



# Converting the Saints

A Study of Religious Rivalry in America



Charles Randall Paul

# Converting the Saints

A Study of Religious Rivalry in America

Charles Randall Paul

GREG KOFFORD BOOKS  
SALT LAKE CITY, 2018

Copyright © 2018 Charles Randall Paul

Cover design copyright © 2018 Greg Kofford Books, Inc.

Cover design by Loyd Isao Ericson

Published in the USA.

All rights reserved. No part of this volume may be reproduced in any form without written permission from the publisher, Greg Kofford Books. The views expressed herein are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the position of Greg Kofford Books.

ISBN 978-1-58958-756-4 (paperback); 978-1-58958-747-2 (hardcover)

Also available in ebook.

Greg Kofford Books  
P.O. Box 1362  
Draper, UT 84020  
www.gregkofford.com  
facebook.com/gkbooks  
twitter.com/gkbooks

---

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Paul, Charles Randall, author.

Title: Converting the saints : a study of religious rivalry in America /  
Charles Randall Paul.

Description: Salt Lake City : Greg Kofford Books, 2018. | Includes  
bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018000266 | ISBN 9781589587564 (pbk.) | ISBN  
9781589587472  
(hardcover)

Subjects: LCSH: Missionaries--United States--History--20th century. |  
Missionaries--United States--Biography.

Classification: LCC BV2775 .P38 2018 | DDC 277.3/082--dc23 LC record available  
at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018000266>

In appreciation for my wonderful teachers and readers,  
David Tracy, Martin Marty, Harold Bloom,  
and my intrepid partner, Jann Paul.

# Contents

Scriptural Abbreviations Guide	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Prologue	xiii
Introduction	xv
1. The American Lively Experiment: Sustaining Religious Rivalry and Peace	1
2. Violent American Religious Conflicts: Three Strong Cases	19
3. American Religious Climate 1900–1925: A Christian Nation?	41
4. Rival Stewards Of The American Promised Land	59
5. The True Church Challenge: Counterfeit Vs. Real Christianity	81
6. John Danforth Nutting, Nondenominational Preacher At Large	121
7. William Mitchell Paden, Presbyterian Polemicist	141
8. Franklin Spencer Spalding, Episcopalian Diplomat	167
9. Comparing Mission Methods Of Nutting, Paden, And Spalding	193
10. Contestational Rivalry Without Coercion Or Violence	221
Bibliography	235
Index	255



## Acknowledgements

I am truly grateful for the inspiring teachings as well as the helpful criticism of my PhD dissertation reading committee: Harold Bloom (Yale and NYU), Martin Marty (University of Chicago), and David Tracy (University of Chicago). The excellent instruction and inspiration of my professors at The Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago where I studied in the early 1990s has guided my thinking in this work and beyond. I owe much to the late Brigham Young University professors Truman Madsen and Hugh Nibley who inspired my scholarly passion to probe the histories of religions, and especially the questions of understanding and dealing with intra- and interreligious conflicts over truth and authority.

I look back with affectionate gratitude at my Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant high school friends in Millburn, New Jersey, in the early 1960s. They inadvertently opened my mind and heart to the reality that people can live happily even in religious traditions that “fall short” of mine! More, they showed me uniquely inspiring religious practices and ideas that could improve my tradition’s way—without requiring that I denounce it. Thus early in life my friendships outside my religious community spurred me to think about theological pluralism: Why had a just and loving God of revelation not re-revealed the same truth obviously and pervasively to all people at all times? Further, after rare but intense religious arguments with friends I sensed that religious conflicts are perennial and unresolvable by compromise. As I aged, influenced by social psychological training and life experience, I came to ponder the most important religious and ideological question of our time: “How does God—or our ethical standard—inspire us *to feel and behave* when critics and rivals challenge our most cherished beliefs, purposes, and allegiances?” These questions drive my scholarship and propel this book through its histories, theories, and meliorating prescriptions.

In writing this book I realized a Protestant scholar needed to edit my work, which attempts to interpret the Protestant voices that played such

xii *Converting the Saints*

a prominent role in the history I explore here. John Morehead, MA, carefully read the entire text and provided many hours of thoughtful analysis to help organize the whole presentation. He enabled more accurate interpretation of the Protestant protagonists and their doctrines, helping me re-write sections of the text where my limited experience in studying Protestant theology resulted in incorrect readings of normal Protestant positions. I deeply appreciate his work on this book and our continuing friendship. He is convinced the highest way toward divine light is not the road I follow, and I am persuaded that he is wrong about that. A lively tension of co-resistance and collaboration informs our love for each other. We tend to symbolize the pragmatic potency of trustworthy rivals engaged in a serious contest over the purpose of life and the best way to live.

My wife, Jann Waid Paul, and my son, Jeron Paul, carefully edited early drafts of this manuscript. Jann and my children all sacrificed greatly while I worked over eight years to complete a mid-life doctorate that provided the basis for this book. I will always be thankful for their loyal and patient endurance.



## Prologue

Stephen said, “You stiff-necked people . . . are forever opposing the Holy Spirit just as your ancestors used to do.” . . . and they became enraged and ground their teeth at Stephen. And he said . . . “Look—I see the heavens open and Jesus, the Son of Man, standing on the right hand of God!” Then they covered their ears . . . and rushed together against him, and began to stone him: and the witnesses laid their coats at the feet of a young man named Saul [Paul].

Acts 7: 51, 56–58

Later as Saul [Paul], still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord . . . was approaching Damascus, suddenly a light from heaven flashed around him. He fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to him, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” He asked, “Who are you, sir?” And the reply came, “I am Jesus whom you are persecuting.” . . . And afterward Saul [Paul] preached Jesus in the synagogues, saying that he is the Son of God. And all those that heard him were amazed, and said, “Is this not the man who made havoc in Jerusalem among those who invoked the name of Jesus?”

Acts 9: 3–5, 15, 19–21

Thomas More referred to the above passages in his following final response to the judges that condemned him to death for refusing to consent to Henry VIII's claim to regal supremacy over the authority of the Roman Catholic Church:

“Paul . . . was present, and consented to the death of St. Stephen . . . and yet they are now both Holy Saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends forever. So I do trust . . . and pray, that though your lordships have now here in earth been judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in heaven merrily all meet together to our everlasting salvation.”

Anthony Kenny (1983, 88)

# Introduction

Saving the world is complicated. Missions to do so are attacks no matter how benign the motive. The history of religious missions is replete with complex social, political, economic, and religious conflict. This study of how Americans have managed or mismanaged past religious conflicts can provide practical wisdom today when so many of our modern conflicts are strongly influenced by religious factors. We live in local and global societies that are deeply troubled by the perennial problem of religious and ideological conflict between uncompromising rivals that often justify political or economic coercion in their missions to save the world. Rival secular world-saving ideologies partake of the same problem.

More interesting is the less-observed fact that the primary offensive to save the sinful or enlighten the ignorant shifts toward a defensive war to eliminate rivals. Then religious adversaries, whose traditions criticize the use of violence over persuasion, often seek to justify coercive treatment of rivals by blaming them for supposed economic or political injustices. In either case, it is commonplace to reduce the diagnosis of social conflict to a struggle over political and economic power. However, this reduction is a fatal flaw in both political and religious policy formation. Not only do policy makers disregard the religious aspects of social conflicts, but both secular and religious thinkers have incorrectly presumed that resolution of religious conflict is both desired by the parties and a key to achieve social stability. The social-psychological fact is that humans desire to distinguish themselves in relationships of co-resistance as well as collaboration. The key to sustaining peaceful social relations is not found in overlapping consensus. The key to peacefulness is the desire in rivals to contest without coercion. Much of our global future depends on how we feel about our religious and ideological rivals. If we become trustworthy rivals who doubt not each other's good will, and if we can include the tension of contestation within our religious and political ideals of peacefulness, then we can face our difficult global problems with realistic hope that new collaborations between rivals will bless the earth and that violence between them will decrease.

Without reducing any conflict to one cause, there are cases where religious rivalry has been, and is today, the primary impetus. Rivals in these conflicts would prefer the peaceful conversion of their opponents that would create a more righteous and moral environment, which would bring divine blessing on all. They do not primarily desire the other's money or votes. Heart-to-heart conversation replaces hand-to-hand combat as the preferred method of engagement when persuasive conversion is the end goal.

This study is an attempt to demonstrate that our attitudes about the motives and capacities of our rivals substantially influence the methods we use to engage in conflict and vice versa. Congenial attitudes and methods are as potent as or more potent than common interests and beliefs in sustaining peaceful contestations and collaborations among rivals. When it is generally understood from experience that the best way to do religious battle honorably is in heart-felt contestation between respectful free agents, then our political and religious worlds will be liberated from wasteful violence. In America, this understanding was first manifested both socially and legally in the 1640s in Rhode Island, and a century and half later it was enshrined in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. While there are notable exceptions that will be discussed in this study, for the most part the only legitimate way of engaging in religious conflict in America has been by verbal means of persuasive contestation. Still, to desire and know how to honorably engage with trustworthy rivals is not instinctual. Every generation must learn this desire and skill from experience. The current situation in American politics and religion show this learning is in danger of being forgotten. One of the purposes of this book is to revive this skill and pass it on.

This volume focuses on early-twentieth-century Protestant missions to convert Mormons in Utah to traditional Christianity. Although Mormons by then had already acquiesced to federal laws against polygamy and federal pressure to secularize Utah's governance, the religious conflict over Mormon legitimacy within the Christian world remained unresolved. This was a religious conflict that was engaged primarily as a contest to persuade the human heart. Both religious rivals understood this, and while they were disturbed by their aggressive mutual criticism, they did not think it wrong or even strange for their rival to engage them. This fact marks the crucial understanding at the center of the American experiment: that persuasive contestation over religion, ideology, or founding principles is normal in our secular state; and that contestation is even healthy for free citizens to flourish within a diverse society.

The general nineteenth-century presumption was of religion being entwined in all aspects of everyone's life; religious contestations were to be expected between intelligent rivals of different persuasions. In such an environment, persuasive missionary work was a normal and legitimate activity that took place in respectable venues for engaging in conflicts over beliefs and values between societies. During the twentieth century this changed drastically. It became unfashionable, if not improper or even illegal, for intelligent, practical people to engage in public religious or ideological contestation over inevitably unresolvable questions. Social and institutional places for engaging in conflict over economic and political security became the world order. But there are billions of people, religious rivals, who find no legitimate place for engaging the contests their integrity requires. World-changing terrorist strategies proliferate in the absence of an honorable venue to contend over religion. The religious voice is not respected nor welcome in the current public venues. Where could a respectable religious disagreement over social values or policies take place today? Not in the courts, the legislatures, the academy, the board room, the cyber street, or any sacred place of worship. The cultural wars over values are decreasingly fought between trustworthy rivals who respect each other. As a result, there are few models for this behavior and little inter-religious space for congenial contestation and collaboration between rivals. Americans can tell of the great ideological/religious adversaries, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson who developed into respectful friends without coming to consensus. The great military enemies, Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, also provide moving examples of rivals who treated each other with honorable appreciation at the end of the Civil War.

The relevance of this study to national and world politics and religion should be clear: Without a legitimate and honorable place for religious and ideological persuasive contestation, frustrated advocates for change will find other means to contest seemingly unresolvable matters—including turning to inter-tribal or international wars or disruptive violence against civilian order.

To be forthcoming: I am a committed Latter-day Saint that dwells in Utah among my people. However, unlike many of my fellow Saints, I have found compelling warrants within Mormon orthodoxy and orthopraxy to seek divine influence from rival traditions that potently refute various LDS beliefs and practices. I thrive in the stimulating tension between different visions and suppose in my imagination that the God I revere does as well. I project from my own experience with critics I have come

to respect that billions of people, now distrusting critics of each other, can learn to enjoy a kind of continual peaceful tension as trustworthy rivals. The God I worship could make things obviously clear to all of us by massive interventional revelation—and has chosen out of practical design not to do so. I believe that love is best proved in irreconcilable conflicts over things we value most—thus the radical pluralism provides a Providential, pragmatic way to develop more love. I imagine this condition to continue in any life-after-death that includes social persons of some kind.

This study of the conflict between a new revealed religion and older, established religions also founded on divine revelation and authority provides an interesting case study of non-negotiable, intractable, theological, ecclesiastical, and social religious conflict. Conflicting religious authority is a perennial problem. Revealed religions that answer the big questions regarding the true purpose and activity of the human soul now and after death provide the most important information there is.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, religious groups that claim an exclusive revealed break-through on these all-important questions are prone to antagonistic rivalry with those who contradict them.<sup>2</sup>

The methods of proselytizing that are of core interest in this book can best be grasped in the social-religious milieu that gave rise to them. The method of interpretation for this study is an analysis of historical texts and context.<sup>3</sup> To use Paul Ricoeur's term, I have "guessed" at the purposes of the protagonists after gathering as much information as seemed relevant and available.<sup>4</sup> At the end of this study I will employ several disciplinary

---

1. Hugh W. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 538–540, 554.

2. Scott Appleby, "Missions and the Making of Americans," in John D. Sarna, ed., *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, 232–278. For a book length treatment regarding rivalry in the contemporary Middle East, see R. Scott Appleby, *Spokesman for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*.

3. Hans-Georg Gadamer has linked interpretation with understanding as if they were synonymous because language seems to be the very form of human interrelatedness and identity. However, that all humans grasp some form of language does not mean they understand each other as particular persons. I employ Gadamer's hermeneutical method with the critique that linguistic universality is analogous to biological universality. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 364; Richard Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis*, 131–3; Mary Ann Stenger, "Gadamer's Hermeneutics as a Model for Cross-Cultural Understanding and Truth in Religion," 159–61.

4. See Paul Ricoeur, *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics and Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*. On this point, Bruce Lincoln has said one cannot become an insider socially, religiously, or existentially,

lenses from the social sciences to elucidate aspects of the complex story. I will take positions with which readers can clearly argue. However, my primary bias is usually that of a social conflict theorist in the ever-open mode of radically pluralistic William James, not in the deterministic, materialistic mode of Karl Marx.

One over-riding purpose of this study is to persuade readers that certain ethical methods of inter and intra-religious contestation, if employed with skill, patience, and true care for the well-being of the rival or critic, will benefit the contestants and the societies in which they reside.<sup>5</sup> Today, conflicts over the purpose and destiny of humanity—religious and ideological in nature—exacerbate suspicion and contempt between billions of people facing economic and political stress over unevenly shared social and material resources. Mine is an ambitious goal for our tempestuous era: to provide the thoughtful desire—or passionate thought—that moves people towards a desire to experiment with new attitudes and healthy ways of engaging their critics and rivals in contests over what matters most. The evidence of history as I read it demands that we disenthral ourselves from the desire to end conflict: rather, it is beneficial to cultivate the desire to sustain continual persuasive contestations over fundamentally unresolvable questions that guide our social order. I hope to engender among religious communities and secular enclaves serious desire to experiment with more fruitful ways of engaging in collaborative contestations.<sup>6</sup>

I theorize that particular forms of persuasive religious contestation can be healthy for both religions and societies; and more, that peacefulness in a pluralizing world depends on normalizing engaged contestation and col-

---

but one can do so linguistically. A language insider learns by imaginative trial and error guessing, not by belief. Bruce Lincoln, “Commentary on *Genealogies of Religion* by Talal Asad.” I will examine later the close mutual influence between imagination and belief with respect to inter-religious differences and conflicts.

5. One description of the basic pragmatic method I have adapted here can be found concisely in Richard Rorty, *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth: Philosophic Papers* 1, 110.

6. Throughout this study I will use the term competition, which in Latin means to seek or try to obtain along with another, in contrast to the term, contest. The former denotes a situation whereby several competitors are seeking similar ends without impeding or even being aware of each other. The latter, contest, is a form of conflict in which the contestants are aware of each other, and desire to surpass each other more than attain a goal. Where competitions allow shared ends, contests allow only one unsurpassed winner. See Georg Simmel, *Conflict and The Web of Group-Affiliations*, 57–58.

laboration between trustworthy religious or ideological rivals. In studying religious conflict, one faces the enormity of scope that is involved, and the uncanny dilemma of gaining precision by analytical reduction while losing the sense of inexhaustible vastness that the terms religion and conflict connote. While I occasionally employ traditional power/interest negotiation theory and conflict resolution theory, they are both inadequate for understanding fundamental religious conversion contests. They are based on a comparative scarcity of resources—the social, economic, and political power resources that a successful religion procures. Whether the end game is win-lose or win-win, the presumption of these theories is a resolution via some new power arrangement. We need a new theory that reflects the basic human desire for comparative supremacy even amid over-abundance of powerful resources. This theory observes the continual desire that is never resolved because it is not based on a lack, but on a gain achieved only if a close rival creates value for the gain.

Any difference brings with it an evaluative comparison and a desire for experiencing relative supremacy, in some form. In religious or ideological modes, it leads rivals for supremacy to face the frustrating problem that places success beyond their control: they cannot force conversions of the hearts and minds of their rivals. The very presence of the adamant rival calls into question the innate power of their religion to appeal to the whole of humanity. This causes a tension for resolution that many cannot patiently bear. So often we humans decide to free ourselves from disturbing, destabilizing criticism—once and for all—ironically by coercively eliminating the very people we had desired to freely join us.

This theory has interesting ramifications. Most presume peace is the positive result of social harmony. If we could see our critics in a broader context and understand their views, harmonic differences would blend, and peace would reign. This is a fundamentally incorrect assumption. Observe how human desire for uniqueness, originality, and comparative superiority intrudes on harmony. We desire close co-resistance as much as close collaboration. We thus need a conflict engagement theory based on disharmony, disagreement, and unresolvable, continual contestation over that which we value most: our unique values, passions, and purposes.<sup>7</sup>

---

7. James Duke lists the following ways conflicts can be terminated: a) disappearance of the object of conflict; b) complete victory and defeat (annihilation, exile, forced absorption); c) compromise; or d) conciliation. See James T. Duke, *Conflict and Power in Social Life*, 111. My theory adds a new termination category called conversion. It is a mutual victory of the vanquished

The theory I espouse, collaborative contestationalism, asserts the social and psychological benefit of sustaining conflicts over ideals in the mode of mutual persuasion contests between rivals that desire neither compromise nor final resolution.<sup>8</sup> The struggle to convert rivals to acknowledge one's superior position can never be final because supremacy is only manifest and maintained through the dynamic experience of engaged contestation. Ordinary power conflicts are compromised and resolved when interests are measured to mutual agreement. Conflicts of misunderstanding are resolved when parties are mutually aware of each other's real meanings, needs, and values.

Finally, this study aims to show that understanding the other does not always lead to resolution of conflict. Some conflicts are enhanced with a very clear understanding of irreconcilable differences. No enlightened intelligence or cosmopolitan sophistication will eliminate rival contests over ultimate truths of eternal importance, especially when they involve social change. Even in highly-educated societies, serious ideological or religious differences will continue to yield difficult conflicts. Just as a person may fear getting sick from someone contaminated with a disease, many are concerned that they and their communities might become infected by rivals who hold beliefs and values that they deem to be socially or eternally dangerous. To remain spiritually healthy, they attempt to avoid interaction with their rivals. The concern for tribal health increases in pluralistic societies where laws do not allow for the beliefs of rivals to be quarantined or expelled. Any assessment of the twenty-first century must look at this squarely.

Conflict over cultural contamination—without coercion—is a reasonably optimal outcome for society. My prescription for this public health problem of spiritual contamination is neither to find or found a new universalism, over-religion, meta-language, or meta-praxis that

---

and the victor. However, it is only a temporary termination, as it gives rise to new intra-group conflicts of heretical persuasions.

8. Social theorist Chantal Mouffe has promoted the idea that uneven distribution of social-economic power is a continual fact of political life manifest by agonistic subgroups seeking, but never finally achieving, hegemonic political supremacy. Her theory of managing with limited violence the continual engagement of rival challengers reflects James Madison's insight that rival interpreting factions will inevitably emerge from any perceived consensus, and thus peace cannot seriously be conceived as tranquil unity of factions, but as dynamic contestation without violent disorder. See Chantal Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*; James Madison, *Federalist Papers* 10 and 51.



will convince everyone that our differences are not dangerous. This approach feels like arrogant effrontery, even if well-intended. The effective prescription is mutual contamination by means of principled advocacy. This allows healthy interreligious contestation and collaboration without precipitating resentment, coercion, and violence. I appreciate the desire that many share for social-spiritual convergence in a philosophical religious universalism, but argue that the very hope for peaceful community that such universalism implies is unfounded. I suggest that humans would inevitably invent conflict if they had to live in harmony for very long.<sup>9</sup> The Christian Bible provocatively reveals there was war in heaven (Rev. 12:7). So how on earth can the cultural and religious inheritors of that sacred text expect tranquility?

---

9. William Blake sets the tone for positive conflict. From Blake's *Milton* we learn that Contraries are Positives. A Negation is not a Contrary. From *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* we learn that reality consists never of One and the Other in Complete Harmony, but always One or the Other in Free Necessity to Love or Not. For a reading of Blake's ironic disparagement of Eternal Harmony and his celebration of the "eternality" of marriage of contraries that has influenced my study, see Robert Gleckner, "The Road of Excess," 114–17.

## CHAPTER ONE

# The American Lively Experiment: Sustaining Religious Rivalry and Peace

America's foundational document proclaimed that the Creator endowed all people with life and the liberty to pursue happiness. Their political order was an experiment to test whether millions of different people, together in one society, could freely pursue their conflicting, often mutually exclusive, ideals and programs for happiness without frustration and anger leading to coercion and social destruction. There is no fixed American creed or ideal for happiness upon which legitimate social order rests. The American experiment is based on mutual trust between citizens who agree not to resort to coercion or violence in their pursuit of happiness. The legitimacy of their governing order is not vested in the rule of law, but in a cultivated respect—if not love—for free rivals. Foremost, this applies to rivals that unceasingly challenge and contest our idealistic or religious purposes and programs for happiness. Breaking with thousands of years of tradition whereby social order was based on a given heavenly order mediated through priests, oracles, kings, and emperors, the American founding affirmed that the Creator gave men and women the unmediated responsibility to rule themselves. The foundation for their decisions was the human conscience influenced by both divine inspiration and natural reason. This required each citizen to learn from past sources and decide how to interpret and receive their influence without coercion from outsiders. This individual freedom opened the door to perpetual disagreements over the true or best purposes and methods that would bring happiness in our social union. To repeat for emphasis, America is not founded on a unifying Ideal or Truth, but on a way of embracing unresolvable never-ending contestations between rivals who actively influence others to follow their way toward happiness, first through socialization of their children, then exemplary living, and finally by various modes of public persuasion. This dynamic social process of continual contestation was constrained as orderly collaboration in two ways: first by civil laws that allowed no coer-

## 2 *Converting the Saints*

cion of belief or practice—legal or physical—to be employed by rivals or opponents; and second by the cultivated habitual attitude of patient engagement that allowed critics or rivals a full voice—not just to ensure the reciprocal right for oneself but, crucially, to receive the influence of an opponent who is not necessarily an enemy. For many American believers this meant that God, their divine governor, provided the perfect social model, restraining himself from imposing coercive sovereignty on human consciences, preferring to win the contest for the soul by means of inspirational persuasion—at least until the Final Judgment.

By contrast, during the same epoch, Napoleon took the French crown from the Catholic bishop's hands and placed it on his own head. His action let God and religious institutions know they were no longer needed in Europe except perhaps for sentimental reasons. The French aimed to end centuries of violent conflict over religion by denouncing all quarreling acolytes. The unifying mission was to civilize the world as enlightened French people. America's founders were more collegial with their Creator, claiming He wanted them to be grateful for the freedom He granted them to sincerely worship Him as their consciences allowed. They gratefully acknowledged that God had granted all humans radical sovereignty to choose their own religious and social order. Further, leaning on Jesus's pronouncement to make disciples of all the nations, Christians came to believe God did not intend for each person to maintain primary allegiance to their family and culture. They did not think it strange to engage actively in intramural evangelizing contests. No people or country had come to so highly value the individual choice of religious belief—indeed, it was the national pastime well before baseball. Americans kept their rowdy peace by containing it as a persuasion contest between free and sovereign consciences that simply could not be coerced. More, for their society to thrive, the free give and take of this contest of conscience had to be invigorating rather than exhausting and had to be coupled with an attitude of patience in the freedom of a rival to resist persuasion.

The Enlightenment fight against the church especially in France had turned into a conflict with God. Citizens of the secular religion of the French Revolution replaced the authority of the Roman Catholic Church with the state. The American Revolution did not need to overthrow any religious authority because Americans had, from the early years of colonization, been separating themselves from the influence of a State church; they had no dominant religion common among them. They were far from a unified nation of believers in a single form of Christianity.

## God and Humans: Co-Sovereigns in America

Most early Americans possessed a self-confident Protestant spirituality derived from their understanding of a New Testament emphasis on personal salvation attained by responding faithfully to the Biblical testimony of witnesses of Jesus as divine redeemer—whether pre-determined or not. Protestants rejected the need for sacerdotal mediation between God and men. To be sure, the early Puritans had made a covenant to be upheld in a congregation of similar believers, but eventually the authority of the leaders or the congregation became less important than the integrity of the individual vis-à-vis God. In the tug of war between loyalty to community and integrity of conscience and between salvation as a group and salvation as an individual, the Americans have struggled without resolution to the present day. Individual spiritual integrity required each person to freely choose to follow the innate good conscience provided by the Spirit of God. But the Spirit seems to inspire dissociation as much as unity. This inner call, in many if not most cases, was more compelling than family, tribal, political, or ecclesiastical loyalty. It was the custom still to join a group of like-minded souls as a free act of Christian fellowship, but the divine right to follow one's God-given conscience in switching—among Christian religious denominations initially and then among all philosophies—became the American norm. For believers this placed each person in a powerful negotiating position with a God who desired to save him or her. Whatever our philosophy or religion, the social-psychological and cultural power of resistance and attraction between co-sovereign free lovers is at the heart of American sensitivity.

The tension over the true provenance and destiny of each human person has been at the heart of Euro-American culture. The can-do Americans found a liberating story of the divine within them more inspiring than these distancing alternatives. Rejecting the notion they were just enlightened apes without a connection to the divine, they reversed the focus of theology toward understanding why and how humanity could conceivably be the unique beloved subjects of the Divine Loving Parent that Jesus had revealed to the world. In the nineteenth century many Americans resonated with the Christian scriptures in which the divine Jesus called his human disciples no longer servants but friends who were one with him and the Father (John 15:15).<sup>1</sup> This provided spiritual confidence that God

---

1. This book will employ the gender specific usage of the earliest New Testament texts with reference to God and Jesus. Late in the twentieth century, many

4 *Converting the Saints*

designed humans to choose to love and believe, freely making their lives true unforced testimonies of what they valued most. Crucially, this provided the theological approval for a social-political system assuring that all humans are free to accept or reject any religious beliefs—and to love God as a sincere loving friend does free of compulsion.

The belief and attitude that religious lives should be uncoerced produced unique religious political leaders like Roger Williams in the seventeenth century and social theorists like James Madison in the eighteenth century who acknowledged the priority of their fellow citizens' God-given and godlike freedom of conscience. This attitude, in turn, allowed a lively experiment in government that encouraged perpetual persuasive contestations over fundamental questions of truth, ethics, religion, goodness, and purpose. In sum, the Christian God that identified with uncoerced love of persons found its first political expression in America. Love made unfettered individual choice inevitable; the moment we love another person, we face the ever-open and never final question of how best to do so.<sup>2</sup>

When eternal salvation and damnation are at stake, religious disagreement among persons with integrity always creates strong dissonance over

---

Protestant and other theologians have employed gender-neutral or affirmative female gender language to scripture. Gendered language with respect to God in Christian theology is controversial. Protestants have no doctrine regarding a female deity. The Roman Catholics had affirmed a feminine alternative to the mediating aspect of the God-*Man* Jesus in Mary, The Bearer of God, who was born without taint of sin and was assumed bodily into heaven at the end of her mortality where she pleads to the Father for the forgiveness of humanity. (The Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Mary became formal doctrines in 1854 and 1950 respectively.) Still, no *She* is a member of the traditional Christian Godhead. However, Mormons in the nineteenth century affirmed the material body of God, the Heavenly Father, and that an unnamed material female divinity called Heavenly Mother was the wife of the Heavenly Father.

2. The tension between the idea of absolute sovereign control of God and an open divine and human freedom arises with the idea that virtue or love cannot be coerced or predetermined to be real. This tension over divine control and human freedom was at the heart of the American founding. See Paul V. Murphy, *The Rebuke of History: The Southern Agrarians and American Conservative Thought*, 42–44, esp. note 52. In the seventeenth century, John Milton examined this tension in *Paradise Lost* where Adam and Eve's fall was affirmed as a condition for freedom. We will see in this study that Protestants elevate absolute divine sovereignty and Mormons extol free agency in this disagreement over whether humans are liberatingly fettered by the fall.

who is right. Remarkably, some Americans faced it by finding uncanny enjoyment in the attractive intelligence and integrity of their religious rivals who might, nonetheless, be heading for damnation in their view. The unsentimental love of an honorable rival sprouted with Roger Williams in the 1600s and eventually bore fruit in the way Americans tend to view their prior enemies after wars—especially after their vicious and most costly Civil War. Such is expressed in these nineteenth-century stanzas of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau’s sentiments could stand as the theme for any realistic hopefulness as we face irresolvable religious and political conflicts in the twenty-first century:

Let such pure hate still underprop  
Our love, that we may be  
Each other's conscience,  
And have our sympathy  
Mainly from thence.  
  
We'll one another treat like gods  
And all faith we have  
In virtue and in truth, bestow  
On either, and suspicion leave  
To gods below.<sup>3</sup>

Thoreau’s “pure hate” derives from the conflict between people whose pure love for each other requires their paradoxical mutual opposition. To engage in persuasive mutual contestation with integrity is to honor the unfettered freedom of the other to present their highest ideals without any desire to coerce conversion. Only “gods below” think they can, and thus try and fail, to influence a change of heart by force.

The innate authority to follow conscience in the contestation over truth provided the basis for individual sovereignty as a founding tenet for the new nation. Whether conscience meant the spirit of God telling the mind the truth or illuminating the soul to hear the truth, humans were responsibly free to follow or not follow their inner voice.

Since many religions have existed in America—and since personal religious experiences produce no universal basis for resolving disagreements—conflicts over God’s opinions have been frequent. Those who announce they have experienced two-way communion with deity on a public issue offend those who claim contradictory revelations, or who feel

---

3. Henry David Thoreau, “Let Such Pure Hate Still Underprop.”

## 6 *Converting the Saints*

left out of the divine conversation. All doubt the others' reliability, and most conclude that no one should speak officially for deity.

The fallback position is one-way communication *to*, not *with*, deity. Denominations may still privately believe that they have a special relationship with God in which they experience God's specific directions, but the scandal of divisive religion is generally overcome—at least enough to keep the peace—by the social philosophy of “one nation under God.” In terms of civic religion, Americans quasi-officially trust in a God of public prayer, pledges of allegiance, and mottos on coinage, yet many have developed rich, localized, religious lives that they balance against their national religious expression of pious humanism or deism that unites them enough for the government to govern.

### **The Great Code for Correct Conflict**

Even though the government they established had no official religion, the self-identity of the founders and other early Americans was still deeply rooted in the Bible, perhaps the most powerful moral narrative to ever influence humanity. After many centuries, it had come to provide a code or way of thinking about all aspects of life, but especially social conflicts over the right way to live under the divine Eye.<sup>4</sup> Although twenty-first-century Americans are hardly as conversant in Biblical lore as their eighteenth-century ancestors, they have inherited an unwritten code of conduct heavily influenced by the Biblical narrative. From the Hebrew Genesis to the Christian Apocalypse, the theme resounds of conflict between God and his chosen people, between the chosen people themselves, and between the chosen people and their surrounding cultures. In response to the demands of a God who is jealous for the love of all humanity, the chosen people must confront and challenge those who do not worship the True God, which would inevitably lead to conflict—not only with strangers and enemies, but also with family and friends. While some Biblical stories denounce conflict over material or political power, conflict over ultimate questions of purpose and righteousness are shown to be humanity's main event—a sign that divine truth and goodness are continually at work expanding and resisting falsehood and evil.

Aware of the violence that has erupted over religious difference, America's founders recognized themselves as a new chosen people with a social order that would require authority to contain the inevitable conflicts

---

4. Northrup Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*.

within their kingless society. They experimented with a unique way to sustain religious conflicts with as little violence as possible by normalizing contestation in the persuasive mode. Evangelizing and counter-evangelizing, shouting your different views of truth out loud in speeches, sermons, newspapers, and pamphlets normally without resorting to coercion, became the American way of religious, political, economic, and social life.

In America, the state accepts that its citizens disagree about ultimate reality or religious authority, and that non-violent contestations over them can be appropriate. American constitutional democracy provided a scaffolding to sustain religious and ideological conflicts, not eliminate them. It is no coincidence that religious freedom was included among the first of freedoms in the Bill of Rights—along with the freedom of speech, a free press, and the right to assemble, which are necessary for people to engage in persuasive contests over truth and ultimate purpose.

However, even as the government affirmed the right to persuasive contestation, the deep Biblical code provided a different, darker precedent—preemptive violence (a massive flood, a Canaanite genocide, capital punishment for false preaching) allegedly sanctioned by divine representatives to assure uncontaminated growth of truth and righteousness. A main narrative theme throughout the Bible is of God speaking through human mediators, and of the intended recipients often strongly disagreeing with the message's validity. Thus, religious conflicts derive often from disagreements over who is authorized to represent God's will to humanity, or over the actual merits of different doctrinal claims or ethical programs coming from self-proclaimed authorized representatives.

Despite the all-powerful sovereign threat of annihilation, the Biblical code affirms that the Creator King desires company, a kingdom of human beings that honor and even love Him. Theologically speaking, there is no absolute authority—it has its limits in the divine desire for subjects to freely choose to follow the King without threatening compulsion.<sup>5</sup> In the desire to be loved by free agents, the King radically shifts the foundation of authority to a living mutual relationship of trust instead of the absolute power of a Creator to do whatever He desires with His creations. Without any threats or bribes, authority is thus granted by loving consent of followers to the leader.

---

5. Hannah Arendt's analysis of political authority is germane. See Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, 93, 102–3, 128–29.



## 8 *Converting the Saints*

To avoid social chaos, some leadership is required, but why do people grant authority to one person or group and not another? Governments or religions whose leaders can gracefully obtain uncoerced authority have the best chance of flourishing. Because of this, religious conflicts that challenge authorized leadership are extremely serious. They not only call into question who should be leading that society, but they also threaten the order that assures salvation in worlds to come. The conflict-engendering dilemma we inherit from the Biblical code is provoked by the divine injunction, “Choose you this day whom you will serve” (Josh. 24:15).

### **Even Deeper than Morality and Law**

The term “mores” denotes the typically religious social understandings that lead to unquestioned practices that provide a society its identity, values, and deep purposes. Mores, which are taken for granted, undergird a society’s enduring institutions, laws, and traditions. Most cultures have invoked the divine as the earliest foundation for social and political legitimacy.<sup>6</sup> The longest lasting social organizations on the planet also sustain legitimacy by appealing to divine constancy through centuries of change. Religious and ideological groups that spread throughout the globe can survive cross-cultural conflicts through their unifying mores and foundational myths.<sup>7</sup>

Religious doctrines reflect and develop the mores of social cohesion in a way that formal law can never replicate. Traditionally, a society that lasts learns to interweave the oughts and ought nots of its common mores with its laws. When citizens share similar mores, they develop positive programs enforced by laws that they think are appropriate. However, when there is a conflict over the authoritative foundations of society—that is, a conflict over the mores that undergird the law—schism arises as people disagree over the correctness of their laws. Religious differences that display a conflict of mores can severely test the ability of any society to remain intact. As we shall see in the next chapter, on three occasions in American history, religious piety directly led to a snap of the limits that common mores could bear—with violent results.

The First Amendment was an attempt to leave to the individual states and churches the problem of religious conflicts over mores that developed

---

6. For a classic theoretical treatment of this, see Georges Dumézil, *The Destiny of a King*.

7. See the theoretical basis for this claim in Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, 292–93 and Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.

within their borders and congregations. By the late nineteenth century, all of the states had ended their legal support for a particular religion, so the government's remaining task became establishing, by court ruling or legislation, those religious behaviors that offended American mores enough to require negative sanctions. In the case of social conflicts of interest, since these types of disputes are typically quantifiable and fungible, compromises are usually effective in maintaining stability. But in the case of conflicts of identity, compromise seems impossible—hence cries in times past and present that even one slave is too many, or two wives is too many, or one interracial or homosexual marriage is too many. For those holding fast to certain mores, compromising the moral truth even once would concede that their truth does not really matter. In short, Americans can be tolerant of conflicting *beliefs* but not of conflicting *mores* that influence behaviors, especially if those mores are held by a group that is a geopolitical competitor for cultural power. If a subculture's mores come to differ from the majority culture's mores, a secession crisis can occur; it means that the main culture has failed to persuade the subculture that it is wrong, or vice versa. At that point, the use of some form of coercion is inevitable.

Morality may be legislated, but mores always precede law. For this reason, republican democracies with identical systems of law function very differently in societies with different mores. Because they operate at such a core level, conflicts over mores are often seen as religious in nature—such as when Southern mores like slavery, or Mormon mores like polygamy, or Native American mores regarding property, family, and sacred practices conflicted with majority mores. As evidence, each of these conflicts was viewed first as conflict over right and wrong and only secondarily as conflict over power and interest. In these cases, when the tensions between mores could no longer be sustained, the majority imposed negative legal sanctions before ultimately using force to keep the United States intact. The immediate result was the creation of three major geographic reservations—the South, Utah, and Indian reservations—the existence of which allowed the divergent groups that formed the greater American society to feel unified by comparison.

Though religion generates contests that separate communities, it also generates mores of solidarity and loyalty that are often stronger than allegiances to kith, kin, nationality, or ethnicity. The social power a religion holds is derived from the pervasive, uncoerced, continuous authority that members of that group grant to their leaders. A community can become a very powerful force if it can generate a strong degree of solidarity. Religion

10 *Converting the Saints*

is the best example of genuine social power created through common mores that are not enforced by totalitarian or democratic means. As we can see in today's world, the largest faith traditions have each attained enough authority across cultural and international borders that disparate peoples, races, nation/tribes, and even states share purposes and allegiances beyond local interests. Viewed internationally, religiously authorized cross-cultural mores are the most powerful cultural influences in today's world.

Many early Americans inherited the belief that sharing the right Protestant religious ways played an important community-building role in establishing norms for personal, social, and political life. Hence Alexis de Tocqueville's observation: "I have known Americans to form associations to send priests out into the new states of the West and establish schools and churches there; they fear that religion might be lost in the depths of the forest and that the people growing up there might be less fitted for freedom than those from whom they sprang."<sup>8</sup> In describing this phenomenon, Tocqueville is focusing on the overt unanimity of Protestant Christian mores—not belief in doctrines per se—that sustained the free institutions in America. He writes: "No one in the United States has dared to profess the maxim that everything is allowed in the interests of society" because "American revolutionaries are obliged ostensibly to profess a certain respect for Christian morality and equity, and that does not allow them easily to break the laws when those are opposed to the execution of their designs."<sup>9</sup>

Tocqueville's theory that common religious mores make it possible for people to uphold laws together is the essence of the problem at the heart of the American experiment with pluralism. When religious mores are truly diverse among large sectors of society, will there yet be enough social cohesion for a nation to stand undivided? Designed to evade the violent confrontations between social, religious, and political rivals that had caused years of bloodshed in Europe, America was and still is a precarious experimental contest in the practical limits of cooperation among voluntary associations. While the American Founders anticipated these contests for religious supremacy, they hoped to prove that the continual contestation between various factions would check and balance the overwhelming power of any individual faction.

While a broadly popular religion is a powerful political force for stability, the desire to keep true religion from being contaminated usually

---

8. Tocqueville, *Democracy*, 292–93.

9. Tocqueville, 292.

provokes criticism between factions who see each other as heretical. When this occurs, their desire to keep order and purity often leads them to exercise religious coercion, which, in turn, often leads to counter-coercion and, at times, violence.

Fairly understood, freedom describes a dual capacity to persuade and be persuaded. Freedom increases only as those two capacities increase. The freedom to change oneself, to become a convert, is as radical as the freedom to advocate change in others. Persuasion is never finished. This is the other experimental aspect of the American way: once converted, we can be converted again. It is the search for truth, or the continual testing of truth already found, that is the key to the American experiment. When American Protestants decided that they could no longer get along with heretics within their ranks, they would split in schism. There was no need to create laws against that. But as Tocqueville saw, since social cohesion and the rule of law arise from general acceptance of ethical and religious mores, when substantial numbers of people in a society hold very different ethical and religious mores, the social order might reach its limits to sustain cohesion though persuasive contestation. For instance, while he believed that Catholics, who shared similar enough mores, would eventually be assimilated successfully among Protestants, he did not think Native Americans, African Americans, nor charismatic prophet/leaders would be assimilated as equal citizens among white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.<sup>10</sup> As we shall discuss, history proved him partially right in his predictions.

### Whose Promised Land Is This?

From the earliest colonies, American political and religious contests were engaged by clustered communities of people holding similar beliefs, mores, and interests; and in American democracy, social-political power was obtained by voting majorities in geo-political concentrations. As a result, large aspects of the American experiment were engaged as continual contests for land control. Religious beliefs and political interests melded in questions over the purposes that various groups had for gathering on particular sections of land as the nation expanded. Different groups from Europe settled each colony for a different purpose, establishing separate cultures with divergent values.<sup>11</sup> For early New England colonists, the

---

10. Tocqueville, 317, 341, 435.

11. Colin Woodard, *American Nations: A History of Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America*, 1–3.

12 *Converting the Saints*

“empty” continent was a savage place, not holy in advance of their arrival. In their view, it was they, the people of divine promise, who made America the “promised land.” Massachusetts became the land of promise when John Winthrop declared it so.<sup>12</sup> Although the Mormons believed that Jackson County, Missouri, was the locale of the eschatological New Jerusalem, they nimbly followed Brigham Young to Utah where they created another promised land. Since the days of the earliest colonies, contests ensued over which religious group—including the Indians—would make the promised land of the Americas holy. To the European Christians who chose to settle here, the land north of Mexico seemed to be void of the important forms—such as temples, churches, and permanent cities—that belie an eternal order. Hence, it seemed to be waiting for them to take or purchase it from the nomads already present on it, whose ownership claims seemed to them to have false legitimacy compared to the colonists’ divine right to establish an orderly kingdom based on true religion that was to spread to all nations.

Is one nation destined to inherit the earth, along with the meek? Who decides whether one culture should expand or not? Does prior occupancy of land justify continued occupancy or expansion on it? It is an uncomfortable fact that every culture exists in tension with other forms of life, and historically cultures have exploited or displaced those who have allowed them to grow. Violent pushing and shoving have usually, if not always, occurred when a new nation is established on any previously inhabited land.<sup>13</sup> There were missionaries like Roger Williams who evangelized while respecting the consciences, religions, and cultures of the na-

---

12. The chosen people motif did not begin with the Massachusetts Puritans. The new American continents were claimed by the Roman Catholics as well. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI enunciated the Spanish/Catholic responsibility to colonize the world with true religion and declared the right of missionaries to acquire new land and converts with their free consent and fair payment. However, tellingly, most of the Christian colonizers believed they were warranted in taking the land by force if the native peoples would not allow evangelizing or promise to avoid violent resistance to them. See Paul Gottschalk, *The Earliest Diplomatic Documents of America*, 21; Ward Churchill, *Struggle for Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Expropriation in Contemporary North America*, 47–48, 64n8.

13. While I disagree with Rene Girard’s thesis that all cultures are built on a ritual order that regularly sacrifices the weakest to placate the general pent-up envy that, without the scapegoat, would lead to violent destruction of the group, it is nonetheless difficult, if not impossible, to historically discover human cultures that do not experience violent conflict due to their own expansion or

tive populations, but they were not the majority. While Cortez was more direct in his military approach to seizing control of land than Winthrop, European Americans, drawing upon the Biblical *herem* (holiness) code of Israel in Canaan as justification for their acts, eventually usurped the best land, killed or exiled the indigenous tribes, and established their sacred promised land. American Christians thought their mission was affirmed by geo-political expansion, while at the same time felt threatened by the cultures and religions they were trying to convert.

### **Peaceful Conflict is Not an Oxymoron**

The American founding documents did not confront social conflicts between religious rivals directly. However, the framers handled the matter discretely behind the facade of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence that promoted vague deism as the safest way to publicly discuss religion without eliciting sectarian revolts. The Declaration's language encompassed any religion that believed God was the creator of human beings, appealing to "the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, . . . that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

# Bibliography

- Ahlstrom, Sidney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. Vols. I and II. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Albrecht, Stan L., and Howard M. Bahr. "Patterns of Religious Affiliation: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22, no. 4: 373.
- Alexander, Thomas G. "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine." *Sunstone* 22, nos. 3–4 (June 1999): 15–29.
- . Interview, July 22, 1993. With Charles R. Paul.
- . *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- . *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991.
- Allaben, Marshall. "The Challenge in Utah." *Home Missionary Magazine* 33 (December 1918): 26–29.
- Allen, James B. and Glen M. Leonard. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976.
- Ammerman, Nancy T. "Fundamentalists Proselytizing Jews." In *Pushing the Faith*, edited by Martin Marty, 109–22. New York: Crossroads, 1988.
- "An Attitude for Christians." *The Christian Statesman* 48, no. 9 (September 1914): 209–25.
- Anderson, Gerald H. "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886–1986." In *Missiology—An Ecumenical Introduction*, edited by F. J. Verstraelen, 374–420. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1995.
- "Anti-Mormon Activity On Increase?" *Ogden Examiner* (April 2, 1920).
- "Anti-Mormon Campaign In Boston." *Boston-Logan Journal* (April 1920).
- Appleby, R. Scott. "Missions and the Making of Americans." In *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, edited by John D. Sarna. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- . *Spokesman for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*. New York: Penguin Books, 1954.
- Arrington, Leonard J. *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
- Arrington, Leonard J., and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*. New York: Alford A. Knopf, 1979.
- Arrington, Leonard J., Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May. *Building the City of God:*

236 *Converting the Saints*

- Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976.
- Arrington, Leonard, and Jon Haupt. "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature." *Western Humanities Review* 22 (Summer 1968): 243–60.
- Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Bahr, Howard M., and Stan L. Albrecht. "Strangers Once More: Patterns of Disaffiliation from Mormonism." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28, no. 2: 180–200.
- Baird, Paul J. *The Mystery of Ministry in the Great Basin*. Globe, AZ: Pabco Printers, 1978.
- Banker, Mark T. *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993.
- Barlow, Philip L. "Unorthodox Orthodoxy: The Idea of Deification in Christian History." *Sunstone* 8, no. 5 (September–October 1983): 13–18.
- Barry, John M. *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*. New York: Penguin Books, 2012.
- Beckford, James A. *Cult Controversies: The Social Response to New Religious Movements*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1985.
- , ed. *Religious Organization: A Trend Report and Bibliography*. Hague: Mouton, 1975.
- Beckwith, Francis J., and Stephen E. Parrish. *The Mormon Concept of God: A Philosophical Analysis*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.
- Bederman, Gail. "'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911–1912 and the Masculinization of Middle Class Protestantism." *American Quarterly* 41 (September 1989): 432–65.
- Bennett, Clinton. "Victorian Images of Islam." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5 (July 1991): 115–19.
- Berger, Peter. *A Far Glory*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.
- . *The Heretical Imperative*. Garden City NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979.
- Beringer, R. E., Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William Still, Jr. *Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988.
- Berkhofer Jr., Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- Bernstein, Richard. *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- Biallas, Leonard J. *World Religions: A Story Approach*. Mystic, CT: Twenty-third Publications, 1991.
- Bitton, Davis. *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Blasi, Anthony, and Michael Cuneo. *Issues in the Sociology of Religion*. New York: Garland Publications, 1986.
- Blomberg, Craig L., and Stephen E. Robinson. *How Wide the Divide?: A Mormon and An Evangelical in Conversation*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997.



- Bloom, Harold. *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post Christian Nation*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.
- , ed. *John Milton's Paradise Lost*. NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.
- , ed. *William Blake's The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.
- Boileau, Chris. "Utah Bishop First to Scale Grand Teton." *Utah's Diocesan Dialogue* (January 1992): 6–7.
- Boorstin, Daniel. *The Creators*. New York: Random House, 1993.
- Bowden, Henry W. *American Indians and Christian Missionaries: Studies in Cultural Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Bracht, John L. *Man of Holiness: The Mormon Search for a Personal God*. Salt Lake City: Sacred Tribes Press, Electronic Edition, 2010. Expanded edition of 1988 M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney.
- Brackenridge, R. Douglas. "Are You That Damned Presbyterian Devil?" *Journal of Mormon History* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 80–105.
- . Interview with Charles R. Paul, June 28, 1993.
- Bradley, Martha. "Changed Faces: The Official LDS Position on Polygamy, 1890–1990." *Sunstone Magazine* 14 (January 1990): 25–33.
- Bringhurst, Newell G. *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People Within Mormonism*, 2nd ed. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2018.
- Bringhurst, Newell G., and John C. Hamer. *Scattering of the Saints: Schism Within Mormonism*. Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2007.
- Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1971.
- Brown, Dee A. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. New York: Bantam Book, 1972.
- Bruns, Gerald. *Hermeneutics, Ancient and Modern*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Buenker, John W. *Progressivism*. Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books, 1977.
- Bunker, Gary L., and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Graphic Image: 1834–1914*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983.
- Buroker, Robert L. "From Voluntary Association to Welfare State: The Illinois Immigrant's Protective League, 1908–1926." *Journal of American History* 58 (December 1971): 643–60.
- Burrows, William R., ed. *Redemption and Dialogue: Reading Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993.
- Canham, Matt. "Salt Lake County Is Becoming Less Mormon—Utah County Is Headed in the Other Direction." *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 16, 2017.
- Cannon, Charles N. "The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign Against Mormon Polygamy." *Pacific Historical Review* 4 (February 1974): 61–82.
- Carmody, Brendan P. *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia*. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- Christiano, Kevin J. *Religious Diversity and Social Change: American Cities 1890–1906*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Christy, Howard A. Book Review of John Alton Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*. *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 281–89.
- . "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1978): 32–53.

238 *Converting the Saints*

- . “The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Fall 1979).
- Churchill, Ward. *Struggle for Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Expropriation in Contemporary North America*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993.
- Clark, Joseph. *Leavening the Nation: The Story of American Home Missions*. New York: Baker and Taylor, 1903.
- Clymer, Kenton J. “Methodist Missionaries and Roman Catholicism in the Philippines, 1899–1916.” *Methodist History* 18, no. 3 (1980): 171–78.
- Coleman, Michael C. *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837–1893*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1985.
- Constant, Benjamin. “The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns.” In *Benjamin Constant*, translated by B. Fontana. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Cooke, Jacob E., ed. *The Federalist*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.
- Cooper, Rex Eugene. Interview with Charles R. Paul, June 17, 1997.
- . *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990.
- Cowan, Douglas E. *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.
- Curtis, Susan. *Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Dallek, Robert. “National Mood and American Foreign Policy: A Suggestive Essay.” *American Quarterly* 34 (1982): 229–61.
- Davis, David Baryon. “Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature.” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 216–22.
- Dennis, James S. *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*. New York: Revell, 1897.
- Dennis, Jesse Herbert. *The Work of the Church Among the Mormons*. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing, 1921.
- DePillis, Mario S. “The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 68–88.
- Dillenberger, John. “Grace and Works in Martin Luther and Joseph Smith.” In *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*, 176–86, edited by Truman G. Madsen. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978.
- Drescher, Elizabeth. “Yet Another Survey Shows ‘Nones’ Growth at Record Levels,” *Religion Dispatches*, March 14, 2013, [http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/elizabethdrescher/6925/yet\\_another\\_survey\\_shows\\_nones\\_growth\\_at\\_record\\_levels](http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/elizabethdrescher/6925/yet_another_survey_shows_nones_growth_at_record_levels).
- Drury, Clifford M. *Presbyterian Panorama: 150 Years of National Mission History*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Church of America, 1952.
- Duke, James T. *Conflict and Power in Social Life*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976.
- Dumézil, Georges. *The Destiny of a King*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

- Dummelow, J. R., ed. *The One Volume Bible Commentary*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1908.
- “Editorials, Senate Joint Resolution 147.” *The Christian Statesman*, May 1918.
- Ehat, Andrew F., and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. *The Words of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980.
- “Elliot Patronizes Mormons.” *The Boston News*, March 26, 1892.
- Faulconer, James E. “Divine Embodiment and Transcendence: Propaedeutic Thoughts and Questions.” *Element: The Journal of the Society for Mormon Philosophy and Theology* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 1–14.
- Flake, Kathleen. *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Flanders, Robert B. *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965.
- Foster, Craig L. “Victorian Pornographic Imagery in Anti-Mormon Literature.” *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 115–32.
- Foster, Lawrence. *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.
- . *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the 19th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Fowler, Robert Booth. *Religion and Politics in America*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1985.
- Franclot, Jenny. *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Frye, Northrup. *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*. New York: Harcourt, 1981.
- Fulton, John. *The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics, and Religion in Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*. New York: Seabury Press, 1975.
- Garraty, John A., and Peter Gay, eds. *The Columbia History of the World*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Gaustad, Edwin S. *Dissent in American Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Girard, René. *Things Hidden From the Foundation of the World*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- . *Violence and the Sacred*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Givens, Terryl L. *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Gleckner, Robert. “The Road of Excess.” In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, edited by Harold Bloom, 103–17. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.
- Glendon, Mary Ann. “The Man Who Loved Women and Democracy.” Book review of *Women and the Common Life: Love, Marriage and Feminism* by Christopher Lasch. *First Things*, no. 70 (February 1997): 40–43.
- “Glowing Tributes Paid to Bishop Spalding’s Memory: Notable Gathering is Held at the Salt Lake Theater in Honor of the Departed Churchman.” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 2, 1914, 1.

240 *Converting the Saints*

- Goen, C. C. *Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the Civil War*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985.
- Goodykoontz, Colin B. *Home Missions on the American Frontier*. Caldwell, IN: The Caxton Printers, 1939.
- Gopin, Marc. "Religion, Violence, and Conflict Resolution." *Peace and Change* 22, no. 1 (January 1997): 1–31.
- Gottschalk, Paul. *The Earliest Diplomatic Documents of America*. Berlin: P. Gottschalk, 1978.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971.
- Greeley, Andrew M. *Religion As Poetry*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995.
- . *Religion: A Secular Theory*. New York: The Free Press, 1982.
- . *The Denominational Society*. Glenville, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1972.
- Hackett, David G. "Gender and Religion in American Culture, 1870–1930." *Religion and American Culture* 5 (Summer 1994): 127–57.
- Hagen, William T. *American Indians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Haidt, Jonathan, and Gregg Lukianoff. "Why It's a Bad Idea to Tell Students Words Are Violence." *The Atlantic*, July 18, 2017.
- Hale, Van. "Defining the Mormon Doctrine of Deity." *Sunstone* 10, no. 1 (1985): 23–27.
- . "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse." *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (1978): 209–23.
- . "The King Follett Discourse: Textual History and Criticism." *Sunstone* 8, no. 5 (1983): 5–12.
- Hamilton, Edith, and Huntington Cairns, eds. *Plato: The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Hampshire, Annette P. *Mormonism in Conflict: The Nauvoo Years*. New York: Mellon Press, 1985.
- Hampshire, Annette P., and James Beckford. "Religious Sects and the Concept of Deviance." *The British Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 2 (June 1983): 208–26.
- Handy, Robert T. *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- . *Undermined Establishment*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . *We Witness Together: A History of Cooperative Home Missions*. New York: Friendship Press, 1956.
- Hansen, Klaus J. *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*. East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Hardy, B. Carmon. "Self Blame and the Manifesto." *Dialogue: Journal of Mormon Thought* 24, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 43–57.
- . *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Harris, Franklin S., and Isaac B. Newbern. *The Fruits of Mormonism*. New York: MacMillan, 1925.
- Hartmann, Edward G. *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Hartshorne, Charles. *A Natural Theology for Our Time*. LaSalle, IL: Open Court Publishing, 1967.

- Haurwas, Stanley, and L. Gregory Jones, eds. *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative and Theology*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1997.
- Haws, J. B. *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Heelas, Paul, and Linda Woodhead. *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving Way to Spirituality*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- Heise, David R. "Prefatory Findings in the Sociology of Missions." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 6 (1967): 49–58.
- Hexham, Irving, Stephen Rost, and John W. Morehead II, eds. *Encountering New Religious Movements: A Holistic Evangelical Approach*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregal Academic & Professional, 2004.
- Hiebert, Paul G. "Introduction: Mission and Anthropology." In *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*, edited by William A. Smalley, xv–xxv. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Hill, Marvin S. *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *Social Darwinism in the United States, 1860–1914*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945.
- Hoxie, Frederick E., ed. *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1996.
- Hughes, Richard T. "Two Restoration Traditions: Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 51.
- Hutchison, William R. "Christianity, Culture, and Complications: Protestant Attitudes toward Missions." In *Pushing the Faith*, edited by Martin Marty, 78–92. New York: Crossroads, 1988.
- Hutchison, William R., and Hartmut Lehmann. *Many Are Chosen: Divine Elective and Western Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1994.
- Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, The*. New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1940.
- Hymns: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1964.
- "Immigration Limits Set." *The New York Times*, January 1, 1904.
- Irving, Gordon. "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation." *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 291–314.
- Irwin, Lee. "Native Voices in the Study of Native American Religions." In *Critical Review of Books in Religion*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998.
- James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. New York: First Vintage Books/The Library of America Edition, 1990.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *The Declaration of Independence*. First published July 4, 1776.
- Jenkins, Philip. *Mystics and Messiahs: Cults and New Religions in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press: 2001.
- Jesse, Dean C. "Joseph Smith's 19 July 1840 Discourse." *BYU Studies* 19, no. 3 (1979): 392–94.
- . "The Early Accounts of the First Vision." *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 275–94.
- Jones, Christopher C. "The Power and Form of Godliness: Methodist Conversion

242 *Converting the Saints*

- Narratives and Joseph Smith's First Vision," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 2: 88–114.
- . "The Worst Fights are Behind Relatives: Mormons and Methodists in the Nineteenth Century." Paper presented to "At the Crossroads, Again: Mormon and Methodist Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries," Mormon Chapter of the Foundation for Religious Diplomacy conference held at Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, DC, February 2012.
- . "We Latter-day Saints are Methodists: The Influence of Methodism on Early Mormon Religiosity." MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 2009.
- Kauffman, Ruth, and Reginald Wright Kauffman. *A Study of the Mormons in Light of Economic Conditions*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Keller, Robert H., Jr. *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy 1869–1882*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Kelly, Francis C. *The Story of Extension*. Chicago: Extension Press, 1922.
- Kinney, Bruce. "Mormonism and Christianity." *The Intercollegian*. (January 1909): 88–90.
- . "The American Mohammedanism." *The Missionary Review of the World* (January–December 1899): 844.
- . *Mormonism: The Islam of America*. New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1912.
- Lamar, Howard R. "National Perceptions of Utah's Statehood." *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 42–65.
- Larson, Gustive O. "Brigham Young and the Indians." In *The American West: An Appraisal*, edited by Robert G. Ferris, 176–87. Sante Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1963.
- . *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971.
- Larson, Stan. "Intellectuals in Mormon History: An Update." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 187–89.
- Launius, Roger D., and Spillman, W. B. *Let Contention Cease: The Dynamics of Dissent in The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*. Independence, MO: Graceland/Park Press, 1991.
- "Letters." *The Christian Statesman*, January 1920, 83.
- Lewis, James R. "Apostates and the Legitimation of Repression: Some Historical and Empirical Perspectives on the Cult Controversy." *Sociological Analysis* 49 (1989): 386–96.
- Lincoln, Bruce. "Commentary on *Genealogies of Religion* by Talal Asad." Unpublished remarks at the American Academy of Religion Convention, Chicago, IL, Nov. 21st, 1994.
- Lindbeck, George. *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984.
- "Literary Digest." "Missionaries are Peddlers." *The New York Times*, September 4, 1918.
- Loughlin, Gerard. *Telling God's Story: Bible, Church and Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Ludlow, Daniel H., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992.

- Lyman, Edward Leo. *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Statehood*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Lyon, T. Edgar. "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865–1900." PhD diss., University of Utah, 1962.
- MacKenzie, Clayton G. "Demythologizing the Missionaries: A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education under Colonialism." *Comparative Education* 29, no. 1 (1993): 45–65.
- Madsen, Truman G. *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980.
- Madsen, Truman G. *Reflections on Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985.
- Magee, Malcolm. Review of *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*, by Christian Smith. *H-AmRel, H-Net Reviews*, March 1999, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=2912>
- Malony, H. Newton. "The Psychology of Proselytism." In *Pushing the Faith*, edited by Martin Marty, 125–42. New York: Crossroads, 1988.
- Martin, Theodore D., and Marion E., compilers. *Presbyterian Work in Utah 1869–1969*. Salt Lake City: Wheelwright Lithography, 1971. Books I–III. Typed mss. In the Presbyterian File, Drawer 3, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT, 1971.
- Marty, Martin E. "A God To End All Gods." *Context*, August 15, 1997, 4.
- . "The Spirit Behind Pentecostalism." *Context*, May 1, 1997, 6–7.
- . *Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. New York: K. G. Saur, 1993.
- . *Modern American Protestantism and its World: Missions and Ecumenical Expressions*. New York: K. G. Saur, 1993.
- . *Modern American Religion I: The Irony of it All*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986.
- . *Modern American Religion II: The Noise of Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991.
- . *Pushing the Faith*. New York: Crossroads, 1988.
- . *Religion and Republic: The American Circumstance*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1987.
- . *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America*. New York: Dial Press, 1970.
- . *The One and the Many: America's Struggle for the Common Good*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- . *When Faiths Collide*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Mason, C. E. Personal letter to Bishop Spalding, March 29, 1911. Episcopalian History Collection, Box 12, Folder 5, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Mather, Cotton. *Magnalia Christi Americana: or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from its First Planting in the Year 1620, unto the Year of our Lord, 1698*, Vol. 1. London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1702.
- Mauss, Armand L. *The Angel and The Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- May, Dean. "Dissent and Authority in Two Latter-day Saint Traditions." *Sunstone* 17, no. 1, (June 1994): 16–20.

244 *Converting the Saints*

- May, Henry F. *The End of Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Times, 1912–1917*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1959.
- McComas, Henry C. *The Psychology of Religious Sects*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1912.
- McConkie, Bruce R. *Mormon Doctrine*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966.
- McDannell, Colleen, and Bernhard Lang. *Heaven: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- McMurrin, Sterling M. “Comments on the Theological and Philosophical Foundations of Christianity.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25, no. 1 (1992): 37–47.
- . *Theological Foundations of Mormon Religion*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1965.
- Mead, Sidney E. “Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestant America.” *Church History* 23 (December 1954): 125–36.
- . *The Nation with the Soul of a Church*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.
- Meinig, D. W. “The Mormon Nation and the American Empire.” *Journal of Mormon History* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 33–51.
- Melish, John H. *Franklin Spencer Spalding: Man and Bishop*. New York: MacMillan, 1917.
- Merrill, Milton R. *Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990.
- Meyer, Eduard, Heinz F. Rahde, and Eugene Seach. *The Origin and History of the Mormons, with Reflections on the Beginnings of Islam and Christianity*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1961.
- Meyers, Gustavus. *History of Bigotry in the United States*. New York: Capricorn, 1943.
- Midgley, Louis. “Anti-Mormonism and the Newfangled Countercult Culture.” In *FARMS Review of Books* (1998): 271–340.
- Miller, Jon. “Missions, Social Change, and Resistance to Authority: Notes Toward an Understanding of the Relative Autonomy of Religion.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32, no. 1 (1993): 29–50.
- . *The Social Control of Religious Zeal*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994.
- Miller, Randall M., Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds. *Religion and the American Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Millet, Robert L. “Joseph Smith and Modern Mormonism: Orthodoxy, Neoorthodoxy, Tension, and Tradition.” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 3: 49–68.
- Millet, Robert L., and Gerald R. McDermott. *Claiming Christ: A Mormon-Evangelical Debate*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2007.
- Mills, Edward L. “One Hundred Years of Mormonism.” *The Missionary Review of the World* (December 1930): 917–20.
- Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975.
- Minutes of the Synod of Utah. Fragments and Paden notes, 1911–1915. In William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Moore, R. Laurence. *Selling God: American Religion in the Market Place of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Moorhead, James H. “God’s Right Arm? Minority Faiths and Protestant Visions of America.” In *Minority Faiths and the American Mainstream*, edited by John D. Sarna. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.



- . “The American Israel: Protestant Tribalism and Universal Mission.” In *Many Are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, edited by William R. Hutchison and Hartmut Lehmann, 145–66. Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 1994.
- Morehead, John W. “Divine Disenchantment: Transitions, and Assisting Those in Religious Migration.” In *From Fear to Faith: Stories of Hitting Spiritual Walls*, edited by Joel Watt and Travis Milam, 116–31. Gonzales, FL: Enerigion Publications, 2013.
- . “Evangelical Approaches to New Religions: Countercult Heresy-Rationalist Apologetics, Cross-Cultural Missions and Dialogue.” *Evangelical Interfaith Dialogue* (Fall 2013): 4–14.
- “Mormon Elder Attacked.” *The Ogden Examiner*, March 19, 1920, 1.
- “Mormon Priests Must Leave Town, The.” *The Wellington Daily News*, November 1, 1917.
- Mormon Puzzle: Understanding and Witnessing to Latter-day Saints*. The. Alpharetta, GA: Northern American Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1997.
- Mosser, Carl, and Paul Owen. “Mormon Apologetic, Scholarship and Evangelical Neglect: Losing the Battle and Not Knowing It?” *Trinity Journal* 19, no. 2 (1998): 179–205.
- Mouffe, Chantal. *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*. London: Verso, 2013.
- Mulholland, Kenneth R. “Indian Carried Christianity: Wampanoag Christianity on Martha’s Vineyard, 1643–1690.” PhD diss., University of Utah, 2010.
- Murphy, Paul V. *The Rebuke of History: The Southern Agrarians and American Conservative Thought*. University of North Carolina, 2001.
- Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Neilson, Reid Larkin, and Terryll Givens, eds. Joseph Smith, Jr.: Reappraisals after Two Centuries. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Neuchterlein, James. “Sin, Theodicy and Politics.” *First Things* (November 1998): 7.
- Neuhaus, Richard. “Christ and Creation’s Longing.” *First Things* (December 1997): 22–25.
- . “On Catholic Catholicism.” *First Things* (November 1998): 80.
- Newport, Frank. “The Religious Switcher in the United States.” *The American Sociological Review* 44, no. 4 (1979): 528–52.
- Nibley, Hugh W. *Approaching Zion*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1989.
- . *Mormonism and Early Christianity*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987.
- Nida, Eugene A. “The Roman Catholic, Communist, and Protestant Approach to Social Structure.” In *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*, edited by William A. Smalley. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Beyond Good and Evil and On the Genealogy of Morals*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- . *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
- Norman, Keith E. “Divinization: The Forgotten Teaching of Early Christianity.” *Sunstone* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1975): 14–19.
- . “Mormon Cosmology: Can It Survive the Big Bang?” *Sunstone* 10, no. 9 (1985): 19–23.
- Novak, Michael. “The Secularist Faith.” A review of *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*:

246 *Converting the Saints*

- Why some are so Poor* by David S. Landes in *First Things*, Vol. 85, August/September 1998, 58–61.
- Nussbaum, Martha. *Liberty of Conscience: In Defense of America's Tradition of Religious Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.
- Nutting, John Danforth. "A Study of the Present Mormon Problem." *The Independent* 54 (April 17, 1902): 930–34. West.
- . "Awheel and Afoot in Mormonism." *The Home Missionary* 74, no. 2 (May 1905): 37–45. West.
- . "Difficulties of Work Among the Mormons." *Missionary Review of the World* 26 (1903): 855–58. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. West.
- . "Eight Reasons Why No One Should Be a Mormon by one who has given over fifty years to gospel work among the Mormons." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission. Pamphlet. 1952.
- . *Light on Mormonism*. Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission, Publisher, 1923–29.
- . "Mormonism Today and its Remedy." *Missionary Review of the World*, May, Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Reprint and revision distributed by Utah Gospel Mission, Cleveland, OH. West. 1913.
- . "Paul's Method of Dealing with False Religionists." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission. 1927.
- . Personal letter to Bishop F. S. Spalding, Jan. 4, 1913. Episcopal Church History File, Box 12, Folder 10, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Personal letter to F. S. Spalding, November 16, handwritten, Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Acc. # 426, Box 12, Folder 10, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT. 1912.
- . "Present Day Mormonism and Its Remedy." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission, Publisher. Pamphlet. 1923.
- . "The Secret Oaths and Ceremonies of Mormonism: The Secret Temple Work Which Binds Mormons Together Under the Power of Their Priestly Leaders." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission, 1912. Pamphlet.
- . "The Truth About God." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission, Publisher, 1909. Pamphlet. West.
- . "Why I Could Never Be A Mormon." Cleveland, OH: Utah Gospel Mission, 1913. Pamphlet. West.
- Olson, Roger E. *The Mosaic of Christian Belief: Twenty Centuries of Unity & Diversity*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002.
- Ortenburger, Leigh N., and Reynold G. Jackson. *A Complete Climbers Guide to the Teton Range*. Palo Alto, CA: L. N. Ortenberger and R. G. Jackson, 1990.
- Ostler, Blake T. "Review of The Mormon Concept of God: A Philosophical Analysis by Francis J. Beckwith and Stephen E. Parrish." *FARMS Review of Books* 8, no. 2 (April 1994): 99–146.
- . "The Idea of Pre-existence in the Development of Mormon Thought." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 1 (1982): 59–76.
- . *Exploring Mormon Thought: Of God and Gods*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2008.

- Paden, William Mitchell. "A Protest of Citizens." A petition form, T. Ross Paden Jr. Collection, Calvin Court, Portland, OR. 1903.
- . "Creed and Conduct of the Mormon Leaders." Salt Lake Ministerial Association, Publisher, Salt Lake City, UT. Pamphlet. 1907.
- . *The Holland Reminder* 6, no. 11 (October 1897).
- . "Is Mormonism Changing?" *The Biblical Review* 14, no. 3 (July 1929): 19–27.
- . Letter to Editor, *Lewiston Journal*, Lewiston, Idaho. In clipping file, T. Ross Paden, Jr. Collection, Calvin Court, Portland, OR.
- . "Liberty, Law, and Loyalty," Salt Lake City: Ladies' Aid Society of the First Presbyterian Church, 1901.
- . "Minutes of the Synod of Utah." Fragments and Paden notes, William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . "Missions Among Mormons-Why?" New York: Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA., Publisher. Copy in William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . "Mormon Pluralism." *The Christian* 69. Statesman. Pittsburgh, PA: National Reform Association, Publisher, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- . "Mormonism as a Political Power and Peril: Studies in Social Reform and What To Do." August, New York, American Institute of Social Service, Publisher. Pamphlet. 1913.
- . "Notes for a Map of Allotment and Occupation in Utah." October 16, 1930. William Paden Collection, Presbyterian File, Item 15, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Notes on the story of Westminster College, Salt Lake City, UT, December 6, 1913. William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT. Westminster folder.
- . Personal Notes and Papers, T. Ross Paden, Jr. Collection, Calvin Court, Portland, OR.
- . "Questions and Answers on Mormonism." *Bulletin of National Missions*, Presbyterian Church USA, New York. Copy in William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT. 1929.
- . "Report of Home Missions Committee." September 1, Salt Lake City, typed, William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT. Missions folder. 1916.
- . "Report of Home Missions Committee." William Paden Collection, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, UT. 1912.
- . "Temple Mormonism." Salt Lake City: Gentile Bureau of Information. T. Ross Paden, Jr. Collection, Calvin Court, Portland, OR. Pamphlet.
- . William Mitchell Paden Diaries, T. Ross Paden, Jr. Collection, Calvin Court, Portland, OR.
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart. "How to Think about Secularism." *First Things* 64 (June/July 1996): 27–32.
- . *Basic Questions in Theology: Collected Essays*, Vols. I & II, translated by George H. Kehm. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970–71.

248 *Converting the Saints*

- Parkin, Max H. *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Clay County, Missouri, from 1833 to 1837*. PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1976.
- Parvin, Earl. *Missions U.S.A.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1985.
- Pascal, Blaise. *Oeuvres Complète*. Edited by Louis Lafuma. Paris: Aux Éditions du Seuil, 1963.
- Paul, Charles Randall. "Four L.D.S. Views on Harold Bloom: A Roundtable." *BYU Studies* 35, no. 1 (1995): 189–97.
- Paulsen, David L. "The Doctrine of Divine Embodiment: Restoration, Judeo-Christian, and Philosophical Perspectives." *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995): 6–94.
- Perrin, Nicholas. *Jesus the Temple*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academics, 2010.
- Peterson, Daniel C. "Shall They Both Not Fall in the Ditch? What Certain Baptists Think They Know about the Restored Gospel." *FARMS Review of Books* 10, no. 1 (1998): 12–96.
- Peterson, John Alton. *Utah's Black Hawk War*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.
- "Petition to Oust Smoot." *New York World*, January 9, 1905.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. "Christianity, Politics and Gramsciansim of the Right." In *Christianity and Hegemony: Religion and Politics on the Frontiers of Social Change*, edited by Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 1–31. New York: Berg, 1992.
- Plato. *Plato: The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*. Edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Pratt, Orson. *The Essential Orson Pratt*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991.
- Pratt, Parley P. *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1950.
- Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *The Indian in American History*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, Vols. 1 and 2*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- "Questions and Answers on Mormonism." New York: Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1912. Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. New York: Macmillan, 1907.
- Raven, B. H., and W. Kruglianski. "Conflict and Power." In *The Structure of Conflict*, edited by P. G. Swingle, 177–219. New York: Academic Press, 1975.
- Redfield, James. "The Origins of Philosophy." University of Chicago, January 1993, unpublished manuscript of lecture.
- Reed, Michael G. *Banishing the Cross: The Emergence of a Mormon Taboo*. Independence, MO: John Whitmer Books, 2012.
- Reeve, Paul. *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Reherd, Herbert Ware. "An Outline History of the Protestant Churches of Utah." In *Utah Centennial History*, edited by Wain Sutton, 649–90. Chicago: Lewis Historical Publications, 1948.
- Reyburn, William D. "The Missionary and Cultural Diffusion." In *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*, edited by William A Smalley, 198–222. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978.

- Rice, Claton. *Ambassador to the Saints*. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1965.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*. Fort Worth, TX: Christian University Press, 1976.
- . *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Edited by George H. Taylor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- . *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics*. Edited by Don Ihde. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974.
- Roberts, Brigham H. *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts*. Edited by Gary Bergera. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990.
- . *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* Vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1907.
- . Personal note to F. S. Spalding. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 12, Folder 7, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Personal letters to Bishop Franklin Spalding. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 12, Folder 7, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT. 1909–11.
- . Personal letters to Bishop Franklin Spalding. The Historical Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT. 1912–14.
- . “A Plea in Bar of Final Conclusions.” *Improvement Era* 16, no. 4 (February 1913): 309–25.
- . “Remarks on Joseph Smith, Jr. as a Translator.” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 15, 1912.
- . *The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology*. Edited by John W. Welch. Provo, UT: *BYU Studies* Monographs, 1994.
- Robinson, Stephen E. *Are Mormons Christian?* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. “Mr. Roosevelt to the Mormons.” *Collier's Magazine* 47, April 15, 1911, 28.
- . *The Strenuous Life*. New York: Macmillan, 1901.
- . *The Winning of the West*, Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948.
- Rorty, Richard. *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth: Philosophic Papers*, Vol. 1. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Russell, Isaac. Personal letter to Franklin Spalding, Dec. 3, 1912. Episcopalian History Collection, Box 12, Folder 6, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . “Shows Mormons How To Drop Polygamy.” *New York Sunday Times*, July 17, 1910. Episcopalian History Collection, Box 12, Folder 6, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Sanneh, Lamin. “Christian Missions and the Western Guilt Complex.” *The Christian Century*. April 8, 1987, 331–34.
- Sarna, Jonathan D., ed. *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- Schmitt, Karl M. “American Protestant Missionaries and the Diaz Regime in Mexico: 1876–1911.” *Journal of Church and State* 25, no. 2 (1983): 253–77.
- Sherkat, Darren E., and John Wilson. “Preferences, Constraints, and Choices in

- Religious Markets: An Examination of Religious Switching.” *Social Forces* 73, no. 3 (March 1995): 993–1026.
- Sherrill, Henry Knox. *Among Friends*. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press Book, 1962.
- Shipps, Jan. “Difference and Otherness: Mormonism and the American Religious Mainstream.” In *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, edited by Jonathan D. Sarna, 81–103. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- . “From Satyr to Saint.” In *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons*, 50–66. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- . “From Satyr to Saint: American Attitudes Toward the Mormons, 1860–1960.” Paper presented at the Chicago Meeting of the Organization of American Historians. April, 1973.
- . “In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth Century Mormonism.” In *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, edited by Thomas Alexander and Jessie Embry, 11–35. Provo, UT: Charles Redd Center, 1983.
- . “Is Mormonism Christian?: Reflections on a Complicated Question.” *BYU Studies* 33, no. 3 (1993): 439–65.
- . *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender & Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. New York: Viking/Penguin Press, 1990.
- Shupe, Anson Jr. *The Anti-cult Movement in America*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.
- Sillito, John R., and Martha Sonntag Bradley. “Franklin Spencer Spalding: An Episcopal Observer of Mormonism.” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 54 (December 1985): 339–49.
- Simmel, Georg. *On Individuality and Social Forms*. Compiled and translated by Donald N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- . *Conflict and The Web of Group-Affiliations*. Translated by Kurt Wolff and Reinhard Bendix. London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.
- Simmonds, A. J. “Speech to the 81st Convention of the Church in the Utah Diocese.” June 20–22, 1986. Library of the Episcopal Church, Spalding File, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976.
- Smith, Christian. *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Smith, Gary Scott. *Seeds of Secularization: Calvinism, Culture, and Pluralism in America, 1870–1915*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985.
- Smith, John A. “Ecclesiastical Politics and the Founding of the Federal Council of Churches.” In *Missions and Ecumenical Expressions*, edited by Martin Marty. New York: K.G. Saur, 1993.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Smith, Joseph Fielding. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1969.
- Smith, William Victor. *Textual Studies of the Doctrine and Covenants: The Plural Marriage Revelation*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2018.

- Snay, Mitchell. *Gospel of Disunion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Snow, Lorenzo. "Column Article." *Deseret News Weekly*, December 8, 1869.
- Spalding, Franklin Spencer. Annual Report of the Bishop of the Missionary District of Utah. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 4, Folder 5, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT. 1907–10.
- . "The Honest Way Out of a Difficult Situation: A Friendly Word to the Latter-Day Saints." Historical Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT. 1910.
- . *Joseph Smith, Jr. as a Translator*. Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1912.
- . Journal of Convocation, 18–20. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 1, Folder 3, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT. 1907.
- . Letter or notes on Joseph Smith's translation methods, handwritten. The Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding File, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Letter to Dr. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Pennsylvania, April 23, 1910. The Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding Collection, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Letter to the Editor, *Deseret News*, March 14, 1914. The Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding Collection, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . "The Missionaries and the Wise Man." Salt Lake City: The Arrow Press. Historical Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . "Our Church in Mormonland." *The Churchman*, May 1, 1909..
- . Personal letter to Isaac Russell of New York City, November 20, 1912. The Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding Collection, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Personal letter to Miss C. E. Mason of Tarrytown, NY, May 8, 1911. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 12, Folder 5, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- . Personal travel journal, March 3rd entry. Episcopal Diocese of Utah Collection, Box 12, Folder 1, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT. 1905.
- . "The Proper Attitude toward the Mormon Church and People." *The Utah Survey* 1, no. 6 (February 1914): 14–24.
- . "What Is Left of Mormonism Without Polygamy?" *The Utah Survey* 1, no. 3 (November 1913): 1–8.
- . Untitled speech, handwritten. The Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding File, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Stark, Rodney. "Why Religious Movement Succeed or Fail: A Revised General Model." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 12 (1996): 133–57.
- . *The Rise of Mormonism*. Edited by Reid L. Neilson. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Stenger, Mary Ann. "Gadamer's Hermeneutics as a Model for Cross-Cultural Understanding and Truth in Religion." In *Religious Pluralism and Truth*:

252 *Converting the Saints*

- Essays on Cross-Cultural Philosophy of Religion*, edited by Thomas Dean, 151–68. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.
- Strauss, Leo. *The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism: Essays and Lectures by Leo Strauss*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Strong, Josiah. *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885.
- Szasz, Ferenc M. *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880–1930*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982.
- . *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain West, 1865–1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- Tanner, Jerald, and Sandra Tanner. *Answering Mormon Scholars*, Vol. I & II. Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1994.
- Teich, Mikulás, and Roy Porter, eds. *Fin de Siècle: Its Legacy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Terry, Brendan. “John Danforth Nutting and the Utah Gospel Mission.” Masters thesis, Brigham Young University, 1992.
- Thernstrom, Stephan, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, eds. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1994.
- Thoreau, Henry David. “Let Such Pure Hate Still Underprop.” Henry David Thoreau Online. Accessed May 2, 2018. <http://www.thoreau-online.org/let-such-pure-hate-still-underprop.html>
- Thorson, Craig L. *Adam-God*. Aurora, Colorado: Publishment, 1994.
- Tinker, George E. *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Translated by George Lawrence. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988.
- . *L’Ancien Régime*. Edited by G.W. Headlam. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Townsend, Luther Tracy. “Manifest Destiny from a Religious Point of View.” An Address Delivered before the Boston Music Hall Patriotic Association, November 6, 1898. Baltimore, MD.
- Townshend, George, M.A. *The Conversion of Mormonism*. Hartford: T. B. Simonds, Soldier and Servant Series. In Episcopalian History Collection, Box 12, Folder 16, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Tracy, David. *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism*. New York: Crossroad, 1989.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*. Translated by Olive Wyon. New York: Harper Press, 1960.
- Turner, Bryan S. *Religion and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications, 1991.
- Tuveson, Ernest Lee. *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America’s Millennial Role*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- “Utah Home Missions Comity Council Articles of Organization, The.” William Paden Collection, Presbyterian Church file, Item 17, Westminster College Archive, Salt Lake City, 1916.
- Utter, Jack. *Wounded Knee and the Ghost Dance Tragedy*. Lake Ann, MI: National Woodlands Publishing Company, 1991.



- Van Gorden, Kurt. Two telephone interviews in August and September with Charles Randall Paul regarding the life history of John Danforth Nutting. 1993.
- Van Hoak, Stephen P. "And Who Shall Have the Children? The Indian Slave Trade in the Southern Great Basin, 1800–1865." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 3–25.
- Van Wagoner, Richard S. *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986.
- Varg, Paul A. "Motives in Protestant Missions, 1890–1917." *Church History* 23, no. 1 (1954): 68–82.
- Vermilye, Elizabeth B. "Are Christians Justified in Combating Mormonism?" *Home Mission Monthly* 30, no. 12 (October 1916): 283–86.
- . "Non-Christian Faiths in America." In leaflet, November 14, 1912. The International Council for Patriotic Service. Library of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Spalding File, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Voegelin, Eric. "History and Gnosis." In *The Old Testament and Christian Faith: A Theological Discussion*, edited by Bernhard W. Anderson, 64–89. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- Walker, Ronald W. "B. H. Roberts and the Woodruff Manifesto." *BYU Studies* 22, no. 3 (1982): 363–66.
- . "Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon Indian Relations, 1847–1877." *BYU Studies* 29, no. 2 (1989): 23–42.
- Walls, Andrew F. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995.
- Wangler, Thomas E. "The Birth of Americanism: Westward the Apocalyptic Candlesticks." *Harvard Theological Review* 65, no. 4 (1972): 415–36.
- Ward, Maria. *Female Life among the Mormons: A Narrative*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857.
- Weaver, Jace, ed. *Native American Religious Identity: Unforgotten Gods*. Mary Knoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998.
- Webber, Timothy P. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*. Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1983.
- Weber, Max. *From Max Weber*. Translated and edited by Gerth and O. Mills. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- . *Ancient Judaism*. Translated by Hans Gerth and Don Martindale. New York: Free Press, 1952.
- Weber, Timothy P. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Welter, Barbara. "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America." In *Women in American Religion*, edited Janet Wilson Jones, 111–25. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1980.
- White, O. Kendall. *Mormon Neo-orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987.
- Wiebe, Robert. *The Search for Order, 1877–1920*, American Century Series. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

254 *Converting the Saints*

- Williams, David M. "Will the Mormon People Become Christians?" Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. 1900.
- Wind, A. "The Protestant Missionary Movement, 1789–1963." In *Missiology—An Ecumenical Introduction*, edited by F. J. Verstraelen, 237–52. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995.
- "Women Unite Against Smoot." *New York Times*, November 15, 1903.
- Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. n.d.: Report, New York City. Found in the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Woodard, Colin. *American Nations: A History of Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America*. New York: Viking Press, 2012.
- Wright, Christopher J. H. *The Mission of God: Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative*. Grand Rapids: InterVarsity Press, 2006.
- Wuthnow, Robert. *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Xi, Lian. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
- Yates, Timothy. *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Yearley, Lee. "Conflicts Among Ideals of Human Flourishing." In *Prospects for a Common Morality*, edited by G. Outka and J. Reeder, Jr., 233–53. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . "New Religious Virtues and the Study of Religion." Fifteenth Annual University Lecture in Religion, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, 1994, 1–26.
- Yohn, Susan M. *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Yorgason, Ethan, and Chiung Hwang Chen. "Geopolitical Imaginations about Mormons in News and Popular Magazines." Paper presented at the Association for Education and Journalism and Mass Communication in Toronto, Canada, August. 2005.
- Young, David E., and Jean-Guy Goulet. *Being Changed by Cross Cultural Encounters*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 1994.