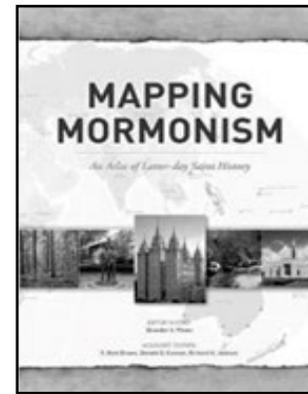


BRANDON S. PLEWE, ed. *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2012, 272 pp., maps, charts, glossary, bibliography, index, \$39.95 hardback.)

*Reviewed by Benjamin F. Tillman*

*Mapping Mormonism* is a remarkable publication that makes a distinguished and lasting contribution to Mormon studies. The atlas contains over five hundred beautifully crafted color maps, timelines, and charts that illustrate Mormonism's unique history and geography. A treasure-trove of information, the atlas includes over ninety carefully researched and clearly written topical entries by sixty expert scholars.



The atlas is organized into four sections based on historical periods and area covered: the Restoration, 1820–1845; the empire of Deseret, 1846–1910; the expanding church, 1910–present; and regional histories. This organization helps the reader navigate through a vast array of information where virtually all of the important church-related topics one can imagine, and more, are mapped and charted. In addition to valuable entries on pioneer historical geographies, the reader will gain added insights from the mapping of a variety of topics including the spiritual environment of the Restoration, the Relief Society, agriculture and economic development in Utah, political affiliation, and Book of Mormon geographies. Topics with recent histories continuing to the present include church architectural styles, welfare and humanitarian aid, genealogy, membership distribution, temples, missionary work, and projected church growth. Likewise, regional histories of the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific detail the church's beginnings and expansion to the present.

The atlas does not shy away from mapping controversial topics such as plural marriage and the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Maps and charts detail early movements that spun-off from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints such as the Community of Christ and other, smaller groups. The atlas also compares the growth of three American churches: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Seventh-day

Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

*Mapping Mormonism* is a complete re-envisioning of its predecessor, the 1994 *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, which became dated by more recent historical scholarship and advances in geographic and cartographic technologies. The editors aimed "to broaden the scope of the atlas, geographically and historically . . . with greater coverage of the twentieth century up to the present, and [to] cover the broader church in regions beyond the headquarters" (8). They also sought to use maps and visuals to explain "the history of the Church, especially where they [could] help to clarify common misconceptions and myths" (8). *Mapping Mormonism* achieves these goals and much more. The atlas skillfully utilizes the explanatory power of maps to visually document the church's growth from its humble American origin to its development into a major religion with global reach. The fact that it does not map the church's use of cyberspace and media is perhaps its only flaw.

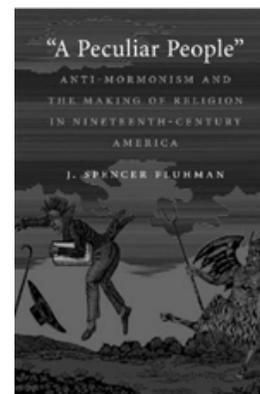
*Mapping Mormonism* has broad appeal and should be on the bookshelf of every scholar with interest in Mormon studies, history, historical geography, or the geography of religion. Moreover, because Mormons are typically interested in the church's history, the atlas should be a welcome addition in many Latter-day Saint homes.

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J. SPENCER FLUHMAN. *"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012, 229 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, \$37.50.)

*Reviewed by Constance Palmer Lewis*

The United States Constitution provides for religious freedom, but it does not define what religion is. At the time of the American Revolution, *religion* was a term that generally applied to a state-supported or state-approved Protestant church. Judaism and Catholicism were seen as false religions, and Islam was considered more an imposture than a religion. In *"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*, Spencer Fluhman looks at nineteenth-century American ideas of religion—and concludes that Americans did not consider Mormonism a "real" religion. He argues that anti-Mormon polemicists, by explaining how Mormonism did not qualify as a religion, helped to define the boundaries of what constitutes an acceptable religion.



Mormonism, Fluhman argues, "blurred lines between the real and the counterfeit, magic and religion, and faith and politics, challenging the definition of Christianity in the new nation" (11). Fluhman traces the impact of Mormonism on the evolving concept of *religion* by examining nineteenth-century anti-Mormon literature through three periods. In the early period, from the 1820s through the 1840s, criticism centered on Joseph Smith. He was characterized as an impostor, possibly deluded, but certainly a person who deceived others. During the middle period, from the later 1840s to the 1890s, Mormonism was viewed as foreign, alien, and un-American. It was not until the end of the century that Mormonism came to be viewed as a heresy—which at least carried the tacit admission that it was a religion.

The late eighteenth-century debates about religious freedom in America were actually narrowly centered on disestablishment—whether or not the government should pay clergymen. Fluhman points out that at the time, religion was sometimes seen as dangerous because it was associated

with the government. In the early republic, however, a change in public opinion occurred. Religion was considered dangerous because it was unmoored and uncontrolled. The prevailing concept of true religion was Bible-based Protestantism, but people in the new nation did not have the conceptual vocabulary to deal with new religious ideas on the margins of Protestantism. If something was not a true religion, then it was somehow fake, so words such as *impostor* and *charlatan* sufficed to describe Joseph Smith, Mormonism's founding prophet. Joseph Smith, Fluhman notes, was viewed as an impostor similar to Robert Matthews or even Muhammad, and Smith's followers were viewed as dupes. Joseph Smith contributed to this perception by failing to effectively separate Mormonism from magic or treasure hunting. Early critics of Mormonism, according to Fluhman, defined the new faith outside the bounds of religion.

Excessive religious enthusiasm was similarly used to separate delusion from true religion, further delimiting the prevailing American concept of religion. In one of his most persuasive arguments, Fluhman writes that the majority of anti-Mormon critics of this period were evangelicals, who a few decades earlier had themselves been dismissed by critics as excessively enthusiastic. Perhaps evangelicals had the most at stake in demonstrating that the boundaries of true religion did not include the upstart Mormons. However, they also needed to take care to deny only religious excesses, not religious experience itself, thereby further contributing to the evolving construction of the concept of religion.

Outsiders viewed Mormon exclusivity and clannishness as a problem, and when the Mormon "gathering" was large enough to threaten a community's political establishment, detractors' complaints of religious delusion intensified. Here Fluhman's argument of religious imposture seems less persuasive. Were not political and economic power more important factors than religious imposture in the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and from Illinois? Fluhman could have better clarified the relationship between political or economic fears and the evolving construction of the boundaries of religion.

As Fluhman characterizes it, anti-Mormon ideas evolved during the second half of the nineteenth century away from an imposter narrative toward a discourse that defined Mormons as foreign or alien. Polygamy was a sensational and salacious topic that, in popular discourse, overshadowed any other criticism of Mormonism. While a definition of religion had not yet completely crystallized, it certainly did not include the practice of polygamy. Thus polygamy served to define Mormons as "other" more

than ever before, and anti-Mormon polemics shifted to capitalizing on this otherness. Mormonism was viewed as un-American and more suited to African or Asian societies, and Mormons themselves were accordingly racialized.

The author's argument that the American concept of religion was shaped partly by Mormonism during this period is persuasive, especially in his discussion of the Reynolds test case involving polygamy. In that 1879 Supreme Court decision, the first to address the religious clauses of the First Amendment, religious belief was protected, but religious actions—specifically polygamy—that were not compatible with the prevailing ideas of public order were prohibited. However, Fluhman's argument that anti-Mormon polemics were directed at Mormon foreignness is valid but incomplete. Political fears of Brigham Young's theocratic control, and economic concerns in the form of LDS church assets, were also significant contributors to anti-Mormonism.

Less developed is Fluhman's analysis of the post-Manifesto period. He argues that it was not until after 1890 that Mormonism was viewed as a religion, offering new opportunities for Mormon assimilation. He mentions the exclusion of Mormonism from the "Parliament of Religions" in 1893, but comments on the Mormon success at the Columbian Exposition, which seems to be failure-as-religion coupled with success-as-culture. The anti-Mormon attacks on Mormon theology as heretical, described in the book's introduction, are scarcely mentioned here, although expanding on those ideas in this section would have been helpful. Fluhman's discussion of the scientific study of religion and Mormonism's unwitting role in secularization nonetheless supports his contention that Mormonism helped shape Americans' concept of religion.

Fluhman draws upon hundreds of anti-Mormon documents to substantiate his claims. He focuses on those which he believes contributed to the discourse defining religion in nineteenth-century America. The array of primary sources under scrutiny here is impressive, but Fluhman fails to adequately explain how he chose and categorized his source base and why he relied so heavily on some anti-Mormon works and neglected others. Examining the anti-Mormon activities of former members might have complicated Fluhman's conclusions. For example, John Corry and John Whitmer clearly felt they had been deceived. But for some who left the church in Nauvoo, such as William Law, Smith's radical departure from orthodox Protestant theology was a more important factor in their disaffection than notions of Smith as imposter.

In the end, Fluhman makes a compelling case that anti-Mormon polemics and Mormon responses to them helped to define religion for Americans. Recognizing the presence of additional themes in anti-Mormon polemics might have complicated his conclusions but could have offered additional insights into the Mormons as “a peculiar people.” Even so, Fluhman lays out a valuable framework within which scholars might profitably situate the Mormon role in shaping American religious history.

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DAVID J. HOWLETT. *Kirtland Temple: The Biography of a Shared Mormon Sacred Space*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014, xi + 263 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, \$25.00 paperback.)

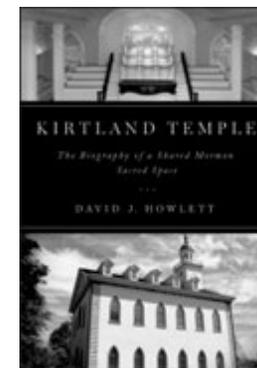
*Reviewed by William D. Russell*

David J. Howlett is one of the brightest, most knowledgeable, and creative young scholars in Mormon Studies. He earned his PhD in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Iowa where his major professor was T. Dwight Bozeman, a specialist in American Religious History. His dissertation has been revised for this publication.

Howlett is a “second generation restorationist.” The first generation were those RLDS members who ceased involvement in the church because of its new liberal stances on some important historic teachings of the church, underway by at least the 1960s. RLDS graduate students were open to the conclusions of biblical scholarship, the history of Christianity, theology, Christian ethics, world religions, and various areas of scientific inquiry, and the church was changing.

The author was baptized RLDS in 1986, two years after Doctrine and Covenants 156 (1984) approved the ordination of women. His parents began attending a restorationist church when David was 13. He was ordained a deacon at age 17, a priest at 21, and an elder at 24, just months before he left for a PhD program in Iowa and a year before he reactivated his RLDS membership (by then Community of Christ). In 2010 he was ordained an elder by Tony and Charmaine Chvala-Smith in Iowa City. Tony’s article in the 1999 *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* had a significant role in David’s openness to the Community of Christ.

In the course of David’s education, he reluctantly came to the conclusion that his spiritual and intellectual home is in the Community of Christ. Historical honesty on polygamy, for example, was one aspect of this. He recognized that Joseph Smith Jr. did practice polygamy, while many of the people in the Restoration Branches were not willing to consider the possibility. Meanwhile, the RLDS Church, led by Robert Flanders<sup>1</sup> and Church Historian Richard P.



<sup>1</sup> Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

Howard<sup>2</sup> had opened the minds of many RLDS people on the subject.

While in graduate school, he was hired to teach summer interns at the Kirtland Temple which, along with his PhD studies, gave him excellent credentials to write this book. He creatively interprets the history of the LDS and RLDS churches' understanding of the Kirtland Temple's place in the history of their respective churches as they evolved over the last 150 years. The result is an insightful book that sheds light on some of the theological shifts in thought of the two churches regarding the temple, some of which were the natural result of their evolving theology.

In the early days before the RLDS Church received full control of the temple, various Mormon factions used the temple (33). In the 1860s Martin Harris was living in Kirtland and was a disciple of Zadoc Brooks. He gave regular tours of the temple in which he denounced the Brighamites (40). It seems his second wife and their children had gone to Utah without him (40), but he changed his mind and rejoined his family in Utah in 1870.

Early in his leadership of the church, the young Joseph Smith III sought to sell the temple to help finance some of the church's debts, but by the 1880s, Joseph and the members' "attitudes toward the Kirtland Temple were decisively transformed" (44). They now saw the temple as a magnet, bringing in guests and converts alike (45). For about a century, the LDS and RLDS tours were ones of contestation. Some RLDS guides would carry their three-in-one scriptures (Inspired Version of the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the RLDS Doctrine and Covenants) with the passages designed to use against the Utah Mormons' well-marked scriptures.

But by the 1970s and 1980s, the relationship between members and leaders of the two churches became friendlier. The Mormon History Association and the Smith family reunions played a part in this. Karl Anderson, an LDS leader in Kirtland very interested in the temple, had a large role in the new relationship. On the RLDS side, temple directors Bill Lord and later Lachlan Mackay, also developed friendly relationships with their Utah cousins.

In 1990, however, RLDS members and leaders were embarrassed when it came to light that Jeff Lundgren, a recent full-time volunteer guide at the temple, had murdered a family of five who had moved to Kirtland to study scriptures under his guidance. Howlett discusses this case (chapter 5) and notes the interesting contrast between the RLDS Church and this guide between 1984 and 1990. Lundgren, at thirty-four, had taken a full-time temple volunteer po-

sition in 1984, the same year the church, at its World Conference, endorsed a revelation calling for the ordination of women as well as committing the soon-to-be-built temple to "the pursuit of peace . . . reconciliation and for healing of the spirit" (RLDS Doctrine and Covenants 156:4b). In contrast, Lundgren believed peace would come when all the wicked people had been killed, a mission he was signing up for.

By 1990, Lundgren had been arrested for murdering a family of five and sentenced to death while by that date the RLDS Church had committed itself to be a peace-making church. In 2006 the State of Ohio made it impossible for Lundgren to fulfill his murderous mission by executing him.

Most of the Restoration Branches split from the RLDS Church in the years 1986–1988. Howlett presents a deeper grasp of what Lundgren and the Restoration Branches were all about than any of the books and television portrayals to date, and certainly more than the prosecutors in the Lundgren case, who tended to see him as merely a con man.

David Howlett has done a superb job relating how the two largest Mormon churches have interpreted the first and only temple both churches venerate as part of their story.

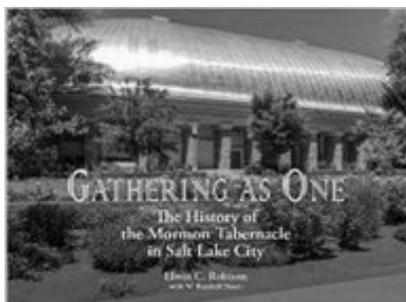
WILLIAM D. RUSSELL is Professor Emeritus at Graceland University, Lamoni, Iowa, where he taught American history, religion, and politics for forty-one years.

2 Richard P. Howard, "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A Preliminary Analysis," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983): 14–29; reprinted in *Restoration Studies* 3 (1986): 145–62.

ELWIN C. ROBISON with RANDALL W. DIXON. *Gathering as One: The History of the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City*. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2014, 278 pp., illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index, \$33.70 hardback.)

*Reviewed by Anne Barrett*

This new publication marks a documentary tour-de-force for Mormon architectural history. The depth and breadth of Robison's research are visible as he narrates the history of the Great Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. Robison, with his ability to master not only the stylistic but structural history of



buildings, has adeptly waded through the masses of primary source material to compile a complete narrative of this iconic Mormon structure. The author aptly combines the social history, structural history, and architectural history surrounding this building and its function.

The physical aspects of the volume may deceive some to think it a haphazard text with beautiful images, meant to grace a living room table. This, however, is not the case. The size and shape of the book has both benefits and drawbacks. The large format and inclusion of many color images tends to shift focus away from the meticulous narrative of the book. Additionally, the size and format of the book prove prohibitive to a careful study of the text, a task which may only be done at a desk or table. However, on the upside, the amount and quality of the photographs in the volume is incomparable. The images themselves prove a valuable visual narrative of the evolution of the tabernacle, providing visual documentation of many elements not published before.

The narrative of the book follows a logical, roughly chronological progression from the development of Temple Square, through the iterations of constructed meeting places on the square, through the construction and alterations of the building over time, to the functional changes the Tabernacle has experienced after the Conference Center was announced and constructed to the north of Temple Square. As the reader moves through the text, additional information and explanations are provided in sidebar texts and illustrations. These texts and illustrations prove a particular valuable edition of the volume.

They handily help to clarify or explain certain points and seek to answer questions that may arise as the reader moves through the book. One quite helpful example can be found in the sidebar text for “Earthquake Loads” (224–25). Robison's clear and detailed explanation of structural issues for buildings in locations along major fault lines helped to contextualize the 2006 seismic upgrades of the Tabernacle.

Robison's background in engineering allows him to weave the structural history of the Tabernacle throughout the book, which is one of its strengths. The discussion of the history of the structural design, including arched trusses and piers, is instructive and intelligible. Illustrations and sidebar texts assist greatly in the explanations of load-bearing elements of the building. The discussion of the truss design in Chapter 5 is particularly interesting, as it not only discussed likely sources for the design and previous iterations in the Salt Lake Valley but also aids in dispelling myths regarding the Tabernacle's structure.

Two particular myths with regards to the structure of the Tabernacle are easily dispelled with this volume: 1) The roof structure of the Great Tabernacle was erected without using any nails in its composition; 2) The arched trusses were constructed using bent wood. Explanations regarding the construction of the arched trusses, along with previously unpublished photographic documentation of them, clearly proves the trusses were constructed of cut wood elements, which were nailed together in certain areas. Thus, the structural discussions within the book, at times quite dry and a bit tedious, prove essential in understanding the Tabernacle's true history.

While Robison is quite adept at weaving together the structural, cultural, and architectural history of the building, the book would benefit from several small additions or changes. Further explanation or discussion of several topics related to the history of the Tabernacle would be advantageous. One such topic seemed noticeably absent from any discussion of the tabernacle: a discussion of clear-span buildings. Although several clear-span buildings were mentioned, Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, erected for the Great Exhibition of 1851, was conspicuously absent from the text. Since rail stations in England, which Robison discusses in sidebar text, clearly benefited from the structural innovations of the Crystal Palace, it seems it should have at least been mentioned. A sidebar text narrating the history of clear-span buildings seems relevant and useful, given the context of the Salt Lake Tabernacle.

Another topic that seemed uncharacteristically absent from the text was the inclusion of relevant Mormon buildings from the Nauvoo period. Sidebar text regarding permanent structures in Nauvoo would have added richness to

the contextual background of the Tabernacle and its structural predecessors on Temple Square, especially given the information that Tabernacle architect Truman Angell worked as an architectural apprentice in Nauvoo.

Overall, the weighty contribution this book makes to scholarship in Mormon history and to the broader field of the history of architecture allows one to overlook instances where the text does not correspond to images on the same page or main text that should be considered footnote material. For its scrupulous detail and meticulous documentation, Robison's book has set a high standard against which all further studies regarding Mormon architecture will be compared.

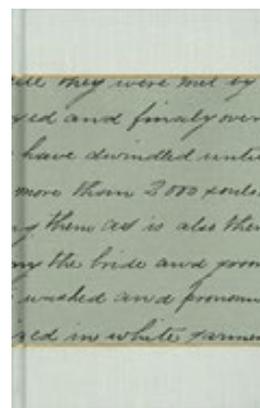
ANNE R. BARRETT is an architectural historian, historic preservation consultant, and reference librarian currently working at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City.

ELIZABETH O. ANDERSON, ed. *Cowboy Apostle: The Diaries of Anthony W. Ivins, 1875–1932*. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013, 746 pp., introduction, appendix, index, \$125.00 hardcover.)

*Reviewed by Brian W. Whitney*

Perhaps best remembered in his later years as counselor in Heber J. Grant's First Presidency, one may be surprised upon perusing the galleries at the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma to find Anthony Woodward Ivins listed in the Hall of Great Westerners as a celebrated cattleman, ranchman, church official, and civic leader. But this is exactly the portrait that *Cowboy Apostle: The Diaries of Anthony W. Ivins, 1875–1932*, paints. As another installment in the Significant Mormon Diaries series, Signature Books along with MHA award-winning author Elizabeth O. Anderson reintroduce to a Latter-day Saint audience the important story of an all-but-forgotten historical figure. Ivins' story defines the transitional period of Mormonism from isolated and feared western religious sect into a bona fide American religious denomination.

Ivins came from a family that was party to the earliest settlement of Utah's Dixie. He served successive missions to Mexico from 1875 through 1884, exploring and establishing many sites later colonized by Mormons throughout New Mexico and Mexico. Following nearly a decade of missionary service, Ivins returned to St. George where he resumed family life, ranched, and embarked on a small, but successful, political career as City Attorney, County Assessor and Tax Collector, Prosecuting Attorney, and, from 1890–1894, as Mayor of St. George. Ivins also served in the Utah Territorial Legislature and, in 1894, was selected as a representative to the Utah State Constitutional Convention. Any larger political aspirations he may have had, such as pursuing the Utah governorship, were suddenly halted in 1895 when he dutifully accepted assignment as president of the church's Mexican Mission. Two years later, he was called as the first stake president in Colonia Juárez, an assignment he would keep, even through a debilitating three-year bout with small pox, until his call into the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1907. Ivins served as an apostle until 1921



when he was called into the First Presidency, a position he retained until his passing in 1934.

Ivins' life and church service spanned through six successive church presidencies and many significant events in LDS history. It was during his missionary work in Mexico that the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act of 1882 was signed into law, beginning a federal raid against Mormon polygamists in the territory, resulting in over 1,300 arrests and forcing many of the church's leaders underground. It was during Ivins' political career in St. George that the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 became law, which resulted in the disincorporation of the LDS Church, allowing the federal government to seize church properties, and disenfranchising women voters, who had been enfranchised by the Territorial legislature in 1870. In Mexico, Ivins' church service coincided with the presidency of Porfirio Díaz and a time of dramatic political tensions that precipitated the Mexican Revolution.

Of interest to most readers is Ivins' role as stake president in Colonia Juárez following President Wilford Woodruff's 1890 declaration to end the practice of plural marriage, which ostensibly banned any new polygamous marriages from being performed. Scholars have long since noted that polygamous marriages continued to be performed in Canada and Mexico. Ivins, while not a practitioner of plural marriage himself, had solemnized sixty plural marriages from 1896–1904 in his capacity as stake president, under the full authority of the First Presidency of the church. The continued practice of authorized plural marriages ended after President Joseph F. Smith issued a second declaration in 1904 in response to the national attention the church was once again receiving. This resulted from Utah Senator Reed Smoot's long and arduous confirmation hearings, which evolved into a national interrogation of Mormon beliefs and practices.

Ivins' diaries indicate that he was genuinely surprised to receive assignment as an apostle, which took place over the podium during the church's October 1907 conference. During the latter part of his apostolic tenure, Ivins oversaw the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. Never one to divorce himself from politics, he and fellow Democrat B. H. Roberts waged an ideological contest against Republican Reed Smoot that played out publicly. Following the Great War, Ivins became a staunch supporter of Woodrow Wilson's proposed League of Nations. Likewise, he supported women's suffrage, prohibition, and other progressive-era reforms. At times, his pro-government views stood at odds with the understandably leery Saints, who were not so far removed from the anti-polygamy raids. Indeed,

even Heber J. Grant expressed some hesitation over calling Ivins into the First Presidency in 1921, concerned over possible political repercussions by having a First Presidency composed of three Democrats.

While perhaps a cowboy and rancher at heart, through his political dabbling and dedicated church leadership, Ivins showed himself to be a true gentleman—a loyal servant, admired by nearly all, and rarely one to murmur over a difficult assignment. This idealized portrait is precisely the challenge of working with personal diaries as a primary source. It is the rare person who is self-aware enough to admit their shortcomings in their diaries. As such, it falls upon the historian to call out self-aggrandizement and to provide contextual nuance to the story, which Anderson rarely does, leaving *Cowboy Apostle*, at times, to feel more like congenial family history than scholarly documentary history. Unlike other installations in the Significant Mormon Diaries series, the bulk of the annotation does little to add context and at times becomes predictably focused on biographical information with an overuse of findagrave.com.

For such a meticulous project, the juxtaposed annotation can feel like a hurried afterthought, perhaps with the author racing towards a tight publication deadline. Anderson is not to be faulted for this. With over sixty diaries and twenty-two volumes of notebooks, editing these diaries would be a daunting task even for a team of historians. Anderson spent four years meticulously transcribing often difficult and mundane material while maintaining admirable affection for her subject, which shines through on each page. Gaps in the diaries have been filled by consulting other personal journals and newspaper articles as well as by consulting with the Ivins family.

Despite the lackluster annotation, the overall result of Anderson's painstaking labor is a respectable volume that is introduced and ordered well, dependably indexed, and highly informative. *Cowboy Apostle* will prove to be a valuable resource for future researchers both interested in Ivins as a biographical character and in expanding on the many significant events and transitions that Ivins lived through.

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