusted with society as it exists at the present time, and long more earnestly for the society of virtuous men and women, which are only to be found as a community in my own loved home.

This was not an isolated incident, and in the end the son of the great LDS leader concluded "if the soldiers, whores, and beggars were taken out of Italy, it would be without inhabitants except those who like ourselves are merely transient residents."[54] Young returned to serve as European mission president in 1864 and his views of Italy certainly influenced his decisions on where to allocate missionary resources.

Most Mormon travellers subscribed to the "admire Italy, despise the Italians" model. In 1890, William Bowker Preston, son of the presiding bishop of the church, travelled through Italy while returning from his mission. With his trusty Baedaker in hand, he immersed himself in the sights he had imagined since his youth. On his arrival in the capital, he rhapsodized, "at last the dream of my life is realized. I am in Rome." Amid enthusiastic descriptions of the sights that filled dozens of pages in his journal, however, Preston also commented on the state of Italy and the Italians of his day: if one "will go to Italy, why he must

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[52] DeConde, 'Endearment or Antipathy', pp. 137–138; Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism*, pp. 48–49; Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism*, p. 11.

[53] Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism*, p. 10.

[54] *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, ed. by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), p. 47.

put up with Italy and the Italian, and what Italy and the Italians are." The Italian women scandalized him:

> women – pardon me – dare I use that appellation? – lounge around the doorways in negligée [sic], not to put it stronger, and stare at one with unpardonable audacity as he passes along – but bless my soul! Some of them are pretty – but I dare say as wicked as they are handsome.

He found Italians violent and driven by their passions, and more superstitious than religious: "I never saw so much worshipping [sic] in all my life where it apparently did so little good. For I believe the more they worship (?) The farther they remove themselves from God." In summary, Preston wrote, "I hope I'm not doing the poor Italians any wrong when I term them lazy, murderous and gossiping. I wouldn't injure them for the world for they spring from that wonderful people who once ruled the world; and they were praiseworthy were they not?"[55] In 1884, Ellen B. Ferguson – a physician, a feminist, an intrepid traveller, and one of the most influential women in the Utah territory – toured Italy.[56] In an essay in an LDS journal she wrote of passing from Switzerland to Italy, which seemed to her and her companions as if they "were on the boundary line between two worlds—the region of eternal snow and the region of perpetual summer." She wrote,

> We began to descend gradually by zigzag roads ... into warmer weather, calmer air and softer scenery, until there lay before us, glittering in the dazzling midday sun, the blue expanse of Lake Como, the most beautiful of the Italian lakes. Could one live on the sense of beauty alone, the most artistic temperament, and the most vivid imagination might be filled to satiety with the exquisite loveliness of an Italian landscape. ... The atmosphere is redolent with perfume, and one's whole being is pervaded by a delicious languor, the dolce far niente, which might make it a paradise, if life were to be dreamed away. But

[55] LDS Church Archives, William Bowker Preston, Journal, MS 7557, 1890 Jan–Oct.

[56] Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), pp. 107, 134; Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt, *Elect Ladies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1990), pp. 55–56; Claire Wilcox Noall, 'Utah's Pioneer Women Doctors', *Improvement Era*, 42 (January, 1939), p. 16.

> although this sweet climate, with its wealth of sunlight and balmy airs, may enchant the traveler for a while and make him wish at times that his whole life might be passed among such scenes, it exercises a most enervating influence on those who are born to its enjoyment. It relaxes mental and physical energy, and disposes body and mind to dreamy inactivity. The Italians as a race are indolent and effeminate. Ignorance, love of pleasure and superstition are their prominent characteristics. Of the moral dignity of man, they have but little conception. The soil, so prodigally fertile, produces, with but little labour all that is necessary for their support. The state of morals is lower than in any other country of Europe; what little virtue exists is found among the peasants. In the cities splendid churches and dirty miserable hovels stand side by side, while the luxurious palaces and grounds of the rich noblemen form a still greater contrast to the poverty of the people. This moral miasma hangs like a dark pall over the social condition of Italy, awakening sympathy for her fallen and degraded position among citizens of freer lands.[57]

In the same vein, from 1870 on almost the only mention of Italy in official LDS publications was of the political disorders of the peninsula, and of Italian anarchists and socialists and their involvement in several high profile assassinations.[58] The president of the Swiss German Mission, Hyrum Valentine, visited Italy in 1912, and was infuriated by the dishonesty of the Italians. He wrote,

> those leechers lie around like a pack of wolves and when a stranger alights from the train or boat, they hound him until refuge is found in one of their 'Rendivoo' where they leech you mercilessly. These wolves now retreat to their lair and recuperate for the next victim.[59]

These highly critical views were occasionally tempered by more nuanced responses. When Sylvester Cannon reported on his term as mission president in the Netherlands, he wrote of a trip to Italy, which had challenged some of his presuppositions:

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[57] Ellen B. Ferguson, 'Scenes in Italy', *The Contributor*, 6 (1885), pp. 12–14.

[58] *Millennial Star*, 56 (1894), pp. 423, 446, 551, 567.

[59] LDS Church Archives, Papers, 1911–1940, Hyrum Washington Valentine , MS 1340, Hyrum Washington Valentine, Letter to Brother Call, September 4, 1912.

> I was agreeably disappointed in the condition of that people. From the idea we obtain here at home, from seeing the Italians who are in our midst, we are apt to gain an entirely wrong view of the Italians as a people. They are fine people, a people of intelligence, a people of hospitality and kindness in every respect.[60]

An observer in 1941 expressed admiration for Italy's historical contributions: "as a world power, the Italian state made few contributions in modern history." Its real importance was in the Renaissance when "as individuals, the Italians ... contributed stores of the world's greatest art, literature, and music." Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Dante, Galileo and Verdi, all "left the world a richness of cultural contributions that placed the Italians with the Greeks as the cultural creators for mankind."[61] Like their American counterparts, then, Mormon's views of Italy and Italians were the same schizophrenic combination of admiration for their historical accomplishments, and disdain for the decadent people they had become.

Lurking beneath their attitudes toward Italian culture and character, the issue of religion played a key role in Mormon decisions regarding the potential of proselytizing in Italy. Among nineteenth century Americans, Italy's wretchedness was a direct product of the deadening hand of the Roman Catholic Church, which was seen as "the great burden of Italian history."[62] Mormons shared this view, but also accentuated it with their own specific beliefs, particularly concerning the doctrine of apostasy.

There was, of course, a long history of American ambivalence, and more often open hostility to Catholics, both to those in their own midst, as well as toward the institution of the papacy in Rome.[63] Indeed, Arthur Schlesinger observed (with some exaggeration) that anti-Catholicism was "the deepest-held bias in the history of the American

[60] *The Year of Jubilee: A Full Report of the Proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 April 1903 (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1903), p. 18.
[61] *Millennial Star*, 103 (1941), p. 347.
[62] Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism*, p. 10.
[63] On this see Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

people."[64] Anti-Catholicism included both religious and political sentiments, and was widespread in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. These views were a complex combination of historical sentiments that Americans inherited and perpetuated from their English Protestant ancestors, and their direct experiences in dealing with large numbers of Catholic Irish and Italian immigrants.[65] Mark Twain's statement "I have been educated to enmity toward everything that is Catholic, and sometimes, in consequence of this, I find it much easier to discover Catholic faults than Catholic merits" was a mild response in comparison with the vituperative river of criticism that flooded Protestant America.[66]

Despite the fact that nineteenth century Protestant writers "often attacked Catholics and Mormons using surprisingly similar arguments" and visual caricatures, Latter-day Saints shared many of the common prejudices of American society toward Catholicism.[67] Almost all early Mormon converts came from Protestant backgrounds, and as a result they carried with them a certain cultural baggage that informed their perceptions of the world and other religions. Their views of Roman Catholicism derived from beliefs inherited from the Reformation rhetoric of the broader Protestant community in which they were raised, which they transported with them into Mormonism.[68] To be

[64] John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 159.

[65] Howard R. Marraro, 'Il problema religioso del Risorgimento italiano visto dagli americani', *Rassegna storica del risorgimento*, 43 (1956), pp. 463–472 (pp. 463–464, 468).

[66] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1869), p. 599.

[67] Matthew J. Grow, 'The Whore of Babylon and the Abomination of Abominations: Nineteenth-Century Catholic and Mormon Mutual Perceptions and Religious Identity', *Church History*, 73 (2004), pp. 139–167 (pp. 141–143); Thomas J. Carty, *A Catholic in the White House: Religion, Politics, and John F. Kennedy's Presidential Campaign* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 11–25; Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 82–86.

[68] Francis J. Weber, 'The Church in Utah, 1882. A Contemporary Account', *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 81 (1970), pp. 199–208 (p. 202); Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 59; Thomas F. O'Dea,

sure, most did not embrace the most extreme, virulently anti-Catholic attitudes, which infected nineteenth-century American society. Leaders like Joseph F. Smith preached "let us treat with candor the religious sentiments of all men, no matter if they differ from ours, or appear to us absurd and foolish. Those who hold them may be as sincere as we are in their convictions,"[69] and Mormons in Utah generally got on much better with the state's Catholics than its Protestants.[70] Rather, Mormon bias against Catholicism was more theological in nature, based on a belief that Catholics were less inclined spiritually to embrace the Mormon message than were more spiritually pliant Protestants. Mormons attributed this to their view that Protestant northern Europe contained a higher percentage of the lost tribes of Israel, who were considered more susceptible to accepting the restored Mormon gospel.[71]

At the core of Mormon attitudes toward Catholicism, and by extension to Italians, was their unique doctrine of apostasy. The idea of a universal apostasy, termed "The Great Apostasy" by Mormons, is one of the linchpins of the faith. It refers to the "falling away" from Christ's original church and its teachings in the centuries immediately following his crucifixion. The apostasy was the necessary precursor to the entire Mormon experience: without it, there would have been no need for Joseph Smith or the Restoration. Indeed, one of the chief revelations of

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The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 34; Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religions in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 232–233.

[69] Joseph F. Smith, September 30, 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19, p. 194.

[70] Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 253; Weber, 'The Church in Utah', p. 200; Bernice Maher Mooney and Jerome C. Stoffel, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1776–1987* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1987), pp. 40–47; Bishop Scanlan, *The Catholic Church in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1909), pp. 330–334; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, p. 349; Bernice Maher Mooney, 'The Cathedral of the Madeleine: The Building and Embellishment of a Historic Place', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 49 (Spring 1981), pp. 110–132 (pp. 110–112); Francis J. Weber, 'Father Lawrence Scanlan's Report of Catholicism in Utah, 1880', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 34 (1966), pp. 283–289 (p. 289).

[71] Mark L. Grover, 'The Maturing of the Oak: The Dynamics of LDS Growth in Latin America', *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 38 (2005), no. 2, pp. 79–104 (p. 82); Irving, 'Mormonism and Latin America', p. 7.

Smith's foundational First Vision was the notion that Christ's church had been lost from the earth and that the existing sects "were all wrong; ... [and] all their creeds were an abomination."[72]

For early Mormons, Roman Catholicism held a privileged place in their apostasy narrative, and "represented a unique evil."[73] It was the Mother of Harlots, the Whore of Babylon, or as the Book of Mormon termed it, the "great and abominable church," which until at least the middle decades of the twentieth century, was widely equated specifically with Roman Catholicism.[74] As one early publication explained, the Catholic Church was the "Mother Church," which was "so corrupt, and so far apostatized from the Church [of Christ], that a reformation was not only needed, but absolutely necessary."[75] Mormons did not limit error just to Catholics, the Protestant children of the "Mother Church" were also misguided: Joseph Smith made this clear when he stated, "the Catholic religion is a false religion, how can any true religion come out of it?"[76]

These views clearly inhabited the cultural mindset of Mormon missionaries and travellers as they entered into Catholic lands. As he set out on his mission to "dark and benighted Italy," Lorenzo Snow declaimed,

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[72] JS–History 1:19. See also *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, ed. by Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), p. 15.

[73] Grow, 'The Whore of Babylon', pp. 143–144.

[74] 1 Nephi 6:12; 10:16; 13:6; 13:32; 14:9; 22:13. The persistence of Mormon anti-Catholic ideas is evidenced in the controversy over the repeated identification of "the church of the devil" and "the great and abominable church" of 1 Nephi 13–14 with Roman Catholicism in the first edition (1958) of Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*. These references were subsequently expurgated from the second edition (1966). Compare Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), p. 108, 129–130 (among many similar references) with the second edition, 1966. See also David John Buerger, 'Speaking with Authority: The Theological Influence of Elder Bruce R. McConkie', *Sunstone*, 9 (March 1985), pp. 8–13 (p. 9); Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), pp. 49–53. For a very early example of the conflation of Catholicism with the "great and abominable church," see Benjamin Winchester, *History of the Priesthood* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking, and Guilbert, 1843), pp. 79–82.

[75] *Millennial Star*, 1 (1840-41), p. 235.

[76] Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, p. 375.

> To the land where the 'Mother of harlots' claimed the right 'above all that was called God,' and ruled with a rod of iron, where, under her scathing hand, not long since the 'bloody inquisition' sent terror into the springs and fountains of life! How formidable the mission! How character-proving the situation!

Regarding the Italians, he wrote:

> My heart is pained to see their follies and wickedness-their gross darkness and superstition. ... They are clothed with darkness as with a garment ... They do wickedly all the day long, and are guilty of many abominations. They have turned their backs upon Thee, though they kneel before the image of Thy Son, and decorate temples to Thy worship.[77]

His sister, Eliza R. Snow, the leader of the Mormon women's association, attended a mass in Milan, and commented "I can see no hope for millions of people under the training of the 'Mother of Harlots,' and the influence of priestcraft, but through the ordinances of the dead," referring to the Mormon practice of performing vicarious ordinances for the deceased in their temples.[78]

Another Italian missionary, Samuel Francis recorded similar views: "I had heard many times of the inquisition, and secret murders, and other diabolical means the Catholics made use of against those who opposed the Catholic faith."[79] In similar fashion, following a visit to Italy, the president of the European Mission, John Widtsoe, remarked

> The spiritual condition of Italy is deplorable. The Catholic Church dominates the country. Its methods are plain. It keeps the people in ignorance, appeals to their superstitious fears, feeds them with pomp and show, and thrills them with make-believe miracles. It's sexless priests are everywhere. ... The

[77] Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 116, 134 and 120.
[78] Grow, 'The Whore of Babylon', p. 146.
[79] LDS Church Archives, Samuel Francis, Journal, MS 8832, pp. 69–70. This voyeuristic fascination with the Inquisition was shared by many travellers, including Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, Chapter 26.

> membership may be honest enough, but the leadership are plain cheats, or of little intelligence.[80]

In Rome he reported looking "at the wonders of the city, made ugly by the evil that is centred there ... [in] the heart of Catholicism."[81] Such views were not limited to Italy: Moses Thatcher commented on Catholic Mexico "Whatever may have been the condition of the Indian races occupying Mexico at the time of the conquest; we know that the thralldom of their bondage has, under the Catholic rule, been fearful since."[82] Similarly, following his 1867 visit to a Catholic Swiss canton, Karl G. Maeser noted:

> the countless arrangements of devotion at the road sides, and at all crossings of the streets, where crosses, little temples, &c., showed us that their faith in Christ had degenerated into the plainest idolatry, without sense or reason. There will be a poor show here, probably for a long time to come, for the light of truth.[83]

And a 1929 article in a Mormon youth publication commented, "it is in the Catholic world that dictatorship mostly flourishes ... Italy, Spain, Poland." The reason was clear:

> Catholicism builds on [coercion]. Its adherents are not free. They are taught to cease thinking for themselves and to look to some man, or some men, as their mediators between God and themselves, and there can be no doubt that this mental condition is favorable to political and military dictatorship.[84]

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[80] LDS Church Archives, Widtsoe Family Papers, MS 5417, John A. Widtsoe, Letter to First Presidency, July 2, 1932.

[81] John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), p. 206.

[82] Kenneth W. Godfrey, 'Moses Thatcher and Mormon Beginnings in Mexico', *BYU Studies*, 38 (Winter 1999), pp. 139–155 (pp. 139–140); Grow, 'The Whore of Babylon', pp. 144–145.

[83] *Millennial Star*, 91 (1929), p. 652.

[84] J.M. Sjodahl, 'Signs of the Times', *Juvenile Instructor*, 64 (March 1929), pp. 145–146.

Some LDS leaders attributed meagre Italian interest in the Mormon gospel to racial factors.[85] In 1936, Reinhold Stoof, the former president of the South American Mission reported that the majority of converts in Argentina were Italians and Spaniards.

> There may be some who think that the ideal field of labour in which to find the scattered blood of Israel is the northern countries. For them it may be a consolation to know that a few centuries after Christ's birth tribes from the north invaded Spain and Italy, and it may be that their remnants are the ones who today follow the voice of the Good Shepherd.[86]

Stephen L Richards spoke a decade later of Argentina's cultural diversity where "many nationalities were represented, with a preponderance of the brunette people from Spain, Italy; and the Mediterranean countries." He wondered "how susceptible these people" would be to embracing the gospel, and what his experience might suggest about the possibility of taking the message to "Spain, Italy, Portugal, and adjacent countries. ... I thought I could see in the disposition, customs and practices of these South Americans some of the reasons which have impeded gospel work among them."[87]

Doubts about Catholic susceptibility to Mormonism are clearly evident in the geography of early missionary efforts. In the decades after the church was organized in 1830, the majority of the regions opened to missionary work were Protestant or possessed a Protestant majority - Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, South Africa, Switzerland, and Germany. In England, converts came almost entirely from Protestant sects; a study of a sample of 298 converts, reveals 58 were formerly members of the Church of England, 70 Methodist, 31 Baptists, and only two were Roman Catholic.[88] Even in the few instances in which predomi-

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[85] Armand L. Mauss, 'In Search of Ephraim: Traditional Mormon Conceptions of Lineage and Race', *Journal of Mormon History*, 25 (1999), no. 1, pp. 131–173.

[86] *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4–5 April 1936 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1936), p. 87.

[87] *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 1–2 October 1948 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948), pp. 147-148.

[88] Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837–52', *Journal of Mormon History*, 4 (1977), pp. 51–65 (pp. 52–54,

nantly Catholic countries were opened, the missionary effort was limited almost entirely to Protestants. For example, on Malta missionaries baptized 58 people: all but four were British and likely Protestant.[89] Converts in Paris, Le Havre and Boulogne-Sur-Mer were almost entirely foreign-born Protestants, usually English or Swiss. In 1867 when Franklin D. Richards visited the tiny branch in Paris, he reported that there was not a single French man or woman among them.[90] In Mexico too, the majority of the converts from the first missionary attempts from 1874 to 1889 were Protestants. This pattern persisted into the twentieth century: the first converts in South America in 1925, were six German-speakers.[91] Leonard Arrington attributes this to the fact that missionaries, who did not know the languages of the people they encountered, "worked primarily with British residents in these countries."[92] Of course, in the case of Italy, from the beginning, the missionaries thought that its minuscule Protestant population would be their most likely source of success. Lorenzo Snow believed the Waldensians were "like the rose in the wilderness" and that they, not the vast Catholic majority, represented the most likely potential converts. He hoped that once a beachhead was established, that the Waldensians would then become the means for taking the gospel to some portion of the Catholic population.[93] In general, however, during the church's first century, Mormon leaders "regarded the world's Catholic countries with

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58–60); also Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht and J. Randal Johnson, 'The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective', *BYU Studies*, 27 (1987), pp. 119–135 (pp. 121–122).

[89] Cottrell, 'History of the Discontinued Mediterranean Missions', p. 42; John DeLon Peterson, 'The History of the Mormon Missionary Movement in South America to 1940', M.A. thesis (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1961), pp. 5–6.

[90] Moss, *The International Church*, pp. 40–41; *Millennial Star*, 29 (1867), p. 605.

[91] Tullis, 'Reopening the Mexican Mission', p. 446; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 235; Peterson, 'The History of the Mormon Missionary Movement in South America', pp. 44–102.

[92] Arrington, 'Historical Development of International Mormonism', pp. 12–13.

[93] Homer, ''Like the Rose in the Wilderness'', p. 32; Michael W. Homer, 'Seeking Primitive Christianity in the Waldensian Valleys: Protestants, Mormons, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy', *Nova Religio*, 9 (2006), no. 4, pp. 5–33 (pp. 5–6, 10–11).

frustration" because of the minimal success encountered in their few attempts to evangelize Catholics.[94]

As this overview suggests, when seeking to understand the reasons for the century of Mormon retreat from Italy following some initial proselytizing successes in the 1850s, the explanation must be sought in Utah rather than in Italy. There was no legal impediment that would have prohibited a Mormon return, at least not until the 1929 Lateran Accords, indeed numerous other Protestant sects established toeholds in the country in the decades following the Mormon departure. The determination to disengage in the late 1860s was much more a result of events in Utah such as the Utah War, the polygamy controversy, and serious financial turmoil. Even more, the decision was a by-product of cultural attitudes among the leadership and general membership of American saints. While the Mormon Church remained committed to missionary work throughout this period, there were deep-seated prejudices against Italians and Roman Catholicism that informed Mormon views, and these functioned as a brake on any plans to return to the peninsula. Despite being highly marginalized themselves within broader society in the United States, Mormon views of Italians and Roman Catholicism were in many ways identical to those of their Protestant fellow citizens. Mormons, like many of their fellow Americans, saw Italians as degenerate, irresponsible, and unworthy heirs of their great Roman and Renaissance forbearers. In addition, the Mormon position was informed by their religious attitudes towards Roman Catholicism: Mormons believed that Catholics were not susceptible to their message, and the limited success of the first, brief attempt to evangelize Italy in the 1850s, combined with failures in other Catholic countries seemed to clearly bear this out. While all Christians were apostate, for Mormons, Catholics were particularly benighted, and highly unlikely to accept their message. The deeply rooted cultural attitudes towards Italians and Catholics ensured that for an entire century there would be no Mormon presence in Italy, until 1964 when changing attitudes towards missionary work in the post-war LDS leadership made the spectre of taking their message to Italy once again viable.

[94] Grover, 'The Maturing of the Oak', p. 80.

REVIEW – THE BOOK OF MORMON: A VERY SHORT INTRODUCTION

Reviewed by Mauro Properzi

Terryl L. Givens, *The Book of Mormon: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Paperback.

About a decade ago Oxford University Press embarked in a groundbreaking project which is yet to be completed. With the Very Short Introduction Series the renowned publisher set out to offer its readers a large reference library which would eventually "encompass every major academic discipline" of general interest. Its numerous yet thin volumes claim to offer a "concise and original introduction to a wide range of subjects… [providing] trenchant and provocative – yet always balanced and complete – discussions of the central issues in a given discipline."[1] Within the wide spectrum of subjects addressed by the series it is only to be expected that the Book of Mormon would find its place, having been described as "perhaps the most religiously influential, hotly contested, and, at least in the secular press, intellectually under investigated book in America."[2] It is then only fitting that the very author of this statement would be asked to complete a very short introduction of this remarkable book of Scripture which has been both highly revered and utterly rejected for almost two centuries.

Indeed, Terryl Givens was the obvious choice for this endeavour having already established his credentials through his widely acclaimed *By the Hand of Mormon*, an academically rigorous study of the reception history and theological significance of the Book of Mormon, which was also published by Oxford University Press in 2003. Yet, *A VSI* (*A Very Short Introduction*) is not a summary of *By the Hand of Mor-*

[1] http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/series/VeryShortIntroductions/ Accessed on October 11, 2010.

[2] Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 6.

mon, although those who have read both books will certainly identify common claims and themes and recognize the same "voice" throughout their pages. In this latter work Givens gives greater prominence to the structure and content of the book itself while limiting his analysis of what preceded and followed its controversial historical emergence to very brief statements and observations. In this manner, the author ensured that the 218th volume in this highly successful series focused on its stated title, namely the book itself, and not on what mockers or apologists and prophets or sceptics may have concluded about it. Indeed, this is perhaps the greatest contribution of Givens' work, to have provided a much needed overview of the Book of Mormon content which is thoughtful, insightful, and scholarly while appealing to both neophyte and long-term students of this 'keystone' LDS scripture.

As is typical of this series, the book respects the 140 pages limit (which includes references, list of further readings, and an index) that characterize it as "a very short" analysis of the subject. In this context of unavoidable tension between required synthesis and desired completeness Givens' choice of structure for his exposition appears appropriate, or even ideal. In fact, the book is divided into three parts, entitled respectively "The Book of Mormon speaks for itself," "The coming forth of the Book of Mormon," and "The life and reception of the Book of Mormon." To complete the package and to facilitate understanding, the book is also interspersed with relevant illustrations, direct quotations of key Book of Mormon passages, and helpful charts. Two diagrams in particular are effective in simplifying the all but straightforward internal structure of the Book of Mormon and in outlining the process of transmission of "the original plates" as described in the Joseph Smith's translation of the text.

When examining the first part of the *VSI* it is immediately evident that this is where the author is at his best. Quantitatively Givens ensures that the section entitled "The Book of Mormon speaks for itself" receives sufficient attention within the strict word limits of his work by devoting almost two thirds of the book (81 pages to be exact) to his analysis of the structure, themes, stories, characters, and teachings of the book. Qualitatively, it is in this section that he provides ample evidence for the articulate and engaging literary style which has brought him praise and recognition in the field of Mormon studies. Yet, this is much more than an exercise in flowery prose which makes an arid summary of a plot emotionally engaging and attention grabbing. Giv-

ens' analysis has literary and theological substance because it provides unique insights which will resonate with both Mormons and other interested Christians, particularly in light of his frequent juxtapositions of Book of Mormon's claims with traditional Christian perspectives as expressed in the Biblical record. A few examples that illustrate this analytical depth are now in order.

Givens identifies five main themes in the book, namely personal revelation, Christ, varieties of Zion, new configuration of Scripture, and centrality of family. Yet, the reader is not simply asked to trust the author's selection; instead, Givens highlights their relevance by pinpointing their presence in the earliest theophanies of the very first Book of Mormon prophet, Lehi. Thus, by identifying the above mentioned themes as the core foundations of Lehi's six visions he draws the reader's attention to the centrality and tone-setting nature for the whole of the Book of Mormon of the very first book of Nephi. This is certainly a connection which has probably eluded many faithful readers of this volume of scripture.

Furthermore, in providing illustrations of the core themes thus highlighted he offers exegetical insights that in the least will make readers ponder. For instance, in addressing the shifting of revelatory contexts within the text he adds the following observation:

> This shift of direction, from a public prophet advocating national repentance for the sake of collective survival in the face of geopolitical crisis, to a father contending for the preservation of his sons and daughters in the wilderness, is a perfect example of the Book of Mormon's tendency to abruptly shift the ground under our feet. Time and again, we see familiar themes and motifs invoked ... only to have the narrative swerve in a direction that reconfigures or reorients the thematic treatment.[3]

Undoubted acuity is also evinced in his description of the "portability of Zion" as a leitmotif (33), or in his emphasis on the dynamic life of scripture within the Book of Mormon, where "its nineteenth-century incarnation [is] one more stage, one more version, of prophetic utterance that can never be permanently fixed or final." (39)

[3] *VSI,* p. 21.

When Givens' analysis shifts to stories and characters he continues to arrange and to shed light on relevant details which bring life to these accounts. This is certainly the case in his juxtaposition of two generations of heroes, as represented by both pacifist fathers and warrior children (50) or in his psychological analysis of evil in relation to the desensitized people who rejected the later prophet Nephi (58). Givens then places his focus on teachings and appropriately brings Christian theology into the conversation by explaining, for example, how the Book of Mormon view of the Fall has further implications than the Christian view of *felix culpa* (75) or when he goes at length in drawing a connection between justice and agency as he underlines that the "rational behind such a moral order…is the protection of a necessary framework for human agency." (80)

At the same time, it is in this 'theological' section where I found elements of Givens' analysis which I deemed to be somewhat unclear or unbalanced. For example, the author's focus on the fortunate Fall is lacking sufficient mention of the consequences of the same for humanity, especially in relation to agency. The reader may thus erroneously conclude that the Book of Mormon advocates a *tabula rasa* point of departure for the human family, unaffected by any negative consequence of the Fall. This failure further complicates the connection between the Fall and the need for an Atonement whereas even a brief mention of King Benjamin's "natural man" theology (Mosiah 3:19) or of some other key passages (2 Nephi 2: 29) could have provided a more nuanced perspective on the subject. I also found Givens' description of Atonement as skewed in the direction of a "ransom theory" perspective (81). While there is no doubt that the Book of Mormon indeed supports this view, I could not explain the lack of any mention of the unique perspective on the empathic suffering of Christ as constitutive of the Atonement (Alma 7:11–13).

It is perhaps unfair to express any criticism on what is missing in a work of this nature, which in its very title claims to be a very brief introduction to the subject. Yet, because the claim of this series is to be "always balanced and complete" it is only appropriate to highlight a couple of areas where such balance may not be immediately evident. Although I find the book as a whole to be well balanced and probably as complete as can be given the space the author had available I think that the last section on "the life and reception of the Book of Mormon" could have benefitted from a greater acknowledgement of alternative

views on the Book of Mormon which depart from the official claims of the LDS Church. Moreover, some mention of the place of the Book of Mormon within the Community of Christ or of the "expansion theory" as advocated by Blake Ostler would have provided a quick snapshot on perspectives which are not always as polarized as the "pure miracle versus fraud" dichotomy that have characterized Book of Mormon reception history.

Still, the author showed that he acknowledges alternative explanations on the origin and nature of the Book of Mormon by inserting in the "Further reading" section at least two sources which assume purely naturalistic explanations for its emergence. It is indeed difficult to expect Givens to have done more than what he was able to do in this little volume. He filled it with an unprecedented overview of the Book of Mormon content which is simple but not simplistic, while also adding analytical gems and insights in a style that is as pleasant, erudite, and articulate as his preceding works. Once again, Terryl Givens has confirmed that for the present and foreseeable future he is certainly one of Mormon Studies' very best voices and pens.

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Review – Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre

Reviewed by Bernadette Rigal-Cellard

David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, eds., *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre*. Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier Series, Volume 12. Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008. Hardbound.

With this volume, the two master historians of Mormonism David L. Bigler and Will Bagley have produced the most compelling book on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the tragedy that on September 11, 1857, befell a large company of Arkansas emigrants traveling through Utah on their way to California. Around 120 people, mostly women (40) and children (at least 50, including 20 girls from the age of 7 to 17), were treacherously and savagely slaughtered by a group of men who dressed like Indians but were in fact members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. While a few genuine Indians appear to have attended or participated in the massacre, their actual participation in it remains unclear.

Innocent Blood is a powerful book that provides the reader with a vast array of primary sources, many of them never published before. The book never reads like a mere anthology for the two historians have structured it in such a clever way, with vividly eloquent (sometimes tragi-comic) chapter titles, that it operates like a thriller and a court trial, mounting evidence upon evidence to finally ensnare the real culprit. As in all good American trials, the prosecution leaves it to the jury to decide how the sentence must be meted. Yet, the two prosecutors bring enough evidence for the reader to make up his/her mind, definitely at variance from the official position of the Church today.

The Arthur Clark series *Kingdom in the West* has so far published twelve volumes that provide a huge trove of primary sources on the different aspects of Mormonism. Will Bagley is the general editor.

In the second volume, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* (1998), David Bigler had already devoted a long chapter to the massacre in which he explained the cover-up by the Church authorities. He pursued the track that Juanita Brooks had opened in 1950 with the first critical book on the tragedy, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, and her subsequent publication of the journal of the only participant who was to be tried and executed for it, John Lee, published as *A Mormon Chronicle* (1955). Complementing Bigler's work, Will Bagley gave the Massacre maximum development in his *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). Using diaries, letters, confessions, he weighed them all carefully with a rare knack for perceiving deceptions and fake remorse. By fastidiously double checking dates, places, occurrences, people's names, actors' relations among themselves and with the authorities, he could detect possible forgeries and ascertain whether the confessions put out by the participants in the massacre and/or by their confidents, as well as by the authorities of the Church, were once more spinning tales or somehow betraying some truths. He came to the conclusion that no saint would have dared perform the massacre without having received the authorization from the Prophet, so that, in fact, the mastermind behind the attack was but Brigham Young himself who made sure he retained full control of his Territory and all its citizens.

Innocent Blood offers the investigative reader all the evidence that *Blood of the Prophets* relied on, except for those documents already published somewhere else. The central questions about the massacre revolve around the motivations of the saints: how could men who "had been raised in a culture in which it was man's duty to lay down his life rather than see violence done to women and children" (16) set aside their religious conscience? The tragedy differs from the other massacres on the American frontier in that it was not an act of war between two enemies, the settlers and/or their army against the Indians as in Sand Creek or Wounded Knee, but the cold execution of brother emigrants in a bout of religious fanaticism and greed (individual and collective).

The editors have found the documents in library collections all over the United States, in the Church history library and in some private collections. They have achieved a major feat since many documents were hard to come by. Some are still sealed in the First Presidency archives.

The editorial voice introduces the documents, explains the history behind them, pointing to the possible contradictions in the texts that were used for the cover-up of the massacre, but it never substitutes for the voices of the players and their accomplices, or those of the families of the victims, or those of the few survivors. Moreover the editors did not weigh down the primary sources with too many notes or comments. The reader is thus almost bluntly confronted with the voices of the murderers, of those who covered them up, of the survivors, and of those who forced the truth to come out.

The introduction lays out the major factors that may explain the tensions felt by the saints at the end of the summer of 1857. First, the powerful millenarism of the Church and its conviction that the only possible mode of divine government was theocracy. Second, the vision of Indians as descendants of the "Tribe of Manasseh," and therefore as cousins of the white Mormons ("Tribe of Ephraim"). As "Blood of Israel," the Indians would naturally ally with the saints under the rule of the Prophet and help usher in the Second Coming. Third, the killing of Joseph Smith and of his brother, whose "innocent blood" had to be avenged at all cost through Blood Atonement. This tenet was a major signature of Mormonism since it clearly departed from the Christian doctrine of redemption through the blood of Christ. Joseph Smith declared that some sins, such as apostasy or adultery, could not be atoned for by His sacrifice but only by the shedding of the sinner's own blood. Fourth, the Federal government was not about to relinquish its sovereignty over the vast territories that it had just wrenched from Mexico and let the saints declare the independence of Deseret. The tenets mentioned above (the Second Coming, Deseret as Zion, Blood Atonement) were made even more stringent with the Mormon Reformation or revival aroused by Brigham Young in 1856 (the subject of chapter 2) that "set loose" "social and psychological forces" (67). Finally, just before the massacre, the famous prophet Parley Pratt had been murdered in Arkansas by the legal husband of his last plural wife who then rode into Salt Lake crying for "his innocent blood" to be avenged (this is the subject of chapter 3). Rumours then accused the people of Arkansas of these murders.

The first chapters offer testimonies on the emigrants themselves, notably the list of all their possessions that proves that this was a well-off company, not susceptible to have behaved as they would be accused of later, but definitely susceptible to have aroused greed among the saints. Their property would disappear afterwards in the murderers'

farms or sold by the Church. Chapter four stresses the fact that the only fault of the emigrant train was their high number of cattle (from 300 to 1000) that did graze on saints' lands, seen by the Arkansans as public land (107). The documents in this chapter show how Brigham Young felt confident that the Lamanites (Indians) would "fulfill their duty", probably meaning they would attack the emigrants. Later, the day after the massacre, he wrote to the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to complain about the destruction wrought by emigrants companies in his territory.

Chapter five focuses on the reality of the reports of the massacre to Brigham Young. The participants took an oath of secrecy and except for a few haunted souls; they stuck to it until their death. We read texts detailing the rumours about the wrongdoings of the Arkansas settlers (poisoning water...), about the fervour of the Indians, each text building more and more imprecision and confusion as to the exact time Brigham Young heard about the massacre, which may indicate that he did not really need to know rapidly since he had given orders beforehand. The letters he wrote afterwards seem to betray an absence of real panic.

Throughout the volume many documents are newspapers articles, notably from California or the *Salt Lake Tribune*, that show that already at the time (which is a point the editors of the volume underline forcefully) non-Mormons understood more or less what had taken place and why. It is indeed rather surprising to read very sensible arguments on the subjects, with many investigators overwhelmed by what they discovered, in particular those who did go to Mountain Meadows later and found the body remains of the emigrants and tried to bury them in decent graves.

The documents in chapter 6 prove how concealment operated, notably with the judicial system in Utah bought by the Church, when it was not run by it altogether. It took a long time for the Federal government to start investigating the case, all the more so as the Civil War kept minds focused elsewhere. Chapter seven has the "Army crack the Case". The official reports of 1859 are ghastly in their meticulously rehearsing of what took place just two years earlier. The revelation led Mormon authorities to arrest mysteriously Brigham Young on a warrant from Judge Elias Smith. President Buchanan refused to have the military investigate the case, thus putting an end to the investigation. No

one was arrested until much later, in fact a long 17 years after the massacre.

Chapter eight gathers all the documents found on the 17 surviving children (they had been felt too young to be able to remember anything). Here again the story is extremely strange: the children were placed in families and not cared for at all. When finally an investigator came to retrieve them in order to send them back to their families in Arkansas, he found them in an incredibly state of neglect: "We found them in a most wretched condition, half starved, half naked, filthy, infested with vermin, and their eyes diseased from the cruel neglect which they had been exposed." (241–42). The tragedy is a also a Shakespearian play about traitors as the person (Jacob Farney) in charge of their removal from their hovels finally played to the Mormons once in Salt Lake because Brigham Young bribed even federal officers.

Chapter nine, "A Dose of Rope," offers much circumstantial evidence as to the direct implication of Brigham Young. The series of letters signed Argus (1871) cite the teaching of the Church on Blood Atonement, as opposed to the teaching of the Gospel, and chillingly describe what happened in the meadow (this has been described several times already in the book, but always in a different fashion): how the company was surrounded by Indians (but many testimonies in the same chapter explain that the Indians refused to take part in this massacre, so that we do believe an earlier witness who said how the White murderers wiped the war paint off their faces), how they circled the wagons, and how after a few days Mormons came with a white flag to negotiate their surrender, told the Arkansans to leave their weapons and to follow them. It is at this point that they were all mowed down by their assailants who had pretended to have peaceful intentions. What is most striking in these Argus letters is that they are written by a Mormon (excommunicated, grant it), Charles Wesley Wandell, who demands an investigation so publicly that he forced Brigham Young to move in order to protect himself and his institution. The Prophet in danger gave up his adopted son John D. Lee to appease the crowd. Lee had been the Indian agent who had pretended the Indians had gone and that the emigrants should follow him and his men to safety, and who had thus been the major executioner.

Chapters ten and eleven follow the trials of John D. Lee and his execution in the context of the Poland Act meant to curtail the influence of the Church on the probate courts, but that "failed to break theocratic control of Utah's judicial system" (356). The documents we

read both show Lee's travails (and his final letter to his wife, not entirely honest again, and his confession, 1877), and the manipulation of the justice system in the State. We also read a summary of the testimony (published by Juanita Brooks) of the only eyewitness who "broke the secrecy oath and described the massacre before the trial" of Lee: Philip Klingensmith. We also read the interview Brigham Young gave to the *Deseret News* in 1877.

Chapter twelve concentrates on the rush to shield the Prophet from the repercussions of the previous trials, reports, etc. It explains how even historians like Bancroft were blindfolded from the facts since he relied on one Apostle (Franklin Richards) to write the volume on Utah, and how the official version handed down by the Church remained the one found in Bancroft's book: the Indians murdered the emigrants in spite of the saints who, at the Prophet's speedy request, tried to rescue them.

Chapters thirteen and fourteen explain how more tales were fabricated about the emigrants (accused of being Missouri wildcats...) and about the Indians. Chapter fifteen publishes the memories of the surviving children (1875, 1897, 1938, 1940) They are very hard to stomach for one is grimly reminded that even though they were considered too young to be an impediment later, they in fact were tragically conscious of the butchery that befell their loved ones as they were slaughtered in front of their eyes. Chapter sixteen gives the testimonies of the contemporary people who pondered on what the legacy of the massacre would be, how they would be blamed for it.

The book is dedicated to the "families of those who died at Mountain Meadows" and when one closes it, one does feel sympathy for them, and a profound mistrust of the human soul able to commit such atrocity one clear day at the end of summer. The next feeling is that the volume does redeem the people of Utah since all that could be said to explain the tragedy has been said in those pages. The past can somehow rest in peace.

Now, ever since Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets* came out in 2002 several Church historians have been desperate to find out whether Brigham Young had really called upon his trusted aides to "take care" of the emigrants or suggested the Indians did as they pleased, and whether he had been involved in the cover up. As expected from all religious institutions, the current Church authorities have problems accepting such a vision of their second Prophet. The Church has been accused of

not fully measuring the implications of its refusal to consider the responsibility of Brigham Young in the tragedy, even if in 2007 it did express its "profound regret" on the 150th anniversary of the Massacre.[1] Coming to the rescue, Mormon historians quickly acted to counter the impact of *Blood of the Prophets*. Richard Turley, Ronald Walker and Glen Leonard published in August 2008 *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Oxford University Press). The presentation (on Amazon.com) summarizes the massacre as having indeed been perpetrated by "a band of Mormon militia, under a flag of truce" that lured unarmed emigrants. This part of the tragedy is thus now consensually admitted. The book promises "fascinating new insight" into the reasons why the Mormons acted in this way, and seems to place the onus on the hysteria due to the threat from the Federal government. The summary does not announce much on Brigham Young's role, except that "the influence of [his] rhetoric and military strategy during the 'Utah war'" will be analysed as well as the "role of Mormon militia leaders in enticing Paiute Indians to join the attack", the latter point implying (as in the earlier stories) a greater role for the Indians than *Innocent Blood* proved.

It seems that the Church position is that the massacre must be seen within the context of the tremendous violence of the West. One of the unanswerable questions is whether it was simply Brigham Young's fiery sermons that encouraged his disciples to act as they did without his directly prodding them into it, or whether they were carrying out unwritten orders, as Lee and other participants in the massacre would indicate later.

Then to counter *Innocent Blood*, Richard Turley and Ronald Walker published in 2009 a documentary history *Mountain Meadows Massacre: The Andrew Jenson and David H. Morris Collections* (Brigham Young Press/Studies). Turley has announced a forthcoming narrative on the post massacre events in order to elucidate fully the involvement or not of the Prophet.

After reading all the documents published by Bigler and Bagley, though, the reader (all the more so the one immersed in the study of religions) feels that there were reasons behind the massacre much more perverse than just cultural and conjunctural cruelty.

[1] See Jessica Ravitz, 'LDS Church apologizes for Mountain Meadows Massacre', *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 12, 2007.

Innocent Blood is more than just an impressive bouquet of primary sources on a past event. It is a brilliant example of how history should be researched, and also of how history can serve the present by enabling the families of the victims and of those who perpetrated the murders to complete the mourning process and move on to a more fraternal future even as more revelation keep creeping up.[2]

This book must be read by everyone who wants to understand how the West was won and often lost, and how through religious fanaticism men can be manipulated into committing atrocities they would not have conceived of their own volition. It must also, of course, be read by all those interested in the rich history of Mormonism, its transformations since the 19th century and the healthy dynamics of the scholarly debates around it that have never really abated. This is a book about the search for Truth, not about God, but about Men.

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[2] Interestingly (and this shows that it seems impossible to have the definitive book on the case) in their most recent works both R. Turley and W. Bagley (423) have cited an affidavit made in 1924 by William Edwards (testifying on his participation under the command of Lee in the massacre as a fifteen-year-old) that has just been identified by two experts consulting with the Church as one more possible forgery. This can read on the website of Utah State Historical society that apparently acquired the letter almost 30 years ago: http://history.utah.gov/events_and_news/press_room/forgery.html, accessed 2 February 2011.

REVIEW – IN THE WHIRLPOOL

Reviewed by Carter Charles

Reid L. Neilson, *In the Whirlpool: The Pre-manifesto Letters of President Wilford Woodruff to the William Atkin Family, 1885–1890*. Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark, 2011. Hardback: $29.99.

In the Whirlpool is a surprising book which provides readers with an intimate examination of a top Mormon hierarch, Wilford Woodruff, as the LDS Church battled with the rest of the United States between 1885 and 1890. The title is quoted from Wilford Woodruff's sentiment of being drawn into the conflict which channelled most of his energy (156, 165). The book is composed of a selection of forty-six letters written by Woodruff during the period,[1] and three introductory essays. The first essay is authored by Reid Neilson, the book's editor, the second and third essays are by Thomas Alexander and Jan Shipps, respectively. Although Alexander and Shipps's essays have been in print for a decade (1991) or more (1984), and some may label them as "déjà vus", but just like Neilson's they help contextualize geographically, socially and historically Wilford Woodruff's correspondence to a Mormon family, the Atkins.[2] The Atkins family sheltered Woodruff and other prominent leaders of the LDS Church during their exiles and "underground" lives to escape America's post-bellum "reign of Judicial

[1] The Correspondence, as published, begins on the first half of December 1885 and ends with the 1890 Manifesto. There are 2 letters for the opening year, none for 1886, 12 for 1887, 16 for 1888, and 10 for 1889 and 1890, respectively.

[2] Neilson mentions a total of fifty-nine letters from Woodruff to the Atkins. Woodruff writes several times about letters received from them (130, 140, 156, etc.), meaning that there was a real back and forth and durable correspondence between him and the family. Regrettably though, "neither Atkins nor Woodruff descendants have been able to locate the correspondence from the Atkins to Woodruff" (127, footnote 3).

Terror" to "civilize" the Mormons and eliminate polygamy, prior to granting Utah statehood.

Besides the letters, the contributors' credentials make the book quite appealing. Its author and editor, Reid Neilson, is both "an Atkin descendant" and "a professional historian" (21) who works as the Managing Director of the LDS Church's History Department (back of book flap), which certainly facilitated his access to original sources (20). Thomas Alexander, "Woodruff's biographer" (23), and Jan Shipps are both experts on Mormonism and emeriti professors of Western American History, for the former, and of History and Religious Studies, for the latter.

The book's format somehow reminds me of my undergraduate and graduate years when I had to read Shakespearian plays in which the introductory essays represented half or more of the book. Back then I wanted to go straight to the subject matter, the play, and be done with it. But each time I realized that it would have been a waste of time to go to the play without the keys to decipher the play, to place it in its sociopolitical and historical contexts. Of course, *In the Whirlpool* is far from being a Shakespearian text, but readers not familiar with the particulars of Mormon political history in Utah in the period covered in the book—and even those who are to a certain extent—will find it meaningful to refer to the various essays to make sense of some issues that Woodruff hints at in his letters.

Rather than a thesis statement, Neilson declares that the purpose of the book is "to provide fellow scholars with insightful contextualization and accurate transcriptions of the Woodruff correspondence" and "to make the letters as accessible as possible to Woodruff and Atkin offspring…" (21). He meticulously explains his editorial methods and the process leading to his choices from the transcription of Woodruff's handwritten letters (22) to the minute, detailing aspects such as punctuation and items "silenced" (24).

Scholars will always find a way to draw something out of the book, but the second part of its target readership, Woodruffs, Atkins and kin, may make it a little "too Mormon" in its approach and form for a readership beyond Mormondom. This is particularly true in aspects in which Nielson may take direct responsibility as an author and an editor. "President Wilford Woodruff" in the subtitle is something that carries meaning only to Mormons and specialized academia. Otherwise, the average and uninformed reader who may ever come across

the book in a library may rightly wonder whether America has had a "President" named Wilford Woodruff. Or maybe was that a way of making the book "less Mormon"? If yes, the result is paradoxical indeed.

Beyond the title, those familiar with Mormonism's teaching material may readily identify part of Neilson's essay with a priesthood or Church Educational System (CES) textbook. For instance, Woodruff and the Atkins' friendship is presented in a very colourful and religious prose; it is compared to "a diamond fashioned under the pressure of the earth's geology" (36). One can likewise imagine a "Gospel Doctrine" teacher in the LDS Church drawing a parallel between Woodruff's "life in the wilderness" and Alma's, and see as so many Abinadis the leaders persecuted and imprisoned,[3] although the teacher may carefully avoid mentioning "the Principle" as it has become a taboo and a thing of the past.

Woodruff's experience "underground" for the sake of polygamy and his dealings with federal authorities are all mentioned in several of Woodruff's letters. However, some readers may perceive a certain failure to translate that intensity in certain parts of the book. For instance, Neilson's introductory paper, "Friendship forged in exile: Wilford Woodruff and the William and Rachel Atkin Family", is shorter than Alexander's in terms of number of pages, but some readers may find it lacking in rhythm and may ultimately sense it to be longer than Alexander's. This is mostly because he did not remove redundancies. For example, Alexander informs his readers on one occasion that Woodruff's "underground" activities included duck hunting and fishing (63), while Neilson hammers that information numerous times. The reader is informed that the fugitive Church leader discovers "the Atkins family's fishing pond and hunting grounds" on page 37. By the time he is through the next page, he is told four times that Woodruff hunted and fished while at Atkinville. And there are plenty more occurrences in the essay to make sure that you understand that fishing and hunting were the Mormon Apostle's "favourite outdoor sporting activities" to pass "the tedium of exile" (37).

As any true Mormon family would have liked to have welcome a future prophet, Neilson tells us the Atkins "were honoured to have President Woodruff as their guest, despite his fugitive status" and made

[3] See Book of Mormon, Alma 17:2–5.

sure that his name and persona were safe (39, 40), and that they made him an "honorary" family member.[4] In case the reader did not grasp this first mentioning, Neilson writes essentially the same information four times: Atkinville was "a *refuge*" (36), "an important administrative hub for the LDS Church" as Woodruff was "on the underground" (40); it "had become a *sanctuary* for the aging apostle" (43), and "Woodruff and other polygamists made [it] their *sanctuary*" (52).[5] That final occurrence is one too much and might as well be crossed out as it seems totally out-of-place between the two segments on the number of Mormons involved in the practice of polygamy in St George.

Beside the essays, *In the Whirlpool* is full of annotations, such as genealogical inserts straight from the Mormon Church's Ancestral File program to facilitate reading. Most of these annotations are informative, but others for example, provide little new information as much of the text is found on common geographical location markers at places like Denver, the Platte River, Laramie, Albuquerque, and even Santa Fe (194). A curious reader would certainly have preferred a note of clarification on the line "[George] Cannon had to leave [Utah] for Washington" (192)—which is explained in Alexander's paper (90) and more particularly on "today" when Woodruff writes "I have never been in deeper water in my life in church matters than today" (165). Considering what he had already been through since 1885, one naturally wonders why "today"—September 12, 1888—is the darkest one in Woodruff's whirlpool experience. What was happening during that time period to make the Mormon leader feel that he had touched the bottom?

Neilson offered no commentary but he could have resorted to the use of probabilities, as he has done elsewhere in the book when he is *near to being sure*,[6] to help elucidate "today". The reader will find in Neilson's chronology that "Apostle Cannon begins a 175-day prison

[4] The Atkin children often referred to Woodruff as "'Grandpa Allen' or 'Uncle Lemmie'" (41); and Woodruff affectionately signs "Your Grandpa" in a letter to one of them (130). Neilson indicates in a footnote that "Lewis Allen" was Woodruff's secret name "while hiding from U.S. marshals" (ibid.). Most of the letters are signed "L[ewis] Allen"; although, for reasons not mentioned in the book, Woodruff sometimes used his real identity.

[5] Emphases mine.

[6] See for instance "was *likely*", "was *apparently*" in footnotes 57 (142), 60 (143) and 99 (158). Italics mine.

term for unlawful cohabitation" five days after (September 17th; 202); elsewhere, in Alexander's work, he is reminded that September was right in the middle of a period of political setbacks for the Church, that "major crack in the dike that earlier Mormon leaders had built to separate themselves from Babylon came in the fall 1888 elections" since the LDS Church's party lost control of the territorial legislature (84). Woodruff may also have referred to pre-election challenges that led to the Church's political demise. But, he had "so many irons in the fire" (165) that his trouble for the day may also have come from possible move of US marshals to arrest him, from congressional actions or judicial decisions.

The reference to judicial decisions leads to some comments on Neilson's remarks on the Idaho Test Oath "which barred anyone [in Idaho] who 'engage in or belonged to an organization that advocated' plural marriage from voting" (footnote 127; 166). Neilson observes that the "decision essentially rendered the First Amendment free-exercise clause meaningless". It is true that federal authorities sometimes went beyond their constitutional prerogatives in a number of counts when it comes to the Mormons if history is viewed with today's eyes. However, it is worth remembering that there was a lot of disparity regarding the applicability of the First Amendment before *Cantwell v. Connecticut* in 1940.[7] Indeed, before that precedent, it was in the "rights" of U.S.

[7] Jehovah's Witness evangelists, Cantwell and his two sons had been denied their First Amendment and other rights by the courts of Connecticut for their "sheep-stealing" and proselytizing activities. The U.S. Supreme Court broke the state decision, establishing thereby the precedent of nationwide preeminence of the First Amendment: it argued that the Connecticut statutes deprived the Cantwells of their Fourteenth Amendment rights of life, liberty and due process of law, and equal protection of the laws whether the citizens are religious or not; and further declared that "The fundamental concept of liberty embodied in that Amendment embraces the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment"; and that "The Fourteenth Amendment has rendered the legislatures of the states as incompetent as Congress to enact [...] laws [respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof]" as stated in the First Amendment. Emphases mine. See Cantwell v. State of Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940). The decision was consistent with Gitlow v. New York (1925) touching the "freedom of speech" clause in the First Amendment.

States and the federal government for the Territories to have local legislations regarding the "free-exercise" clause, even if those local "rights" meant brushing aside or limiting the First Amendment altogether.[8] Hence Van Buren's impossibility to satisfy the Mormons call for redress for persecutions suffered in Missouri some decades earlier. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, lamented in 1843 that those *state rights* had rendered the Constitution powerless, "not broad enough to cover the whole ground" of the United States.[9] Obviously, Smith was calling for stronger federal government, something that Mormons now overwhelmingly reject because succeeding Mormon leaders, beginning with Brigham Young, had shifted to the same *state rights* ideology that Smith decried. Several references in Woodruff's letters show that he fully understood that only a "state government for Utah" with all "the powers and independence of a sovereign state, with the authority to make and execute *our* own laws" (174)[10] could help him, and the Church, come out of "the whirlpool". "Statehood seem[ed] to promise the readiest solution for some of the prominent questions involved in the great problem of the hour", Woodruff further confided to William Atkin (174).

Except that, this time, the "sovereign state" Woodruff contemplated would not be a "Mormon state", a totally independent nation within the State patterned after the city of Nauvoo, at least as Joseph Smith understood it then.[11] As had been done with previous territories, "Gentiles" had moved into the territory to influence the political process, packing the ballot to "steal" "our city and territory" as Woodruff put it (179–80). Those brief statements are but illustrations of what I

[8] A good case in point is the Supreme Court's decision in *Reynolds v. United States* (1878).

[9] *History of the Church*, vol. 6, pp. 56–57. Emphasis mine.

[10] My emphasis to draw attention to the fact that even the language used by the leaders of the Mormon Church of the time shows that they made no difference between religious and political matters. Utah was both the spiritual and temporal kingdom of God entrusted to them.

[11] Woodruff imagined a state "independent of all earthly powers and clothed with legal as well as divine authority to assume the position in the earth God has designed or may design us to fill" "in the event of disruption of [from?] the general government" (ibid.), echoing Smith's view that the city of Nauvoo was as free and independent as the State of Illinois (Brodie, 1963, p. 351).

meant by "scholars will always find a way to draw something out of the book".

Summarily, Neilson's work in transcribing and publishing this selection of Wilford Woodruff's letters is admirable. For by so doing, he provides readers access not only to the LDS leaders whereabouts while hiding from federal authorities but also to his deep and personal experience of dealing with family matters (a dying plural wife whose funeral he could not attend, 128), local political matters (138), Church-federal institutions battles (161), his personal feelings regarding the possibility of imprisonment (131), and the process leading to the LDS Church's final surrender in the form of the 1890 Manifesto. This publication will definitely provide readers with a more in-depth context to the abandonment of "the Principle" than the simplistic and public excerpts from three of Woodruff's addresses included at the end of the LDS Church's *Doctrine and Covenants*.

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REVIEW – MORMONEN UND STAATSBURGER

Reviewed by Ingrid Sherlock-Taselaar

Raymond Kuehne, *Mormonen und Staatsbürger: Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage in der DDR*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007. Hardbound: €19.

Twenty years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall and while great strides have been made towards achieving economic, political, and constitutional unity, vast differences remain between the former East Germany and West Germany. One can but agree with Chancellor Angela Merkel, who grew up in East Germany, when she proclaimed in 2009 that the process of German unity has not ended yet.[1] In his book, Andreas Staab queried whether a complete unification will ever be possible or whether Germany will be faced with a continued separation.[2] This continued separation in some areas, he argues, is due to the fact that the citizens of the former East Germany are essentially required to forge a new identity which is neither an automatic nor an easy process. One of the many obstacles of forging a new unified identity is a lack of understanding between the groups involved in the process. This lack of understanding is often based on a lack of knowledge about one another. Knowledge unifies, strengthens, and creates understanding between peoples.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a worldwide church and as such incorporates among its membership people from many nations. However, beyond their shared doctrine, rituals, and faith, to what extent do members truly know and understand one an-

[1] Franz Solms-Laubach, 'Umfrage: Ost- und Westdeutsche entfernen sich voneinander', *Welt Online*, 20 May 2009. See http://www.welt.de/politik/article3775359/Ost-und-Westdeutsche-entfernen-sich-voneinander.html, accessed 30 November 2010.

[2] Andreas Staab, *National Identity in Eastern Germany: Inner Unification or Continued Separation* (Westport: Praeger, 1998).

other? Raymond Kuehne's book *Mormonen und Staatsbürger: Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage in der DDR*, the subject of this review, shows that it is actually not very difficult to select a group of Latter-day Saints about whom very little is known. Remarkably this group does not reside in some far-flung corner of the world but rather in the heart of Europe, viz. the former East Germany.

Before the fall of the Berlin Wall little was known about the life of the Latter-day Saints in East Germany (GDR). The GDR was, between 1945 and 1990, an officially atheistic state thus there was little religious organisation. Throughout those years, however, a small army of Latter-day Saints managed to remain true to their faith while simultaneously being good citizens of the state. It was a delicate balance that traced it roots to the LDS Articles of Faith. Outside the GDR there was the occasional hearsay and many an urban legend about how, for example, the LDS Church printed the German Books of Mormon and other Church materials in the GDR and then "forgot" to ship a number of boxes to West Germany. This, so the story tells, was the only way for the GDR Saints to gain access to these books and materials. East met West on the occasional ecclesiastical highlights such as the Munich Area General Conference.[3] About 200–500 elderly Latter-day Saints from beyond the Iron Curtain were allowed to attend this conference if they promised to return to their countries after the conference. Everybody, including the body of an elderly sister who had passed away during the conference, returned. Some General Authorities such as Ezra T. Benson (48–51), Spencer W. Kimball (318–19), Thomas S. Monson visited the GDR and from 1972 onwards. Henry Burkhardt, a long-standing leader in the GDR, was allowed to travel to Salt Lake City once a year to attend General Conference there (315). In spite of these contacts, the enduring faithfulness of the GDR Saints life of the Latter-day Saints in the GDR remained terra incognita until Raymond Kuehne undertook to write a documentary history of the LDS Church in the GDR.

Kuehne succeeded in writing an objective study of the history and experiences of the GDR Saints in this 565-page tome. He based his

[3] The Munich Area General Conference was held on August 24–26, 1973. For a detailed report, see http://lds.org/ensign/1973/11/news-of-the-church?lang=eng.

book around a series of themes that younger members of the LDS Church who gathered for a special meeting in Dresden in 2003 thought were important for such a book. Themes included were first and foremost the building of the Freiberg Temple, but also missionary efforts in the GDR, building of meeting houses, feelings of members when they saw the freedom and riches of other countries, how to fulfil their desire to go to a Temple and many more. Kuehne used a perfect mixture of official documents, sourced from the GDR government and the LDS Church, as well as personal interviews and private letters. The text is complemented by a good number of interesting photographs. It is clear that the book is written for the impartial and curious reader. It should appeal to the casual reader who is just interested in the history of the LDS Church in the GDR. However, the book is such a treasure trove that it will also appeal to the scholarly reader who, for example, wants to research LDS history in the GDR or someone who is interested in small church communities and the efforts of their religious leaders to balance their religious and civic lives. The length of the book should not frighten the potential reader because the twenty chapters follow each other in a logical and clear manner. Some chapters describe the events of a particular time period, e.g. chapter five depicts the time before the Berlin Wall and chapter six portrays the time after the Berlin Wall. Other chapters explain what daily life was like for the Saints in the GDR, such as chapter nine which tells about the youth activities so common in an ordinary LDS community, but quite different in the GDR, or chapter ten which explains what school, study and professional life in the GDR was like. The book, therefore, not only fills gaping holes in the history of the LDS Church in Europe but gives an interesting insight into the life in the GDR.

Kuehne describes in the introduction that when he started this project there were a number of obstacles to overcome (7–12). In the 90's there was a general debate as to who would be qualified to write the history of the GDR. Would historians who did not belong to the communist party be able to write an impartial and scientific history? What shape would such a history need to take? This discussion was also relevant to Kuehne's project and perhaps even more so. Could an American who had never lived in the GDR write an honest history of the LDS Church in the GDR even if this American was of German descent and had served a mission in Germany as a young man? At first there was some reluctance from both members and ecclesiastical leaders but the building of the Freiburg Temple and the opportunity to serve a

mission there with his wife opened doors for Kuehne that eventually led to the writing of this book with the increasing enthusiasm and help from the local Saints.

I would heartily recommend this book in either German or English.[4] It is a well written book that makes (LDS) life in the GDR transparent and exciting.

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[4] The book has recently been published in English. See Raymond Kuehne, *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State: A Documentary History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945–1990* (University of Utah Press: Salt Lake City, 2010).

Review – On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape

Reviewed by Irén Annus

Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. Cloth: €22.95, $29.95.

In his second book, historian Jared Farmer revisits Utah, his former home state, presenting the reader with a truly captivating, interdisciplinary investigation of the cultural construction of space. Through an analysis of two specific Utahan geographical places, Lake Utah and Mount Timpanogos, Farmer maps the various strategies through which one of these places has been rejected, while the other has been assigned cultural significance, resulting from particular historical moments determined by the intersection of specific economic, ideological (both political and religious), and cultural drives and currents, represented by different groups and their interests within the American landscape.

The various chapters of the book offer different historical narratives related to these two sites. Chapter One surveys the history of the Lake Utah region, with a focus on the second half of the nineteenth century, during which the Great Basin region was taken over by Mormon settlers, slowly outnumbering and replacing the Native Utes who had dominated the area before. Farmer is at his best in unfolding the dynamically changing ideological, economic and political dimensions along which relations between native inhabitants and white settlers were structured, from fishing and the slave trade to efforts to proselytise. In the meanwhile, he also reveals how changes in the human landscape brought about changes in the physical landscape, expressed through a series of shifts in the symbolic landscape, i.e. in the meanings assigned to the Lake and its resultant significance in the newly emerging cultural landscape of the United States.

As Lake Utah was becoming marginalized, Mount Timpanogos started to gain prominence in the newly constructed landscape of Utah. The next two chapters describe this process, which lasted well into the

twentieth century. Chapter Two surveys the rise of Mount Timpanogos from a barely noticed peak in the distant vista to the heights of Latter-day Utahan pride and of the American national imagination. The book's exhaustive historical analysis of this is finely integrated within contemporary cultural endeavours and trends, from religious interpretations of mountains as holy places to the cultural construction of the national landscape as integral to the romantic construction of nationhood, as captured in the art of the Hudson River School artists, for example.

As Mount Timpanogos was being appropriated religiously, politically and culturally, it was also beginning to undergo an exoticization and historicization through the constitution of the native touch, analysed in Chapter Three. Farmer offers an impressive account of the creation by E. Roberts of a Native legend tied to the mount that has triggered a process of cultural production through which the invented past has been transformed into reality: it has not only been acted out and ritualised, but also surrounded by an aura of factuality, ultimately being perceived by many as historical reality. Farmer illustrates brilliantly how this fact was not an isolated example; it followed a pattern within a broader cultural production of the American landscape that has appeared in a number of other places.

The book's meticulous research and engaging style makes it an exciting reading experience. It will be an enjoyable read for anyone interested in American or Utahan history, Mormon Studies, Cultural Studies, Cultural Geography, or Cultural Anthropology, among other disciplines.

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REVIEW – SOUTHERN PAIUTE: A PROFILE

Reviewed by Zachary R. Jones

William L. Hebner, *Southern Paiute: A Profile*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010. Hardback: $34.95.

At first glance some readers of *IJMS* may wonder why a book about the Southern Paiute is reviewed in this issue. The answer, however, becomes all the more clear as the contents of this poignant new book are unpacked, ultimately detailing the intimate and bittersweet relationship between the Paiute people and Mormons in the American West over the last 160 years. This relationship is most publicly known because the Southern Paiute are the Native American Indian people that the LDS Church and portions of the Mormon laity have regularly blamed for various levels of participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre since this terrible event occurred in 1857. The recent publication *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (2008), research supported and oversaw by the LDS Church, still places aspects of blame on the Paiute for the Massacre, while simultaneously works to protect and guard the image of the overall church and LDS prophet Brigham Young. *Southern Paiute*, for the first time on this level, provides accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre from numerous Southern Paiute elders. This book is not, however, only important to scholars of Mormonism because of its Mountain Meadows connection, it also details aspects of how Mormonism sought to eradicate Paiute culture and language through Indian placement programs, as well as documenting aspects of genocide carried out by Mormons against the Paiute. The profoundness, depth, and honesty of this book are unparalleled on many levels. Few books of this magnitude emerge today, making this volume vitally important in Mormon studies.

Southern Paiute: A Profile is a simple, yet well organized, and powerful book. With photography of Paiute elders by Michael L. Plyler, editorial work by William L. Hebner (both not of Southern Paiute ancestry), the book contains segments of 29 oral history interviews by

Hebner with Southern Paiute elders. The book's interviews are organized according to the eight tribes/bands of the Southern Paiute, giving a geographic and cultural perspective from the eight groups. Unlike other non-Native anthropologists and historians who have interviewed the Southern Paiute over the years, Hebner states he did not ask specific or tailored questions as typically occurs within focused academic research projects. Hebner instead simply allowed the Paiute to talk about their lives and on whatever topic they felt was of importance to them. However, as editor of the book, it is evident that Hebner prioritized content about Mountain Meadows Massacre by including ample statements from the Southern Paiute about it. The Mountain Meadows controversy and its connection to the Southern Paiute, however, cannot be overlooked. In the words of Southern Paiute Vivienn Caron-Jake, the "on-going lies held against us for one hundred and fifty years about the butchery at Mountain Meadows well represent" the complex relationship between the Southern Paiute and the LDS Church (xi).

Before detailing additional content on Southern Paiute and their relation to Mormonism, it's important to discuss some aspects of the Southern Paiute background and content of the overall book. The Southern Paiute traditionally resided in the present day areas of Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California, before their lands were taken and most of their population was decimated through genocides carried out by federal government policies and Euro-American settlers. Scholars should know this book does not focus on Mormonism, but is rather an account of the Southern Paiute people's recent past. Some of the topics addressed in the book include; Southern Paiute land encroachment by the Navajo and American settlers, an overview of how the federal government interacted with Southern Paiute over the last century, how federal recognition of the Southern Paiute as a tribe was stripped from them in 1954 and was not restored until 1980 (which included the loss of their land, much still unreturned), the "adoption" or placement of Southern Paiute children in Mormon homes during the 1900s, aspects of racism and genocide, and the loss of their culture and language through colonization and assimilation efforts from outside cultures. The words of the Southern Paiute who speak in this book testify of the legal, ethical, and moral wrongs endured by their people, and the gravity of the issues they raise should not be dismissed.

In regards to the place of Mormonism in Southern Paiute life, Hebner's commentary and the words of Southern Paiute speak volumes. Hebner argues that the Mormons "were usually the root of

Southern Paiute loss in Utah" (18). Hebner, who writes the book's Introduction, begins with an overview of Mormonism's perception of the Southern Paiute. Hebner acknowledges the diverse stereotypes that the Southern Paiute have endured, often in silence, within Western culture, ranging from "hapless diggers (a widespread western epithet for Indians) to New Age touchstones" (4). Hebner then cites the LDS and Book of Mormon theology that people of Native American Indian descent are "Lamanities" who, to quote LDS President Brigham Young, "became so wicked that God cursed them with this dark and benighted and loathsome condition" (4). Brigham Young, according to Hebner's research, perceived the Southern Paiute as being "worse" than general Lamanites, and Young stated that the Southern Paiute were direct descendants of the thieving Gadianton Robbers from the Book of Mormon. Other LDS leaders of the period, such as Bishop Edward Hunter of southern Utah, called the Southern Paiute "loathsome, effeminate specimens of humanity" (4). Yet Southern Paiute who encountered Mormonism or LDS missionaries were taught that they could literally "white and delightsome" by accepting Mormon doctrines and forsaking their traditional way of life. Quoting Apostle Spence W. Kimball from a 1960 *Improvement Era* article, Kimball expressed pleasure as he reflected on a photograph showing Southern Paiute who had attended Mormon schools and how the Southern Paiute had begun to become "white and delightsome" (53). While some research has been done on the subject of Mormon perceptions of the Southern Paiute, Hebner encourages additional study.

Another aspect spoken of in the book by the Southern Paiute is the "adoption", "foster care", or placement of Southern Paiute children in Mormon homes, which on some levels was carried out during the early settlement of Utah by Mormons and then later formalized during the twentieth century. In 1852 Brigham Young championed the adoption or purchase of Southern Paiute children because, to quote Young, it was "a new feature in the traffic of human beings; it is essentially purchasing them into freedom instead of slavery" (52). While a number of studies have focused on the topic of placement, the words of various Southern Paiute on the topic are revealing. Eunice Ohte, a Southern Paiute child who was placed in a Mormon home and taught Mormon theologies, remarked later in life how it painfully "stuck with me" when told she could become "white and delightsome" by accepting Mormonism (53). Other individuals like Patrick Charles simply stated that he

"wasn't happy in placement" (55). Hebner argues that the whole process of "Southern Paiute adaptations to the white world have not been by choice," but by forced assimilation (54). Southern Paiute Gary Tom stated that "acculturation is just a form of silent genocide" (42).

In regards to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the book contains numerous oral history testimonies of Southern Paiute. Hebner makes a valid point that the Paiute have most often remained silent and have refrained from speaking or defending themselves against allegations of participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. However, at the time that his interviews took place an unusual outpouring occurred. Hebner argues that this transpired from a number of reasons. One includes the 1999 construction work on the Massacre site and memorial, when construction crews accidentally uncovered the remains of those murdered. Utah officials, such as then Governor Mike Leavitt, and the LDS Church, quickly worked to seal off the area and not allow forensic anthropologists access to the site, leaving many issues unresolved for some, including the Fancher family descendants. Other aspects that also contributed to the outpouring included the work towards the LDS Church's published version of events, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, wherein various Church historians interviewed the Southern Paiute for oral history about the Massacre, but then neglected to use the oral histories in the book. The book also continued to shift blame onto the Southern Paiute. Hebner finds fault with the LDS Church for its continual cover up of what took place at Mountain Meadows. In Hebner's words "Much as been written, and will continue to be written, about this horror, as it stands as a timeless, universal caution to the murderous ownership of truth, of how good men conjure evil in the name of god and can become so invested in their own cover-up that in time they become the only people who believe it" (9). Today the Southern Paiute still wait for an official apology from the LDS Church for the blame wrongly placed the Southern Paiute, but such an apology has yet to occur. Within this atmosphere Hebner stated he encountered a number of elders who spoke on the subject either more openly or for the first time.

For the Southern Paiute, according to oral history they knew about the Massacre as it happened, and they feared it would cause unjust harm to their people. Eleanor Tom recalled the oral history her 102 year old grandmother, Mabel Wall, passed on to the family.

> There was two Indians that saw what was happening with the white people dressed as Indians. They heard gunshots and whooping and hollering. Granpa said we never did that hollering. One following them, saw them wash their faces off. They came back saying it was the Mormons. Those Mormons did that to their own people. One went ahead to Sham to tell them what he saw. They knew right then and there they'd be blamed. They then went from band to band to tell what they saw. They blamed all that on the Indian people. (79)

Stories about the events at Mountain Meadows were spoken of within the Southern Paiute communities with seriousness, and sometimes in passing. Willie Pete recalled he father pointing out where the Massacre took place and telling him about the events one day while driving past the Massacre site. Pete's father stated he knew where the bodies were buried, recalled stories of the Paiute hearing the shooting and learning about what happened, seeing Mormons "washing the mud from their face" and noting their disguised costumes—worn by Mormons to implicate the Southern Paiute, and the subsequent effort of the LDS Church to blame the Southern Paiute (114). Others, like Arthur Richards, spoke bluntly and directly. He noted that the LDS Church and some historians "made us look like hell in some of those books they wrote. We never say nothin' about it. … We took blame for a lot of things. In those days Indians didn't know how to talk English. When they did, do you think the whites would believe them? No." (88)

While much can be said about this book, and the Southern Paiute being blamed for the Massacre, elders like Arthur Richards are most angry that people debate and discuss Mountain Meadows endlessly, but pay almost no attention to acts of genocide against his people by the Mormons who settled Utah. Richards is very correct, this topic is often under-discussed and understudied by the general non-Native American Indian community. Perhaps the most fundamental contribution of this book is its numerous accounts of genocide against the Southern Paiute carried out by Mormon settlers. The accounts are graphic and detailed, and should be examined by scholars. One account, by Arthur Richards concerns a massacre at Circleville, wherein the local LDS leadership lured in a group of Southern Paiute people and killed them, and decapitated the victims. Southern Paiute witnessed the atrocity, found the desecrated bodies in a wagon, and "pulled out the [decapitated] heads of a child and a woman" (88).

Clifford Jake, another Southern Paiute elder, recalled another violent encounter and the motivations behind it.

> Wagon train come from Salt Lake. Had orders from Brigham Young. Killed some of the young boys, throw babies up in the air, shoot them down, sexual to the young girls then kills them, what they did. ... Tried to wipe us out, just because we had pretty good land. The wagon gave twenty dollar gold piece for each Indian killed. Poison the water too, the other side of Richfield. The Mormon people. They want land. (73)

In summary, this book is powerful, painful, emotional, and brutal and has great value to scholars. Some of the brief accounts provided in this review give a sense of the magnitude of Southern Paiute and Mormon relations. This entire topic and these individual subjects require additional study. The widespread notion that the genocide of Native American Indians did not occur in Utah and elsewhere in America is still held by the general public, but hopefully powerful books like this help combat stereotypes, racism, historical inaccuracies, and help the Southern Paiute people heal and be given the place they deserve in American society. I heartily recommend and praise this new volume by William Hebner and the contributing Southern Paiute people.

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REVIEW – SVOBODA SOVESTI V ROSSII: ISTORICHESKII I SOVREMENNYI ASPEKTY, VOL. 6

Reviewed by Jeffrey S. Hardy

E. N. Mel'nikova, O. G. Moiseenko, and M. I. Odintsov, eds., *Svoboda sovesti v Rossii: istoricheskii i sovremennyi aspekty*, Vol. 6. Moscow and St. Petersburg: Rossiiskoe ob'edinenie issledovatelei religii, 2008. Softcover.

This volume, like its predecessors in the Freedom of Conscience in Russia (*Svoboda sovesti v Rossii*) series, is a compendium of papers delivered at conferences organized or sponsored by the Russian Union of Researchers of Religion. With a production run of 1,000 copies, it is not widely available, especially outside of Russia, but this volume is of interest to the audience of the present journal for its inclusion of a series of articles devoted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The first several articles are devoted not to exploring the interactions of Mormonism with Russia, but seek rather to provide an introduction to the faith. Given the novelty of the LDS Church to Russia (and the young history of religious studies in the post-Soviet era), this is not surprising. In fact, these introductory articles are not doctrinal treatises by Russian religious scholars, but rather a somewhat eclectic mix of reprints and translations. Gordon B. Hinckley's "Four Cornerstones of Faith" and M. Russell Ballard's "The Miracle of the Holy Bible" begin the volume, followed by the entry on Joseph Smith from the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* and Adam C. Olson's "Humanitarian Services Lifting Lives Worldwide."[1] Next come a brief first-hand

[1] Gordon B. Hinckley, 'Four Cornerstones of Faith', *Ensign*, 34 (February 2004), pp. 2–7; M. Russell Ballard, 'The Miracle of the Holy Bible', *Ensign*, 37 (May 2007), pp. 80–82; Richard L. Bushman and Dean C. Jessee, 'Smith, Joseph: The Prophet' in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. by Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 1331–39; and C. Olson's 'Humanitarian Services Lifting Lives Worldwide', *Ensign*, 34 (April 2004), pp. 75–76.

account by Ezra Taft Benson of visiting and preaching to a Baptist congregation in Moscow in 1959, and Charles Dickens' well-known "pick and flower of England" description of Mormon emigrants.[2] At the end of the section is a bibliography compiled by E. V. Nechiporova of Russian and English languages sources on the history and doctrine of the LDS Church. This is not a comprehensive reference list, but it does cite several recent publications in minor scholarly journals, popular magazines, and edited collections that were not previously known to the reviewer.

The first substantive article in the collection, and the only one to address historical rather than contemporary themes, explores the treatment of Mormonism in the Russian press prior to 1917. The author I. Ia. Kanterov describes in some detail several books and articles on the LDS Church that were widely read in pre-revolutionary Russian society, notably those by J. H. Beadle, L. A. Bertran, V. Vereshchagin, S. V. Solev'ev, and M. M. Kovalevskii, but also lesser-known tracts by Russian Orthodox authors such as S. V. Bulgakov and T. I. Butkevich, taking care to place these works within the then emerging field of sectarian studies. One interesting finding from his comparison of these works is that most credited persecution (and the ensuing sympathy felt by bystanders) as the primary reason behind the rapid growth of the Church. In conjunction with this, most foresaw a rapid disintegration of the Church once persecution ceased and Utah became integrated into broader society. In general, however, Kanterov's article is descriptive rather than analytical and is noticeably less comprehensive than S. A. Antonenko's chapter covering the same ground in his recent *Mormony v Rossii*.[3]

The next article, by T. A. Chemikosova, analyzes the LDS Church presence in Tatarstan, a semi-autonomous republic just west of the Ural Mountains. Drawing on both ethnographic field work (while posing as a potential convert) and extensive internet research, Chemikosova concludes that Mormonism is a typical "new religious organization" in Russia and credits its relative success in Russia to its ability to satisfy the psychological needs of its parishioners in terms of personal development, security, friendship, and status. Her characteriza-

[2] Charles Dickens, 'The Uncommercial Traveller', *All the Year Round*, 4 July 1863, pp. 444–49.

[3] Sergei S. Antonenko, *Mormony v Rossii: put' dlinnoi v stoletie* (Moscow: Rodina, 2007), pp. 128–83.

tion of Mormon doctrine and organization gleaned from first-hand observation is far from precise, but her descriptions of worship services, a baptism ceremony, and other Church-related functions should nonetheless prove interesting to those who have never attended such meetings. Ultimately, the picture she paints of Mormons in Tatarstan is one of respect, understanding, and even sympathy for the persecution they sometimes face for their faith. In this regard she notes a wide gap between "actual" Mormons and "virtual" ones, the latter being a disfigured construct of primarily atheistic and Russian Orthodox anti-Mormon slander on the Russian language Internet. There is some online information on humanitarian aid provided by the LDS Church in Russia, but in general little is reliable, and much about LDS doctrines, worship services, organizational structure, and so forth is distorted. Yet Mormons are not alone in such treatment, the author ultimately concludes, which many other religious groups in Russia suffer as well.

The themes of missionary work and hostility toward non-traditional religions are also the subject of S. N. Antonenko's article, provocatively titled, "Should One Fear the Missionary?" Anotenenko finds that whereas the term "missionary" had a positive connotation in the late Imperial period, now it is primarily associated in the Russian consciousness with negative emotions and associations, including espionage and "ideological diversion." Such suspicion is felt by virtually all groups proselytizing in Russia, but Mormonism is a particularly visible target for this type of ill will, which is ostensibly bent on protecting Russian culture from foreign subversion. Against this tendency, Antonenko provides a number of reasons why Mormon (and other) missionaries should be welcomed in Russia, including; 1) freedom of religion is guaranteed by the Russian constitution, 2) missionary activity is inherent in Christianity, 3) Mormon missionaries take pains to not disparage other faiths, and 4) they are volunteers who act through gentle persuasion, never compulsion. In the end, in fact, he argues for the continuation of missionary activity, arguing that American missionaries, having served in Russia, return to the United States and form a sort of "Russian cultural lobby" capable of promoting Russian interests abroad (p. 117).

The next article is actually a short interview conducted by Mikhail Sitnikov of the religion-themed internal portal www.credo.ru with V. A. Nechiporov, a longstanding LDS Church leader in Russia who is currently president of the Rostov Mission. Responding to generally

open-ended and what one might term softball questions, Nechiporov characterizes Mormons in general and in Russia specifically as sincere, respectful, eager to obtain education, and devoted to their families. He highlights the humanitarian aid provided by the LDS Church to all people, regardless of their religion or race, and places heavy emphasis throughout on faith as a motivator for good deeds.

The final article in this collection, by N. I. Pachezhertsev, examines the Mormon concept of eternal families and the specific practices that result from this doctrine. Though brief, there are a few interesting moments. In discussing baptism for the dead, for instance, Pachezhertsev cites Russian Orthodox commentary on 1 Corinthians 15:29 to demonstrate that such ordinances were likely a part of the Apostolic Church. And in conclusion, after reciting the comprehensive effort made by Mormons to create strong families, the author forecasts that the LDS Church will as a result become well established in Russia, albeit only after three generations from the time missionary began.

To sum up, the articles presented in Volume 6 of *Svoboda sovesti v Rossii* on Mormonism are uneven and deal more with contemporary rather than historical issues. They tend to be descriptive rather than analytical. Significantly, though, the selection of articles and the authors themselves exhibit an even-handedness bordering on sympathy that results in a positive portrayal of the LDS Church in general and in Russia in particular. For Russian religious scholars this volume is an attempt to understand Mormon doctrine, organization, and society unencumbered by the substantial body of anti-Mormon literature available in Russia. In this it is an admirable first step.

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