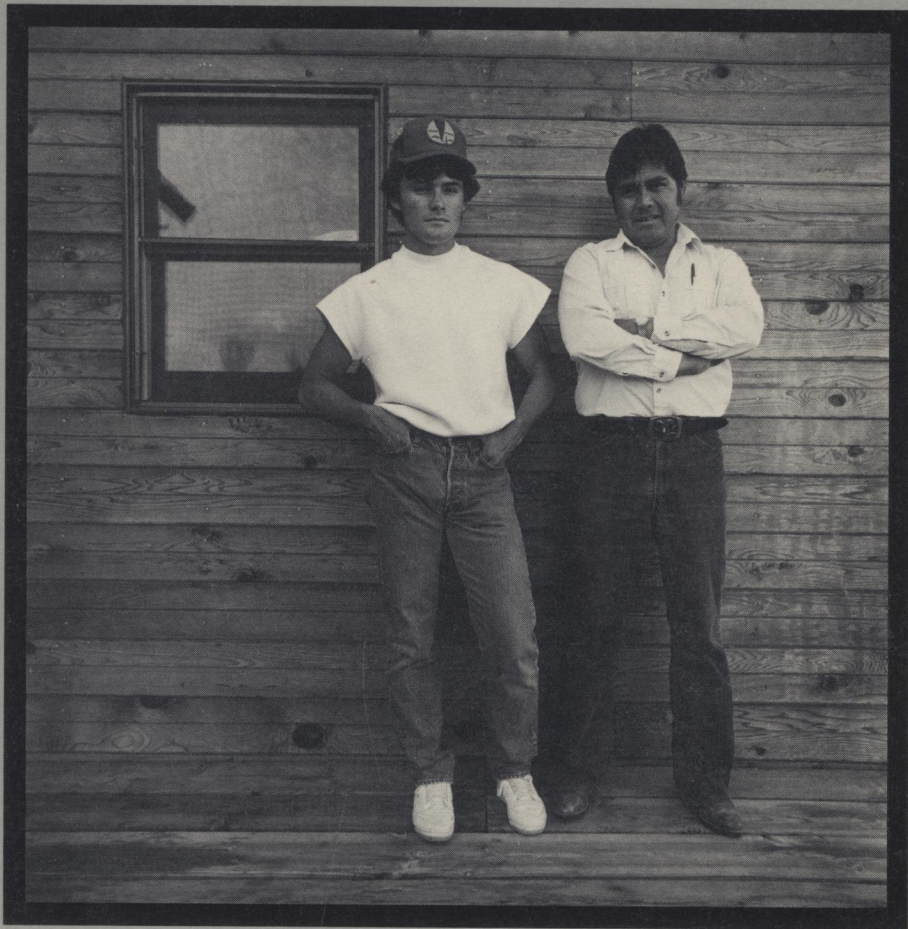


# DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





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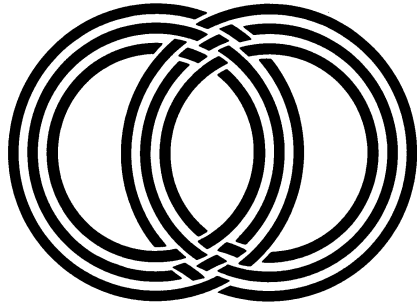
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# DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

*is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of Judeo-Christian thought and with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.*

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## LETTERS

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### *Editors' Addition*

We inadvertently omitted from "Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo" by Richard S. Van Wagoner (Autumn 1985) the fact that it had received DIALOGUE's first prize in the History division.

### *Serious About Godhood*

Your essays relating to *The Godmakers* leads me to ask Christians who challenge our concepts, "Don't all Christians believe that every man and woman may become a god or goddess? How do you not believe Romans 9:26 which says the faithful shall 'be called the children of the living God'?"

Is it only the lawyer in me which sees that heirship as literal? Paul had earlier argued, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ" (Rom. 8:16-17).

If the Holy Spirit bears witness to our spirits, then we risk depriving ourselves of that heritage (that heir-i-tage) if we quench that spirit.

I suspect that some offended by Mormons' insistence on literal heirship have on their shelves books by that great Christian expositor, C. S. Lewis. Lewis disclaimed any personal or private interpretation of scripture; in fact, he tried to avoid anything that might even be thought of as peculiarly Church of England. He thought he was expounding basic universals, upon which Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics among others, could and would agree (*Mere Christianity* [New York: Macmillan, 1974], p. 8). As "the

very centre of Theology" (p. 138), he identifies the doctrine of redemption — of godhood:

"Now we begin to see what it is that the New Testament is always talking about. It talks about Christians 'being born again'; it talks about them 'putting on Christ'; about Christ 'being formed in us'; about our coming to 'have the mind of Christ' (pp. 163-64).

"A real Person, Christ, here and now, in that very room where you were saying your prayers is doing things to you. . . . It is a living Man, still as much a man as you, and still as much God as He was when he created the world, really coming and interfering with your very self; killing the old natural self in you and replacing it with the kind of Self he has (p. 164).

"Finally, if all goes well, turning you permanently into a different sort of thing; into a new little Christ, a being which, in its own small way, has the same kind of life as God; which shares in His power, joy, knowledge, and eternity (p. 164).

"God looks at you as if you were a little Christ: Christ stands beside you to turn you into one" (p. 165).

"He said (in the Bible) that we were 'gods' and He is going to make good His words. If we let Him — for we can prevent Him, if we choose — He will make the feeblest and filthiest of us into a god or goddess, dazzling, radiant, immortal creature, pulsating through with such energy and joy and wisdom and love as we cannot now imagine, a bright stainless mirror which reflects back to God perfectly (though, of course, on a smaller scale) His own boundless power and delight and goodness" (pp. 174-75).



“It is a serious thing to live in a society of possible gods and goddesses, to remember that the dullest and the most uninteresting person you talk to may one day be a creature which, if you saw it now, you would be strongly tempted to worship, or else a horror and a corruption such as you now meet, if at all, only in a nightmare. All day long we are, in some degree, helping each other to one or other of these destinations. It is in the light of these overwhelming possibilities, it is with the awe and the circumspection proper to them, that we should conduct all our dealings with one another, all friendships, all loves, all play, all politics. These are no ordinary people. You have never talked to a mere mortal. Nations, cultures, arts, civilization—these are mortal, and their life is to ours as the life of a gnat. But it is immortals whom we joke with, work with, marry, snub and exploit—immortal horrors or everlasting splendours” (*The Weight of Glory* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973], p. 14–15).

And at his most ironic, he has Screwtape noting the disappearance of Great Sinners. Speaking of the need for young devils to make their living off those who merely follow, Screwtape observed that “It is a change for the better. The great (and toothsome) sinners are made out of the very same material as those horrible phenomena, the great Saints. The virtual disappearance of such material may mean insipid meals for us. But is it not utter frustration and famine for the Enemy? He did not create the humans—He did not become one of them and die among them by torture—in order to produce candidates for Limbo; ‘failed’ humans” (*The Screwtape Letters and Screwtape Proposes a Toast* [New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975], p. 158).

There may be room to criticize Mormons collectively. It may be that all of us, despite our dedication to missionary work, are not always fully sensitive to the needs of our neighbors. As Mormons we ask our neighbors to know us and to love us; as

Christians we have a duty to know our neighbors and to love them. I see evidences that we are learning and are working at learning how to do the broader task. And I hope that we Mormons, who qualify as the most earnest of born-again Christians, can find some advantage in the unfortunate publicity generated by those who consider themselves our enemies.

William L. Knecht  
Moraga, California

### Godmakers Response

I show *The Godmakers* and thus read your essays on the topic (Summer 1985) with great interest. Since one of the repeatedly discussed aspects was the motives of those connected with it, I would like to briefly set forth my own motives for showing *The Godmakers* and doing other work involving Mormons.

First, if a person’s beliefs are meaningful, he or she should want to share them with others. Methods differ. Donald A. Eagle apparently holds to a live and let live philosophy while others, including me, feel that they must take a more active role. Agreed, one’s freedom of speech ends at the hearer’s ears; but one’s conviction to speak begins in the heart.

Second, Mormonism from the First Vision to the present represents an offensive launched against the beliefs of traditional Christians in general, including those I hold. Mormons have every right to believe whatever they wish, but when Mormon missionaries tell me in my own home from their scriptures that my beliefs are an “abomination” and that I am “corrupt” (JS—H 1:18–19), I feel the call of Jude 3 to “contend for the faith that was once delivered to the saints.” That conviction—that I must defend myself—becomes all the greater as the Mormon Church and its missionaries misrepresent my beliefs as a Christian to people world-wide who don’t know any better.

Third and most important, I do this out of love for the Mormon people. Allen D. Roberts says *The Godmakers* “radically departs from the loving, forgiving, constructive spirit of Christianity” (p. 32). I would change some things in the film’s methodology if I could, but the heart of the matter is not methodology; rather, the key issue is whether Mormon beliefs represent the gospel that it claims to be the restoration of. That issue is dealt with at length in the film, and I have not yet heard any convincing and authoritative answers or refutations.

What would you as Mormons expect us to do? If we remain silent under the attacks made on us as Christians (1 Ne. 13:26–28; 14:9–10), our own beliefs condemn us, and any professions of love for Christ and those he died to redeem become meaningless. If we speak out for what we believe, confronting what we believe to be your deadly error, we are condemned as hateful and unloving. Do not your own missionaries do this very thing but from their own perspective. Why, then, is it so evil for us to do the same things?

As a Christian who loves and is concerned for his Mormon fellowbeings, I do not wish to dictate, but to dialogue. While I disagree with your beliefs, I welcome your missionaries as guests and friends, while seeking to converse intelligently with them about our respective beliefs. Indeed, on a “mission” of my own in Utah this summer, the returned missionaries I met gave me the most cordial welcome, the best dialogue, and the best representation of Mormonism in all ways of all the people I contacted. Do not integrity and maturity compell us, Christian and Mormon alike, to deal with our differences honestly?

Eagle quotes an anonymous “missionary to the Mormons” as writing, “I happen to care about the Mormons too much to allow them to go on in their deception. They need to be saved.” Although he calls such a statement “spiritual paternalism at the least or spiritual dictatorship at the worst,” I do not feel that either description

represents the writer’s intent. If I were to express my convictions that way, I would say, “I happen to care about the Mormons too much to allow myself to be silent about their deception.”

The Christian church has been largely silent about Mormons and Mormonism for 150 years. While I fully respect the reaction of Mormons to the end of that silence and would gladly discuss it with them, I must point out both the reaction and *The Godmakers* stem from the same conviction: the heart-deep conviction that one’s beliefs are right and valid.

That conviction should motivate all of us to reach out to others of different beliefs in love and in truth; for while truth without love kills and love without truth deceives, the two combined cannot but reveal the one who alone is truth incarnate, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thomas Berry  
Sacramento, California

### “Land” or “Continent”

Most of the arguments and questions raised in the letter by George D. Smith (Spring 1985) are answered in John L. Sorenson’s *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Deseret Book, 1985). However, one of his arguments is too ridiculous. Smith claims that Ether 2:5 (“ . . . into that quarter where there never had man been”) and Helaman 11:20 (“ . . . they did cover the whole face of the land, both on the northward and on the southward, from the sea west to the sea east”) mean that the Jaredites, Nephites, and Lamanites were the only inhabitants of the American continent, and no other peoples were there.

But Ether 2:5 describes the very beginning of the Jaredites’ long march, while they were still in the Old World, long before they even came to the ocean. And if we were to interpret “land” as “continent” we should have to conclude that there are only four lands in the world—Eurasia, America, Africa, and Australia.



Anywhere from the isthmus of Darien to Tehuantepec, Mesoamerican lands (in the real sense of the word, "land", not George Smith's) extend from sea to sea without any of them being a whole continent, only a small land.

Benjamin Urrutia  
Provo, Utah

### *Ku Klux Klan of Mormonism*

I converted to Judaism in 1977 after being a Mormon for eighteen active years including a full-time mission. I was a Seventy when my studies caused me to determine I was no longer a Christian. However, I never became embittered toward Mormon authorities, practices, or doctrines though I disagree with them. I've had many enjoyable discussions (debates?) with my Mormon relatives and friends. I think that America has room for divergency in religion as well as in politics.

The ancient rabbis believed that there were as many paths to the world to come and exaltation as there were nations of differing peoples. They taught that one must remain true to the religion of his forefathers, unless God led him to do otherwise and then he was to question all authority in light of Torah teachings and if it was found wanting, he was to know that he was being misled.

My wife and eight children did not share my enthusiasm towards Judaism and, with my blessings, remain faithful to Mormonism. Although they have suffered more pain than I feel necessary from my decision, they have my total support in their religious beliefs. I am positive that there must be other former Latter-day Saints who do not feel the need to convert Mormons. We cannot stand idly by and allow anti-Mormons to use deceit and subterfuge to undermine the faith of decent, true believing Latter-day Saints like my own children.

The Saints Alive group and other anti-Mormon groups should be seen for what

they really are; they are to the Mormons what the Ku Klux Klan is to the Jew! They wish not only to "save the souls" of the LDS people but also to totally destroy the Church infrastructure.

I cannot allow their poisonous attitudes and lying fundamentalism without raising my voice in dissent.

It is a shame — worse, it is a sin, that so many radical Christians believe that any means is justified, including falsehood deception, to destroy "Satanic" Mormonism.

I think that it is extremely important for all religious peoples to make a concentrated effort to understand the concepts of belief and to accept the legitimacy of others not believing exactly as we do.

I look at religion as a great symphony orchestra being led by God. Just as any good conductor would not wish everyone in the orchestra to play the kazoo even the lowly kazoo has a place in an orchestra that has many other instruments in it.

George Caudill, Sr.  
Boise, Idaho

### *Even the Typos*

I relish the appropriateness of a typographical error in Levi Peterson's review of Orson Scott Card's *Woman of Destiny* (Winter 1984): "Considering the unending flood of prudish and unrealistic G-rated Mormon novels, this work is to be commended for deserving, if not quite an R rating, at least a full-blown PG. In particular, Card deals candidly with sexual *maters*."

That delightful glimpse of your Freudian slip reflects for me the high quality of the journal generally. In *DIALOGUE* even the typos are worth reading.

Steven C. Walker  
Provo, Utah

### *Not Fresh, Not Insightful*

Your recent issue on war and peace (Winter 1984) fell far short of my hopes

and expectations for fresh insights into LDS history and theology, as stated in your Spring 1983 call for papers.

The opening essay by D. Michael Quinn was well written but failed to say anything really new. In fact, the article was simply a reprint (without revision) of an article originally published in August 1974. I also take exception to Quinn's use of "pacifism" (especially as applied to Mormon's behavior in the Book of Mormon), and feel his conclusions are overly simplistic.

The next three essays (Chernus, Kane, Bock) were particularly disappointing because they had nothing to say about LDS beliefs. Although some of the ideas expressed were noteworthy, I have many other forums for studying such viewpoints. The articles contributed very little to your announced purpose in producing an "issue on Latter-day Saints in war and peace" (Spring 1983, p. 46).

Although many of the articles were critical of current U.S. deterrent strategy, I am sure many members of the Church feel such a strategy is totally consistent with LDS teachings. Yet, nowhere in *DIALOGUE* was this viewpoint represented.

The concepts outlined by Chernus are familiar to all who have studied the issues of war and peace. The idea of symbols, myths, and "psychic numbing" apply to many circumstances and are generally recognized as only a partial explanation for current nuclear policies. The article is somewhat useful in reviewing these concepts but does not address many other factors contributing to international conflict.

I agree with Blais that it is important to remind people of their individual responsibilities, but I feel Blais weakened his position through the use of familiar rhetoric, lack of objectivity, stereotyping, revisionist history, and misrepresenting some Mormon theology. Basing an essay of this type on "impressions" resulting from twelve years of Church membership seems rather unreasonable to me considering the kind of conclusions Blais obviously wants the

reader to accept. Are my impressions based on thirty-six years of Church membership better?

In my opinion, the essay by Kent Robson is seriously flawed. He has grossly distorted many facts about nuclear arms and is completely wrong in some cases. This is unfortunate because the essay deals with a topic of grave concern to all of us. Here are only a few of the problems with Robson's article:

1. Robson's comments about "nuclear winter" are extremely misleading (pp. 55-56). Although a few studies suggest that a cooling effect could occur following a large-scale nuclear exchange, many uncertainties remain concerning the potential extent of this phenomenon. In claiming Soviet scientists agree with the concept of "nuclear winter," Robson also fails to note that Soviet research to date has been very limited and relatively shallow. There is no indication these studies are yet being taken seriously in the USSR (Department of Defense report on "Potential Effects of Nuclear War on the Climate," March 1985; report of the National Academy of Sciences, Dec. 1984; report by the Center for Atmospheric Research, March 1985).

2. Robson states that the USSR "is more susceptible to a first-strike than is the United States" (p. 56). This is absolutely false. The Soviet Union is clearly *less* susceptible to a first strike, and *more* capable of conducting a first strike, than is the United States. The Soviets maintain a much larger percentage of their nuclear forces in modern land-based ballistic missiles. These ICBMs are generally as accurate as U.S. missiles, have greater yields, carry more warheads, and are deployed, for the most part, in silos several times harder than U.S. facilities.

In addition, the Soviets have developed or deployed at least two types of ICBMs, in violation of existing arms agreements. About half (668) of the Soviet ICBM force (over 1,350) includes MX-class missiles. The United States has plans to eventually only deploy forty to fifty such missiles. As



a result, the Soviets currently possess a significant potential to destroy time-urgent, hard targets, while the U.S. lacks a comparable capability.

The Soviets also have made major strides in preparing two new mobile ICBMs for deployment. At least three new ICBMs will be flight-tested in the 1986-90 time period. (Testimony before a joint session of the Subcommittee on Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations by Robert M. Gates, 26 June 1985.)

Bombers take several hours to reach their targets and can be intercepted by conventional defenses, which makes them unlikely first-strike weapons. The U.S. has a larger percentage of its forces in bombers than does the USSR. The Soviets also have the world's largest and best air defense network consisting of thousands of interceptor aircraft and surface-to-air missiles. The U.S. has only a few hundred aircraft and no operational SAMs.

Further, the U.S. bomber force consists primarily of aging B-52s (the last plane was built in 1962), while the Soviets have been rapidly modernizing their fleet with Backfire bombers (produced at a rate of more than thirty per year for over the past five years), and have recently begun mass producing an entirely new version of the Bear bomber as a cruise missile carrier (*Soviet Military Power*, 1985). Although the U.S. is beginning to produce the new B-1 bomber, the Soviets have a similar aircraft under development (the Blackjack) (*Soviet Military Power*, 1985).

In addition, because U.S. bombers are no longer kept on airborne alert (again contrary to Robson's claim, p. 56) and only a portion are kept on ground alert—mostly near the coasts—some would undoubtedly be destroyed on the ground in a surprise first-strike, especially if attacked by Soviet ballistic missiles from Yankee-class submarines constantly stationed off both U.S. coasts.

The Soviets also have a larger submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) force than does the U.S., and only a portion of the current U.S. SLBM force is ever on station at a given time within range of Soviet targets. In contrast, Soviet SLBMs usually have greater range than U.S. SLBMs and can therefore fire from home ports into the continental U.S. All of this gives the Soviets a massive first-strike potential against the U.S.; the U.S. does not possess an equivalent capability by any means. Additionally, all elements of Soviet strategic offense forces will be extensively modernized by the mid-1990s, including probable deployment of 2,000-3,000 air-launched, sea-launched, and ground-launched cruise missiles. Also, Soviet warfighting doctrine is certainly not defensive in nature.

3. U.S. B-52s employ some electronic countermeasures, but it is an *extreme* stretch of the imagination to say, as Robson does (p. 56), these aircraft employ "stealth" technology.

4. There are at least six nuclear powers (Robson claims there are only five, p. 57). India has detonated a nuclear device. There is also a possibility that Israel and South Africa have this capability, and several others could detonate a nuclear weapon within one to three years, if they desired.

5. By 1984, the U.S. nuclear stockpile was at its lowest point in twenty years, one-third lower than in 1967. Also, total U.S. megatonnage was at its lowest level in twenty-five years, only about one-fourth of its peak in 1960. The same cannot be said for the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

In addition, as a result of NATO decisions in 1979 and 1983, the nuclear stockpile in Europe will decline by one-third from its 1979 level. Robson further fails to mention that the Soviet Union has the world's largest, best-equipped, and best-trained force for waging chemical warfare. They likewise possess an active research and development program for biological weapons (in violation of the 1972 treaty ratified by the Soviets) (Casper Wein-

berger, *Annual Report to the Congress*, FY 1985; *Soviet Military Power*, 1985).

6. Robson's comments about current strategic defense efforts are greatly distorted (pp. 58-59). He fails to understand the true nature of current research and the technologies involved, and lacks the competence and details necessary to perform an accurate vulnerability analysis.

The U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative is a technology research program designed to study the feasibility of developing a survivable, cost-effective defense against ballistic missiles. The concept is probably quite compatible with LDS teachings about defensive war. The SDI program is currently studying a vast array of technologies, including directed energy and kinetic energy devices. This is not a nuclear-weapon system.

The Soviets have been doing similar work for years, and probably lead the U.S. in some technologies. They have the world's only operational antiballistic missile defense system, which is being upgraded with new, improved missiles and radars, and have violated the ABM treaty by building a radar network for a potential nation-wide ABM defense system. They likewise have the world's only operational antisatellite systems. Even if the U.S. concludes that a ballistic missile defense is not feasible within the next ten to twenty years, it will still benefit from the research now underway in such areas as computers, optics, command and control, electro-optical sensors, propulsion, radar, software, telecommunications, and guidance systems. Current SDI research does not violate any treaty.

7. Finland's policy of neutrality has been forced upon it by the Soviet Union; it is not completely by choice as Robson implies (pp. 59-60). Finnish armed forces are limited by a treaty forced upon Finland by the Soviets following World War II. The United States could hardly pursue a similar policy and still help ensure the freedom and security of its allies, an obligation implied in Doctrine and Covenants

101:77. History also shows that neutrality is no guarantee of peace. For example, neutral Finland was invaded by the Soviets in November 1939, only seven years after signing a nonaggression treaty with the USSR.

8. Robson's reference to Soviet comments about the U.S. as the "only nation on earth to have used nuclear weapons on people" is correct but misleading. While hindsight casts doubt on Truman's wisdom in ordering the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, historians generally agree the decision was made in a sincere attempt to quickly end a very bloody war and to prevent the extensive casualties which would have occurred if the U.S. had invaded the Japanese mainland. This bombing of Japan resulted in about 210,000 killed or wounded. An attack against the mainland could easily have resulted in far more casualties (estimated into the millions).

Soviet criticism seems particularly hypocritical. If they had possessed nuclear weapons in World War II, they would certainly have used them against Nazi Germany, and any country capable of murdering approximately twenty million of its citizens in purges is probably ill-suited to condemn U.S. actions in ending the war with Japan.

9. Contrary to Robson's assertion (p. 60), the Soviet record of arms control compliance is not as good as our own. They have not only violated the established limitations but have consistently attempted to deny U.S. verification of these treaties ("President's Unclassified Report to the Congress on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements," 1 Feb. 1985).

Robson may claim anyone can understand nuclear arms issues by reading a few reports (like claiming to be a doctor after reading a medical journal), but his article strongly suggests otherwise (p. 57). Practically my only agreement with Robson is that "negotiations to reduce the levels of every kind of nuclear weapons need to be pursued vigorously" (p. 60). However, to achieve an agreement which truly enhances



U.S.-Soviet security, a complete and correct understanding of the current nuclear balance is necessary. Robson's article does not satisfy this requirement.

I very much enjoyed the four "Personal Voices." They did not attempt to manipulate most facts and clearly represented individual perspectives on important issues. I would have liked, however, to have seen some of Drews's opinions about "alternative modes of defense to the present reliance on nuclear weapons" (p. 81).

I have spent one-third of my life working daily with matters related to war and peace. I know from first-hand experience that we face some very challenging questions as world citizens and as members of the Church of Jesus Christ in these "last days." It is important that the dialogue continue.

A. Brent Merrill  
Woodbridge, Virginia

### *Leftist Naivete?*

Kent Robson's article on the magnitude of the nuclear arms race (Winter 1984) is most interesting but ultimately leaves me unconvinced that he really understands the issues or possesses the ability to assess critically the arguments of the left wing of the American political spectrum, which he obviously endorses.

Robson notes, for instance, that the United States is the only nation which has ever used nuclear weapons in warfare. Yet he neglects to observe that we are also the only nation which has enjoyed a monopoly in the possession of such weapons and yet has refrained from using them to disarm our most menacing adversary. Does anyone honestly believe the Soviets would have acted with similar restraint?

We are also told that the Soviet record of honoring arms control agreements is as good as our own. I find that hard to believe in light of President Reagan's most recent report to Congress, a report he found somewhat embarrassing because of its tim-

ing with respect to the arms control negotiations in Geneva. Soviet use of poison gas and explosive toys in Afghanistan, in clear violation of international compacts to which the Soviets are signatories, suggests that any peace-loving and law-abiding sentiments which may exist among the Soviet people are not reflected in Soviet policymaking.

Even if the U.S. has also violated nuclear arms control agreements, it would be hard to draw the conclusion that the United States and the Soviet Union should trust each other: that arms control agreements alone offer a realistic hope for ending the nuclear arms race. Indeed, America's three greatest scholars in strategic defense strategy—Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, and Jeanne Kirkpatrick—seem at present to be essentially in agreement that, both politically and technologically, we are fast approaching the day when verifiable nuclear arms control agreements will be impossible.

Robson tells us that the Soviets are more vulnerable than we to a surprise first strike because a greater proportion of their nuclear warheads are on land-based ICBMs at a fixed location. Yet nothing is said about the disturbing possibility that the Soviets have developed (or are very close to developing) the capacity to give intercontinental range to their medium-range ballistic missiles, presently used to terrorize Europe and Asia. An article by William Kucewicz appearing on the editorial page of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 6 September 1984, recently reported a Soviet test of such missiles employing an azimuth which would have taken them over Alaska and into the American heartland where so many of our ICBMs are based. Please note that these intermediate range missiles are mobile: they are not easily detectable. And these mobile launchers may be used to fire more than one missile.

Robson also tells us that the U.S. submarine-based ballistic missile force is "invulnerable to detection, a situation estimated as likely to prevail for at least twenty

years." Would that were true! Kuscewicz reminds us that half of our nuclear submarines are in port at any given time and are therefore "sitting ducks" for a Soviet first strike. As for those at sea, Kuscewicz reports successful tests by the Soviet Union of a satellite-based radar system (called "synthetic aperture radar" (SAR), capable of locating submerged submarines by discerning subtle effects on the water's surface, on water moving around the submarine and even in the color and radioactivity of the plankton. Kuscewicz reports that SAR could make all submerged U.S. submarines vulnerable within a decade, and other reports I have read (but cannot locate, at present) suggest that SAR is already capable of detecting a submarine at the depth to which it must rise if it wishes to fire its missiles with any degree of accuracy. The information supplied by the Walker spy ring may have significantly advanced SAR development, and with it the threat to our submerged submarines ("Spy vs. Sub," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 5 June 1985, p. 6).

I am most puzzled, however, by Robson's uncritical endorsement of the report of the Union of Concerned Scientists on the feasibility of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). He must be aware that this group has a consistent and obvious left-wing ideological bias, and that a great many capable scientists (Soviet and American) do not share the pessimism expressed in that report, among them Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb. The list of scientists supporting the SDI is growing ever more impressive, according to Gregory Fossedal, writing on the editorial page of the 19 June 1985 *Asian Wall Street Journal*. That list includes George Keyworth and Robert Jastrow (prominent physicists and converted skeptics), Fred Seitz (former president of the National Academy of Science), Bill Nierenberger (director of the Scripps Institute for Oceanography and head of the panel that debates key issues of defense science for the government), Lowell Wood and Gregory

Canovan (the "young entrepreneurs" conducting SDI research), and James Fletcher, former head of NASA and the LDS scientist with greatest expertise in space technologies. Fossedal notes that the momentum in the scientific debate over the SDI is clearly with the SDI supporters: the opponents have been forced to make embarrassing concession after embarrassing concession.

This observation should not be surprising to any serious student of military history. If we had abandoned every weapons development program deemed impossible by one or more scientists with impressive credentials, we would have abandoned the tank, the Manhattan Project, the jet fighter, and the nuclear submarine. Indeed, it is hard to find any innovative weapons system which has not been criticized as wishful thinking by some respectable scientific authority in the field.

Despite Soviet opposition to U.S. efforts to develop a strategic nuclear defense, it appears that they are spending more than we are in the attempt to develop one ("Star Wars over Moscow," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 11 April 1985, p. 8). They may in some ways be ahead of us in this program, since their laser and space station technology may be more sophisticated. On the other hand, our computer technology, perhaps most critical to the successful deployment of a strategic defense against ballistic missiles, is more sophisticated. Therefore, we may have something to teach each other about how to build such a system, if we may put aside our mutual distrust. And if this is impossible, perhaps we could agree to entrust the deployment of such a system to the Swiss, the Japanese, the Indians, or any combination of nations we both trust, with the understanding that it would be used against ballistic missiles of whatever origin.

Amid Carl Sagan's warnings about the possibility of nuclear winter and after viewing the horror of *The Day After*, it amazes me that anyone would seriously oppose changing the focus of nuclear deterrence

away from offensive weapons and toward defensive weapons. President Reagan has clearly indicated that he is willing to give the Soviets access to any system we develop: they need not fear nuclear blackmail from us. He has spoken of international control of such a system. Indeed, it appears that he will try, through the negotiations in Geneva, to persuade the Soviets that we should cooperate in an attempt to move mankind away from the horror of Mutual Assured Destruction and toward the more humane goal of Mutual Assured Survival.

This effort responds honorably and courageously to the plea of the First Presidency, set forth in the last sentence of the 5 May 1981 statement concerning the MX missile: a plea that "our national leaders . . . marshal the genius of the nation to find viable alternatives" to the stockpiling of ever-more-awesome nuclear missiles, alternatives which will "secure . . . with fewer hazards, the protection from possible enemy aggression, which is our common concern."

Strategic nuclear defense is an issue on which left and right should be able to agree. Let us argue about whether the MX missile should be built, about whether we need more B-1 bombers and cruise missiles. But let us not fritter away, in short-sighted partisan debate, humankind's best hope for a shield against the most dangerous sword in our nuclear arsenal.

Gregory S. Hill  
Seoul, Korea

### *Robson Replies*

It is clear from the responses to my essay, "The Magnitude of the Nuclear Arms Race," (Winter 1984) that sensitive nerves have been struck. In any essay I write, I always welcome corrections to the information or to the argumentation of the essay. I never pretend to be infallible. However, I always want to see the evidence so that I may put it alongside of my evidence.

Brent Merrill is apparently no casual observer of the nuclear arms race. It would have been interesting to know what Merrill does for a living and whether he has a vested interest in defending a certain position.

In Merrill's letter, he first claims that Soviet scientists have done little work on the nuclear winter phenomenon and that there is no evidence that these studies are taken seriously in the USSR. He gives no evidence for these judgments. I have heard Soviet scientists in the USSR say that they have run computer simulations of the nuclear winter phenomenon and have been able to confirm its affects. These same scientists say they are seriously concerned about nuclear winter.

Second, Merrill claims that the Soviet Union is clearly less susceptible to a first strike and more capable of conducting a first strike than the United States. He correctly observes that a much larger percentage of Soviet nuclear forces is in ICBMs. I agree. As I pointed out, 73 percent of Soviet nuclear forces are in land-based ICBMs. However, I cannot agree with Merrill that the Soviet ICBMs are generally as accurate as U.S. missiles. As Merrill himself should know, the CEP (Circular Error Probable, the standard measurement of accuracy of weapons) is about double that of Minuteman IIIs.

Soviet missiles have greater yields than U.S. missiles because the Soviets have not been able to make them smaller. However, the Soviets have reduced their total megatonnage by one-third since 1970 and are steadily decreasing the size of their warheads and their missiles as their technology improves. Incidentally the United States is doing the same. When it comes to assessing whose silos are harder, it is difficult to be certain, since there has been no testing of silo hardness. Above-ground tests of nuclear weapons to test silo hardness are prohibited by the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

When the Reagan administration first began to claim that the Soviets had a greater first-strike ability than the United

States, the assumption was made that the only first-strike weapons the United States possessed were the Minuteman missiles. Since then, the United States has deployed Pershing II missiles in Europe and Cruise missiles which have CEP figures of a first-strike accuracy. In addition, the MX missiles clearly have first-strike accuracy and the C-4 missiles on Trident II submarines are also as accurate as the Russian missiles. The D-5 missiles to be deployed on the Trident IIs are much more accurate than the Russian missiles. Overall, Merrill will have to admit the U.S. missiles are more accurate than Soviet missiles. Given that the U.S. has more total warheads than the Soviets and greater accuracy in those warheads, it seems hard to claim that the Soviets are obviously ahead of the United States in first-strike capability.

Since most first-strike calculations have not taken account of reliable yields of the weapons, atmospheric conditions that are less than ideal, silo hardness, the vagaries of CEP, and the effects on incoming warheads of a first explosion caused by a first-strike missile that can cause "fratricide," the likelihood of either side being successful in a first-strike attack has been enormously overestimated. These matters were discussed in the *Scientific American* article, "The Uncertainties of a Preemptive Nuclear Attack" (Nov. 1983).

The most important consideration lies in the fact that 73 percent of Soviet ICBMs are in known locations. Over 50 percent of American missiles are on submarines and cannot present first-strike targets. It is on this basis that the hardness of the silos, the yield of the weapons, and the accuracy of the incoming warheads is irrelevant since the largest part of the U.S. arsenal of missiles is invulnerable to detection and successful attack. That is not true of the Soviet silos or of the Soviet submarine tenders where most submarines are kept in port, nor of the Soviet air fields where Soviet bombers armed with missiles are stationed on the ground.

Furthermore, the U.S. has 98 percent of its ICBMs on alert status whereas the Soviet Union's mostly liquid-fueled ICBMs are believed to have a much lower alert rate.

Merrill comments that the Soviets have two mobile ICBMs, the SS-16 and the SS-25, and claims, in addition, that they violate existing arms agreements. The SS-16 is a three-stage, solid propellant, single reentry vehicle missile that the Soviets say has not been deployed. In 1983 General Gabriel, Air Force Chief of Staff, said, "We do not believe mobile SS-16s are deployed at the Plesetsk Test Range." To my knowledge, it has not yet become clear that there are *two* new missiles, the SS-24 and SS-25, (one is allowed under SALT II) or that they do violate existing arms agreements. The Soviets are working on a new missile, an SS-X-24, comparable to our MX and have notified the U.S. that this is their one new missile. The Soviets claim that the SS-25 missile is a "modernization" of an old missile, the SS-13. A loophole in the SALT II treaty allows a second new type if it is within 5 percent of an existing ICBM in size and payload. Our test data for the SS-13 do not seem accurate enough to be sure of this.

I agree with Merrill that the USA has a larger percentage of its forces on bombers than does the USSR, but I have little confidence in his claim that the Soviets have the largest and best air defense network in the world. An unarmed, civilian Korean Airlines 007 jet flew for more than two hours in Soviet air space over one of the most heavily defended areas of the Soviet Union before it was finally contacted by Soviet interceptors. Despite the tragic results of that encounter, the circumstances do not suggest that the Soviets can have great confidence in their ability to detect and shoot down planes.

The claim that the United States is using only aging B-52s ignores the fact they are G and H models which have been continuously updated and modernized. I

know of no one who seriously believes that the U.S. bomber fleet is inferior. The Soviet bomber fleet is much smaller and its bombers in use, slower. In fact, in its bomber force, 100 are still propeller aircraft, according to *The Defense Monitor* (vol. 13, no. 6). Although the Pentagon has talked a great deal about a Soviet Blackjack bomber, in April 1985, the Defense Intelligence Agency said the Blackjack might be ready by 1988 (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6). The 130 Backfire bombers in the Soviet fleet are medium-range bombers and, like our FB-111A bombers, do not fall under the provisions of the SALT treaties. It is not even clear that they have deployed nuclear missiles on their so-called Backfire bomber.

Merrill notes that Soviet submarines are stationed constantly off both U.S. coasts. Although this does now seem to be true, it was done in retaliation for positioning Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe. Merrill would also have to admit that Soviet submarines are noisier and easier to detect than U.S. submarines and do not have the deadly accurate punch of U.S. submarines. All but seventy-two of the Soviet SLBMs use liquid fuel, in contrast to only solid-fueled SLBMs for the United States.

Merrill goes on to claim that the Soviets have a larger SLBM force than does the United States. This is simply not true. The Soviets do have a larger number of submarines, 61 to 37, but only 2,178 warheads on these submarines compared to 5,728 warheads for the United States (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6).

Merrill claims that the Soviet war-fighting doctrine is not defensive in nature. This is a claim that is not obviously true and would require a great deal of substantiation. One consideration in this matter would be that the Soviets have declared a "no first-use policy," that they would never be the first to use nuclear warheads. The United States has refused to make this declaration.

Merrill claims the U.S. B-52s employ some electronic countermeasures but that this could not be interpreted as stealth technology. Since at least a portion of the stealth technology involves the use of electronic countermeasures, Merrill's statement is self-refuting.

Merrill goes on to say that there are six nuclear powers in the world. In addition to those I listed, he adds India and suggests that Israel or South Africa may have the capability of making nuclear weapons. Of course, I am aware that India has exploded a nuclear device and may be building a nuclear warhead because of fear that Pakistan may be developing nuclear weapons. In fact, fifty-four countries in the world operate nuclear reactors which produce a total of 500 pounds of weapons-grade plutonium per year from which about 7,000 nuclear warheads could be manufactured (Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 1982, p. 10). By this kind of definition, one could list a large number of nuclear powers. The relevant question, however, is which of these powers have the capability of delivering these weapons against other countries?

Merrill claims by 1984 our nuclear stockpile was at its lowest point in 20 years, one-third lower than in 1967. What is he counting? Is he counting total U.S. megatonnage which he also said was at its lowest level in twenty-five years, only about one-fourth of its peak in 1960? If so, it is clear that the United States has been reducing the size of its warheads and the size of the missiles needed to carry those warheads as technology to do so has improved. Since World War II, our ability to reduce the size of those warheads has increased approximately 150 times. If weapons are more accurate, total megatonnage is a poor measure of the effectiveness of the weapons. The Soviet megatonnage does exceed that of the United States. However, the Soviets are constantly reducing the size of their missiles and warheads as their technology improves. In this, they are far behind the



United States and their total megatonnage is therefore larger. However, in numbers of warheads and accuracy of the warheads they have been consistently behind the United States.

If one is counting numbers of warheads, in 1984 the U.S. nuclear stockpile substantially exceeded that of 1967. During the 1970s when the current U.S. administration claimed that the United States was doing nothing in developing nuclear weapons, the potency of the U.S. forces more than doubled. In warheads, we went from 3,742 in 1970 to the present number of 11,466 (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6).

Merrill claims that the SDI or Star Wars Initiative, is a defensive capability and therefore compatible with LDS teachings about defensive warfare. The Soviets do not consider the SDI to be defensive in nature. They consider it to be offensive. If SDI were to work and if they were unable to mount any kind of successful attack, the U.S. would be able to use tactical nuclear warheads without fear of massive retaliation. The Soviets consider this provocative. In addition, the best response to SDI would be to increase the numbers of missiles and warheads. This comes at a time when we are asking the Soviets in Geneva to substantially reduce total missiles and warheads while we press on with SDI.

The claim that the Soviets have been doing similar work for years and that they lead the U.S. in some technologies demands substantiation. The Soviet anti-ballistic missile defense system is clearly antiquated by the MIRVing of warheads on American missiles. As General Charles A. Gabriel, Air Force Chief of Staff, said in 1984, "The 100 missile interceptor defense projected for the ongoing Moscow upgrade would quickly be exhausted in a large-scale attack." The Soviets do have an ASAT (anti-satellite) missile which has been observed not to be as accurate and reliable as the U.S. ASAT missile.

Merrill claims that the Soviets have violated the ABM treaty by building a radar network for a potential nation-wide

ABM defense system. He is referring to an installation the Soviets have been building near Krasnoyarsk in Siberia. That installation will not be completed until 1988 or 1989 and has never been in operation. The Soviets claim that it is a space tracking radar. A classified CIA report in 1984 found the radar to be "not well designed" (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6). As a result it is clearly premature to claim this as a violation.

Merrill claims that even if an SDI system were not feasible, the U.S. would still benefit from the research in computers, optics, and other matters. This point is obvious. The United States will benefit by any research in any area whether it is computers, optics, radar, or whatever. We are not, however, talking just about research with its comparatively small costs. We are talking about the over \$1 trillion cost of a working SDI system. Article V of the 1972 ABM treaty states that "each party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, *space-based*, or mobile land-based" (italics mine). The planned SDI system is, therefore, presumptively illegal.

Merrill's point about Finland's neutrality has to be put into the context of my observations about deterrence. Deterrence has to be put into the broader, political context of intentions to use weapons as well as the weapons possessed. It is still not clear whether American superiority in numbers of warheads, their accuracy, and their worldwide deployment has contributed to the security of the United States. As long as the nuclear weapons are not used, one can argue that the deterrence is effective. One could also argue that voluntary restraints are working that have had nothing to do with deterrence. The situation is a little like the story of the man who was snapping his fingers to keep the elephants away. When told there were no elephants in the neighborhood, the man said, "There, you see. Darned effective, isn't it?"

Merrill, in commenting on the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, says that

“my claim that the United States is the only nation on earth to have used nuclear weapons on people is correct but misleading.” In what way is it misleading? I did not claim that the United States was not justified in using the weapons although I do have doubts about that. I did not claim that the United States did not save casualties by the bombings. I did not claim that the Soviets have never considered using nuclear weapons. In fact, Shevchenko’s new book, *Breaking With Moscow*, suggests that they may have considered doing so. Other information suggests that the United States also considered using nuclear warheads on other occasions. The important point to remember is that to other countries in the world the United States is still the only country to have used nuclear weapons on people. This frightens Soviets as well as others since, in addition to having the weapons, Americans have found, at least in one circumstance, the will to use them.

Merrill is right in pointing out that the Soviets murdered close to 20 million of their own citizens in purges. I did not claim, nor does anyone else that I know of, that this action, under Stalin, should not be taken into account in determining Soviet intentions. Let me, however, remind Merrill that Stalin is no longer in office in the Soviet Union and that those purges occurred over forty years ago.

When I suggest that arms control compliance on the part of the Soviets is as good as our own, Merrill claims “that they have violated established limitations and consistently attempted to deny U.S. verification of treaties.” Former Chief Arms Control negotiator Paul Warnke, in discussing recent alleged Soviet violations of arms limitation agreements, claimed that the report was in the President’s office for eight months without any attempt to verify its allegations, then was released to the public — still unverified — just before the commencement of the Geneva Arms Control negotiations. At that time, the Pentagon reported that it had not had opportunity to assess the alleged violations. Among the

allegations was the claim that the Soviets have violated the ABM treaty by building the Krasnovarsk installation. Recently Soviet ambassador Dobrynin suggested that the Soviets might allow the Americans to visit the Krasnovarsk site to see if it violates the treaty.

Similar allegations have been equally loosely made. To assess Merrill’s claim, one wants to see what the alleged violations are and what the denied verification is. This discussion occurs at a time when the United States, which failed to ratify the Salt II although Jimmy Carter signed it, is currently considering unilaterally abrogating that treaty which has been observed by both the United States and the Soviets. The treaty was signed by the President of the United States, President Jimmy Carter.

Representing the current administration is Richard N. Perle, Assistant Defense Secretary for international security policy, who recently was quoted as saying that the negotiations are *not* for the purpose of reaching agreements with the Soviets, but simply to take the pressure off the United States in the world propaganda war so that we can go on building without any serious intention of ever signing any arms control agreements with the Soviets. In Perle’s view negotiations help maintain political support for military spending (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 May 1985).

Although I would like to personally believe that this is not the United States’ position, the intransigence of the current administration to put forward serious negotiating positions (as personally communicated to me by Inge Thorson, Assistant Secretary of State for Sweden) leads one to wonder whether Perle’s position is not the official administrative position.

Gregory Hill’s letter does not attempt to report information as does Brent Merrill’s. Instead, he employs the ad hominem tactic of aligning me with the American political left. George Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, has been arguing the same position as mine. So does Paul Warnke, former Chief U.S. Negoti-

ator to Arms Treaties. Paul Nitze, our recent Chief INF negotiator and a current member of our Geneva negotiating team, in his famous "Walk in the Woods," reached what seemed to me a fair agreement with the Soviets on SS-20 missiles in Europe. The Soviets accepted it until our administration refused to honor Nitze's negotiated position. Does any attempt to arrive at a deescalation of the nuclear arms race align one automatically with the political left wing?

Hill observes in response to my claim that the United States is the only nation to use nuclear weapons against people and that the United States is the only nation which has enjoyed a monopoly of such weapons, yet has refrained from using them. In one sentence, he has refuted himself, for we did not refrain from using them in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Furthermore, our monopoly only lasted until 1949 when the Russians tested their first nuclear device. I, like Hill, am opposed to Soviet aggression but everyone must concede that they have never used nuclear devices in their aggressive endeavors.

I find doubtful Hill's claim that the three greatest scholars in strategic defense strategy are Brzezinski, Kissinger, and Kirkpatrick. On the nuclear arms race, I consider many other scholars equally or more knowledgeable than these individuals. Furthermore, I would like to see their statements that verifiable nuclear arms control agreements are impossible.

Hill discusses the medium-range ballistic missiles such as the SS-20s currently used in Europe and Asia. He claims that these missiles are "used to terrorize." What counts as terrorism? The Soviets deployed SS-20s on their own soil before we placed our Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe. In response to their deployment, the Soviets moved their missiles westward. Is anyone terrorized? Are the Soviets terrorized? Even before deploying our Pershing II and Cruise missiles, we had over 7,000 tactical, theater and strategic nuclear

warheads deployed in Europe. We were hardly lacking arms.

I am, of course, aware that the SS-20s are mobile and can be reloaded on their launchers. I suppose that is what Hill means when he says that they can fire "more than one missile." Even if test firings are on an azimuth which would take them to the United States, the current data of Soviets missile tests does not indicate that these *theater* nuclear weapons have the range to hit the United States. Yes, it is possible that they could develop such capability. In any case and in the meantime, U.S. spy satellites passing continuously over the Soviet Union monitor the ground movements of these mobile launchers as well as the missile silos. The report from the *Asian Wall Street Journal* concerning a Soviet satellite-based radar system is interesting. This "breakthrough" story concerned a satellite sensor called synthetic aperture radar (SAR). NASA orbited such a radar called SEASAT, and the U.S. Navy reported last year to Congress that "the synthetic aperture radars cannot detect submarines" (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6). On 6 June 1985 the CIA reported in its National Intelligence Estimate that "we do not believe there is a realistic possibility that the Soviets will be able to deploy in the 1990s a system that would pose any significant threat to U.S. SSBNs (missile submarines) on patrol."

Hill is also concerned about what he considers to be the left-wing ideological bias of the Union of Concerned Scientists. It just so happens that the most detailed, timely report of the strategic defense initiative (SDI) or Star Wars available anywhere is the paperback, *The Fallacy of Star Wars*, put out by the Union of Concerned Scientists (New York: Vintage Books, 1984, 293 pp., \$4.95). I suggest reading this book, then deciding whether the Union of Concerned Scientists is left wing or whether it is simply concerned about an enormous new cost and strategic escalation in the nuclear arms race.

I acknowledge that Edward Teller believes that we should pursue SDI. Edward Teller also believes that we should be testing nuclear weapons above ground, a position that even Henry Kissinger finds silly.

I am aware that Reagan indicated that he would give the Soviets access to any Star Wars system we developed. If we were able to develop such a system, it would contain the highest technology that the United States government is capable of developing with the most elaborate and intricate computerized system of steering, targeting, and firing of this system that we have ever developed. To imagine that the military would allow any president, let alone our government, to give away such a system is far-fetched.

It is easy to talk in metaphorical terms about beating swords into plowshares and the meek inheriting the earth. We live, however, in a world in which estimates for a Star Wars system are well over \$1 trillion. Such an amount would cost every American family over \$15,000 to build. I ask each reader this simple question: is it likely, after this expenditure of money, that we will be any closer to beating the swords into plowshares? Will the Russians allow us to pursue this kind of advantage while they do nothing? Does this not represent simply the latest in a long line of escalations in cost and danger in the nuclear arms race that makes the world less safe and less secure?

What I find in Richard D. Terry's letter (Fall 1985) is argument by name calling. If he has read only my article in the winter 1984 issue, he is probably not aware that for years I have been a most vigorous critic of the Soviet system. I am keenly aware of the illegality and the immorality of the invasion of Afghanistan. Having lived for a year in Poland, I am aware of the brutal repression of the Solidarity movement and of the Polish people. As an observer of the Soviet Union for over twenty-five years, I assert that I am definitely not a "Soviet apologist."

I am, however, deeply concerned about the continuing escalation in the arms race between the two super powers. The last five presidents of the United States — John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter — were able to negotiate important arms control treaties with the Soviet Union. It is only during the last five years of President Reagan's administration that no progress has been made toward any important arms control treaty. I still have hope; but while I wait and hope, the arms escalation is reaching new levels of sophistication and costing far more money.

During the first term of Reagan's administration, \$1.1 trillion went to the Department of Defense, an increase over inflation of 38 percent in defense expenditures. A serious, non-polemical question to ask is, "Do we feel any more safe or secure vis-a-vis the Soviets as a result of these expenditures?"

Several steps could be taken immediately without waiting for further negotiations. The policy of not undercutting the SALT agreements on offensive weapons could be reaffirmed by the administration, instead of discussing as it has recently done whether the unratified but signed SALT II treaty should be abrogated. Reagan and Gorbachev could work to strengthen provisions of the 1972 anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty. Reagan could pick up on Gorbachev's lead in agreeing to a moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons (Gorbachev announced a unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear testing from 6 August 1985 to 1 January 1986) and agreements could be struck at the Geneva Summit concerning an in-principle, interim strategic arms agreement with reductions in both launchers and warheads with details subject to further negotiation at later meetings in Geneva.

It was Reagan himself who during his 1984 State of the Union Address said, "Nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought," for which he received a

sustained ovation. It seems to me that now is the time for the President to demonstrate that his remarks were more than rhetoric.

Terry criticizes my use of the publication *Scientific American* because he says its editors are devoted to anti-defense and political advocacy of unilateral disarmament and therefore is not a reliable source. His source for making this claim is the very conservative publication *Commentary* published by the American Jewish Committee whose articles provide most of the criticism Terry uses in his letter. In the very article he refers to, Jeffrey Marsh's "Politicizing Science" (*Commentary* 77 [May 1984]), Marsh, a journalist who writes about science, says that *Scientific American's* "articles are written by acknowledged leaders of the scientific disciplines" (p. 51). He adds, "Many of the articles are sufficiently authoritative to have given birth to a profitable spinoff activity of individual reprints and topical analogies for high school and college classroom use" (p. 52). *Scientific American* was originally founded as an organ for the American Association for the Advancement of Scientists (AAAS), the nation's most prestigious body of scientists. As Marsh's article indicates, the articles are written by acknowledged leaders in the scientific disciplines. I know of no responsible writer who has ever claimed that *Scientific American* is in favor of "unilateral disarmament." Even though Marsh's article indicates that *Scientific American* reports on issues in ways that Marsh does not like, he still indicates a respect that Terry fails to convey.

In regard to my discussion of nuclear winter, Terry says that "the *Swedish World Health Organization*" predicts such and such. The World Health Organization is an organ of the United Nations and not of Sweden. His key evidence against my discussion of nuclear winter is a 1975 study published by the National Academy of Sciences reporting that a 10,000-megaton blast would still preserve the biosphere for humans. I hope it is not disingenuous to remind him that this ten-year-old study was

completed without the benefit of the concerns expressed by Turco, Toon, Ackerman, Pollack, and Sagan (TTAPS) in their study of the nuclear winter effect (*Science*, vol. 222, 1983). Furthermore, the baseline 5,000-megaton study done by the TTAPS group indicates that the effects of a nuclear exchange would not be limited to the northern hemisphere, as indicated in my article. The Department of Defense and the National Research Council are among those who take the nuclear-winter effect seriously enough to undertake further studies. In addition, the Soviets have conducted their own studies which they claim reaffirm the conclusions of the TTAPS group.

Terry suggests that I equate tons of explosives with numbers of civilians killed. I made no such equation. I *correlated* tons of explosives used with millions of deaths, a correlation that is both interesting and striking. One of the striking things about nuclear weapons is that they do not discriminate between soldiers and civilians. Terry missed the moral point that has to do with the international conventions of warfare.

The point of the Finland example remains still the same. What *does* deter? Is it the perceived intentions of the leaders of a country? Is it the number of weapons? Is it one big weapon? Is it a "credible deterrent"? What counts as being credible? Is it the amount of money spent in research and development?

Terry's comparison of Afghanistan with Finland only obscures the issue. Afghanistan has never had relations with the Soviet Union — let alone good relations and has never attempted to discuss, coordinate, or mediate conflicts between the two countries. I am appalled at the invasion of Afghanistan but I do not see that their having had nuclear weapons as opposed to Finland's not having nuclear weapons would have protected them from such an invasion.

Terry's section, in which he claims that I have no comprehension about science,



can most understandably be read as an ad hominem attack. My point in putting scientists and government officials together is that the government officials are supposed to have classified information available to them and that scientists have technical information from their own disciplines available to them. No one else is supposed to be able to understand the nuclear arms race. I happen to believe that there is so much information available that no one can be excused for not understanding the nuclear arms race.

Furthermore, I have been teaching philosophy of science courses for years that discuss the foundational assumptions underlying all of the sciences and would be happy to compare my comprehension with Terry's.

As I earlier indicated in the comments on the letter to Merrill, there is an enormous difference, not only between weapons and weapons delivery systems, but a difference between those countries who have the *capability* of developing weapons and those countries that actually have developed weapons and weapons delivery systems.

Fifty-four countries in the world have such capability by virtue of possessing nuclear reactors which produce enriched plutonium. Not all of them have made, fortunately, weapons. It is clear that some of them have and may be prepared to use them. Five of these nations, however, are known to have weapons-delivery systems. Although India has exploded a nuclear device, it is not clear that it has a weapons delivery system. Although Pakistan may be working on nuclear devices, it is unclear whether it has a weapons delivery system. Israel and South Africa clearly have the scientific and technical capability of producing weapons and delivering them. Still, the five nations in the world with known nuclear weapons and delivery systems are the USSR, the USA, France, Great Britain, and China.

Also like Merrill, Terry belabors the fact that the United States's bomber force

is made up of mostly B-52s. He fails to mention that 100 of the Soviet bomber planes are propeller aircraft. Furthermore, an additional 130 are Backfire bombers which are medium range bombers and like our FB-111A bombers do not fall under the provisions of the SALT treaty. Incidentally, he failed to mention our FB-111A bombers.

As for the Blackjack bomber, as I have indicated to Merrill, the Defense Intelligence Agency claims that it will be ready possibly by 1988. There are currently no Blackjack bombers in the Soviet bomber force. The range of the Backfire bomber, which Terry lists at 8,900 kilometers is indicated in *Soviet Military Power 1985* put out by the U.S. Defense Department, page 34, as being 5,500 kilometers or 3,400 miles. This is medium-range capability, not the long-range capability Terry indicates.

Terry recklessly claims that the production of the Backfire bomber is illegal. By what international treaty, by what convention, or by what law is it illegal for a country to build new planes? In all of his discussion about the B-52s, he fails to mention the Advanced Technology Bomber (ATB) or "Stealth" that will be coming on line about 1992. In addition, there is no mention of the Advanced Cruise Missiles (ACM) being placed on B-52s. The ACM is an entirely new type of cruise missile being placed on B-52 bombers.

The point of my article was to give a reasonably objective account of the state of the nuclear arms race between the two great super powers. It was not to make debating points for the United States or against the Soviet Union, or for the Soviet Union and against the United States. From the United States's point of view the Soviets are the danger. From the Soviets's point of view, we are clearly the danger. Something must be done to lower the perception of danger on both sides.

Terry goes on to say that the United States has never attacked or started a war by surprise. I begin to wonder what kind of historian Terry is. Did we attack in

Grenada? Was that a surprise to Grenada? Did we attack anything in Vietnam?

Much of Terry's material in this letter comes from Edward Pipes's articles in *Commentary*. Pipes is known as a highly conservative, right-wing Sovietologist. In both the *Commentary* article and his book, Pipes makes the outrageous claim that since 1700 Russia has fought only two defensive wars, the war with Napoleon in 1812 and World War II. These are by no means minor skirmishes since Moscow was burned under Napoleon and the Soviets lost 20 million people in World War II. Terry further repeats that in this century the Soviet Union was attacked only once, by Germany. At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, both Japan and Germany attacked the Soviet Union, and both the United States and Great Britain were involved. I mention this not to defend the Soviet Union but only to show it is not true that the Soviets are always the oppressor and no one else has ever been the aggressor.

Terry claims that the United States has 8,000 fewer weapons and 60 percent less megatonnage than in the 1960s. Both the Soviets and the United States have been phasing out their largest weapons and replacing them with smaller, more accurate and more potent weapons since the 1960s. As a result, the total amount of megatonnage has selectively diminished. Tactical warheads have been taken out of use but the record for strategic warheads is as follows in the last eighteen years: The Soviet Union has gone from 1,861 warheads to its current 9,208 warheads as of July 1985. From 1970 to the present, we have gone from 3,742 strategic warheads to 11,466 warheads (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 4, no. 6). This still gives us a clear-cut advantage in total numbers of warheads.

In addition, it is well-known that our warheads are more accurate than the Soviets. Terry's comparison of just ICBM forces is naive because most of our forces, over 50 percent of them, are SLBM forces and they make up the difference between the intercontinental ballistic missiles in

hardened silos on the ground. To fairly compare forces, one must compare all forces available to the USSR and available to the USA.

As for an ABM defense, Terry claims the Soviets will deploy a full-scale ABM system in ten years. The most recent National Intelligence Estimate published by the CIA this year reports as follows: "Soviets air defenses during the next ten years probably would not be capable of inflicting sufficient losses to prevent large scale damage to the USSR." The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) noted in 1984 to Congress that "Soviet air defenses have not been effective for about two decades." Also in 1984, then "Under-Secretary of Defense Dr. Richard D. DeLauer said the Soviets could "get 10 percent" of attacking US cruise missiles (*Defense Monitor*, vol. 14, no. 6).

Concerning whether the Soviet ABM system is a violation of treaties, let me quote General John A. Wickham, Jr., Army Chief of Staff, who in 1984 said "the Soviets are up-grading and expanding the ballistic missile defense system at Moscow but are thus far remaining within the limits of the treaty." (For further information, please see the Merrill letter above. Also relevant is the discussion of the Krasnoyarsk radar in Central Siberia, which is also discussed in the Merrill response.) At present, the Soviet Union's Galosh system around Moscow has thirty-two missiles. Given the number of MIRVed warheads available on each side, this anti-ABM defense system is inconsequential.

The serious question Terry raises is whether arms control has been a dismal failure. It is true that during the last fifteen years and two SALT agreements the USSR has quadrupled the numbers of weapons it can explode on the United States to 9,208 strategic warheads. In doing so, it has remained within the limits of the SALT treaties. The latest CIA report on Soviet capabilities, however, indicates that "while the Soviets would not necessarily expand their intercontinental

attack forces beyond some 12,000 to 13,000 warheads in the absence of arms control constraints, they clearly have the capability for significant further expansion to between 16,000 to 21,000 deployed warheads by the mid-1990s." Arms control is never perfect but it is the only means we have had to impose some rules of the road on this most dangerous nuclear arms race.

I wish to suggest to Terry and others concerned about these issues an expanded reading list, also, if possible, a trip to the Soviet Union to talk to some "person-in-the-street" Soviets about their feelings on the nuclear arms race. Even though this action will not defuse the arms race, it will aid us in learning to love our enemies as the Savior implored. It will not convince anyone that the Soviet Union is not to be taken seriously, feared, and understood. The dimensions of the enormous, continually escalating nuclear arms race, suggest the wisdom of mutual restraint.

Kent E. Robson  
Logan, Utah

### *A Very Lonely Life*

Thank you for John Bennion's story (Summer 1985) "The Interview." For those of us who are homosexual and committed to the restored gospel, life can be difficult at times.

I have "solved" my problem by living and working in an area far from either an organized ward or temptation. It is a very lonely life, but it beats the alternatives. I was the first member of the Church in my family and joined only after a very strong spiritual witness of the mission of Joseph Smith and the Church he founded. Since my baptism, I have studied everything I could find on the Book of Mormon and concluded that no mortal could have written that book alone. I believe Joseph Smith's account of the matter.

It is a knowledge that just makes things more difficult for me. I carry on in the hope that at some time in the future, not

in this lifetime I suspect, all things will be made clear. In the meantime, I endure.

Raymond M. Beaumont  
Berens River, Manitoba

### *Manipulated Facts*

Richard Terry (Letters, Autumn 1985) pointed out some of the problems with the liberal positions on arms control and relations with the Soviets as exemplified by Kent Robson's "The Magnitude of the Nuclear Threat" (Winter 1984) but, in the process, underscored the deficiencies of the traditional conservative posture. The facts are manipulated (or ignored) by all sides in an attempt to support predetermined conclusions. See, for example, defense analyst Andrew Cockburn's "Graphic Evidence of Nuclear Confusion" in *Columbia Journalism Review*, May-June 1983.

The Pentagon and its conservative allies particularly indulge in such distortions right around budget (or fundraising) time, as Carl Jacobsen, chairman of the National Security Program Committee at the University of Miami's Center for Advanced International Studies has shown (Los Angeles *Daily News*, 20 March 1983).

That the United States has actual superiority (aside from the absurd "overkill" potential of both sides) and a huge lead over the Soviets in virtually every area was noted by none less than General John Vessey.

For a thorough deflating of militarist rhetoric about the relative strengths of our nations see Cockburn, *The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine* (New York: Random House, 1984) and Tom Gervasi, *The Arsenal of Democracy II: American Military Power in the 1980s and the Origins of the New Cold War* (New York: Grove Press, 1981). That Soviet hawks opposed SALT II precisely because it would have prevented them from pulling even with us is never mentioned by their American counterparts. The debate over the Strategic Defense Initiative has made

it clear to many that scientific opinion is not, as hawks suggest, entirely in the corner of Pentagon orthodoxy.

Those who want to keep up with dis- sent from the technical and military point of view should keep informed through the Center for Defense Information (303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20024). It has done a tremendous job in trying to correct the misinformation supplied by well-funded defense contractor and right-wing lobbies.

To a critical extent, the debate between liberals and conservatives is dangerously irrelevant because of the erroneous assumptions made about U.S. strategy. Sanity is gradually entering the discussion through the growing "military reform" movement best described in James Fallows, *National Defense* (New York: Random House, 1982). See also the introduction in "Winds of Reform," *Time*, 7 March 1983, with analysis of Pentagon purchasing in *Washington Monthly*, April 1982.

Scott S. Smith  
Thousand Oaks, California

### *Ultimate Patriarch*

When George A. Smith died, the widowed Bathsheba W. Smith sent for their eight-year-old granddaughter, Alice, to keep her company. Alice's funeral, like her grandfather's and grandmother's, was held on Temple Square when she died in 1945. The Assembly Hall was filled to capacity as the First Presidency delivered eulogies honoring one of the best-known women in the Mormon world.

Alice Smith Merrill Horne was my grandmother. She lived with us on Twelfth East in Salt Lake City late in her life. She wielded an awesome spiritual influence on the Smiths, Merrills, and Hornes. *She* was the ultimate patriarch of the families. *She* was the one everyone visited to receive important family blessings. The blessings didn't necessarily pertain to illnesses either; in fact, they were rarely of that character.

They were more like patriarchal blessings—blessings sought by family members from the person in the family closest to the Lord. Sometimes Grandmother would initiate the activity by summoning a family member she deemed in need of the laying on of hands.

As a boy I remember walking through the living room of our home and finding Grandmother giving these blessings to whoever happened to be visiting. Although I don't recall it as happening, I wouldn't have been at all surprised to have found her standing over her first cousin, her eyes closed and her hands on his head, blessing George Albert Smith, President of the Church. (He came over for dinner on occasion.)

Some years after Grandmother's death in February 1964 I wrote to Joseph Fielding Smith, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, explaining Grandmother's blessings, and asking, "In your opinion, what is the difference in the efficacy (if any) between her blessings and those of a Priesthood holder?" His hand-written reply: "She had no authority to bless as she had no Priesthood. She did *have* the right to pray and *ask* for blessings" [emphasis his].

Joseph Horne Jeppson  
Woodside, California

### *Irish Understanding*

After returning from speaking at a commemoration of the Easter 1916 Rising in Ireland, I read Claudia Harris's "Making Sense of the Senseless: An Irish Education" (Winter 1984).

I, too, have been to Ireland North and South, and I recently interviewed Douglas Hurd, then British Secretary for Northern Ireland. While I agree with Harris that one can come to understand why people act the way they do, I would not agree that there are no villains in Northern Ireland. Belfast city councilor George Seawright and right-hand man of the leading Unionist

politician, Rev. Ian Paisley, was quoted twice as saying on 12 August 1984, "All Catholics and their priests should be incinerated." The militant Protestant Orange Order, which has so controlled events in the North, is similar to the Ku Klux Klan, with the violent "racism" directed at Irish Catholics. Anyone who had a glimpse of the 800 years of British misrule through Leon Uris's *Trinity* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976) certainly understands why the English appear to be the serpents yet to be driven from the island.

I would recommend the following books for further reading:

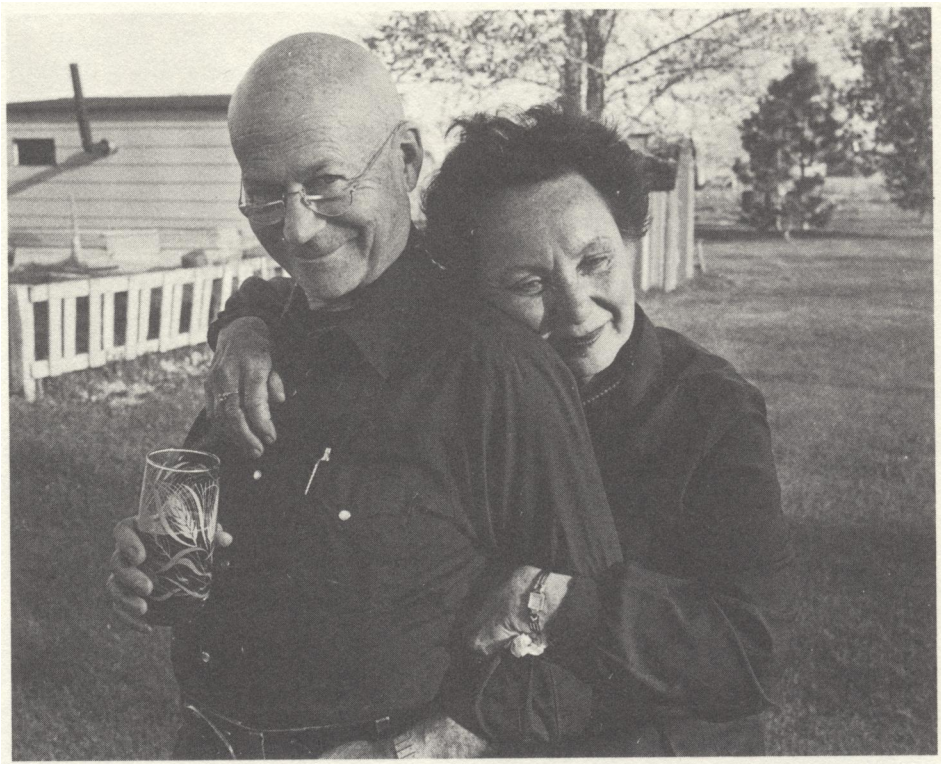
Liz Curtis, *Ireland: The Propaganda War* (1984), London: Pluto Press, \$8.25, available from Midnight Special, 1350 Santa Monica Mall, Santa Monica, CA 90401. It documents why the British people have no idea what is really happening in the Six Counties. American information

on the subject generally derives from these censored English sources.

Kevin Kelley, *The Longest War* (1982), Lawrence Hill & Co., 520 Riverside Avenue, Westport, Conn., 06880, \$9.95. It is the definitive work on the subject, perhaps supplemented by Sean MacStiofain, *Revolutionary in Ireland* (1975), Fianna Eireann, 44 Monterrey Blvd., San Francisco, CA 94131, \$7.95.

Now that the British and Northern Protestants have managed to enflame Irish patriotism, the IRA will not end its struggle until occupied Ireland is free, a goal that now seems within reach since English public opinion has shifted to favor the reunification of Ireland. All arguments against reunification have been answered, and it is the only way to a just and lasting peace.

Scott Smith  
Thousand Oaks, California





# An Echo from the Foothills: To Marshal the Forces of Reason

*L. Jackson Newell*

*I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal  
hostility against every form of tyranny  
over the mind of man.*

— Thomas Jefferson  
*Letter to Benjamin Rush, 1800*

I offer here a personal response to the increasingly stern demands for conformity and the growing number of disciplinary actions that are being voiced and carried out by our Mormon leadership. Obedience, they frequently admonish us, is the first law of the Church. Their concern, it seems, is that Latter-day Saints are being alienated or disillusioned by the surfacing of new primary documents from the early days of the movement, by the carefully researched histories being written each year by professional historians both within and without the fold, and by the well-financed and sophisticated attacks of anti-Mormons who seek to undermine the foundations of the Church and destroy the faith of its members. My concern is that their response to these conditions, which this essay will examine, itself looms as a grave threat to our traditions, our values, and our doctrines. I am being asked to substantially alter what I believe, no cause for notice perhaps, except that it would involve diminishing my personal relationship with God, my faith in the essential goodness of humankind, and my trust in free institutions. These values I am not prepared to surrender.

I should first note that I joined the LDS Church twenty-three years ago as a young scholar — impressed by a Mormon friend's obvious comfort with the

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belief that human and divine knowledge are a compatible whole, and inspired by the robust confidence of a Mormon apostle who frequently and forthrightly proclaimed the importance to Latter-day Saints of what he called freedom of the mind. “We must preserve it in the Church and in America and resist all efforts of earnest men to suppress it,” he said, “for when it is suppressed, we might lose the liberties vouchsafed to us in the Constitution of the United States.” He also warned:

There are forces at work in our society today which degrade an intellectual quest for knowledge. These forces are nothing new. They have always been powerful. They are anti-intellectual. . . . The Know-Nothings of the last century in this country could be cited as one example. Germany in the thirties saw the burning of books . . . as part of the tragedy of Hitlerism.

This apostle called upon members to “exercise your God-given right to think through every proposition that is submitted to you and be unafraid to express your opinions, with proper respect for those to whom you talk and proper acknowledgment of your own shortcomings” (Brown 1969).

I have cited these words of President Hugh B. Brown before. They matter greatly to me. As I approached baptism, I studied and believed, and I identified with Elder Brown’s approach to the faith, feeling confident I would never be trapped by demands for blind obedience. These concepts remain at the center of my religious life. Whether or not they are still a part of official belief, they are an inseparable part of my own.

President Gordon B. Hinckley’s recent affirmation that “Fundamental to our theology is belief in individual freedom of inquiry, thought, and expression” is a notable exception (Hinckley 1985). But taken in the context of these five contemporaneous statements and actions by other Church leaders, his words appear almost sentimental:

The rewriting and refilming of Elder Ronald Poelman’s October 1984 Conference address, originally a rare and inspiring defense of free agency, so that it became yet another cry for obedience. His text was not edited — his ideas were turned inside out (Fletcher 1985).

Carlisle Hunsaker’s removal from the University of Utah’s LDS Institute of Religion faculty at the end of the 1985 school year, apparently for writing prize-winning essays for *DIALOGUE* and *Sunstone*, without being accorded the right to defend his actions or face those who made the decision to force him out.

Lifelong members Valeen Avery and Linda Newell being prohibited in June 1985 from speaking within the Church about the fruits of their nine-year research project on Emma Smith, without being notified, given reasons, or provided a chance to defend their research before the decision had been implemented.

Elder Dallin Oaks’s 16 August 1985 speech at BYU in which he states that Mormons “persistently disdain the comfortable fraternity of ecumenical Christianity,” that “evil speaking of the Lord’s anointed is in a class by itself,” be they general or local, and that “it does not matter that the criticism is true” (Oaks 1985).

Stanley Larson’s forced resignation from the LDS Church Translation Department in September 1985, without notice, as a result of a scholarly paper he wrote which examines the relationship between the Book of Mormon and various biblical translations.

For different reasons, each of these events struck close to me and to what I believe. Elder Poelman's original address was the most inspiring I had heard in conference in years, an expression of trust in members' ability to act from their own understanding of gospel principles, an open honoring of free agency. I know firsthand Carlisle's unique ability to work with LDS college students, because his students were often my students at a different hour of the day. I watched Linda and Val struggle mightily to be fair and balanced in their treatment of all the major actors in the Emma biography, and I share my children's bewilderment in seeing their mother disciplined for acting on two of the most hallowed values taught both at home and at church — honesty and fairness. Finally, as one whose profession it is to generate, protect, and disseminate human knowledge and to safeguard the healthy, systematic skepticism by which this knowledge is refined, I am shocked by recent attacks on that knowledge and on the principles of free inquiry and free expression on which it is based.

After further reflection, however, I do agree wholly with one of the points enunciated by Elder Oaks. We should not criticize Church authorities. Personal attacks always diminish the dignity of individual and community life and are never appropriate in government, business, or religion. On the other hand, the respectful and constructive criticism of a leader's ideas or judgments is not only acceptable but necessary for healthy organizational life. In this spirit I will proceed to examine the implications of the increasing calls from LDS leaders for members to follow their counsel, and the escalating actions they are taking against scholars and scholarship.

Looking back at the five recent events that have so affected me and some people I care very much about, I feel compelled to advance a proposal. It is this: That a few representatives of the scholarly community meet in good faith for a half-day retreat with an equal number of Church leaders to discuss the principles that underpin current tensions. If successful in even a modest degree, we might succeed in breaking the long impasse that saps, and has sapped, so much good will, time, and energy from all concerned. The agenda for such a retreat might include the possible establishment of avenues for resolving issues that continue to arise as the growing secular knowledge of our history encounters some of the traditional claims of our religion. The growing subscribership of *DIALOGUE* and burgeoning attendance at B. H. Roberts Society and Sunstone Symposium meetings provide ample evidence that a Mormon constituency exists that would benefit by opportunities to discuss with Church leaders means appropriate to resolve the competing claims of reason and faith.

This is a significant community of Latter-day Saints who cherish both their faith and their scholarly integrity — and have proven remarkably tenacious in holding on to both, even when some forces within the Church seem determined to force them to choose between intellectual honesty and institutional loyalty. This proposal, of course, can only work if the parties involved accept each other as people of high principle and good intent. I think, and I fervently hope, that this is entirely possible. Until it happens, however, the complex issue of obedience will continue to occupy a prominent place in the minds of many Mormons.

What then are the implications of these recent events for obedience — which is commonly defined as “the quality of being submissive to control.” Do Hunsaker, Newell, and Avery accept punishment without due process and neither object nor expect redress? Do I contribute to unfortunate tensions with others in the family of Judeo-Christian religions and other world religions by not expressing my own very positive view of ecumenical cooperation? Do we all passively note the increasing references to obedience as the first commandment, and the passing of free agency as a tangible LDS belief, without remembering the beauty of Matthew 22:36–40, or the savage rationalizations and emotions that led to Dachau, My Lai, or Mountain Meadows? The obedience path is one which has a ditch on either side, and I am convinced that present fears of the disorder on the one side are pushing us toward the abyss on the other.

The abyss is described by Stanley Milgram in his 1974 book, *Obedience to Authority*, which reports his extensive work on the destructive consequences of blind obedience — of being submissive to control from others. In a famous series of laboratory experiments begun at Yale University and repeated at different sites around the world, student assistants were instructed by university researchers to administer electric shocks to fellow students who were participating in a study to determine the effect of negative feedback on learning. The more mistakes the learner made, the higher the intensity of the charge sent by the student behind the one-way glass. As the learners writhed increasingly from the pain being inflicted upon them when they made mistakes, some of the student assistants said they did not want to hurt the subjects and wished to stop. Their consciences were speaking to them. When reassured by the white-jacketed scholars that this was an important experiment that had to be carried on to conclusion and that many other people had been willing to carry through with these same responsibilities in previous runs of the experiment, most of the students proceeded to inflict well-nigh unbearable suffering, even when those behind the glass begged and pleaded to be unwired and one subject screamed, “I’ve got a weak heart!”, then slumped in his chair. In truth, the electric shocks were not actually being sent; the recipients were all actors. The real subjects in the study were the student assistants themselves. Milgram was trying to determine the limits of obedience and the vulnerability of personal conscience when *authority* and *precedent* press hard against it. He was sobered by what he found. A pre-experiment prediction was that not even one in a hundred assistants would go to the limit of the electronic equipment. In reality, nearly two-thirds of them did.

Why did students lack the courage to say no to their superiors? The fact that the experiment was described to them as being highly important, the assurances that others had obediently carried these responsibilities through in the past, and the air of confidence shown by the authorities, all contributed to the successful suppression of personal judgment and the courage to act on it. When interviewed following the experiments, many of the students said they felt sure what they were doing was wrong, but their belief that they were part of something larger, and the authorities’ calm assurances, led them to surrender the claims of their own conscience.

People of any age, but especially the young, are susceptible to control by others. This is particularly true among Mormons, precisely because of our strong emphasis on respecting those in authority. Even those who believe that obedience to religious authorities can never be excessive must recognize that a blindly obedient mentality nurtured within a religious context can lead to extreme vulnerability outside it. The scale of scams and success of swindlers in Utah is one evidence that Mormons too easily defer judgment to others if, for whatever reason, they decide to trust them. An obedient people is a people easily led — by whoever comes along.

The analogy of the *fasces* — the bundle of flimsy sticks bound tightly with cords to form a mighty instrument — is often used to justify organizational discipline and obedience to a single person or elite. It illustrates the strength of directed thought and action, yet despite the fact that this image appeared on the American dime for decades, we must remember that it was the symbol from which the fascists (or Nazis) took their name. Willingness to blindly accept orders from other persons involves the transfer of control from inside the self to an external locus. The individual feels an increasing sense of duty to the leaders but *loses* a sense of responsibility for his or her own actions and their consequences, thus producing the “crimes of obedience” that have ravaged virtually all totalitarian societies and from which no society or group can claim immunity.

Free societies, however, are based on the ideal that each individual is an irreducible, independent moral agent. Those who are able to think for themselves, are not only essential to the existence of free institutions but also fully prepared to enjoy and benefit from the blessings of life itself. For them, obedience is to principles, not persons; an informed conscience is their guide. General Alexander W. Doniphan possessed the unusual courage to resist a written military order, and Joseph Smith was spared execution on the morning of 1 November 1838 (HC 3:190–99). We honor Doniphan for *disobeying* his military superior; his ultimate loyalty was to principle.

The irony today, regarding the obedience issue within the LDS Church, is that distinctions are rarely made between loyalty to leaders and loyalty to principle. It is simply assumed that they are one and the same. Yet this union would require a claim of infallibility, not only for the president of the Mormon Church but for the entire priesthood. Omni-infallibility. Since such a claim has never been made and scriptures clearly warn us about the dangers of exercising unrighteous dominion (D&C 121:39), we inevitably face the task of making distinctions about obedience. My ultimate loyalty may be to God, but how do I know God’s will? Through the study of scripture? By listening to Church leaders? By applying gospel principles? Or, by sensing the still small voice? These sources of understanding are not always consistent; but even if they were, they could not fully anticipate or inform every action or judgment I must make. New situations constantly confront me; only an enlightened and prayerful conscience can blend divine intent with personal knowledge to guide my decisions. No one has the wisdom or right to do this for me.

Gospel principles and the Church are not synonymous. But one reason these concepts have become so blurred is that we seem to be making obedience

to Church into a *terminal* principle, rather than an *instrumental* one. It has become an end in itself. Therein lies the confusion about the first commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. 22:37-40). Loyalty to God and love of neighbor are the ends. Obedience to enduring principles is a means. Once obedience itself becomes an end, however, the believer no longer takes full responsibility for the consequences of his or her own actions. If things go awry, the sin be on someone else's head. Never mind those sinned against. Fortunately, "love thy neighbor as thyself," the ultimate principle, dams this stream of faulty reasoning.

*The True Believer* (1964), Eric Hoffer's insightful analysis of mass movements during and after World War II, suggests that unity and obedience are indeed necessary. Once they gather momentum, however, they are always risky. People must be galvanized by certain values and directed toward certain ends if anything is to be done for the common good. In democracies, this is usually accomplished with a light hand. But Churchill created a powerful mass movement in England, as did Roosevelt in America, to suppress the Nazi menace. And in the same era, Gandhi led a mass movement in Indian to free his country of its English overlords.

Mass movements by their nature cause individuals to suspend their own judgment and accept the discipline of trusted leaders to accomplish a task that is considered necessary for the survival of hallowed values or the society itself. The towering leaders of liberating mass movements such as Lincoln, Gandhi, and perhaps even Brigham Young, are generally awed by what they create and gravely fearful of its consequences for ill, as well as for good. Thus, we fully appreciate the Gettysburg Address only after we understand Lincoln's relief (expressed in the address) from the immense burden he bore for so long — the possibility that the excesses and horrors of the Civil War might have been in vain. His astonishingly quick forgiveness of Southern leaders was not for their benefit alone. He knew the consequences for the North, and for the Union as a whole, of letting the emotions and discipline of the crisis remain unchecked. Likewise, Gandhi's abhorrence of violence in the struggle for Indian independence and his preoccupation with the danger that loomed from the unleashing of Moslem and Hindu power and emotions arose from his knowledge that these forces might be turned (as they eventually were) into a mindless and lethal clash between Moslems and Hindus after the British pulled out.

Beneficial mass movements, according to Hoffer, generate the same assaults on human dignity as bad ones. The only difference is that good ones are necessary evils to suppress forces that are even worse. Good ones, therefore, have *specific purposes* and are *stopped abruptly* when the crises that called them forth pass. The longer the crisis, however, the greater the risk that the movement will turn inward upon itself. China's Cultural Revolution which ended a decade ago provides dramatic evidence. Mao's idea of a "perpetual revolu-



tion” became an exercise in collective suicide. The longer obedience is required, the more it must be checked by reason, considered in open discussion, and tested against the conscience of individuals. With no obedience, social life is impossible and anarchy prevails. With too much of it, emotions trammel reason and we simply substitute organized oppression for random violence.

Today in the Mormon Church we are witnessing a well-intentioned response to a perceived threat which, nonetheless, is doing violence to the freedom, dignity, and rights of members. The seeming threat is to the historical and spiritual foundations of the faith, the authenticity of traditional accounts of Joseph’s visions, and the origins of the Book of Mormon. In response, LDS leaders are calling for a closing of ranks to limit the flow of disturbing information and to inoculate members against the spreading dis-ease. It is important for us to consider, however, the consequences of creating the kind of movement that is now afoot.

Perhaps it would be well at this point to examine what *is* afoot. We are witnessing disturbing efforts to undermine confidence in virtually all unofficial sources of understanding about our past — the work of professional historians, intellectuals in general, the free press, the free discussion of ideas, and free access to information. For a people who have been taught that the Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of the United States are inspired documents, these are astonishing developments. And for members who hallow the Thirteenth Article of Faith, who have been urged to read “out of the best books” of our civilization, and who have made Doctrine and Covenants 88:118 their own, this is nothing less than setting one of our great traditions at war with the other.

The ecclesiastical way and the critical (or rational) way to understanding, to draw two notions from Duncan Howlett’s (1980) recent treatise on the history of religion, have grown side by side in western civilization for over 2,500 years. When left to themselves, they balance and refine each other. Over the centuries, prophecies have been tested against reason and experience to render at least some religious error innocuous. Similarly, we know the perils of “the full mind and the empty heart,” thanks to the insight of prophets both modern and ancient, just as they have warned us about uncritically accepting the wisdom of the wise.

It is precisely this long and delicate tradition of complementarity between the ecclesiastical way and the rational way to knowledge that is now threatened. When truth is defined simply as what the leaders say it is, when membership requires the sublimation of personal moral judgment, when freedom within the fold is achieved by choosing silence rather than speech, and when facts are not valid until endorsed by those in authority — and each of these statements is perilously close to reality — then I believe the hour is late. It is time that we all muster the courage, leaders and members together, to pursue in good faith open and earnest discussions concerning the relationships we share.

Until we do this, we will continue to witness a flight from the reasonable middle ground where belief flourishes in open country, and doubt and commit-

ment exist comfortably on the same landscape. Increasingly, current policies attempt to shepherd the faithful into a fortress where they are constantly assured of the inspiration of their leaders and protected from the siege. Those who harbor legitimate doubts, be they committed or not, or those who insist upon their right to exercise independent moral judgment, or those who refuse to cast secular knowledge aside, are made to feel unworthy or unwelcome. Presumably to protect those inside the keep, some leaders seem determined to drive these members away or isolate them — by instructing the orthodox to discount the faith or suspect the motives of anyone whose ideas differ from their own. This is a prescription for discord, poison in the community well. We are now being warned to guard against “the unrighteous use of truth” — a principle that enables us to dismiss any information we don’t like and criticize others for not doing likewise. For example, BYU students and faculty were recently instructed by a member of the Quorum of the Twelve that if “truth is used by anyone in any degree of unrighteousness, others here in the spirit of *unity* must act, bearing a responsibility *to turn* and to help enlarge that person’s perspective” (Nelson 1985; italics in original). Given this roving grass-roots commission to correct others’ beliefs and actions, how long will this peer-administered discipline remain as civil discussion among colleagues rather than oppressive intimidation by those who feel they have been commissioned to ensure orthodoxy?

These are the perils over which Lincoln and Gandhi agonized, and the dangers averted through much of our Church history by greater tolerance for diversity of opinion and action within the leadership and among the membership. In religion as in politics I share the faith of Jefferson, who said in his First Inaugural Address, “Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”

The points of view I have expressed here are not new. I have drawn from Church doctrine and Church history, and I have tapped some of the classic works of contemporary scholarship. From these sources I have simply re-assembled a timeless argument which connects the dignity of human life with respect for individuals and their right to think and act from an informed, reflective, and even prayerful conscience. As a young convert to the Church I heard these ideas beautifully proclaimed from the Mormon mountaintop. Now, in my middle years, I echo them from the foothills. Like the echo, I reflect what I have heard. I am no longer confident that anyone is listening up there, but that’s not why I speak. I speak simply because I must.

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## A 1945 Perspective

*This 1945 ward teachers' message on the obedience apparently required of Church members, the response it sparked from a concerned Salt Lake City Unitarian minister, and the response of Church President George Albert Smith to both documents seem appropriate accompaniments to the Newell essay. Typographical errors have been corrected in brackets. All italics appear as underlining in the original. The Cope and Smith letters are in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah — the J. Raymond Cope Collection (Association no. 691) and the George A. Smith Papers (Manuscript no. 36, Box 63-8A), respectively.*

### WARD TEACHERS' MESSAGE FOR JUNE, 1945

#### "SUSTAINING THE GENERAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CHURCH"

**N**o Latter-day Saint is compelled to sustain the General Authorities of the Church. When given the opportunity to vote on the proposition in any of the several conferences held throughout the Church, he may indicate his willingness to sustain them by raising his right hand; he may manifest his opposition in like manner; or he may ignore the opportunity entirely. There is no element of coercion or force in this or any other Church procedure.

However, there is the principle of honor involved in the member's choice. When a person raises his hand to sustain Church leaders as "prophets, seers, and revelators," it is the same as a promise and a covenant to follow their leadership and to abide by their counsel as the living oracles of God. Consequently, any subsequent act or word of mouth which is at variance with the will of the Lord as taught by the leaders of the Church places the sincerity of such person in serious doubt. One could scarcely have claim upon complete integrity, if he raises his hand to sustain the Authorities of the Church and then proceeds in opposition to their counsel.

Any Latter-day Saint who denounces or opposes, whether actively or otherwise, any plan or doctrine advocated by the “prophets, seers, and revelators” of the Church is cultivating the spirit of apostasy. One cannot speak evil of the Lord’s anointed and retain the Holy Spirit in his heart.

It should be remembered that Lucifer has a very cunning way of convincing unsuspecting souls that the General Authorities of the Church are as likely to be wrong as they are to be right. This sort of game is Satan’s favorite pastime, and he has practiced it on believing souls since Adam. He wins a great victory when he can get members of the Church to speak out against their leaders and to “do their own thinking.” He specializes in suggesting that our leaders are in error while he plays the blinding rays of apostasy in the eyes of those whom he thus beguiles. What cunning! And to think that some of our members are deceived by this trickery.

The following words of the Prophet Joseph Smith should be memorized by every Latter-day Saint and repeated often enough to insure their never being forgotten:

I will give you one of the Keys of the mysteries of the Kingdom. It is an eternal principle, that has existed with God from all eternity: That man who rises up to condemn others, finding fault with the Church, saying that they are out of the way, while he himself is righteous, then know assuredly, that that man is in the high road to apostasy; and if he does not repent, will apostatize, as God lives (*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, pp. 156–57).

When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan — it is God’s plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy. God works in no other way. To think otherwise, without immediate repentance, may cost one his faith, may destroy his testimony, and leave him a stranger to the kingdom of God.

— *Improvement Era*, June 1945, p. 354.

### LETTER OF REVEREND J. RAYMOND COPE

FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY  
13TH EAST AT SIXTH SOUTH STREET  
SALT LAKE CITY 2, UTAH

J. RAYMOND COPE, PH.D.  
MINISTER

November 16, 1945

President George Albert Smith  
Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S.,  
Office of the President,  
Salt Lake City.

Dear President Smith:

It has been one of the great privilege[s] of my life to have lived for the past four years in Salt Lake City, and to have become personally acquainted with many of the leaders of the L.D.S. Church. From them I have learned many

things, and the spirit of friendliness which is found in our relationships is a source of unending delight to me. It is because I have found you and the other leaders so very charitable and sympathetic that I make so bold as to write you this letter.

May I first assure you of my good will; that there is not one note of hostility in attitude. I am confident that you will understand why I write, and that we have a common interest in the problem.

Last June there was delivered to my door a short religious editorial, prepared by one of your leaders, entitled "Sustaining the General Authorities of the Church." Its message amazed me a great deal, and with the passing of weeks my distur[b]ance became very acute. It might have passed, except that several members of your Church have come to me to discuss the subject. The most recent was a prominent doctor, who, because of this tract, he affirms, is losing [sic] his religious faith. He is a large man, and I became impressed with his deep sincerity as he broke down and wept like a boy. I am convinced that he is undergoing a very dangerous experience.

Permit me to quote the passages which seem to be brought most in question:

"He (Lucifer) wins a great victory when he can get members of the Church to speak against their leaders and to 'do their own thinking[.]'"

"When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan — it is God's plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy. . . ."

I do not know who is responsible for this statement, but I am sure it is doing inestimable harm to many who have no other reason to question the integrity of the Church leaders. Many people are suffering because of this. My reply to each of those who have spoken to me is "please do not become disturbed [sic], for this cannot be the position of the true leaders. And, from my knowledge of the early writings of your leaders, I must assume this to be non-representative [sic]."

Several years ago, when I first became acquainted with the L.D.S. Church, I read extensively in the texts, and there are many passages which may be used to give a better expression to the vision and genius of your Faith. I cite but one, although there are many others which are familiar to you.

Quoting from the *Discourses of Brigham Young*, as Selected and Arranged by John A. Widtsoe, in the Chapter on "The Priesthood":

"I am more afraid that this people have so much confidence in their leaders that they will not inquire for themselves of God whether they are led by him. I am fearful that they settle down in a state of blind self-security, trusting their eternal destiny in the hands of their leaders with a reckless confidence that in itself would thwa[r]t the purposes of God in their salvation, and weaken that influence they could give their leaders, did they know for themselves, by the revelations of Jesus, that they are led in the right way. Let every man and woman know, by the whisperings of the Spirit of God to themselves, whether their leaders are walking in the path the Lord dictates, or not."

This quotation from Brigham Young is a wonderful passage, and it has been on the basis of such freedom that persons like myself have grown to have

a deep feeling of kinship with the L.D.S. Church. It is in keeping with the high traditions of my Unitarian background that the gains made by my fellow workers are seen as gains for us all. It is a source of regret to all of us when one stone is discovered to bar the way to deeper faith within any soul.

With an assurance of my continued good-will and friendliness,

Most cordially yours,  
J. Raymond Cope. [typed]

*LETTER OF PRESIDENT GEORGE ALBERT SMITH*

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS  
OFFICE OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

December 7, 1945

Dr. J. Raymond Cope  
First Unitarian Society  
13th East at 6th South Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah

My dear Dr. Cope:

I have read with interest and deep concern your letter of November 16, 1945, in which you make special comment on "a short religious editorial prepared by one of your (our) leaders entitled "Sustaining the General Authorities of the Church' ". You say that you read the message with amazement, and that you have since been disturbed because of its effect upon members of the Church.

I am gratified with the spirit of friendliness that pervades your letter, and thank you for having taken the time to write to me.

The leaflet to which you refer, and from which you quote in your letter, was not "prepared" by "one of our leaders." However, one or more of them inadvertently permitted the paragraph to pass uncensored. By their so doing, not a few members of the Church have been upset in their feelings, and General Authorities have been embarrassed.

I am pleased to assure you that you are right in your attitude that the passage quoted *does not express* the true position of the Church. Even to imply that members of the Church are not to do their own thinking is grossly to misrepresent the true ideal of the Church, which is that *every individual must obtain for himself a testimony of the truth of the Gospel*, must, through the redemption of Jesus Christ, *work out his own salvation*, and is *personally responsible to His Maker for his individual acts*. The Lord Himself does not attempt coercion in His desire and effort to give peace and salvation to His children. He gives the principles of life and true progress, but leaves every person free to choose or to reject His teachings. This plan the Authorities of the Church try to follow.

The Prophet Joseph Smith once said: "I want liberty of thinking and believing as I please." This liberty he and his successors in the leadership of the Church have granted to every other member thereof.

On one occasion in answer to the question by a prominent visitor how he governed his people, the Prophet answered: "I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves."

Again, as recorded in the History of the Church (Volume 5, page 498 [499]) Joseph Smith said further: "If I esteem mankind to be in error, shall I bear them down? No. I will lift them up, and in their own way too, if I cannot persuade them my way is better; and *I will not seek to compel any man to believe as I do, only by the force of reasoning*, for truth will cut its own way."

I cite these few quotations, from many that might be given, merely to confirm your good and true opinion that the Church gives to every man his free agency, and admonishes him always to use the reason and good judgment with which God has blessed him.

In the advocacy of this principle leaders of the Church not only join congregations in singing but quote frequently the following:

"Know this, that every soul is free  
To choose his life and what he'll be,  
For this eternal truth is given  
That God will force no man to heaven."

Again I thank you for your manifest friendliness and for your expressed willingness to cooperate in every way to establish good will and harmony among the people with whom we are jointly laboring to bring brotherhood and tolerance.

Faithfully yours,

Geo. Albert Smith [signed]



# Rebaptism: A Manual

*Michael Hicks*

1

When the first letter comes,  
a quiet verdict,  
water sheds its sense:  
coastlines stiffen,  
rivers spill off the map.  
The seashell goes dumb.  
(You hold her mouth to your ear  
and wait for the name of the sea.)

In dreams you gather shells by proud prophets  
who tell all day on the bald shore:  
the wine-dark sea is the blood of their parable.

Wait for your name,  
while salt breaks against the gulls,  
shells scatter in the black scroll of surf.

2

Moons rise and drop.  
A fresh letter comes and the strength of water resumes.  
The shores unflex,  
shells chant all day against the cliffs  
where the pores of earth break open  
for all the labor of water over stone,  
her tight sinews of brooks  
binding sand to sand.

For now you may trust the water's work,  
her leisure, and her healing spray.  
Search the long black waves,  
watch the clouds against the cliff (like men's hands).  
Be washed by a clean sleep  
and at dawn arise to  
the fragile diction of rain.

## Utah's Ethnic Legacy

*Helen Papanikolas*

**A**s I look at you graduates, I recognize in your faces, full-blown in some, slight in others, the ethnic people of your past. Among you sit men and women whose sorrowing ancestors were summarily sent to federal reservations when settlers arrived. Those settlers ploughed the land on which for centuries your people had picked berries, gathered nuts, and hunted small animals. Perhaps seated here is a descendant of the Paiute leader who told Major John Wesley Powell:

We live among the rocks, and they yield little food and many thorns. When the cold moons come, our children are hungry. . . . We love our country; we know not other lands. [When] the pines sing, we are glad. Our children play in the warm sand; we hear them sing and we are glad. We do not want [others'] good land; we want our rocks, and the great mountains where our fathers lived (Powell 1875, 128–29, 130).

A great number of you, though, are progeny of those celebrated American Mormons and the later-arriving English converts. The English thought themselves superior to the Scandinavians, particularly the Danish, who followed. Their feuds have left a folklore that is the delight of scholars; their cultural clashes were resolved through intermarriages encouraged by leaders of the fledgling Church. Many of you may be descendants of persevering converts from other parts of Europe who were drawn to this new Zion. Some of you may descend from those few blacks, freeborn servants or slaves brought west by unbelievers and by southern converts in the first migrations. Others may come from those blacks recruited years later by the railroads to work as porters and waiters.

Surely several of you can trace your roots to those early Jews who drove precariously loaded wagons to army posts and mining camps. From lowly beginnings, these peddlers became merchants, then industrialists. Their illustrious names have long been associated with Utah's economy.

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*HELEN PAPANIKOLAS is a fellow of the Utah Historical Society and has been writing on ethnic and labor subjects for several decades. This speech was given as a commencement address at the University of Utah, 9 June 1984.*

Perhaps among you are great-great-grandchildren of those Chinese railroad workers who rushed to reach Promontory, Utah, before the Irish laborers arrived from the East. In one day they laid ten miles of track. Maybe you come from the Chinese in the Carbon County coal fields who used no blasting powder but with picks carved mine entrances that were “as beautiful a piece of work as one would want to see” (Reynolds 1948, 37). A few Chinese remained as launderers and restaurant workers and owners. One became a trading post proprietor on the Ute reservation; another, an herbal doctor in Mercur.

Many more of your forefathers were young men from the Balkans, Mediterranean, Middle East, and Japan who began coming to Utah at the turn of the century. They came to supply brawn for rapidly opening mines, mills, and smelters and for railroads, because Mormon leaders counseled their members to stay on the land. During labor wars large numbers of these immigrants were brought in as strikebreakers. They traded the clear air and the sound of sheep and goat bells for the darkness of mines, for the searing heat of smelting furnaces, for the loneliness of isolated railroad gangs.

These newer immigrants, unlike Mormon converts who came to stay, expected to remain in Utah only long enough to help their destitute parents. For mutual aid and protection they settled in neighborhoods known as “towns”: the Greeks in Greek Town, the Italians, Lebanese, South Slavs, and Japanese in their towns. Yet they stayed because in America they were assured of bread to eat. From their native countries they brought brides they had seen only in photographs. Crucifixes, icons, and Buddhist shrines enriched modest homes in which Mormons had once lived. The young wives became matriarchs, raising large families within their towns, fearful of the world beyond and its alien language.

Then the Mexicans came to follow this pattern of immigrant experience. Several of you come from those first Hispanics, who drove covered wagons from southern Colorado and northern New Mexico to teach the Monticello Mormons the nurture of sheep and in time homesteaded there themselves. A professor in the University of Utah Department of Languages, William Gonzales, is the son of those first pioneers; his father will be one hundred years old soon. More of your forebears came later, fleeing the Mexican Revolution to become strikebreakers in the Bingham Canyon Strike of 1912, riding freight cars to find any kind of work, anywhere.

All these ethnic groups — Indians, blacks, immigrants — were separated by their distinctive cultures and languages, but they shared the belief that religion, family, and work constituted the highest good in life. Communal celebrations for marriages, baptisms, or confirmations offered them welcome respite from long hours of toil. Even laborers in Utah could afford to provide the hospitality their ancient traditions demanded.

Still, each incoming immigrant group suffered discrimination. When the Irish fled the potato famine in the 1840s, NINA signs appeared throughout eastern cities: No Irish Need Apply. In Utah, Chinese were chased from the mines by subsequent English-speaking workers. Managers and straw bosses ruled the lives of immigrants and blacks, forcing them to trade at company

stores, arbitrarily hiring and firing in alliance with labor agents, and at first providing no housing. As elsewhere in the United States, Utahns demanded instant Americanization of these laborers, disdaining their ancient languages and cultures.

Perplexed and wary, immigrants pined for their homelands. Yet, when in old age a few returned to their fatherlands to live more easily on their Social Security, they congregated in places like the Astor Hotel Bar in Athens or in ancestral village squares in Italy and spoke with longing of their lost land, America.

These forebears are receding from memory; they are entering the realm of myth. We must not forget them completely, for because of them we are here.

My parents were immigrants from Greece; I lived among ethnic people during my growing-up days in Helper in Carbon County, where whistles of coal mines and the Denver and Rio Grande Western steam engines drowned out the pandemonium of school recess. The first question a new child was asked was not "What's your name?" but "What nationality are you?" On a hillside just beyond town, a large, whitewashed number 57 advertised the Heinz Pickle Company's varieties, but residents maintained it meant the races and nationalities in town. (The Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the Depression days counted only twenty-six.)

The nostalgia, though, is not all pleasant. Memory reminds me that as a child of immigrants I was uncertain, even though I was born in Utah, that I was an American. When schoolmates taunted us immigrant children to "go back where you came from," we answered with anger and impotence, so unsure were we of our birthrights. How distantly strange it seems to me now that children were teased about eating spaghetti or for going to Greek or Japanese school after regular school. Yet that generation of immigrant children, most of whom began school without speaking English, has succeeded far beyond anyone's expectations.

The success of these Balkan, Mediterranean, and Asian immigrants has been unfairly compared with the experience of native Americans, blacks, and Hispanics. Those who wonder why they have not pulled themselves up by those suspect bootstraps are unaware of the historical forces and the circumstances that make such judgments unjustified and incorrect. Balkan and Mediterranean people survived continuous invasions without complete destruction of their cultures because their conquerors were unlettered tribesmen; the Japanese were proud that their country had never known "the shame of foreign rule." In contrast, Indians, blacks, and the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico were crushed by technologically superior invaders, and their ascent from near annihilation continues, unfinished.

Unlike the immigrants with whom they are compared, Indians, blacks, and Hispanics had no doctors, attorneys, editors, or druggists to champion and lead them. Nor did they have long-established ethnic newspapers and institutions like coffee houses and fraternal organizations to disseminate government news, help them with citizenship papers and legal problems, and provide support while they took the rudimentary steps toward Americanization. Decades would

pass before Indians, blacks, and Hispanics would found organizations to aid their people.

Nor in the first twenty-five years of this country, during America's great era of industrialization, did Indians, blacks, or Hispanics have labor agents with the power to represent and ease them into steady work. The Greeks, Italians, Labanese, South Slavs, and Japanese all had such spokesmen.

In all, the indignities and prejudices inflicted on these racial minorities were far more intense than those suffered by the Balkan and Mediterranean people. Historians researching old newspapers regularly find items recounting that Indians, blacks, and Mexicans were replaced on labor gangs by southern European and Middle Eastern immigrants — solely because of race. The roots of discrimination were in color and physiognomy: the darker the skin or the more distinctive the features, the greater the prejudice.

Mexican immigration differed from that of other groups in significant ways. Most immigrants traveled thousands of miles to Utah, to terrain and weather often far different from that of their native countries. Once in Utah, they were not only physically but psychically cut off from their homelands; they had little choice but to adapt. Mexicans, though, made their way north through arid land of sparse vegetation, a geographical continuation of their own country. Until the treaty of 1848, it had been Mexican territory. The need to modify the old culture with the new was less urgent.

More important, Mexican immigration has never eased. Immigrants from southern Europe, the Middle East, and Japan came mainly during one major era: the first two decades of this century. These people and their progeny passed once and for all through the three-generation immigration experience: the first generation's accommodation to America for survival, the second generation's ambivalence toward its parents' and American cultures, and the third generation's complete assimilation. For Mexicans, however, the immigration experience has never finished. Although Hispanics continually enter the middle class to become educators, small businessmen, building subcontractors, and civil servants, the constant arrival of poor Mexicans with little education gives the erroneous notion that Hispanics are unprogressive and contribute little to the state. Facts contradict this impression; as Utah's largest minority, Hispanics did and do most of the industrial work begun by earlier immigrants. The newest immigrants will always perform the menial labor for the nation. In Utah the newly arrived Mexicans and the refugees of the Viet Nam War join native Americans and blacks in this work. Of the Southeast Asians, the Vietnamese have a decided advantage because of the influence their former rulers' Western culture had upon their own.

Yet the immense amount of industrial labor that gave millions of immigrants a foothold in America is gone. In Utah the railroads, mills, and smelters have already been built. In mines, mammoth cutting machines demolish within minutes veins of coal and ore that would have taken hundreds of men with picks and shovels days to dig out. In this age of the machine, education is the key to survival, and it is the right of every child. That children, many of



them immigrants, are lost in our educational system to wander, barely literate, their potential for a balanced life blighted, is a tragedy.

Those well-fed and comfortable in their identities find it difficult to understand the souls of Indian, black, Mexican, and Southeast Asian children. These children are forever immigrants, even those whose ancestors were born in this land. How easy to speak of bootstraps and of education available to all and to condemn dropouts and the young unemployed. Future educators will be teaching minority children; all of us will have contact with them. How will we approach them? Others standing here have spoken of Plato and Aristotle's view that education is more than a useful function; it is a liberating force. An educated person is liberated from his limitations and irrationality. Can we expect children to be liberated by education when we are not?

Paternalism — thinking we know what is best for others — is disguised prejudice, as is accepting preconceived ideas about people. The paternalism foisted on immigrants in mining and smelting camps is in the past; a mine manager today would not dare shut off electricity in company houses because the immigrants, in his opinion, did not need or deserve it. Paternalism today is more subtle. Some teachers think of minority children as intellectually or culturally inferior and treat them with condescension. Minority groups are often not invited to help make decisions that affect them. Paternalism did not work in industry; it does not work in education; it is unworthy.

We must keep searching for the best techniques to educate our children. Future educators must be given more than a smattering of instruction in how to teach children from many cultures. Computers and every other teaching aid must be brought into this crusade. Money spent for these programs will surely help stave future dependency on government.

This monumental task is extremely complex. Many parents' most anxious, daily concern is providing food and shelter for their children, not overseeing their school attendance. Other parents come from a cultural background that is highly permissive toward children. They must be taught the worth of education.

Education is difficult for children not knowing English. Native language is usually lost in the Americanization of immigrants by the third generation. But because Mexicans continually arrive, because Indians live mainly on reservations, and because Southeast Asians have been here such a short time, language will remain of paramount concern in the education of these minority students.

Bilingual education is experimental in Utah. The program began ten years ago, but a generation must pass before the results can be seen. Test scores among sixth graders in the Salt Lake City schools are encouraging, and Indian students in Roosevelt, Uintah County, appear to be responding to a bilingual program. The federal government has been lax in fulfilling treaties with Indian nations to provide education for their children. The Indians themselves are forcing the government to face this responsibility. Still, generations of Indian children are poorly educated, becoming aimless, unemployed young people, and little has been done to alleviate their despair. This must stop.



Although we all have an obligation to the children of our country, you ethnic graduates have a double duty. On your way to reaching your highest potential, may you not forget your people. They need you. Colleges founded with the sweat and blood of black educators are struggling to survive today because their graduates are not supporting them financially. Ethnic students who actively work for their rights during college days often lose interest in scholarship programs for those climbing up behind them. Often in their quest for material goods and what they perceive as social acceptance, they turn from their culture. They are wrong. Samuel Ramos, the Mexican philosopher, said culture is not like the brand of a hat. America has room for all cultures. Those cultures made America. Each immigrant and native people has given new vitality to this country. Culture is our soul.

Only recently have we Utahns acknowledged the importance and richness of culture. Until World War II people who thought of themselves as true Americans viewed those unlike themselves as strange and inferior. After the war, soldiers brought home foreign brides, often from enemy countries. The federal government sent vast amounts of economic aid and an army of workers to oversee its disbursement to devastated nations. The government lifted quotas to allow hundreds of thousands of destitute and displaced immigrants to enter the country. With the increase in defense industries and government services, employees moved far and often. Mormon missionaries proselyted in lands where Americans were strange and exotic. The word *isolationism* was almost eliminated from print. We began to appreciate people from many cultures, looking beyond the superficialities of appearance and habit.

Perceptions about ethnic people began to alter in small and significant ways. Racial slang that humiliated was heard less often. American sojourners in other lands returned with a penchant for foreign foods. Second-generation Italians who had been ashamed as children to admit they ate spaghetti opened pasta restaurants. Almost every ethnic food became readily available, and each group's modest communal celebrations, centered in churches, temples, or synagogues, evolved into highly successful festivals for the general population.

Now grandchildren of those first immigrants, whose names were either shortened arbitrarily by officials in Ellis Island, by judges awarding them citizenship, or by themselves in frustration at the reactions of "true" Americans, are at home in America and at the same time proud of their roots. Newer immigrants have left their patronymic names intact; grandchildren of the earlier arrivals often give their children names derived from the ancient histories, literature, and mythology, a startling departure from the custom of their parents.

Signs of goodwill are dramatically reflected in adoptions. Not long ago, adoptive parents would accept only white children of British or North European ancestry; today children of all races are sought. Important, also, is the awareness of the cultural enrichment of speaking languages besides English and perceiving education to be deficient without a second language. The language program for Mormon missionaries has greatly influenced this new attitude.

In education a slower yet steady trend toward hiring minority teachers is belatedly taking place. Utah's universities have opened their doors to ethnic



professors. When Louis Zucker, a Jew, arrived in 1928 to join the English department at the University of Utah, he was looked upon as an oddity. When the university established a four-year medical school, other Jews arrived. Several of them, Max Wintrobe, Leo Samuels, and Louis Goodman, were renowned in their fields. After World War II, the number of ethnic educators in higher education increased phenomenally. A few minority educators hold administrative positions in the public school system, and recently the first black principal was hired.

In judicial affairs, a memorable act in Utah history occurred recently when Governor Scott F. Matheson appointed Tyrone E. Medley, a graduate of the University of Utah law school, to the Fifth Circuit Court Bench, making Medley the state's first black judge.

Much has been accomplished since World War II, but we cannot linger in complacency. We have promises to keep for coming generations of children and for our own self-respect.

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# Living with Alzheimer's Disease: A Wife's Perspective

*Bethany Chaffin*

**F**rank, please sit up here," I pleaded, patting the doctor's examination table and urging my husband forward. I was trying to be patient. By nature I move fast, and holding myself back to accommodate his slowness could wear me out faster than manual labor.

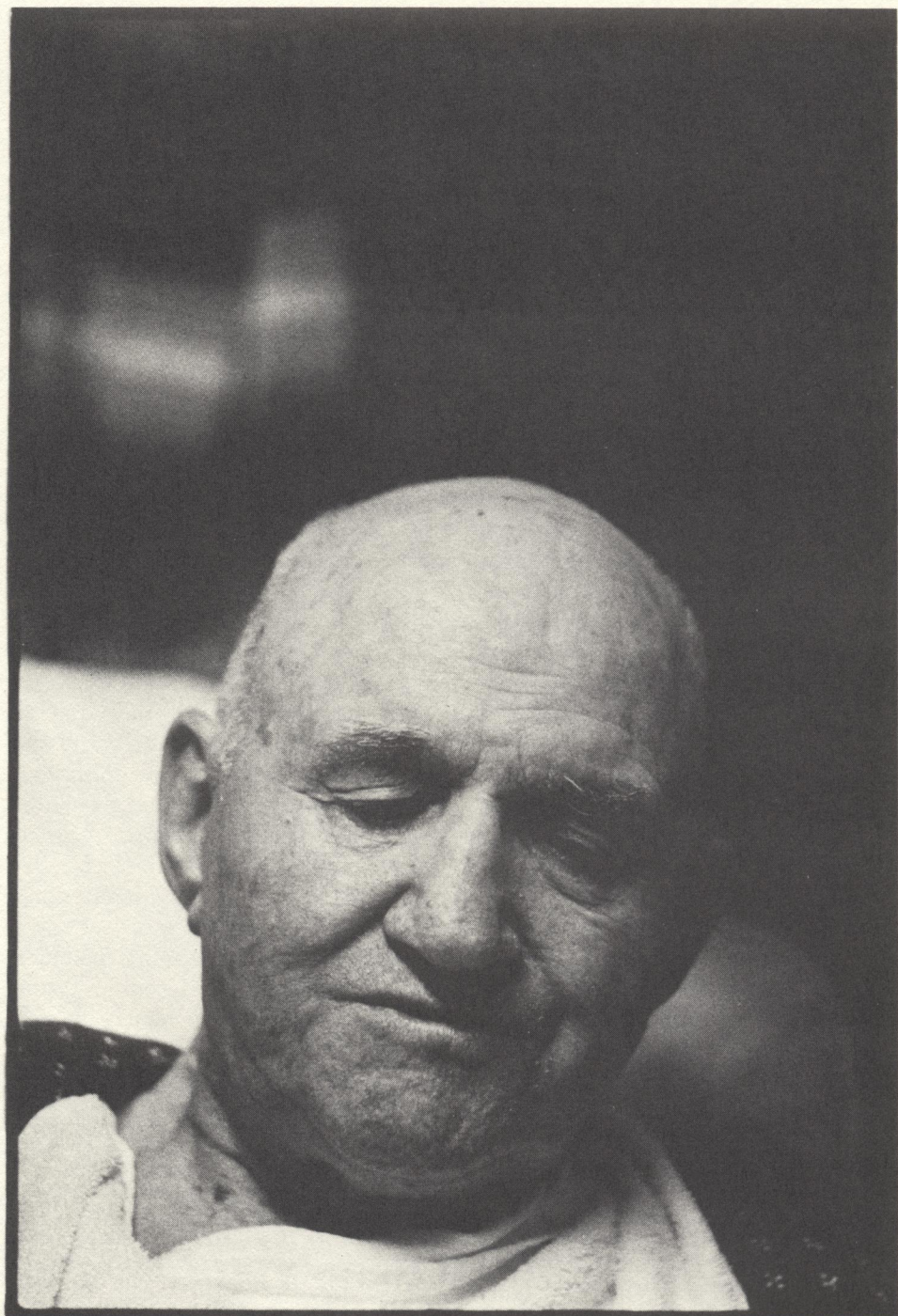
Frank turned in the opposite direction, as if he hadn't heard, or, as if he were willfully disobeying. But I knew Frank was not merely stubborn. His brain was giving his body the wrong commands.

Frank has Alzheimer's disease, an irreversible, untreatable shrinking of the brain which produces neurofibrillary tangles and plaques, disrupting the connection between synapses and shattering the brain's faculties. Although Alzheimer's Disease occurs in only 5 to 6 percent of Americans over sixty-five, that's one and one-half million people. It is the fourth leading cause of death for those over sixty-five. It ravages not only the patient but the patient's family. Mood, memory, and personality changes lead to the loss of individuality long before the death of the body.

To date scientists are baffled by the possible cause, or causes, of Alzheimer's Disease. A number of theories are popular: an oversupply of aluminum in the body; chemical imbalance (autopsies always show a lack of acetylcholine which acts as a neuro-transmitter in victims' brains); a deficiency in the production of protein; genetics; malnutrition; a long-acting virus, and possibly stress, although this is probably a precipitating factor, rather than a cause.

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Because an absolute diagnosis of the disease requires an autopsy after death, physicians must conduct a careful physical and psychological examination which eliminates other causes for the patient's symptoms before pronouncing him or her a victim of Alzheimer's Disease. Those who suffer intellectual impairment might have had strokes, brain tumors, abnormal thyroid conditions, infections, pernicious anemia, adverse drug reactions, or even abnormalities in the spinal fluid. If no symptoms of these conditions appear, then it may be assumed that the patient suffers from Alzheimer's Disease.

My husband had undergone such an examination in 1980, and the prognosis was disheartening. Anyone marrying a man seventeen years her senior must expect that gap to make a difference toward the end of life, but never did I dream that my sturdy, formerly sharp-witted husband would ever be lodged in a nursing facility, completely incompetent and impossible to care for at home.

We'd both been married before, but ours was a solid relationship based on mutual admiration. When I married Frank, he was the type of man people considered "solid." A former bishop currently serving on the high council, Frank was respected by everyone. He was the man I pictured myself growing old with, graciously and gradually.

In my secret thoughts, I knew we might be forced to cope with illness, some swing in finances, or one of the other problems that frequently accompany old age; but I decided that if we could share ten good years, it would be worth it. We had ten. Exactly. Not all of them were "good," but I had no regrets. Frank had shown me respect and consideration. He had permitted me to grow, to follow the beat of my own drum, and I was deeply grateful.

Frank had always been forgetful, but I was unaware of the extent of his problem until after we married. I blamed his loss of hearing for a time. Naturally, he couldn't be expected to recall details if he hadn't heard correctly. Besides, I rationalized, he was a busy general contractor wrestling with the burden of a decreasing market and escalating costs but still deserving of his reputation as a successful businessman and an outstanding builder. I was proud of him.

But soon I knew something was wrong. Frank became more forgetful, sometimes even defensive and irritable, not the even-tempered man I'd married. When an ear specialist informed us that nothing could be done to correct his hearing problem, I took him to our family physician who diagnosed my husband's condition as hardening of the arteries. Although Frank had never been tolerant of taking medicine or returning to the doctor for regular check-ups, I insisted on rigorous adherence to the doctor's instructions for four years. Yet Frank's memory grew worse. I had to double-check everything he did or said. If I didn't, we found ourselves in serious difficulty.

On the advice of a friend, I took him to a geriatric specialist who gave him a thorough examination. A week later the doctor said, "Mrs. Lemperle, your husband has Alzheimer's Disease. His condition will gradually deteriorate until he will be unable to perform even the simplest tasks for himself. In time he may have to be admitted to a nursing home. For now we will try to control his agitation with tranquilizers."



I was appalled. “No, doctor. I won’t give him tranquilizers. He has such difficulty thinking as it is.”

The doctor shrugged. “You will, given enough time. It’s the only way we have to control these patients, and unfortunately all we can do is control them . . . for the benefit of the caretaker.”

“Not now, then,” I insisted. “He really isn’t that much trouble. By nature he’s a very gentle man.”

“You have no idea what you are facing,” the doctor commented.

He was right. Now, five years later, Frank no longer knew my name or his own identity. He had protested every mile of the trip to the doctor’s office, and I was steeped in anxiety, wondering how I could get him back safely to the nursing home where I had admitted him twenty months earlier.

“I guess I made a correct diagnosis, didn’t I?” the doctor observed, adding without a trace of smugness, “Unfortunately.”

“Yes,” I admitted with a sigh, “and I placed him in the nursing home just in time.”

He nodded. “I know. You were destroying yourself.”

But I wasn’t thinking of myself. As hard as it had been on me, it must have been infinitely harder for Frank. Dear man, how could he have faced such a future? He’d always been ruggedly independent. Now he had to have someone bathe him, change his clothing when his bowel or bladder control failed, and supervise him every minute of the day and night. Thankfully, he was no longer aware of his environment or his condition. I was grateful that he was spared that knowledge even while I grieved over the loss of the man I had known, for now he was merely the framework of the man he had been, without any of the inner workings.

After the diagnosis, Frank grew steadily worse. At first he misplaced tools or his glasses, but later I had to ransack the house for the money he had collected from our renters and stowed away, forgetting where he’d put it. A year after Frank had been admitted to the nursing home, I found ten twenty-dollar bills in our bedroom closet, under a stack of genealogy papers.

Soon after he started misplacing large sums of money, he cashed a check for \$1,500 on an account with nowhere near that balance. The doctor advised me to take responsibility for all money matters.

As I straightened out our checkbooks, I realized that Frank could not continue to build. On one luxury home alone, we had lost over \$23,500 plus two years’ work! He had no capital, and two large homes were still in the process of completion. We let them revert to the developer. We had no choice, no liquid assets.

On top of forced retirement, which he protested, Frank was served a summons for an industrial accident that had happened two years earlier. We were being sued for \$250,000. Even though Frank was not in charge of the area of the accident, as one of several contractors he was still involved in the lawsuit. I secured the services of a good trial lawyer who assigned a junior partner to our case and settled out of court for \$2,500. We borrowed the money and paid it off, relieved to be cleared of liability.

This hit Frank hard. In some strange way, I think he felt he had done something wrong. Because he couldn't remember, he felt guilty. His condition grew worse. If he went on an errand, he usually forgot where he was going and why, and returned confused and depressed. He could still make his way to the corner grocery store for his evening paper, but neighbors told me he was walking into the street without checking traffic. For a while I made an excuse to walk with him each day, but soon he sat with the paper unopened in his lap all evening. Frank could no longer read.

Some of our neighbors who had known Frank for over forty years were confused and uncomfortable. One man complained, "Your husband doesn't make any sense." I tried to explain Alzheimer's, but the man was unable to comprehend a disease that sapped the mind but left the body healthy.

Another old friend was Frank's home teaching companion. He couldn't understand why Frank still wore his work clothes when he rang the bell. "Why, we talked about going teaching just last Sunday," he exclaimed. I suggested that he inform me when they made plans so that I could have Frank ready on time. The friend looked baffled. I tried to explain. My words went over his head. "Oh, we all get a little forgetful as we grow older," he answered lightly.

These reactions were typical. People did not take Alzheimer's seriously. I became very depressed when I realized that neither Frank's family nor our bishop accepted my statements about his illness. They felt, I'm certain, that I was exaggerating — even that I was the one having a problem. I had literally no help, no relief from the constant care, except from my daughter who gave me short breaks on weekends when she came home from college.

We moved from Salt Lake City in 1983 to Mantua, a small town where Frank could tend a raspberry plot, weed and garden, and chop down trees. We lived on income from my teaching and writing, Social Security, and rental properties. Frank seemed happier for a few weeks. But it wasn't long before he started awakening at night. Claspings his hands to his head, he'd sit up abruptly, moaning, "Oh, I think I'm going crazy!"

Then we'd both walk the floor, stopping for a cup of warm cocoa and hot buttered toast as we talked out the hours of the night. Usually I could guide him back to bed. I never knew if his distress was caused by nightmares or physical pain, but it was obvious that he knew something tragic was happening to him, and he was frightened. These were our most difficult days. After several nights of sleeping only a few broken hours, I began to feel like a zombie and act like a tyrant. I was exhausted, with no relief in sight. Frank assumed the agitated pattern of a typical Alzheimer patient who wanders continually without reason. He had to be supervised twenty-four hours a day. I'd heard of too many old people who simply wandered off in the night to their deaths. I didn't want to wake up one morning to find my husband missing. When he was up, I got up, too, sometimes as many as twelve to fourteen times a night.

Once I mentioned the possibility of a nursing home to Frank's sons. They refused to discuss the matter. No father of theirs would ever go into a nursing home. Homes were for people without loving families. Yet neither of them, during the entire seven-year ordeal, ever offered to take over, even for one full

day, nor did they visit him regularly. This had been a typical pattern, but it was aggravated by Frank's illness.

Making the inevitable decision myself, I investigated facilities from Logan to Salt Lake and finally found one with a homey atmosphere and rates that I could afford. I packed Frank's clothes three times before I finally delivered him to the home; and if his bowels hadn't become impacted, I suppose I wouldn't have taken him then. He was in excruciating pain, and I didn't know how to help him. He needed professional nursing care around the clock. I was willing, but I wasn't a nurse — and I was only one person.

The day I admitted him, I cried all the way back home. I felt like a traitor. I mourned as though Frank had died. I felt empty, lost. I didn't know what to do with all those hours on my hands. My sleeping patterns have never returned to normal, but immediately I started sleeping four or five hours at a time and I felt new energy surge through my body.

Although I telephoned every day to see how Frank was adjusting, the head nurse thoughtfully omitted certain details. Later I learned that my husband had wrecked a door, broken through a window, tried to climb over a six-foot fence, released a foam fire extinguisher, and generally made a nuisance of himself. His adjustment must have been as agonizing as mine.

To aid in the patient's acclimation to a new environment, the home allowed no visitors for three weeks. But when I was allowed to visit, he seemed calmer, though he thought I was getting a divorce. I assured him I wasn't, that he was there simply to get well. He wanted to come home — to "work," he said, as if he could. "When your bowels are regulated, you can come home, dear," I told him, not quite telling a lie. If he'd been able to function on his own, I would have taken him home gladly. But I knew that his loss of control was permanent. The brain cells that controlled those functions were dead. This kind of deterioration would continue until a vital organ was affected. Then he would die.

Several times I tried to bring him home for short periods, but the visits left both of us more frustrated than ever. Finally I concluded that he was as contented in the nursing home as he would be anywhere. I was right. In a few short weeks he refused to take even a short ride in the car, protesting he was "tired" and wanted to go "home" — to the safety and security of the nursing home.

Now Frank shuffles along the halls, hour after hour day after day. His chin touches his chest, his eyes are cast downward, searching, it seems, for his lost mentality. If you force him to look up, his eyes are rheumy and blank; and if his pattern is disrupted, he becomes agitated and strikes out at whoever he feels is responsible. The nursing staff is patient, friendly, and quick to dodge. They hold no grudges. Almost all of their patients hit them at one time or another.

Frank probably has less than a year to live. He is unable to do the simplest tasks for himself. He has forgotten how to shave, brush his teeth, go to the bathroom. He cannot dress himself or make a bed. He does not know his own name, his past, his sons, or me. Last time I visited, as usual I said, "I love you,

dear.” There was no response. He didn’t lift his head nor did he press my hand. Instead he answered, “Thank you,” without expression, like a prompted child. He had shown more enthusiasm for the chocolates I had brought for him.

While my belief in the eternal nature of human beings has kept me from dwelling on the justice of God, his mercy or fairness in this situation, I have learned a number of things that may help me become a better person. My general makeup has always leaned toward intolerance for infirmity, but Frank’s condition forced me to develop patience. Now I have a fierce appreciation for old people, who, through no fault of their own, find themselves superfluous — even ridiculed — in our youth-oriented society. I have become a self-educated though unwilling expert on Frank’s disease as well as on the care and treatment of older patients. I have many opportunities to share that knowledge with those who are frustrated in caring for their own loved ones and often, like me, feel that no one understands.

From watching my husband fail in both mind and body, I believe I have gained a greater perspective of both eternity and the segment of life called mortality. Small issues don’t bother me as much as they did before Frank’s illness. I find myself looking to the eternal nature of things, rather than being annoyed over petty daily irritations. Depression seldom plagues me. I’m too busy trying to be productive by setting my life in order and managing Frank’s estate so that I’ll have the money to pay for his care and provide for my own living. I feel, in a bedrock way, that if I do the best I can, God will provide. Frank was good to me, and I want to show my gratitude to my Heavenly Father for the blessings I’ve derived from this period of tribulation.

If I’d had a choice, of course I would have chosen to have this cup lifted from our lives. Frank didn’t deserve to spend his last days trapped in a body with no mind. But I know that we cannot expect justice on earth, only in the life hereafter. I count on that. I welcome Frank’s imminent release from the prison of Alzheimer’s disease, for I know that only through death can he regain his individuality, and I long for that with all my heart.

Though I yearn for him to pass from this life, I also dread it. I’ll miss my afternoons at the nursing home where I try to maintain some kind of normal contact by pacing the halls with my husband, by holding his hand and feeding him chocolates. I’ll miss my talks with the schizophrenic down the hall who writes poetry like: “Roses are red/ Violets are blue./ I’m schizophrenic/ And so are we two.” I’ll also miss the ninety-six-year-old gentleman in the wheelchair who takes my hand, kisses it in courtly fashion and repeats, without deviation, “How’s the sweetest little girl in the world?”

I’ll also miss the nurses who care for my husband. Dedicated servants of the ill and infirm, they inspire me by their untiring efforts in dealing with those unable to care for themselves. They treat their patients with dignity and love as they wash faces, change diapers, and coax food into reluctant mouths.

In the last eleven years, I’ve learned something about patience through adversity. Knowing what I have experienced, I might have had more reservations about marrying an older man. Yet in my heart of hearts I feel nothing but gratitude for sharing a small part of Frank’s life, for I anticipate, with



full faith, that in the world to come, he will again be his own vital self, keen-minded and in robust health — and probably supervising the building of heavenly homes with all the enthusiasm and skill he manifested throughout his productive years on earth.

#### SUGGESTED READINGS

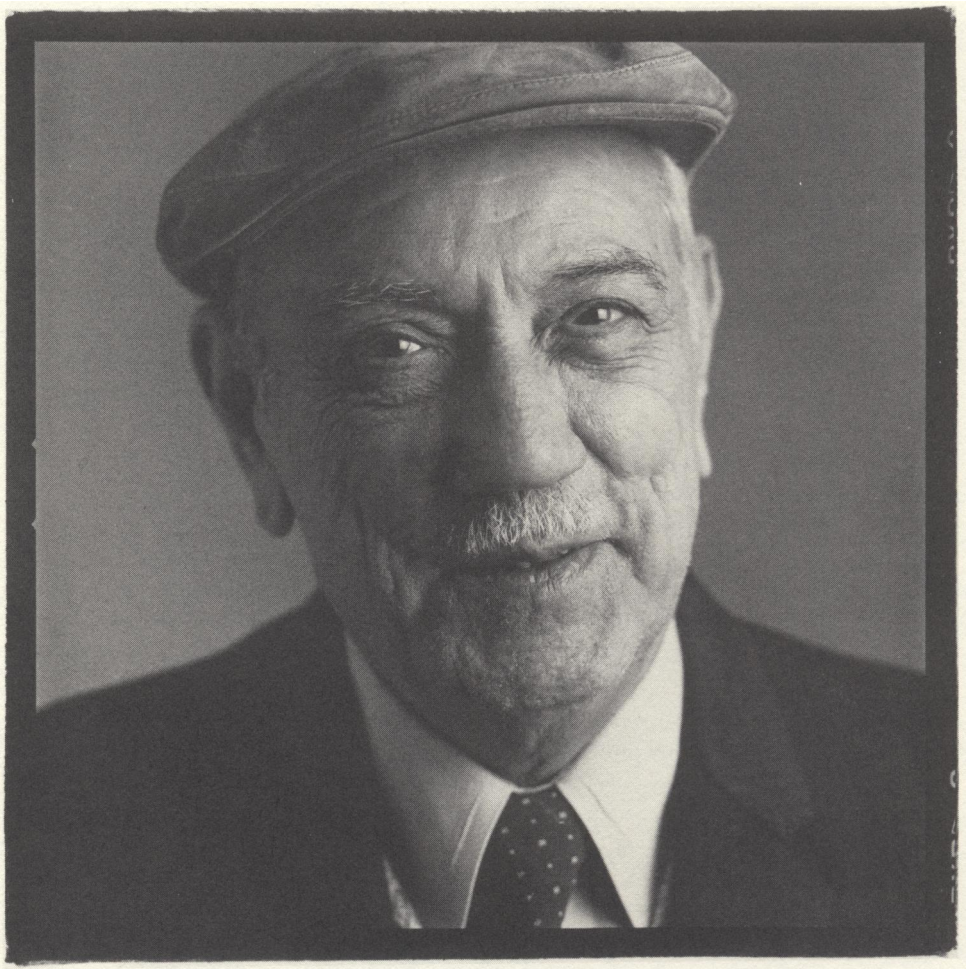
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# Beyond Literalism

*William D. Russell*

**M**ormonism has, in my view, a serious theological problem with its understanding of scripture. The problem lies in the tendency to read the scriptures uncritically, and it exists in both the LDS and RLDS traditions. We tend to assume that all that is contained in scripture is true, represents God's mind and will, and has universal application through time and space. Often we assume that the words of scripture are literally the words of God. "The Lord has said . . ." becomes an appropriate introduction to any scriptural quotation. The scriptures are treated as though they are a collection of statements of equal value, no matter when they were written, by whom, where, or for what purpose. We tend, in short, to see all extracts from the scriptural canon as consistent and true. Thomas G. Alexander extends this assumption of consistency to church doctrine in general: "Perhaps the main barrier to understanding the development of Mormon theology is an underlying assumption by most Church members that there is a cumulative unity of doctrine" (1980, 24).

When we hold this view, we are tempted to proof text, stringing together a succession of quotations from various scriptures. By this method, a person can support almost any doctrinal belief since it does not require the user to evaluate the passage in context or accommodate other scriptures, perhaps even from other parts of the works cited, which may support another conclusion. This uncritical, literal understanding of the Bible produces many misinterpretations, which sometimes can be harmful or even absurd. To cite an example from another denomination, a recent Southern Baptist Convention opposed the ordination of women on the ground that women are subservient, due to their supposed responsibility for bringing sin into the world (UPI 1984).

The explanation for the Mormon tradition of using the Bible uncritically and literally lies in our history. The authority of the Bible was an important issue in American Protestantism at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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Orthodox Christians felt threatened by the Enlightenment position that rational discussion and empirical verification were the final tests of religious claims. By this view, the Bible contained a great deal of superstition. Part I of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, published in 1794, contained what was perhaps the best-known criticism of the Bible in that period.

Orthodox Christians countered by terming skeptics "infidels" and urging that the faithful be prepared to answer them. The Bible was an important source of authority for orthodox Christians, partly because certain other traditional sources of authority had been eliminated. The American Revolution had overthrown the king, who was the head of the Church of England. Some of the state constitutions and the federal constitution eliminated or forbade established churches — another traditional source of authority (T. Smith 1980).

As Joseph Smith grew to manhood he was apparently aware of the challenge to orthodox Christianity presented by religious skepticism. If he had not read Paine's *Age of Reason*, he was probably aware of Paine's criticisms of Christianity, perhaps from his grandfather. Hullinger (1980) argues that both the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's "new translation" of the Bible may have been, in part, a response to Paine's attack. The Book of Mormon, for instance, answered Paine's charge that Christianity is based on a revelation given to a few people long ago and far away, with the rest of us being expected to accept it on hearsay (Paine 1794, 5–6). Paine, along with Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Priestly, also charged that Jesus' plain, ethical gospel had been distorted by the Christian church which had "set up a religion of pomp and of revenue, in pretended imitation of a person whose life was humility and poverty" (Paine 1794, 22; see Boorstin 1948, 151–66). The Book of Mormon also contains this view, and Joseph's "new translation" attempted to remedy the presumed corruption of the biblical text.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it seems probable that Joseph Smith was aware of some of the biblical issues that had been raised during his father's generation by representatives of the Enlightenment. I believe that his scriptures contain and reflect that perspective. However, Joseph would not have been aware of the issues raised by the "higher criticism" of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> Even though this new biblical scholarship

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<sup>1</sup> The Book of Mormon held that when the Bible was in the hands of "the great and abominable church" (presumably the medieval Catholic Church), there were "many plain and precious things taken away from the Book, which is the Book of the Lamb of God" (J. Smith 1830, 30). Therefore Joseph Smith regarded the King James Version as inadequate. Later Joseph is quoted as saying: "I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors" (HC 6:57). The Wentworth letter, now the eighth Article of Faith, also made the assertion: "We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly" (*Times and Seasons* 3 (1 March 1942): 709).

While these statements can be cited to show the need to correct the King James Version, they also imply that the biblical writings, in their original form, are to be fully believed. Joseph felt the problems were not with the original text, but with translation and transmission, and clergy with evil intent.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware of no evidence that Joseph knew of higher criticism; we can only speculate as to what his response would have been. Russel B. Swensen (1972, 38) and Heber C. Snell (1967, 61) have argued that Smith would have responded favorably, pointing out that he

was already in operation in the German universities in Joseph's lifetime, it was not extensively disseminated in the United States until after his death. This new approach to scripture went beyond the general skepticism of the rationalistic challenge of the Age of Enlightenment. The new critics challenged long-held traditions as to the authorship, date, and purpose of various biblical writings. For example, they concluded that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but rather by several authors, centuries after Moses' death. They suggested naturalistic explanations for the miracle stories, assumed Jesus was human rather than divine, and noted conflicts within the Bible, undermining the assumption of internal consistency in the book.<sup>3</sup>

Here are a few examples of these internal inconsistencies:

1. There are two creation accounts in Genesis — the Yahwist account in chapter 2, and the Priestly account in chapter 1. They are quite different in style, content, approach, and concerns.
2. The Deuteronomic history in the Old Testament assumes that the reward for faithfulness to Yahweh is long life, good health, numerous posterity, and material prosperity. The book of Job strongly challenges this assumption.
3. The book of Ezra forbids marrying foreigners, yet the book of Ruth indicates that King David himself was the product of a mixed marriage, having a Moabite great-grandmother.

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was independent minded, that he recognized the inadequacies of the King James Version, and his personal interest in biblical studies and languages led him to hire Rabbi Joseph Seixas to teach Hebrew to the School of the Prophets. On the other hand, Sidney B. Sperry (1967, 75) assumed that Smith would have opposed higher criticism because many of his statements and revelations were in conflict with this new scholarship. It seems at least possible to me that had Smith lived in a later generation and had access to higher criticism, his revelations and other pronouncements may not have taken a literal approach to the Bible. He would have considered questions that did not occur to him in the 1830s and that would have been reflected in his prophetic utterances.

<sup>3</sup> If the reader would like more information on the history and nature of higher criticism, one might begin with various articles in *The Interpreter's Bible* and *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, published by Abingdon Press in Nashville: Samuel Terrien, "History of the Interpretation of the Bible: Modern Period," *IB*, I (1952): 127-41; Kendrick Grobel, "Biblical Criticism," *IDB* I (1962): 407-13; Simon J. De Vries, "History of Biblical Criticism," *IDB* I (1962): 413-18; Elizabeth Achtemeier, "History of Interpretation: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Christian," *IDB Suppl.* (1976): 455-56; Henri Cazelles, "Biblical Criticism, OT," *IDB Suppl.* (1976): 98-102; Howard Clark Kee, "Biblical Criticism, NT," *IDB Suppl.* (1976): 102-04. See also Alan Richardson, "The Rise of Modern Biblical Scholarship and the Recent Discussion of the Authorship of the Bible," in S. L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), 3: 294-338. For lengthier discussions of the history of higher criticism one might consult Ronald E. Clements, *One Hundred Years of Old Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976) and W. G. Kummel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972). For a study of the early rumblings of higher criticism in America see Jerry Wayne Brown, *The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870: The New England Scholars* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1969). The movement was little noticed in the United States, however, until the late nineteenth century. An excellent article on this period is Ira V. Brown, "The Higher Criticism Comes to America, 1800-1900," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 38 (December 1960), 193-212. For a brief, concise book discussing the historical-critical approach to the study of the Bible, see Edgar Krentz, *The Historical Critical Method* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

4. The birth stories in Matthew and Luke differ in several details, though not all of these details are contradictory.<sup>4</sup>

5. Matthew and Luke, copying Mark, make numerous alterations in his account (Russell 1982, n. 27).

6. The Gospel of John is markedly different from the three synoptic gospels and has almost no points of contact with the other three gospels prior to Holy Week. It is useless to try to harmonize the four gospels or arrange them in chronological order as one account, although David H. Yarn (1962) bravely attempted the feat and Talmage (1915) also takes the same approach.

7. In Matthew 27:5, Judas Iscariot dies by hanging himself, while in Acts 1:18, his death comes as a result of a disemboweling fall.

8. The information about Paul and the early Christian church as portrayed in the Acts of the Apostles differs significantly from that in Paul's own letters (Sandmel 1958).

9. Finally, the dualistic world view of the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation is quite contrary to the world view found in the rest of the Old Testament and in the Gospel of John. Most scholars find it improbable that the same person could have written John and Revelation.<sup>5</sup>

These examples illustrate the kind of challenges that higher criticism presented to those who held a literal view of the Bible and assumed its internal consistency, including Joseph Smith. Quite naturally, many if not most Christians opposed higher criticism because it seemed to undermine the authority of the Bible. It was inherently more threatening to Protestantism than to Catholicism, since the Protestant Reformation had rejected tradition, including the pope, as a source of authority, while exalting the Bible as the sole authority for faith.

Quite naturally, higher criticism generated counter-attacks. The most significant scholarly critique in America was called the Princeton Theology. It was developed originally by Archibald Alexander (1772–1851) who founded the seminary at Princeton in 1812 and was carried forward by Charles Hodge, Benjamin B. Warfield, A. A. Hodge, and others (Sandeen 1970; Ahlstrom 1972, 462, 813–14; Marty 1984, 303–4). Unfortunately, their central argument was that the Bible is without error. In a classic statement of their position in the *Presbyterian Review* (1881), A. A. Hodge and Warfield wrote that

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<sup>4</sup> Beare (1962) mentions these: 1. In Matthew, the Annunciation is made to Joseph in a dream while in Luke it is made to Mary awake. 2. In Matthew, Joseph finds Mary pregnant and is inclined to break the engagement until he is told in a dream that the Holy Spirit is the agent of conception, while in Luke Joseph is present but expresses no concern. 3. Matthew tells the story of the Magi but not the shepherds, while in Luke it is the reverse. 4. Matthew assumes that Bethlehem was the home of Joseph and Mary. After the flight into Egypt, they return to Nazareth because of another dream. In Luke, Nazareth is the home of Joseph and Mary. They go to Bethlehem for the census, and then to Jerusalem (apparently not feeling threatened by Herod) to present Jesus in the temple. 6. Matthew alone explains the significance of the name of Jesus. 7. The genealogy of Jesus in Matthew differs from that found in Luke.

<sup>5</sup> As early as the third century, the linguistic and stylistic differences between Revelation and the Gospel of John led Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria to conclude that they both could not have been written by the same author. Luther and other Reformers had similar doubts. In modern times this conclusion "has been firmly established" (Kümmel 1975, 471).

“the historical faith of the Church has always been, that all the affirmations of Scripture of all kinds, whether of spiritual doctrine or duty, or of physical or historical fact, or of psychological or philosophical principle, are without error” (Smith, Handy, and Loetscher 2:332).

As the Princeton theologians became aware of the difficulty in reconciling apparent conflicts in the biblical text, they contended that errors and inconsistencies would not appear if we were dealing with uncorrupted “original autographs.” Sandeen feels that the “autograph” argument developed as a result of the growing threat of biblical criticism. It does not appear in A. A. Hodge’s first edition of *Outlines of Theology* (1860) but does appear in his second edition, nineteen years later (1970, 128, 130).

Perhaps the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility by the Catholic Church in 1870 was in part a response to the challenges of higher criticism. Princeton theologians, in contrast, insisted on the ultimate authority of the Bible: “God could not, would not, convey truth through an errant document” (Sandeen 1970, 130). Therefore, God guided the process so that the writings would be free from error. As stated in the Hodge-Warfield article, this occurred through a process of “divine superintendence.” This supervision “extended to the verbal expression of the thoughts of the sacred writers, as well as to the thoughts themselves, and that, hence, the Bible considered as a record, an utterance in words of a divine revelation, is the Word of God to us. Hence, in all the affirmations of Scripture of every kind, there is no more error in the words of the original autographs than in the thoughts they were chosen to express” (Smith, Handy, and Loetscher 2:328).

One cannot help but wonder why the very God who protected the process of writing withdrew his watch care during the translation and transmission process. The Princeton position seems to be a retreat from the Westminster Confession of the Presbyterian faith which held that by God’s “singular care and providence” the scriptures have been “kept pure in all ages” (Harden 1968, 128). Joseph Smith’s position — that the Bible is correct “as far as it is translated correctly” — seems very close to the “original autographs” theory of A. A. Hodge.

From the Princeton theology and other sources would eventually emerge twentieth-century fundamentalism. According to Oxford biblical scholar James Barr:

Fundamentalism begins when people begin to say that the doctrinal and practical authority of scripture is necessarily tied to its infallibility and in particular its historical inerrancy, when they maintain that its doctrinal and practical authority will stand up *only* if it is in general without error, and this means in particular only if it is without error in its apparently historical remarks. The centre of fundamentalism is the insistence that the control of doctrine and practice by scripture is dependent on something like a general perfection of scripture, and therefore on its historical inerrancy; and this in turn involves the repudiation of the results of modern critical modes of reading the Bible (1980, 65–66; 1978).

Many Mormons in both the LDS and RLDS traditions would feel comfortable with this description of their own attitudes toward scripture. I feel that

this “pre-critical” view of the Bible comes to us from Joseph Smith’s own attitudes (Snell 1967, 61). He couched his revelations in terms that assumed the common understanding of the Bible in his time and place, not aware that biblical scholarship would soon call these traditions into serious question. Thus he and his fellow Mormons operated with an uncritical, literal understanding of the Bible. Zebedee Coltrin recalled that on one occasion, when some elders undertook to correct the grammar in a revelation Joseph had just uttered, he rebuked them, saying that every word had been dictated by Jesus Christ (Hill 1977, 141). Presumably, he applied the same process to the production of other scriptures as well. Gordon Irving, in an excellent article analyzing the use of the Bible in Mormon publications from 1832 to 1838, observed that the saints understood the Bible literally. They assumed that the meaning of the biblical writings was clear and consistent. The historical accounts were accurate, and the prophecies were to be fulfilled exactly as written, often finding their fulfillment in the 19th century. The early Mormons believed that the average person could readily understand and apply the biblical passages. Irving also notes that the Book of Mormon and the revelations of Joseph Smith supported a literal interpretation of the scriptures (1973, 476–77, 487).

Obviously, this early identification with a literal tradition that has continued to our day imposes limitations on alternative views of scripture. When we consider issues in biblical scholarship which point to a non-literal conception of the nature of scripture, the prophetic mission of Joseph Smith may appear to be in jeopardy. The problem lies in the fact that it does not occur to us that a prophet’s canonical utterances are limited by his humanity and by the culture of which he is a part. With this pre-critical understanding of the Bible, the more modern view based on biblical scholarship seems to be a rejection of Joseph Smith. Thus there is a strong tendency to reject biblical scholarship. Joseph Fielding Smith put it well in 1931: “The Latter-day Saints are not bound to receive the theories of men when they do not accord with the word of the Lord to them” (Sherlock 1980, 68–69). In a similar vein, Sidney Sperry, himself a graduate of a Protestant seminary, once attacked the position of his less traditional colleague, Heber C. Snell: “I get the impression that Professor Snell is more in sympathy with the views of modern scholarship than he is with those expressed by the Prophet” (1967, 75). Thus, it seems we have a forced choice between the biblical scholars and the prophets. But can the matter be settled so easily?

In the late nineteenth century and through most of the twentieth century, the RLDS Church was essentially unfriendly to modern biblical scholarship. The literal approach, assuming internal consistency, was the dominant understanding of the scriptures (Russell 1985; Ham 1985). While the church leadership in the last half of the twentieth century has been moving away from the literal conception of scripture, many rank-and-file members remain literalists. The strength of the literal tradition is illustrated by the vocal protest movements that have arisen in the past fifteen years, challenging the liberal direction the RLDS Church has taken. Many other RLDS members who do not support the protest movement nevertheless remain troubled by the changes in the

church. This tension between fundamentalists and liberals in the RLDS Church has created real confusion as to the nature and identity of the RLDS Church (Conrad and Shupe 1985).

In the LDS Church, modern biblical scholarship also has not been very well received. The pattern of biblical exegesis used by Joseph Smith and his followers has consistently been, according to Snell, "to quote scripture and interpret it without regard to the historical milieu in which it arose" (1967, 60). Snell also cites the sermons in the *Journal of Discourses*, Parley P. Pratt's *Voice of Warning*, B. H. Roberts's *The Gospel*, James E. Talmage's *The Article of Faith*, Joseph Fielding Smith's *The Way to Perfection*, and Milton Hunter's *The Gospel Through the Ages*. "Numerous examples of 'proof texts' and their application could be cited from them and other Church writings," he concludes. "One will rarely hear, in a Latter-day Saint assembly for worship or instruction, any departure from the traditional method. This is true, in lesser measure, in the Seminaries and Institutes of the Church. It is as if the modern study of the Bible, though literary, historical, and archeological approaches, had never been heard of" (1967, 60). More recently Norman has written of a growing anti-scholarly interpretation of the scriptures in the Church (1981, 132), and Sterling M. McMurrin has stated that "Mormons even today are in general the victims of traditional patterns of biblical thought that often tie them to an outworn and intellectually frustrating scriptural literalism" (Roberts 1985, xxiv-xxv).

At one point in the early twentieth century, some Latter-day Saints manifested interest in higher criticism. William H. Chamberlin (1870-1921), who taught at Brigham Young University from 1910 to 1916, was apparently the first LDS teacher to make extensive use of the historical method in teaching the Bible but left BYU because of strong pressure to abandon this method (Bergera and Priddis 1985, 135-148). Sidney Sperry, the first Mormon to get a doctorate in a divinity school, taught Old Testament at BYU from 1932 until his retirement in 1970 but represented an acceptable position which subordinated biblical scholarship to the word of the prophet.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, several Mormons were encouraged by Church leaders to attend the University of Chicago Divinity School (Bergera and Priddis 1985, 53). This encouragement had stopped by the mid-1930s, at least in part, suggests Swensen, because "many general authorities of the Church were fearful that the sociological, historical, and literary approach to Bible studies plus the liberal spirit of the [University of Chicago] Divinity School would undermine the faith and loyalty of L.D.S. students who went there to study" (1967, 45; see also Bergera and Priddis 1985, 63).

The uncritical, literal approach is still very strong in both churches. Modern biblical scholarship is not taken seriously by very many members. In the RLDS Church it is most noticeable in the public dissent of literalists disenchanted with the leadership. And frequently the most liberal church members, while accepting biblical scholarship, nevertheless don't take it very seriously. It is noteworthy that the RLDS Church has not produced an Old Testament survey for adult study.



In the LDS Church, the opposition to modern biblical scholarship is often seen in official kinds of sources. For example, BYU philosophy professor David Yarn, in examining "wisdom" in the Bible (1972), simply gathered all of the uses of the word and drew a composite conclusion about what it means, treating the Bible as though it were one long work by a single author. He made no effort to interpret a passage in the context of the particular book in which it is found; and most surprisingly, he showed no awareness of the scholarly studies of the wisdom literature of the ancient Near East and of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>6</sup>

Victor Ludlow's *Unlocking the Old Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981) makes no attempt to organize the books in any logical order, such as the sequence of their composition. He assumes that Moses wrote Genesis and that Eve was created from Adam's rib. He does not acknowledge the two creation accounts in Genesis, does not mention that Ruth runs counter to Ezra-Nehemiah, downplays the religious pessimism of Ecclesiastes, ignores the sexual component of Esther, fails to acknowledge the fiery message of social justice in Amos, and does not discuss the Second Isaiah issue or the difference in setting after Chapter 40.

Glen L. Pearson, in *The Old Testament: A Mormon Perspective* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), believes that the higher critics undermine faith: "Apostasy and infidelity follow them wherever they go" (p. 13). In her review, of this book, Melodie Moench Charles writes: "Pearson implies that any Mormon armed with a testimony, a Pearl of Great Price, and a Book of Mormon can understand the Old Testament better than any secular scholar can" (1982, 123). Another example of the uncritical, literal approach is Monte S. Nyman, *Great Are the Words of Isaiah* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1981). Richard L. Anderson's *Understanding Paul* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), is more scholarly but nevertheless brushes aside rather casually some of the key problems of modern biblical scholarship.

Student manuals for Bible courses at Brigham Young University are a collection of statements from General Authorities, church literature, and the standard works which are presumed to settle the question addressed (CES, 1979-82). Most of the major issues in biblical scholarship are simply ignored. Very few biblical scholars are quoted or even listed in the bibliography. The student manuals teach more about modern Mormonism than they do about the Bible.

Traditional Mormons in both LDS and RLDS traditions tend to regard the utterances of prophets or other producers of canonical writings as radically different in kind from other writings, such as those of the biblical scholars. A good example is a comment by Hugh Nibley's associate, Curtis Wright:

I reject in principle the academic criticism of prophets. There is something wrong with the football player who criticizes the play of basketball on the basis of the only rules he knows, especially if he believes into the bargain that football is the only game

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<sup>6</sup> On the wisdom literature see, for example, R. B. Y. Scott, *The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1971) or Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972). For a briefer treatment see the chapters on the wisdom literature in any scholarly survey of the Old Testament.

in existence. I can't bring myself to criticize a prophet for any utterance, no matter how foolish or profound, on the basis of academic rules. I don't always agree with everything the prophets say, but they are free to say anything they like without opposition from me (Nibley 1979, 23).

Wright thus suggests that the scriptures — and indeed, any utterances of latter-day prophets — are beyond the purview of the theologian, historian, sociologist or literary critic. I suggest that we move beyond that kind of attitude, recognizing that the authors of holy writ, including modern prophets, have all been human and products of their environment, even when inspired. As Robert Mesle has stated: “Persons, texts, communities, and institutions are all creatures of history” (1984, 12). We must not abandon our ability to reason when we examine the scriptures or the statements of church leaders.

Let me give an example how historical circumstances condition our understanding of scripture. Living in America more than a century after the Civil War, it is easy for us to conclude that slavery was an evil that needed to be abolished. We might even apply the biblical faith that God is at work in history and conclude that God was at work in the process of ending slavery, draw parallels to the Israelites in slavery in Egypt, and conclude that those who assisted runaway slaves were doing the work of God, as were the slaves themselves in running away. But if we were white Southerners prior to the Civil War, we would probably have regarded slavery as sanctioned by the Bible, and therefore by God himself. We would note that Paul returned the runaway slave Onesimus (Philemon), and that in Ephesians 6:5 he admonished: “Slaves, be obedient to those who are your earthly masters.” We might regard runaways and abolitionists as evil people acting contrary to God's revealed will.

Joseph Smith lived prior to the Civil War, although not in the South. During most of his career, he seems to have accepted the institution of slavery. But who of us does not assume that the Prophet would have had a different view of slavery had he lived after the Civil War. And that his view would be reflected in his utterances, which we would revere because of his status as our prophet?

It seems likely to me that Joseph Smith's adoption of polygamy was conditioned by his pre-critical approach to the Bible. Noticing that great dignitaries in the Old Testament were polygamous and not seeing any divine sanctions expressed by biblical writers, he may have decided to “restore” an ancient practice since he assumed the scriptures were consistent and equally applicable today.

Assertions that we should choose the word of the Lord over the word of men (the biblical scholars) are not very useful. Who wouldn't choose the word of God to the word of men? But we cannot assume that something represents the mind and will of God simply because it is contained in the scriptures or was uttered by a prophet or one of the General Authorities. Furthermore, cannot the work of scholars be inspired? There simply is no sure way to distinguish between the word of God and the words of men — or to distinguish between what is inspired and what is not. As Snell observed:

Every biblical book is the product of some human mind, or minds, activated variously by the Divine Spirit and reacting to a certain environment. It follows that the more

one knows about the writer and his milieu the better one is prepared to uncover the meaning of his book. It may be said, indeed, that without this knowledge the message of the ancient text will remain more or less hidden (1967, 63).

In short, we need biblical scholarship to help us better understand the scriptures. Why not see them in a cooperative rather than in a conflicted relationship?

Scriptural fundamentalists who say that if we take scholarship seriously we "trust in the arm of flesh" (or in the "words of men") seem to be guilty of the very accusation they make of others. The scriptures are, to a certain extent, the "words of men."

Only God is holy. No writing, person, or institution is holy except as it points beyond itself to the divine. The authority of the Bible lies not in its perfection, but in its life-changing power to direct us to God. The New Testament, for example, has a special authority because it contains the documents closest to Jesus of Nazareth. The authors' proximity to the Christ-event gives their testimony a particular authority that later writers cannot match, a testimony that draws men and women to Christ as no other writings have done. Similarly, the Old Testament contains the documents considered authoritative by the community out of which Christianity arose. Thus the Old Testament is important for understanding early Christianity, and it too has been a source of inspiration for many people.

The Book of Mormon has authority for Latter-day Saints because it is the founding document of Mormonism and has drawn many converts to the Church. For them it is "the keystone of our religion" (HC 1:461). For me, its authority stems from containing the thought of the founding prophet just prior to the organization of the Church. Mormon doctrine in both churches has evolved considerably beyond the Book of Mormon, in ways not always consistent with the founding document. Joseph's statement that "a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts, than by any other book" (HC 1:461) has proven true for many — but not all — Mormons then and now.

Similarly, the Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price have particular authority because they contain documents which the founding prophet considered to be the will of God. Even if we may think some of these revelations — or parts thereof — do not represent the will of God, I see no reason why they should not have an authority for Mormons roughly equal to the authority the Bible has for all Christians.

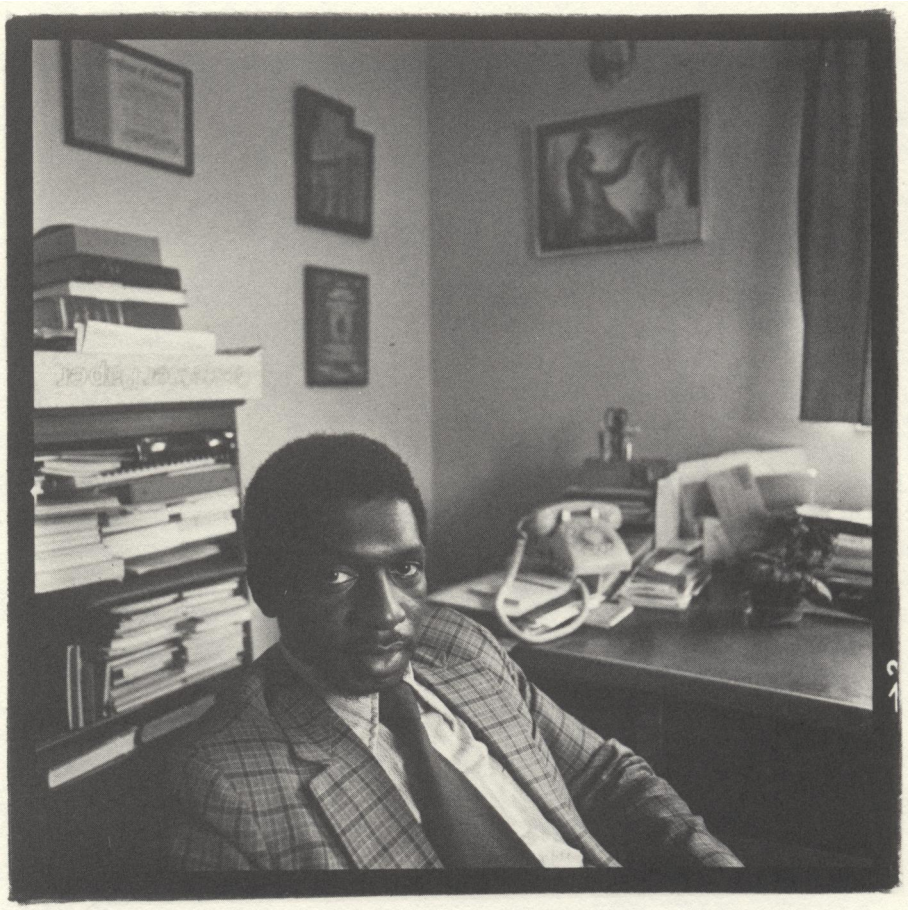
We need to learn the value of critical scholarship about the scriptures. Through careful scholarly examination, we can gain a fuller grasp of the meaning of the scriptures, thereby maximizing their authority for us. It is my hope that some day soon, biblical scholarship will flourish in the two Mormon churches.

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# Sign or Scripture: Approaches to the Book of Mormon

*A. Bruce Lindgren*

**W**hy does discussion of the Book of Mormon typically tend to focus on questions of its historicity and authorship, on Mesoamerican archeology, chiasmus, and wordprints? These subjects are certainly valid and worth pursuing, but I find a more personally relevant question to be: How does the Book of Mormon present the basic doctrines of the gospel? What role should the Book of Mormon play in our religious and intellectual lives? Is it a sign of the divine origin of the Restoration movement or is it scripture? Do we use it as a weapon to convince doubters of the truth of our position or as a source for our own reflection on the meaning and truthfulness of our religious teaching?

When I talk about using the Book of Mormon as a sign, I refer to the tendency to use it to demonstrate the divine origin of the Latter Day Saint/Latter-day Saint movement or to demonstrate that Joseph Smith, Jr., was a prophet.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessarily inappropriate to use the Book of Mormon in this way, provided the claims can be substantiated. Nevertheless, using the Book of Mormon as a sign is different from using it as scripture.

The term “scripture” is, at once, more precise and more difficult. In one sense, scripture simply consists of those writings defined as such by the Church (meaning both RLDS and LDS churches). Beyond this rather circular definition, however, the term becomes somewhat murky. The Church defines scripture to establish some kind of ultimate doctrinal authority. The New Testament canon, for example, was initially defined to counter the canon established by the heretic Marcion. Thus, to fix the canon was to establish doctrinal orthodoxy in an authoritative way.

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<sup>1</sup> Tillich would argue that the Book of Mormon should be classified as a symbol rather than a sign since it can be seen as participating in the reality to which it points (1959, 54–56).

Scripture, then, is a source of doctrinal orthodoxy, but the precise nature of that authority is open to interpretation. In the early centuries of the Christian era, a literalistic interpretation of scripture was one approach among many. Biblical literalism as the only legitimate approach to scripture was largely the invention of conservative protestants during the nineteenth century. Generally speaking, neither the LDS nor the RLDS churches have supported a fully literalistic approach to scriptural interpretation. This reluctance can be attributed both to suspicions about the integrity of the biblical text and to a high regard for contemporary revelation. On the other hand, the literature of both churches contains numerous examples of proof-texting, which is implicitly literalistic. We tend to have a high view of the authority of scripture but do not want to give scriptures complete doctrinal authority because of our equally high regard for contemporary revelation. Furthermore, when conflicts arise between our stated beliefs and the scriptures, we sometimes ignore the scriptures altogether. The problem is practical: What do we do when our scriptures support doctrines which are at variance with our own views and with the official doctrinal statements of our religious institutions?

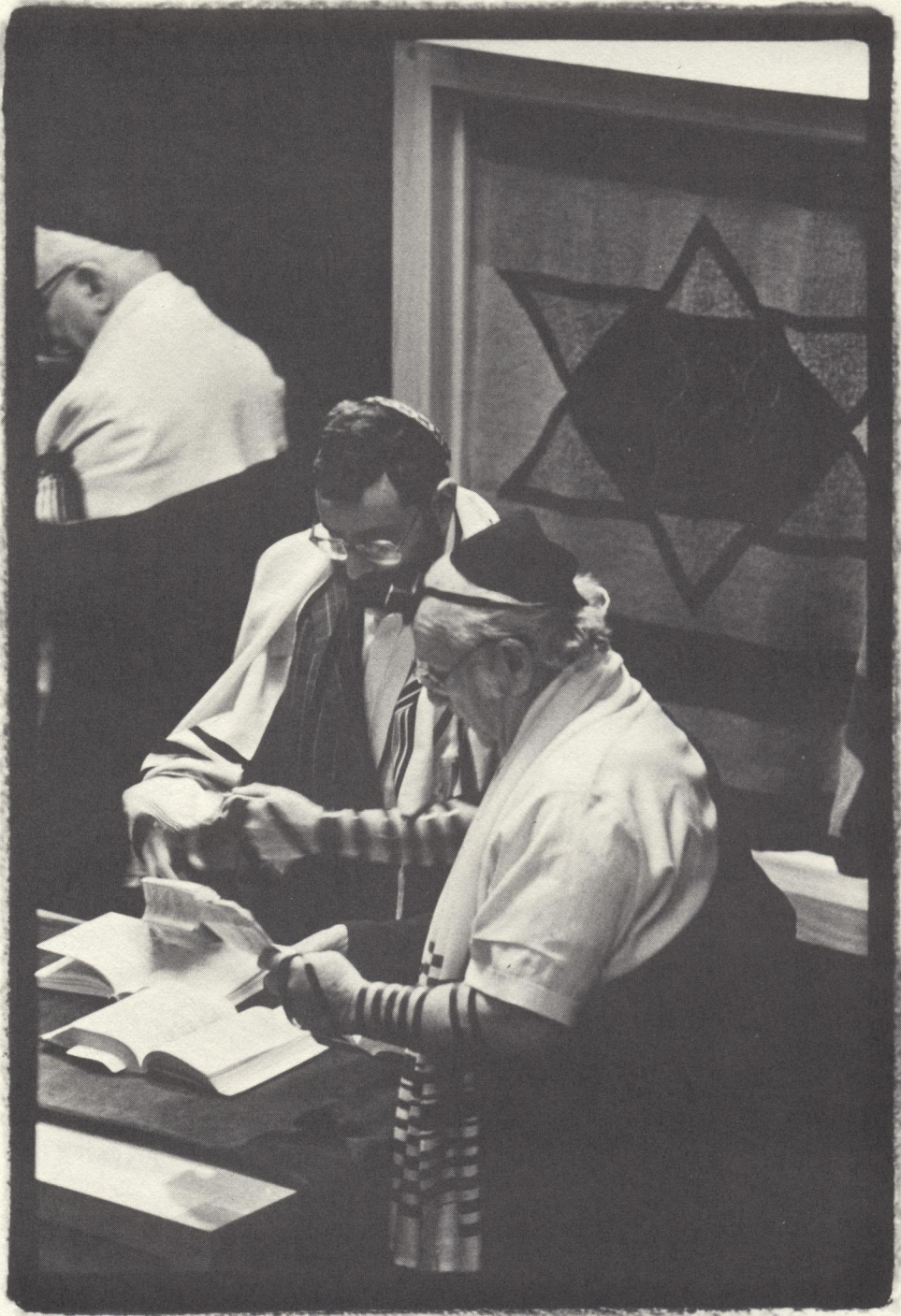
The LDS and RLDS churches have a similar problem in defining the nature of scriptural authority. I do not intend to solve that problem in this brief essay. Indeed, I expect that the two churches will approach that problem in quite different ways. However, I will explore the problems through some Book of Mormon examples in hopes of clarifying the nature of the problem.

Any responsible study of scripture should first establish the text, preferably in the original language, and the political, social, and cultural context out of which the scripture arose. Yet, even so basic an issue is unresolved with respect to the Book of Mormon. Is it an actual account of the peoples whose stories it tells? We have not yet been able to develop an ancient American context with enough persuasiveness and richness of detail to contribute to our understanding of what the Book of Mormon is saying. To my knowledge, no one has ever been able to identify a significant correlation between Book of Mormon place names and personal names with ancient American place names and personal names. Similarly, I am unaware of a widely accepted chronology of an ancient American civilization which correlates with the chronology of the Book of Mormon. In themselves, these factors do not "disprove" the Book of Mormon; they simply make it difficult to interpret it from an ancient American context.

Is the Book of Mormon the creation of Joseph Smith? If so, we can establish the text in its original language and we can know a great deal about the conditions which prevailed when it was written, but why, then, should it be accepted as scripture? Needless to say, the obvious disadvantage of this position is that most Church members do not believe that Joseph Smith composed the Book of Mormon.

Thus we are left with this apparent dilemma: Either the Book of Mormon was written on golden plates which were delivered to Joseph Smith by an angel and translated by supernatural means, or it was written by a semi-literate farmer. This is hostile territory for Occam's razor. It is not my intention to







offer evidence and summarize arguments once again. Although such work must be done, my concern is with interpreting the Book of Mormon, a task that is always done on less than solid ground, regardless of our sympathies.

The Book of Mormon is pessimistic about human nature (Lindgren 1983). According to Book of Mormon teachings, we are not on a progressive journey to righteousness and perfection. Rather, as we become righteous, we prosper. As we prosper, we become proud. Our pride leads us to sin. Thus, our righteousness holds within itself the seeds of our downfall. The golden age of the Nephites, for example, leads not to glory, but to destruction. If the Book of Mormon is a story of the conflict between good and evil, it is disturbing to note that evil wins twice.

The following example from the book of Helaman demonstrates the pessimism of the Book of Mormon at its extreme:

Oh, how foolish, and how vain, and how evil and devilish, and how quick to do iniquity, and how slow to do good are the children of men; how quick to hearken to the words of the evil one and to set their hearts upon the vain things of the world; how quick to be lifted up in pride; and how quick to boast and do all manner of that which is iniquity; and how slow are they to remember the Lord their God and to give ear to his counsels; how slow to walk in wisdom's paths!

Behold, they do not desire that the Lord their God, who has created them, should rule and reign over them; notwithstanding his great goodness and his mercy toward them, they do set at naught his counsels, and they will not that he should be their guide.

Oh how great is the nothingness of the children of men; yea, even they are less than the dust of the earth (RLDS Hel. 4:53–57; LDS 12:4–7).

Godhood is hardly within our reach. We are depraved, and our depravity does not result from our willfulness alone. It comes from the structure of human existence itself. We are, through no choice of our own, in the midst of a cycle in which our righteousness will lead to prosperity and pride, and eventually to sin. What, then, do we do with eternal progression?

For a second example, let us look briefly at the doctrine of the trinity (Hale 1983). At first glance, the Book of Mormon would appear to have a rather classical, trinitarian understanding of God. In 3 Nephi, for example, we find: “And after this manner shall ye baptize in my name, for, behold, verily I say to you that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and the Father and I are one” (RLDS 5:27; LDS 11:27). But what does Jesus mean here when he says that he and the Father are one? Is he being trinitarian, or does he mean something else?

We get a clue from 2 Nephi: “But there is a God, and he is Christ; and he comes in the fullness of his own time” (RLDS 8:14; LDS 11:7). This passage seems to indicate that God and Christ are one and the same, but it is possible that is just a manner of speaking, a way of saying that Jesus Christ is divine. Yet we must consider the words of Abinidi:

Now Abinidi said to them, “I would that you should understand that God himself shall come down among the children of men and shall redeem his people.

“And because he dwells in flesh, he shall be called the Son of God; and having subjected the flesh to the will of the Father, being the Father and the Son — the

Father because he was conceived by the power of God, and the Son because of the flesh; thus becoming the Father and Son — they are one God, the very eternal Father of heaven and of earth.

“Thus the flesh becoming subject to the Spirit, or the Son to the Father, being one God, suffers temptation, and yields not to the temptation, but suffers himself to be mocked and scourged, and cast out, and disowned by his people” (RLDS Mosiah 8:28–32; LDS 15:1–5).

Note that Jesus *is* the Father, and that he is *called* the Son “because he dwells in the flesh.” This description of the nature of the Godhead appears to be a type of modalistic Monarchianism. Monarchianism, a view which has arisen several times in the history of Christianity, is a type of monotheism which rejects any compromise on the belief in one God, including the trinitarian assertion that the one God exists in three “persons.” Modalistic Monarchianism (known as “Sabellianism” for its third-century proponent who was excommunicated for his views and also as “patripassionism”) holds that God the Father and Jesus Christ are one and the same. God acts in different “modes”—sometimes as the Father, sometimes as the Son, and sometimes as the Holy Spirit.

The most striking thing about the presence of this idea in the Book of Mormon, however, is not its heretical status, but rather that it is so much in conflict today with the trinitarianism of the Reorganized Church and with the pluralism of the LDS Church. Somehow, the two churches have developed separate and opposing views of God, both of which apparently conflict with the idea of God presented in the Book of Mormon.

How is it that we find ourselves in this situation? I think that it is because we have tended to use the Book of Mormon primarily as a sign and not as scripture. We have been concerned about its authorship and historicity. We have been concerned with ancient American archeology and chiasmus. But we have been less concerned with understanding the theological content of the Book of Mormon itself. To put it another way, the Book of Mormon has become an object of faith rather than a source of faith, a point of doctrine rather than a vehicle of doctrine. The result has been to obscure its theological content.

In the Restoration movement, we are both blessed and cursed with a powerful mythology, or faith-saga, concerning our origins. Ordinary events take on supernatural meanings. Joseph’s experience in the grove is not just a walk in the woods. It is a pivotal event in God’s purposeful activity in history. Similarly, the Book of Mormon is not just another book. The story of its coming forth cannot be separated from the story of the restoration of the Church. The Book of Mormon, then, becomes a powerful sign or symbol of the Restoration movement itself. Oddly enough, this tends to make the book opaque as we regard its teachings. We become awed by what the book stands for, and our awe distracts us from examining its content.

Scriptural status does not rest upon questions of historicity. It is likely that significant portions of the Old Testament canon are not fully historical as they stand today. Others, such as the book of Job, may not be historical

at all. Writings are scriptural because the Church holds them as normative or authoritative.

But the words “normative” and “authoritative” do not necessarily imply that each idea conveyed by scripture must be accepted uncritically. Such a position is, first of all, logically impossible because of conflicting ideas within the canon itself. More important, to see the gospel primarily in terms of doctrine is to make the gospel into an intellectual exercise. Scripture is normative and authoritative because it represents a common point for the beginning of theological discourse.

The faith of the Church is not grounded in a particular set of intellectual beliefs. It is grounded in the experience of being saved or redeemed by God through Jesus Christ. The faith once delivered to the Saints is the experience of salvation, not a list of doctrines. Doctrine may convey and communicate the faith, but it is not the faith itself. Doctrine helps us to understand what has happened to us and allows us to communicate that experience to others. If we do not understand ourselves as being redeemed, there is no faith. Scripture, then, must somehow reach out to us and convey the experience of redemption as well as ideas about redemption. Words written in one time and place may reach out to us, in another time and place, to reveal God’s saving grace.

David Tracy examines this process through the idea of the “classic.” A classic, Tracy writes, has an “excess of meaning” which allows it to speak in a way that transcends its own time and culture. A classic, in his view, should be encountered and understood rather than obeyed in the narrow sense of blind acceptance (1981, 99–130).

For the Church to say that the Book of Mormon is scripture, then, is to say that it has the capacity to illuminate and communicate the gospel. It has the capacity to engage us in a dialogue which enables us to understand the nature of God’s redemption in our lives. If the Book of Mormon is capable of eliciting this kind of encounter, then the Church is amply justified in using it as scripture. Questions concerning its origin and authorship, while important in the process of interpretation, are secondary. As Tracy explains, “The classic text’s fate is that only its constant reinterpretation by later finite, historical, temporal beings who will risk asking its questions and listening, critically and tactfully, to its responses can actualize the event of understanding beyond its present fixation in a text” (1981, 102).

In other words, unless we can maintain this encounter with a text, it dies for us as scripture. The most significant threat to the Book of Mormon, then, is not questions of its historicity. The most significant threat is that it will be ignored by the faithful. If we refuse to ask questions and listen to its responses, we will have an artifact which has no scriptural function despite our reverence for it.

What, then, would constitute a scriptural approach to the Book of Mormon? I suspect that most of us will find ourselves listening to it and arguing with it. I would not expect to find many members of the Restoration movement becoming modalistic Monarchianists because of Abinidi, however great his courage. But I expect people to continue to ask questions about the nature

of the human predicament, about the nature of God's redemptive activity in Christ, and about God's activity outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition. We may even find ourselves wondering about what it means to be faithful in an age of skepticism.

As we encounter these issues within the Book of Mormon, I expect we will find ourselves arguing with the book's answers much of the time. This is not an uncommon response, however. The book of Jonah argues with the notion of Jewish exclusiveness espoused by Ezra and Nehemiah. The book of Job argues with the piety-prosperity theory espoused by Judges through 2 Kings. The New Testament includes arguments between Paul and James.

These suggestions are admittedly tentative and incomplete. I suspect that the question of scriptural authority can never be finally settled. There is always a sense in which scripture is something more than what we define it to be. We always seem to be adjusting ourselves to scripture because we find that scripture does not always stay within the definitions we set for it.

We are always left with questions, but these questions are not about historicity and authorship. In the end, the questions are not even theological in the strict intellectual sense. The questions are ultimately about commitment and faith. The authority of scripture can never be confined to the realm of intellect alone. It must be an authority which touches the most basic decisions we make about how we choose to live. Nevertheless, the questions remain, and we are obligated to answer them as clearly as we can.

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# Sonnet for Spring

*Linda Sillitoe*

there's honeysuckle in the exhaust, a fine green  
beard between walks. spring softens us  
again. now we confess the earth is a drum  
encased in living skin, not concrete.  
it's harder to forget the beat of boots on skin.  
and yet we forget as hut-dwellers in the shade  
of giant missiles forget, long enough to live.

forgetting doesn't mean we don't remember.

daily we avoid small obstacles and wait  
our turn. we forget who burned, who burns,  
who still knows the crunch of a fist on her face  
and the unwelcome thrust. we need a newborn jazz  
to sing out the forgotten. we meet the boots  
on mutual ground and agree we all are barefoot.  
walking home, we smell the honeysuckle and at  
skies' edge we glimpse the lift of shining wings.

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# Elohim and Jehovah in Mormonism and the Bible

*Boyd Kirkland*

Currently, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints defines the Godhead as consisting of three separate and distinct personages or Gods: Elohim, or God the Father; Jehovah, or Jesus Christ, the Son of God both in the spirit and in the flesh; and the Holy Ghost. The Father and the Son have physical, resurrected bodies of flesh and bone, but the Holy Ghost is a spirit personage. Jesus' title of Jehovah reflects his pre-existent role as God of the Old Testament. These definitions took official form in "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve" (1916) as the culmination of five major stages of theological development in Church history (Kirkland 1984):

1. Joseph Smith, Mormonism's founder, originally spoke and wrote about God in terms practically indistinguishable from then-current protestant theology. He used the roles, personalities, and titles of the Father and the Son interchangeably in a manner implying that he believed in only one God who manifested himself as three persons. The Book of Mormon, revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants prior to 1835, and Smith's 1832 account of his First Vision all reflect "trinitarian" perceptions. He did not use the title Elohim at all in this early stage and used Jehovah only rarely as the name of the "one" God.

2. The 1835 Lectures on Faith and Smith's official 1838 account of his First Vision both emphasized the complete separateness of the Father and the Son. The Lectures on Faith did not consider the Holy Ghost to be a personage at all, but rather defined it to be the mind of God: "There are two personages who constitute the great, matchless, governing, and supreme power over all things. . . . the Father and the Son — the Father being a personage of spirit, glory and power, possessing all perfection and fullness, the Son . . . a personage

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of tabernacle . . . possessing the same mind with the Father, which mind is the Holy Spirit, that bears record of the Father and the Son, and these three are one . . .” (Lundwall, 48). The names Elohim and Jehovah were both used in association with God the Father, who was also considered to be the God of the Old Testament (Kirkland 1984, 37).

3. Between 1838 and 1844, Joseph Smith introduced the concept of an infinite lineal hierarchy of Gods. The book of Abraham describes the creation as being performed by “the Gods” (4:1), and the King Follett Discourse further describes these Gods as a council presided over by a “head God” clearly a patriarchal superior to God the Father (Larson 1978, 202–03; Hale 1978, 212–18; Kirkland 1984, 38). Elohim was used variously as the name of God the Father, the name of a “Head God” who directed the Father in the creation of the world, and as a plural representing the Council of the Gods. The name Jehovah was also still associated with the Father, not with Jesus. The Holy Ghost was now generally referred to by Joseph Smith as being a personage.

4. In the 1854 general conference of the Church and on many other occasions throughout his life, Brigham Young taught that God the Father was also known as Michael. After creating the earth under the direction of Elohim and Jehovah, his patriarchal superiors in the Council of the Gods, Michael descended from his exalted, immortal status to become Adam, the first man, to provide his spiritual progeny with physical tabernacles. While in this fallen condition, his Father Elohim, the “grandfather” of mankind, presided over the earth in his stead. Following his “death,” Adam returned to his exalted status and presided over Israel using both titles, Elohim and Jehovah. Jesus was begotten by this personage both spiritually and in the flesh (Kirkland 1984, 38–40; Buerger 1982, 14–58).

5. Between Brigham Young’s death and the turn of the century, a mixture of all of the previously discussed theological positions circulated within the Church causing much conflict and confusion. To achieve some semblance of harmony between these widely varying ideas, as well as to quell external attacks from anti-Mormon critics at the “Adam-God” doctrine, Mormon leaders carefully reformulated Mormon theology around the turn of the century and articulated it in 1916 (Kirkland 1984, 39–41). These adjustments remain as the current doctrine of the Church today. As a result, much of the original meaning and context of the various godhead references in earlier Mormon scripture and teachings were lost as they were redefined or discarded during this harmonizing process. The Bible was used only as a secondary “proof-text” source for this reformulation of theology, as Mormon sources (regardless of their own extreme diversities) were considered to be more doctrinally sound and pure.

Just as the Mormon historical record demonstrates that its leaders have varied in their perceptions of God, modern biblical scholarship has shown that the Bible’s own authors had varying perceptions of God (Anderson 2:427–28; 411–14; 654–56 Moule 2:430–36; Terrien 1982, 1150–52; Rankin 1962, 90–99). Prior to the Exodus, a multiplicity of gods were understood to exist, each having his own realm of influence on earthly affairs. Israel’s earliest beliefs were monaltrous, i.e., other gods were acknowledged to exist but they were

all subject to the God of Israel who reigned over them in the divine “council of the gods” (Anderson 1981, 427–28; Rankin 1962, 92–93; Robinson 1944, 151–57). This belief was eventually modified into extreme monotheism, or the belief in only one God. At this stage, the one true God was granted many of the divine appellations associated with the other previously recognized deities, and earlier biblical records were edited to more closely conform with this monotheistic point of view. Monotheism achieved its apex in the writings of Isaiah and is carried on through the end of the Old Testament. The New Testament continues with the monotheistic theme by teaching the supremacy of one true God, now called the Father, but it also introduces two additional subordinate divine personalities: Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Holy Ghost or spirit of God.

Since theological evolution and diversity characterize both biblical and Mormon history, it would be unusual for current Mormon definitions of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah to coincide with the Bible’s usage of those names. This essay examines how Elohim and Jehovah are used in the Bible and compares this with the current Mormon definitions and position that the pre-existent Jesus Christ was Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament.

Most Latter-day Saints do not realize how often the names Elohim and Jehovah<sup>1</sup> appear in the Old Testament because they have been translated from Hebrew into English. *Elohim* occurs 2,570 times and is closely related to El, which occurs some 238 times. Jehovah is by far the most frequently used Hebrew name for God in the Old Testament, occurring some 6,823 times. King James translators translated Elohim and El as “God” and Jehovah as “LORD,” (all caps) and used “Lord” for the Hebrew *Adonai*, which Hebrew biblical editors often substituted for Jehovah in the prophetic books out of respect for the divine name (Stone 1944, 10, 18; Anderson 2:409–14, 3:150; Roberts 1976, 256–58; Rankin 1962, 96).

While Elohim and Jehovah appear very frequently in the Old Testament, these divine names do not designate two different gods with a Father-Son relationship as they do in Mormonism. Depending upon the intentions of the author, God may be referred to as Elohim, Jehovah, or Jehovah-Elohim. Elohim has the Hebrew masculine plural ending, *im*, and can designate gods generally, the gods of Israel’s neighbors, one of these gods (despite its technical plurality), or Israel’s God. Jehovah is the personal name of Israel’s God as revealed to Moses (Ex. 6:2–3) and hence is never used in a plural sense or ever designates anyone but Israel’s God. Jehovah is used in combination with, parallel to, and as a synonym for El or Elohim (Anderson 1981, 409–14;

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<sup>1</sup> A more proper expression of the divine name is Yahweh, but I will use Jehovah, the more common term in Mormonism. The origin of “Jehovah” is, according to Rankin: “In the sixteenth century (1520) Christian theologians — not without the protest of certain scholars — combining the vowels of *Adhonai* with the consonants JHVH, produced the form Jehovah, a purely fictitious name which has become hallowed by four centuries of use. But the evidence of the pronunciation of the divine name as *Jahweh* is particularly good, for it is founded on the tradition handed down by Theodoret that the Samaritans pronounced the name as *Iabe* and upon Clement of Alexandria, who wrote “the mystic name of four letters’ as *Iaoue*” (1962, 96).



Rankin 1962, 94–95; Roberts 1976, 257). The author of the second account of creation in Genesis 2 intentionally combined the two names Jehovah-Elohim (LORD God) to “Affirm that Jehovah is Elohim, the God of all times” (Anderson 1981, 414). Reading several passages containing the original Hebrew names instead of the King James translations shows the effort being made by the biblical authors to identify Elohim (or El) and Jehovah as being the same God:

For Jehovah your Elohim is Elohim of Elohim(s), and Adonai of Adonais, the great El, mighty and terrible” (Deut. 10:17).

I am Jehovah, the Elohim of Abraham thy father, and the Elohim of Isaac” (Gen. 28:13).

Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you . . . Jehovah, the Elohim of your fathers . . . of Abraham . . . of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath sent me unto you” (Ex. 3:14–15).

Jehovah is El of the Gods! Jehovah is El of the Gods! He knows, and let Israel itself know” (Josh. 22:22).

For Jehovah is the Great El, the Great King over all the gods” (Ps. 95:3) (Roberts 1976, 257).

This intermixing of the names for God may be best understood by noting that El, or Elohim, was favored by the northern kingdom of Israel while Judah, or the southern kingdom, preferred Jehovah (Miller and Miller 1973, 154). Thus, biblical scholars have been able to trace two main sources of thought in the Old Testament: the “J” or Jehovistic source, and the “E” or Elohistic source (Anderson 2:409; Fretheim 1976, 260; Brueggemann 1976, 971). According to the J source, Jehovah was known among the patriarchs prior to the time of Moses (Gen. 4:26; 12:8; 26:25); but according to the E source, the patriarchs worshipped El (Gen. 33:20) and the name of Jehovah was not revealed until Moses’ time (Ex. 3:13–16; 6:2–3). The Bible contains two accounts of creation, the first attributed to Elohim, the second to Jehovah; two accounts of the flood story interwoven in Genesis 6–7; and many Psalms which favor one name or the other. For example, Elohim is used four times as often for God as Jehovah in Psalms 42–83 while the rest of the Psalms use Jehovah twenty times as often as Elohim (Miller and Miller 1973, 155).

The Hebrew Old Testament was translated into Greek approximately 280 B.C. This version, the Septuagint, was the Bible of New Testament Christians. The New Testament was also written in Greek. In Greek, Jehovah and Adonai become *Kyrios*. Elohim becomes *theos* when speaking of gods generally, and *ho theos* when speaking of the one true God (Rankin 1962, 96; Anderson 2:414; Barclay 1980, 21–37, 413; Kittel 3:90, 104–5). The New Testament uses both *ho theos* and *Kyrios* to designate God the Father. Jesus is also called *Kyrios*, is only rarely called *theos*, and only once (during Thomas’ confession in John 20:28) called *ho theos*.<sup>2</sup> The fact that *ho theos* is used in

<sup>2</sup> By the second century A.D., Christians like Ignatius unhesitatingly called Jesus God. Some second-century writers, like Justin Martyr, also began describing him as the God of the Old Testament. The New Testament, however, contains very few references to Jesus as God. As Barclay has noted: “On almost every occasion in the New Testament on which Jesus seems to be called God there is a problem either of textual criticism or of translation. In

the New Testament almost exclusively of the Father indicates that the Christians equated the Father (not the Son) with the God of Israel.

Adding further confusion to sorting out the biblical usage of these words, the Hebrew word *adon* also becomes *kyrios* in Greek. *Adon* is used in the Old Testament and *kyrios* is used in the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament to designate men who are in a superior position to others (kings, commanders, slave owners, teachers, etc.); it is also often used as an address of courtesy and respect (Barclay 1980, 409–14; Campbell 1962, 130–31). Thus, when “Lord” appears in English translations, we may not automatically assume connotations of divinity. The context must be considered as well as whether the translated word is *kyrios*, *adon*, Jehovah, or *Adonai*. For example, scholars have noted a difference between the application of Lord to Jesus during mortality and following his resurrection. They generally concur that during his lifetime, *Kyrios* nearly always means “sir” or “master,” while after his resurrection, *Kyrios* becomes a divine appellation, a title of God which he bestows upon Jesus (Barclay 1980, 414–16; Cullman 1963, 180, 203–18).

There is a dramatic contrast between the Old and New Testament concepts of God as Father. God is spoken of as Father in the Old Testament only fifteen times and never in the sense of ancestor or progenitor of mankind, an idea common in Near Eastern myths. God is Father in the sense of creator (Deut. 32:6; Mal. 2:10; Ps. 103:13–22; as Father of Israel (God’s first-born), the nation he adopted out of all peoples (Deut. 14:1–2; Ex. 4:22; Jer. 31:9); and also as having Israel’s kings as adopted sons (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7). There are no examples in the Old Testament of God (whether Elohim or Jehovah) being explicitly invoked in prayer as Father (Jeremias 1979, 23–29). There are likewise no Old Testament references to God as Father of a divine Son through whom he creates and makes contact with the world.

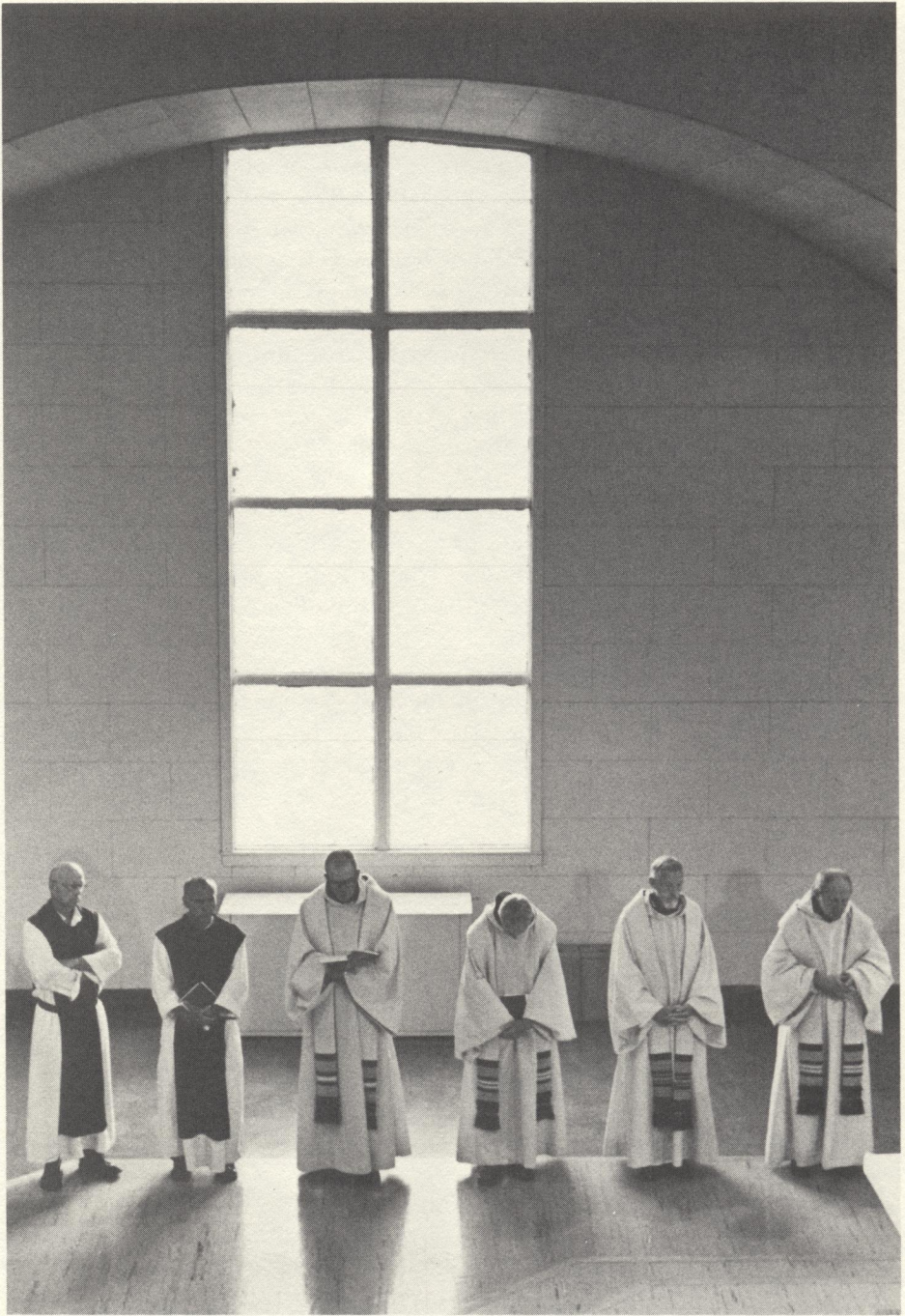
In the New Testament, however, the four Gospels alone quote Jesus calling God Father some 170 times. Jesus also apparently introduced the idea of calling God *Abba* (Mark 14:36), an intimate Aramaic equivalent of “Daddy” or “Dad.” There are no precedents from the entire literature of Jewish prayer prior to the New Testament for God being so addressed, for the Jews would have considered it disrespectful. Thus, Jesus’ use of the term indicates an extremely close relationship with God. Within the first century, *Abba* became the favorite Christian name for God and Paul explains its significance in Galatians 4:4–7 and Romans 8:14–17 (Jeremias 1979, 29–35, 58, 62–63).

Early Christians reserved “Father” for God alone (Matt. 23:9). Jesus bears witness of the name of the Father (John 5:43; 17:6), but he is never called Father himself in the Bible.<sup>3</sup> The name of God bestowed upon Jesus

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almost every case we have to discuss which of two readings is to be accepted or which of two possible translations is to be accepted” (1980, 21; 1975, 56–57; 1 Cor. 11:3; 15:28; 3:23).

<sup>3</sup> The only possible exception might be Isaiah 9:6, in which Isaiah proclaims that “a boy has been born for us, a son given to us . . . and he shall be called in purpose wonderful, in battle God-like, Father for all time, Prince of peace” (New English). However, it is not certain that Isaiah meant Jesus. None of the New Testament authors cite the passage with applica-



after his resurrection as a result of his obedience was “Lord” in the full divine sense of the term (Phil. 2:9–11; Acts 2:36). As Paul explained: “To us there is but one God, the Father . . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ” (1 Cor. 8:6).

The monotheistic theology of the Old Testament designated its God by either Elohim or Jehovah, although Jehovah predominates. Jehovah was not known as one member of a divine triad — either as Father or Son. Although comparisons might be made between Jehovah and the various divine paternal pantheons worshipped by Israel’s neighbors, Israel itself did not seem to consider Jehovah subject to any other god, paternal or otherwise. Indeed, Israel considered Jehovah superior to all other gods worshipped by her neighbors.<sup>4</sup> All the hosts of heaven were subject to him; he was sole creator of heaven, earth, and humans, including the spirit of human beings. No other god directed him in these creative acts (Gen. 14:22; Isa. 42:5; 44:24; 45:18; Jonah 1:9; Zech. 12:1; Num. 27:16; 16:22). The Israelites were thus commanded:

I am Jehovah thy Elohim, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt . . . Thou shalt have no other Elohim before me (Ex. 20:2–3).

Hear, O Israel: Jehovah our Elohim is one Jehovah; and thou shalt love Jehovah thy Elohim with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might (Deut. 6:4–5; Matt. 22:37).

Is there an Elohim beside me? Yea, there is no Elohim; I know not any. . . . I am Jehovah, and there is none else, there is no Elohim beside me (Isa. 44:8; 45:5–6; 42:8; 43:15; 44:6, 7; 2 Sam. 7:22; 1 Chron. 29:10–11, 18).

These passages exclude the possibility that the Israelites considered Jehovah to be the Son of some other supreme being or felt they could worship any other being. Instead they offered him sacrifices, built altars to him, burned incense for him in the temple, and addressed prayers directly to him:<sup>5</sup>

Give ear to my words, O Jehovah, consider my meditation. Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee I will pray. My voice shalt

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tion to Jesus. The Septuagint translation omits the reference to the promised child as being God-like or a Father. When interpreted in context, this verse most likely applies to a contemporary royal child, an heir to the throne of David, and was part of a dynastic oracle always uttered on the occasion of the anointing of a new king (Buttrick, 1956, 5:217–20; 230–34; Beegle 1978, 36–46, 71–73; Smith 1983, 39–42). The Book of Mormon’s numerous references to Jesus as the Father is an anomaly when compared with the Bible (Kirkland 1984, 37, 42, 43, notes 6, 7, 8).

<sup>4</sup> Mullen noted that just as “El alone sat as king and judge over the younger gods, his children” in the Near Eastern myths, in Israelite theology, “Yahweh, like El, is the supreme judge who issues the final decree of the [divine] Council.” He particularly takes issue with the idea that the Hebrews ever considered El to be superior to Yahweh in the divine council of the gods as some have interpreted Deuteronomy 32:8–9. Here it appears that the god *Elyon* is head of the divine council who apportions the nations among the other gods, making Israel Yahweh’s portion. Mullen argues, “The better interpretation to be in the view that *Elyon* and Yahweh are to be identified in vv. 8–9. . . . It is clear that within biblical tradition *Elyon* was regarded as a suitable appellation for Yahweh”; thus, “Yahweh/*Elyon* distributed the nations among the members of his council . . . preserving Israel as his own portion” (1980, 4–5, 202–5, 230–31, 237–38).

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 4:3–5, 8:20–21; Ex. 12:24–27, 29:18; Lev. 4:3–4, 17:5; Num. 15:3; Ps. 54:6; Gen. 8:20–21, 12:7, 13:4, 26:24–25; Ex. 17:15, 20:24–25, 30:7–8, 34–38; Lev. 4:7, 16:12–13; Deut. 33:10; Gen. 4:26, 12:8; Ps. 54:2, 6; 69:13, 16; Isa. 26:13, 16; 55:6–7; Dan. 2:23; Jonah 2:1, 2, 9; 4:2.

thou hear in the morning. O Jehovah, in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee (Ps. 5:1-3).

Jehovah hath heard my supplication; Jehovah will receive my prayer (Ps. 6:9).

Jehovah promises his people who pass through the refining fire: "Then they will invoke me by name, and I myself will answer them; I will say, 'They are my people,' and they shall say, 'Jehovah is our God.'" (Zech. 13:9, New English).

The New Testament likewise does not mention any god superior to Jehovah. Its overall message seems to be that the God of the Old Testament sent Jesus as his son into the world to redeem it. For example, Peter tells the Israelites: "The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his son Jesus, whom ye delivered up" (Acts 3:13; cf. 25-26; 5:30; 22:14; Heb. 1:1-4).

Evidence suggests that Jesus himself accepted Jewish monotheism, and considered Jehovah to be his father. The New Testament contains no evidence that he ever taught his disciples of a God superior to Jehovah, the God of Israel. In light of Jesus' desire to bear witness of the Father, and to advocate his true worship (John 4:23; 17:3), it would seem peculiar that he did not instruct the Jews to worship a God superior to Jehovah if he considered himself to be, in fact, Jehovah. On the contrary, he consistently advocated the worship of the God of Israel by citing the Old Testament commandment: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God (Jehovah thy Elohim), and him only shalt thou serve" (Matt. 4:10; cf. Deut. 10:20).

As a Jewish male, Jesus would have been taught from his youth to recite the *Shema* at least twice daily. This liturgical creed was understood to be a confession of monotheism, that is, there is no other God than Jehovah (Jeremias 1979, 67-69). Jesus answered a scribe's question concerning the greatest commandment by citing a portion of it: "Hear, O Israel; Jehovah our Elohim is one Jehovah, and thou shalt love Jehovah thy Elohim with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength" (Mark 12:28-30).

The scribe affirmed that there was "one God; and there is none other but he," to which Jesus responded: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God" (vs. 32, 34). This one God, according to Jesus, was the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob (vs. 26). In John 8:54, Jesus identified the God of Israel as his Father, saying to the Jews: "It is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say, that he is your God." Of course, Jesus knew that the God of the Jews was Jehovah.

Jesus' pattern of worship and prayer followed the Jewish practices current in his day. He considered the temple which the Israelites had built for Jehovah, to be his Father's house (John 2:16). He was familiar with and probably practiced the three daily times of formal prayer, all of which were addressed to Jehovah. According to Jeremias (1979, 72-78), the *Tephilla*, or afternoon prayer, contained the following "two striking solemn invocations of God": "Blessed be thou, Lord (our God and the God of our fathers), the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (God great, mighty and fearful), most high God, master of heaven and earth. . . ." Jeremias com-

ments: "When Jesus speaks of God as the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (Mark 12:26) and when he, ordinarily so sparing in the use of divine names, calls God 'Lord of heaven and earth' in Matt. 11:25, this twofold coincidence with the wording of the first benediction of the *Tephilla* indicates Jesus' familiarity with it."

Beyond these three traditional Jewish prayers, Jesus prayed more personally, addressing God as Father. The only scriptural example of Jesus calling upon God by invoking a divine name is his cry from the cross: "My God, my God, (*Eloi, Eloi*) why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34; Matt. 27:46), a quotation of Psalms 22:1, a chapter which influenced the crucifixion narrative at several points (Matt. 27:35, 39, 43; Ps. 22:18, 7, 8).

The uncompromising monotheism of the *Shema* was equally fundamental to the Christians. Paul essentially Christianized the *Shema* when he wrote, "There is none other God but one . . . . To us there is but one God" (1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Bruce 1980, 80; Morris 1981, 126). In all of his letters, Paul consistently identified this one God as the Father, and on at least two occasions specifically identified him as being "the God of my fathers" (1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Rom. 1:7; Eph. 1:2; Col. 1:2; Phil. 1:2; Philem. 3; Acts 24:14; 2 Tim. 1:3). He never equated Jesus and God but saw Jesus as subordinate to God the Father (1 Cor. 11:3; 15:28; 3:23; Barclay 1975, 56–57).

For Paul, Jesus was not the god of the Old Testament come to earth. He was rather the Son of God, who, by virtue of his total obedience to the Father in submitting himself to death on the cross, was "highly exalted" after resurrection by God and given "a name which is above every name" (Phil. 2:5–10; Rom. 1:4; Acts 2:36). The name above every name was the name of God the Father himself: Lord or *Kyrios*, the Greek equivalent of Jehovah (Phil. 2:11; Cullman 1963, 174, 180, 204, 216–18). In transferring the title "Lord" from the Father to Christ, the early Christians perceived Christ as performing in the role of God (Houlden 1977, 78; Martin 1981, 104–5). Christ's authority became cosmic in scope, although he occupied his exalted status "to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:11). The Christians preserved monotheism by speaking of Jesus' throne as no rival to the Father's throne (Rev. 3:21).

At this stage of New Testament Christology, Christians accustomed to calling Christ *Kyrios* would sometimes apply to him Old Testament passages originally referring to the God of Israel.<sup>6</sup> F. F. Bruce explained:

For Greek-speaking Christians to whom Jesus was the *Kyrios* or Lord *par excellence* it was an easy matter to understand *Kyrios* in the Greek Old Testament to refer to

<sup>6</sup> Mark 1:2–3/Mal. 3:1; Isa. 40:3; Rom. 10:13/Joel 2:32; Phil. 2:9–11/Isa. 45:23; 1 Cor. 10:4/Deut. 32:15 & Psalm 78:35; Jude 5/Ex. 12:51 & Num. 14:20–29. Paul's allusion to Christ as the Rock that followed the children of Israel in the wilderness (1 Cor. 10:1–4) is perhaps best explained by his rabbinic interpretation of the Old Testament: "According to the traditions of the Rabbis the rock from which the children of Israel received water in their wilderness journeyings actually followed them throughout their journeyings ever after. That is a miracle story which is not part of the Old Testament narrative. It was one of the Rabbinic traditions and Paul knew it and used it" (Barclay 1975, 17; Anderson 2:415; Cullman 1963, 234–37).



Him. If again, actions ascribed to Yahweh in the Exodus wilderness narratives are elsewhere ascribed to His angel—the one of whom he said ‘my name is in him’ (Ex. 23:20f; cf. 14–19; 32:34; 33:2, 14ff)—then the interpretation of this special angel in terms of the Son of God before His incarnation presented no difficulty (1969, 35–36; 1979, 89–91).

Jesus, however, never quoted Old Testament passages about *Kyrios* with reference to himself, but always with reference to God the Father. Cullman summarized the effect of Jesus’ receiving the name “Lord” this way: “The designation of Jesus as *Kyrios* has the further consequence that actually all the titles of honour for God himself (with the exception of ‘Father’) may be transferred to Jesus. Once he was given the ‘name which is above every name,’ God’s own name (‘Lord’, *Adonai*, *Kyrios*), then no limitations at all could be set for the transfer of divine attributes to him (1963, 234, 236–37).

Thus both the Father and the Son are ascribed the roles and titles of Lord, Savior, Redeemer, Creator, Judge, I Am, Alpha and Omega, etc., in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, most passages referring to Jesus as Savior also designate God the Father as Savior in the Old Testament sense of the word which have no connotation of atonement but instead refer to rescue from pain, trouble, or enemies (1 Tim. 1:1, 2:3, 4:10; Titus 1:3, 2:10, 3:4; Luke 1:47; Jude 25; Cullman 1963, 241–42; Barclay 1980, 217).

John’s gospel, written late in the first century, goes far beyond the synoptic gospels in attributing divinity to Jesus and perhaps comes closest to identifying Jesus with the God of the Old Testament by having Jesus refer to himself in John 8:58 and other verses (8:16, 24, 28) as *ego eimi* (I Am). Since Jehovah gave his name to Moses as “I Am” (Ex. 3:14–15), many have concluded that Jesus was attempting to identify himself as the God of Israel. Harner interprets John’s intent, not as identifying Jesus as the same “I Am” who revealed himself to Moses, but rather as implying that Jesus was also divine and shared the divine nature of the Father, John’s theme throughout his gospel (“the word was with God [*ho theos*], and the word was god [*theos*]” 1:1). He attributes John’s “I Am” to the septuagint translation of *ani hu* and ‘anoki’ *anoki hu* (I am He) in monotheistic Isaiah (41:4; 43:10, 13, 25; 45:18; 46:4; 51:12; 52:6) rather than to Exodus and stresses John’s emphasis of subordinate and obedient relationship of the Son to the Father whenever he had Jesus saying *ego eimi* (1970, 6–15, 38–48, 51–58, 60–62; Barrett 1982, 19–34).

Many biblical scholars have noted the important role of Psalm 110:1 in influencing early Christians to apply “Lord” to Christ (Houlden 1977, 78; Cullman 1963, 222–26; Hay 1973, 15, 42, 104–8): “The LORD (Jehovah) said unto my Lord (*adoni*), Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.”

<sup>7</sup> On the Father as Lord, see Luke 1:15, 16, 32, 46, 68; 2:9, 26, 29; Acts 2:34, etc.; on the Father as Savior, see Luke 1:47; 1 Tim. 1:1; 2:3; 4:10; Titus 1:3; 2:10; 3:4–7; Jude 25; on the Father as Redeemer see Luke 1:68; on the Father as creator see Acts 17:24; Eph. 3:9; Heb. 1:2; on the Father as judge see Acts 17:31; Rom. 2:16; 3:6; Heb. 12:23–24; 1 Thess. 3:13; 1 Pet. 2:23; on the Father as Alpha and Omega see Rev. 1:8; 21:6.

In the Septuagint, “Jehovah” and *adoni* were translated *Kyrios* (Cullman 1963, 131). The New Testament ascribes to Jesus the role of the second *kyrios* (*adoni*) who was invited to sit at God’s (Jehovah’s) right hand. New Testament authors quote or allude to Psalm 110:1 more than any other Old Testament passage (some thirty-three times) with references to Jesus (Hay 1973, 15; Cullman 1963, 223). In Phillipians 2:9–11, all powers in heaven, earth, and under the earth become subject to Christ when God grants him the name “Lord” (*Kyrios*), just as in Psalms 110:1 the “Lord” is master of all enemies when Jehovah invites him to sit at his right hand. Acts 2:36 caps an argument that Jesus is both *Kyrios* and Christ based on his resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of God in fulfillment of Psalm 110:1 (vs. 32–35). Clearly, then, the new Testament Christians identified the first *Kyrios* (Jehovah) spoken of in this psalm with God the Father.

Jesus himself cited this psalm: “What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, the LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?” (Matt. 22:41–46).

The New Testament portrays Jesus as consciously identifying his mission with the suffering servant of Jehovah discussed in Isaiah who would reestablish the covenant between God and Israel: “Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter . . . Yet it pleased Jehovah to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin . . .” (53:5–7, 10/Acts 8:32–35; Isa. 53:4/Matt. 8:17; Isa. 42:1–4/Matt. 12:14–21; Isa. 53:12/Luke 23:37; Isa. 53:1/John 12:38; Isa. 53:6–9/2 Cor. 5:21; Isa. 53:6–7/1 Pet. 1:19 & 2:22–25; Cullman 1963, 51, 60–68).

In the Gospels, Jesus obviously rejects the traditional Jewish expectations of a militant, political king descended from David, and describes his role in terms similar to Isaiah’s suffering servant: “The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected . . . and be killed, and after three days rise again” (Mark 8:31; Luke 17:25; Cullman 1963, 51, 60–69, 120–27). The conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–39) demonstrates early Christian belief that Jesus was the servant of Jehovah described in Isaiah 53 for Philip reads this passage to the eunuch and explains that it refers to Jesus.<sup>8</sup> Hence, the New Testament Christians who equated Jesus with the suffering servant of Jehovah would not have considered him to be Jehovah himself come to earth.

Further, Jesus specifically cited his appointment from Jehovah by reading Isaiah 61:1: “The Spirit of Jehovah is upon me, because he hath anointed

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<sup>8</sup> Biblical scholars have shown many valid reasons for questioning a messianic interpretation of Isaiah’s suffering servant passages, regardless of the New Testament Christians’ hindsight application of these passages to Jesus following his resurrection (Cullman 1963, 52–79; Barclay 1980, 163–86; Smith 1983, 43–45; Ackroyd 1982, 363–64).



me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised" etc. (Luke 4: 18–21/Isa. 11: 1–2).

The Jews expected their messiah to be "the anointed one of Jehovah," following the designation of Israel's kings by that title (1 Sam. 9:16; 24:6; 2 Sam. 7:12–14). As Jehovah's anointed, the Messiah would turn all nations to the worship of Jehovah, the true God (Jer. 30:8–9; Ps. 2; Ezek. 37:21–28; Cullman 1963, 113–15; Jenni 3:365; Barclay 1980, 95–112). Micah thus predicted:

But you, O Bethlehem Ephratha, who are little to be among the class of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler in Israel, whose origin is from old, from ancient days. . . . And he shall stand and feed his flock in this strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah his God. And they shall dwell secure, for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth; and he shall be a man of peace" (Micah 5:2–5, Revised Standard).

Thus, neither the Old Testament's messianic prophecies, nor its discussions of a suffering servant which the New Testament authors applied to Jesus support the idea of Jehovah coming to earth himself to enact these roles.<sup>9</sup> Instead they portray Jehovah, God, as sending the Messiah, his servant, into the world.

Thus, the current Mormon definitions of Elohim and Jehovah, with Jesus identified as the God of Israel, differ from the biblical record. Efforts of Mormon expositors to harmonize these definitions with the Bible have led to much misunderstanding and manipulation of the scriptures. For example, biblical passages which refer to Jehovah in the context of being the Father have been

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<sup>9</sup> The thought that Jehovah himself could suffer and die would have been inconceivable to the Jews. Often Mormon writers have quoted Isaiah 26:4, 19 and Zechariah 12:10 as evidence that Jehovah himself had prophesied to Israel: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise," and "they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him," etc. For example, see Bruce R. McConkie 1969, 392; 1978, 525, 535; and B. H. Roberts 1932, 16, 17, 23–29, 32, 34, 50–52. Unfortunately, both of these passages have problems in the original Hebrew texts, which have made accurate translations very difficult, if not impossible and it is the poor King James translations of these passages which have led to these erroneous expositions. Although Roberts defended his exposition of Isaiah 26:19 when the inadequacies of the King James translation were pointed out to him, his arguments are unconvincing, and he relied most heavily on Book of Mormon prophecies to support his thesis (1932, 23–34). This passage in Hebrew literally reads, "Thy dead ones shall live; my corpse, they shall arise," and is obviously garbled in the original. The Septuagint tried to resolve it by deleting "my corpse." The New English Bible renders Isaiah 26:19 more accurately than the King James: "But thy dead live, their bodies will rise again."

Hebrew Zechariah 12:10 literally reads: "When they shall look unto me, he whom they pierced, they shall mourn because of him." *Biblia Hebraica* proposes that the accusative particle (not translatable in English) be amended by one letter to read "dead one" and that the vowels of the word translated "unto me" be changed to make it the poetic "unto." This would give us: "When they shall look unto the dead one whom they pierce, they shall mourn because of him." Borsch translates Zechariah 12:10 as "when they look on him whom they have pierced, they shall mourn for him," and notes that "If the Hebrew is correct to read me instead of him, the reference is probably to Yahweh: i.e., "They shall look unto me on account of the one whom they have pierced . . ." (Borsch 1967, 130). (I would like to thank John A. Tvedtnes for much of the information in this footnote.)

mistranslated to make them refer to Elohim.<sup>10</sup> Scriptural prayers addressed to Jehovah have been diluted with the interpretation that they are merely spontaneous manifestations of joy, worship, and adoration of our Savior rather than true prayers addressed to God the Father.<sup>11</sup> This interpretation has been made necessary by the Mormon belief that all true worship and prayer should be directed to God the Father, and not to the Son (McConkie 1982, 5, 19–20). If Jesus were literally Jehovah, the God of Israel, then the Israelites were indeed worshipping and praying to the Son to the exclusion of the Father. Lowell L. Bennion, commenting on this dilemma, observed that: “When Christ was on the earth he taught his disciples to worship the Father. It doesn’t seem logical to me that Christ would ask in the Old Testament to be worshipped, and not have the Father worshipped as in other scriptures, in other dispensations. . . . Jews and their Old Testament ancestors considered Elohim and Jehovah to be two names for God which both refer to a single deity in monotheism” (1980, 40).

Further, biblical Messianic prophecies in which the Messiah is obviously described as the servant of Jehovah have been misunderstood or reinterpreted.<sup>12</sup> Titles of Jehovah such as “Savior,” “Redeemer of Israel,” etc., have been removed from their Old Testament context and meaning, and paralleled with these same titles of Jesus in the New Testament to promote the Jehovah/Christ

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<sup>10</sup> Bruce R. McConkie 1978, 101–2, and Sept. 1980, 386, where he mistranslates Psalms 110:1 as: “Elohim said unto Jehovah, sit thou on my right hand,” rather than giving its correct translation of “Jehovah said unto *adonai*.” Also see *The Old Testament Part Two, Gospel Doctrine Teachers Supplement*, p. 110, where Isaiah 53:10 is clarified with bracketed comments to have LORD refer to the Father instead of Jesus because of the context: “Yet it pleased the LORD [here Elohim, the Father] to bruise him; he [the Father] hath put him [the Son] to grief.” Ironically, just the previous lesson in this Sunday School manual had explained that “LORD” was the English translation of Jehovah, who was Jesus Christ (p. 102)!

<sup>11</sup> McConkie 1978, 335–37, 561–62. Elder McConkie forcefully emphasized the inappropriateness of Church members either worshipping Christ or praying directly to Him to the exclusion of the Father in his 2 March 1982 BYU devotional address, “Our Relationship with the Lord.” In this address he acknowledged: “I know perfectly well what the scriptures say about worshipping Christ and Jehovah, but they are speaking in an entirely different sense — the sense of standing in awe and being reverentially grateful to Him who has redeemed us” (p. 5). This distinction between “reverential awe” being directed to Jehovah and all other worship being directed to some other God superior to Jehovah is nowhere apparent in the Old Testament. Ironically, in *The Millennial Messiah*, Elder McConkie emphasizes that “true religion consists in worshipping the Father, in the name of the Son, by the power of the Holy Ghost,” and then three sentences later explains “that Israel was scattered” because they stopped worshipping Jehovah [Jesus] and began to worship “false gods” (p. 196; see also pp. 662, 670–71).

<sup>12</sup> *Old Testament, Part Two*, (op. cit.), pp. 102–11 applies many of Isaiah’s suffering servant passages to Jesus but studiously avoids pointing out that this servant was subject to Jehovah. McConkie, (Feb. 1980) *The Mortal Messiah, Book 2*, p. 15, turns Micah 5:2–5 into an identification of the Messiah as “the Lord Omnipotent, the eternal God,” as opposed to its original meaning of the Messiah coming “in the majesty of the name of Jehovah his God.” On pages 21–24 of this same book, he is careful not to point out that the messianic prophesy Jesus applied to himself in Luke 4:16–22 from Isaiah 61 originally meant: “The Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor.” Here Elder McConkie interprets the Lord as having reference to the Father, rather than to Jehovah, as it originally read in the Hebrew.

identification (McConkie 1978, 107–10; Petersen n.d. 2–10; *Old Testament* 1980, 47). The “divine investiture” harmonizing concept (where the Son speaks and acts in the first person as if he were the Father) has been invoked whenever the scriptures report that God makes appearances and gives revelations to human beings. This has been made necessary because of the current Mormon concept that all revelation since the fall of Adam has come through the Son (“Christ” 1979–80, 92–97; Smith 1:27–30). Interestingly, however, these same scriptural passages are often cited in Mormonism as evidence of the Father’s physical, anthropomorphic nature. Although B. H. Roberts argued persuasively that Jesus was Jehovah in *Rasha — the Jew* (1932), his earlier work, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity*, (1903, reprint ed. by Horizon publishers, Bountiful, Utah, n.d.) argues (perhaps only for the sake of polemics?) that the anthropomorphic references to God in the Old Testament are evidence of the true nature of God the Father (see pp. 21, 22, 79, 80, 83, 90, 156–9).

Whatever argument is possible for the current LDS definitions of Elohim and Jehovah from Mormon sources, it must be admitted that these definitions do not accord with the biblical usage of those terms. Apologists aware of this problem have been forced to conclude that the entire biblical record as we now have it has been so systematically corrupted and edited through the centuries, that all indications of a theology more in conformity with current Mormon definitions have been obliterated.<sup>13</sup> Modern textual criticism and comparisons of the many available ancient manuscripts of the Bible do not lend much support to such a radical thesis, however. Likewise, efforts to show parallels between Mormonism and the polytheism of the patriarchal era also seem misdirected (Seaich 1983, 12–28). This approach is similar to the “parallelomania” which intrigued many Church members during the late ’60s and ’70s with the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi gnostic texts. Although parallels between Mormonism and these documents seem to exist, their significance greatly diminishes when these passages are returned to their original historical and literary context. The vast majority of the theology and religious practices of the groups which produced them would shock and confound most Mormons. The same may be said of the early Near Eastern polytheistic mythology.

Although we might hope it would be otherwise, religious history clearly demonstrates that perfect doctrinal harmony cannot be found within the Bible, within Mormonism, or in a comparison of the two. Although God may be infallible, human beings are not. Even inspired men in their canonized writ-

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<sup>13</sup> Mormon authors attempting to find scriptural evidence supporting the identification of Jesus with Jehovah inevitably lament the paucity of information in the Bible, and generally cite the Book of Mormon as the major source for that conclusion. See Roberts 1932, 28–29, 32–34; Smith 1979, 1:13–21; Talmage 1963, 32–41. Seaich, however, bases most of his arguments for the Jehovah/Christ doctrine on the premise that the vast majority of the God-head theology of the Old and New Testaments is unreliable, and turns to extra-biblical writings for his arguments (1983, III-V, 7–22).

ings demonstrably vary greatly in their perceptions of God. Perhaps Brigham Young said it best when he explained:

even the best of the Latter-day Saints have but a faint idea of the attributes of the Deity. Were the former and Latter-day Saints, with their Apostles, Prophets, Seers, and Revelators collected together to discuss this matter, I am led to think there would be found a great variety in their views and feelings upon this subject, without direct revelation from the Lord. It is as much my right to differ from other men, as it is theirs to differ from me, in points of doctrine and principle, when our minds cannot at once arrive at the same conclusion (JD 2:123).

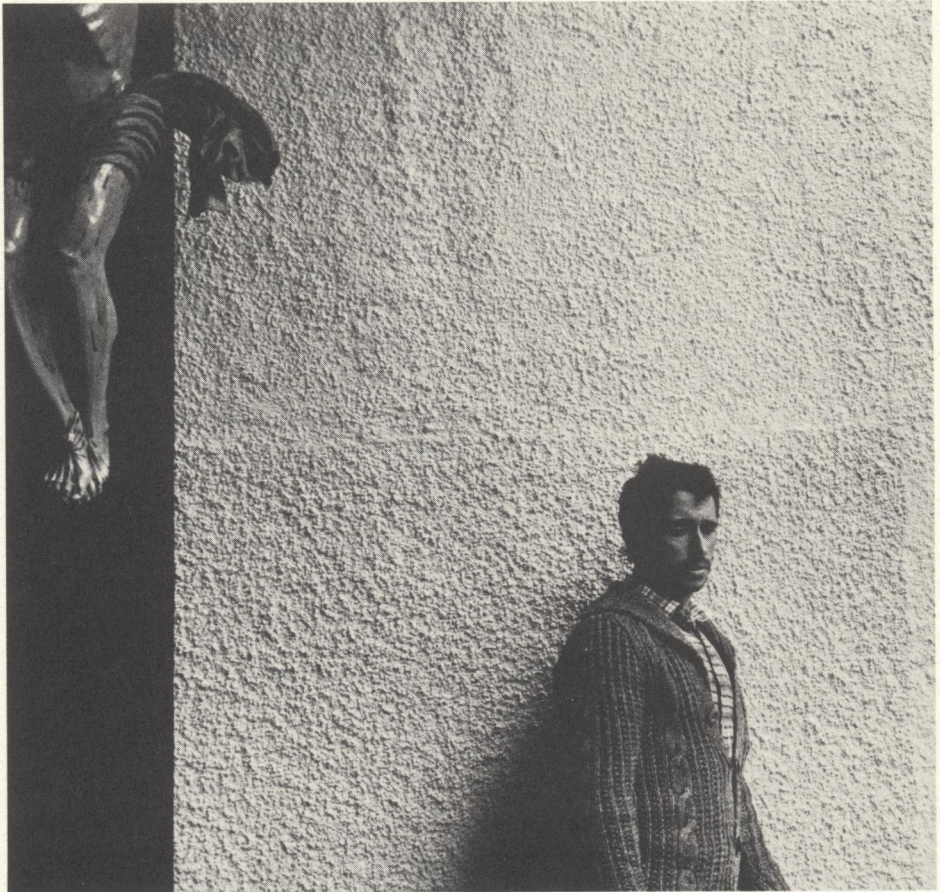
We should be more cognizant and tolerant of this doctrinal diversity if we are interested in an accurate perception of our religious heritage and the significance of current beliefs. Recognizing doctrinal ambiguity perhaps does not produce the security of orthodox absolutes, but rather requires us to acknowledge, as did Paul, that we must be content to "see through a glass darkly" until the day when "that which is perfect is come" (1 Cor. 13:9-12).

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## Friends of West Africa: An Opportunity for Service

*Reed L. Clegg*

**T**he leadership of President Kimball was usually gentle but generated profound ripples for good. His enunciation in 1978 of the revelation granting the priesthood to the blacks may be characterized as a tidal wave. It has opened vistas for service heretofore impossible. This paper treats a specific program made possible by that revelation. It is embodied in a voluntary project to provide medical assistance through the Friends of West Africa — a non-profit charitable organization.

Our involvement in West Africa came in the conventional Church way, a call in December 1979 to my wife, Naomi, and me to serve as Special Representatives in West Africa. Special representatives are advance-guard, mature couples called to serve in a foreign country where the Church has not been officially recognized. Their assignment is to establish a foothold for legal recognition.

Comfortable in my profession as a healthcare executive, I murmured: “Why me?” Naomi reminded that I had long agonized over the status of the blacks in the Church and in our society. Here was an opportunity to put conviction into practice, she added.

The period of service for special representatives in West Africa was limited to one year due to hardship conditions. Naomi and I were asked to go alone to Ghana while the other two couples in our contingent were sent to Nigeria. We served eight months in Ghana, broken into two segments because of visa problems. We spent the interim in Nigeria where the Church was more established. Couples of the special-representative era from 1978–80 were Rendell and Rachel Mabey and Ted and Janath Cannon (the originals), Frank and

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Clora Martin, Victor and Eleanor Bartholomew, Lamar and Nyall Williams, Earl and Dixie Olsen, and us.

In the middle of our tenure a formal Africa West Mission was established which encompassed the two English-speaking countries of Ghana and Nigeria. These countries are geographically separated by two French-speaking countries, Benin and Togo, making life difficult for the new mission president and his wife, Bryan and LaNore Espenschied. We then became missionaries but were still instructed not to proselyte for new members. Our function was to consolidate the nascent organizational phase initiated by the Mabeys and Cannons. On their own volition, dozens of Ghanaians insisted on learning of “the true Church” and joining its ranks, however.

During this time three Mormon families stationed in Nigeria and Ghana served as havens of refuge. Dr. Bruce Knudsen, with his family, was employed by World Health Organization in a mosquito-abatement research project with headquarters in Enugu, Nigeria. The Knudsen family had a major influence on the location of the first special representatives in that city.

Phil and Sharon Hardy and family lived in Lagos, capitol of Nigeria, from whence he commuted to the oil fields in the Nigerian state of Cross River. The majority of the Church members in Nigeria lived in Cross River. Lowell and Shirley Diamond lived in the capital of Ghana, Accra, with their children. Lowell was employed by the Agency for International Development (AID) of the U.S. Government. Bud and Virginia DeMaster lived in Tema, Ghana, where he worked for Kaiser Aluminum. They were all bulwarks, especially to the special representatives who hungered for back-home companionship and an occasional American meal.

Earlier, during the 1960s and '70s, a few adventuresome scholars and commercial souls of Utah-Mormon background had ventured into West Africa for an academic year or so. Dr. Virginia Cutler was one of the early Utah educators to serve in Ghana and is still remembered fondly. Neff Smart, an educator and journalist, spent considerable time in Ghana. Victor and Eleanor Bartholomew, and Lorry and Gloria Rytting and family were in Nigeria at the same time on academic assignments. Brother Rytting, serving under the broad title of Branch President of Nigeria and Ghana for the International Mission of the Church performed what is believed to be the first baptism of a West African in his or her own country. Lon Merkley and family spent several years in Ghana as partner of a lumber business. And there were others, of course.

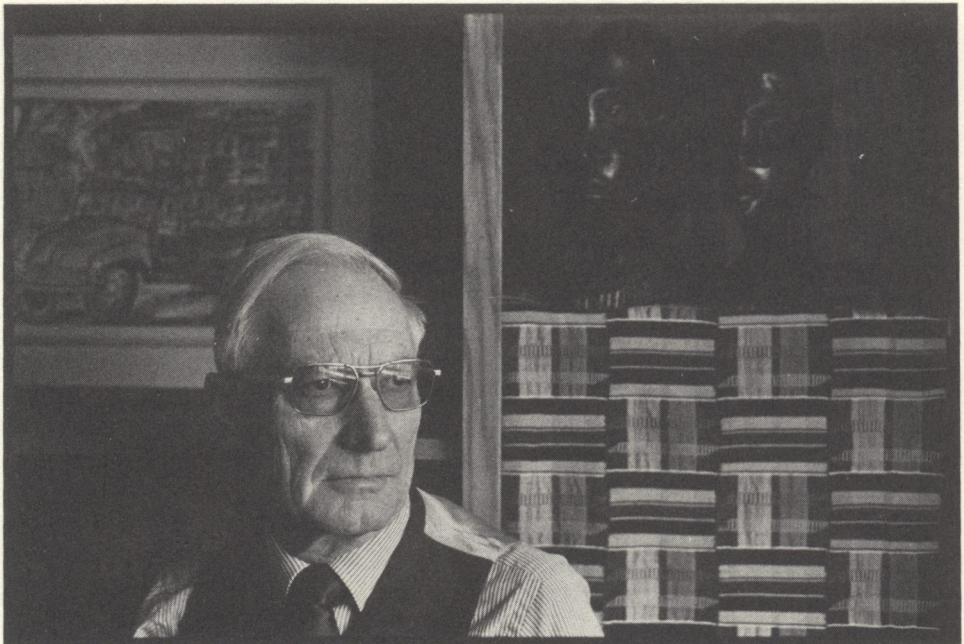
Anyone from a Western nation who spends more than a quick tourist safari in West Africa suffers from cultural shock. Economic deprivation was extreme when we were in Ghana. Food and other essentials were meager. In Ghana of 1980–81, meat was unobtainable except later on the rare visit of the mission president who would bring a canned ham or so. Scrawny chickens were going in the \$45 to \$50 bracket on the legitimate foreign exchange rate which, as emissaries of the Church, we were bound to support. Out in the bush you could purchase a “grasscutter,” which resembled a very large rat. It may have provided a succulent meal but we never inquired the price. Milk was not available nor were other protein foods which accounts for the prevalence of



“Kwashikor,” a disease caused by protein deficiency and named after the village so greatly afflicted. Bread was sold on the street without wrappers. In our early days, water came from a public tap a few blocks away and it had to be filtered. In season, tropical fruits were available and delicious. So were a limited number of vegetables. The staple diet for the Ghanaians was casava (a farina-like substance when mashed), yams (more like a giant Irish potato that did not spoil in the heat), and groundnut (peanut) soup. Market mamies on the streets handled a few imported commodities at high prices — especially at the official exchange rate. Stores which had once been modestly stocked were as bare as Mother Hubbard’s cupboard when we were there.

Since then a pervasive drought triggered a famine which exhausted even those limited resources. A letter written in 1983 by a missionary couple tells of a branch of the Church in the village of Assin-Foso which had no flour. Sacrament consisted of popcorn and water. Currently, the drought has eased but most of the people of Ghana subsist on a woefully inadequate diet. Nigeria was not in such dire straits when we were there. You could buy American-type food at the markets. Since, the drought has wreaked havoc there, too.

On the city streets and in the villages lived many people crippled or suffering from disease. Our awareness was heightened when we visited Emmanuel Abu Kissi, M.D., at Korle Bu Hospital. A long line of sick patients were queued up in the hot sun waiting to see him. He and the other personnel at the hospital had precious little in the way of medicines, dressings, sutures, etc.,



to apply. Urgent cases oftentimes could not be treated for months with the consequent mortality rate very high. While we were there, the only instrument sterilizer at Korle Bu became inoperative. After waiting weeks for action, the surgical staff staged a sitdown and the government finally ordered parts from England.

Our assignment did not allow us to get involved in the health of the citizenry and there was little we could have done, anyway. This did not stop us from grieving while Brother Cobbinah, a Church nightwatchman, went months without treatment of a serious medical condition. He, incidentally, was a Ghanaian soldier in World War II at the Burma Hump of General Stillwater fame. We visited the mother-in-law of William Johnson, then district president and the person who brought the Church into Ghana almost single-handedly. She had been shifted from hospital to hospital in an effort to find surgical supplies and blood for excision of a large tumor. When we saw her, she had rampant infection and there were no antibiotics. The postmaster who was our communication link with home had very bad eyesight. He had a prescription for eye glasses but could find none in Ghana. He appealed to us for help and President Espenschied, on his next trip to England, had the prescription filled. Another Church member, Sister Sampson-Davis, a teacher in a secondary school, had a stomach ulcer for which she could find no medication. We shared our antacids and monitored our consumption of groundnut soup liberally laden with hot peppers. Out in the villages, there was heartbreak because of disease. I shall never forget being invited by a village chief to bless his wife who appeared to be on the verge of death or holding a little child who was so feverish he almost burned me.

We thus became aware of individual health conditions. Upon returning home we learned that the official infant death rate in Ghana was 114 per thousand (well over one in ten children dying before their first birthday). The infant mortality in the United States was less than 12 per thousand. The Ghanaian figure would be even more gruesome if it recorded the many infants who die back in the bush without becoming a statistic.

We did tilt with one public health issue while there. During our early stay in Ghana we noted with pleasure the absence of smokers. In the four-month hiatus while we were in Nigeria, that happy circumstance had changed. Youngsters were hawking the weed at cut-rate prices. Billboards were carrying alluring messages. Clearly, conspiring men were trying to penetrate that market. Dr. Kissi and we decided to obtain some anti-smoking ammunition from the Utah Cancer Society. The posters and literature hardly fit the African scenario, so we decided to wait until another day. Later, Dr. Kissi wrote that he had found a better way. A Ghanaian broadcasting official whom we knew had subsequently joined the Church and was planning to ban tobacco and liquor advertising from the air.

The sisters taught a little sewing in Relief Society. They talked about ways to preserve food with no means of implementation such as fruit jars. Our next-door neighbors in Cape Coast, William and Charlotte Acquah, studied a copy of the Church Welfare handbook left behind by the Cannons. They organized

a group purchasing movement among the members which gave them better bargaining leverage in their daily struggle with the market mammals. Otherwise, they had not the tools or the knowhow to accomplish self-help projects. Charlotte, a home economics teacher in the public schools, was already a member of the Church from Cannon-Mabey days, and Bill joined during our time.

The second mission president, Sylvester Cooper, and his wife, Elizabeth, introduced the self-sufficiency concept after our day. They initiated garden, poultry raising, and well-drilling projects. Without local resources, these weren't a great success but did come to the attention of the Ghanaian Government which invited our local members in for consultation.

Back home it was hard to forget the temporal hardships of our acquaintances in Africa. Other expatriates experienced similar feelings. Some sent clothing and books. Others sponsored students. For example, the DeMasters supported Maxwell Manu of Tema, Ghana, at Ricks College. The Lars Bishops, ex-missionaries in Nigeria, brought a Nigerian student over. He is now on a Church mission. Others of us supported missionaries such as Crosby Sampson-Davis, son of the high-school teacher and Samuel Bainson. The latter two served with distinction in the England Manchester Mission under Ellis Ivory. In these and other ways, returning couples contributed individually.

After we came home in 1981, Dr. Kissi's institution sent him to the Eastern United States for professional meetings. We brought him to Utah where he met members of the medical community and the Church leadership. Dr. Charles Smart, then chief of surgery at LDS Hospital, took Dr. Kissi on surgical rounds and to staff conferences. Dr. Kissi also visited the surgical department at the Medical School, University of Utah. All were impressed by his professional abilities and especially by his sincere compassion for his countrymen. Despite offers to relocate at a physician's normal income, Dr. Kissi had remained in Ghana where physicians are paid less than taxi drivers. He inspired us to do more for his people.

Shortly after Dr. Kissi's visit, President Cooper returned to Salt Lake for consultations with Church leaders regarding the economic plight of the Ghanaian people. He urged us to increase our involvement. Up to that point we had arranged for the shipment of individual packets of medicines upon specific request of President Cooper.

We made our first regular shipment of medical supplies to Ghana in the winter of 1981-82. Substantial assistance came from Richard Kinnersley and old colleagues of the Utah Hospital Association. Staffs in several Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana hospitals gathered a surprising amount and variety of medical and surgical items which were obsolete to their needs but which would be the best available in West Africa. For example, one hospital gave us fifteen pairs of new wooden crutches. In West Africa the standard crutch is a tree limb. These institutions salvaged surgical instruments, bandages, splints, needles, sutures, etc. We knew how useful these items would be from an experience we had while in Ghana. We brought from home disposable needles and syringes for our inoculations. After Dr. Kissi had 'shot' us, he carefully retrieved

the used items saying they would be re-used many times in his hospital. You will recall that was Korle Bu, the university's teaching institution.

In all, four shipments went by air to Dr. Kissi in 1981 and 1982 for free distribution to needy patients in his new hospital, renamed Deseret, and in other university and community institutions. The Church Distribution Center capably packaged and shipped our cargoes with the willing help of Carlos Gardiner and his staff.

The discards from America found good use in Ghana. Dora Williams, R.N. missionary from Arizona, wrote on 29 December 1982: "I want to thank you for the medicines. There is such great need for them. My heart aches at the predicament these people are in. We took Eleanor Dadson all over Cape Coast to 'chemist shops' to look for tablets to test Ato so he could go into the hospital to be treated for diabetes. We finally had to go to Accra and get some from Dr. Kissi. Last week a man needed an emergency operation for blockage. His brother came looking for oxygen, antiseptic and towels before they could operate. Today we visited him in the hospital. He looks like he isn't going to make it. They found worms and do not have any medicine. We are going to Dr. Kissi tomorrow in hopes of getting some."

In placing the distribution of the supplies completely in the hands of Dr. Kissi, we had implicit faith in his integrity and professional capability. He has not failed us. The Williams and the Willets, missionaries in Ghana after our time, served as our early on-site monitors. Fortunately, the Thrasher Fund sent Val MacMurray, its executive director, and James Mason, executive committee chairman, to explore possibilities of establishing a project in West Africa. They graciously looked into our project and reported that it seemed to be filling a need and was administered honestly. They recommended formal organization.

From the beginning we have held to three principles: (1) No profiteering, (2) no government interference or tax, (3) No political, religious, sex or other bias. As far as we can tell these requirements have been observed. We have not shipped a succeeding cargo until the previous one had been fully accounted. This is somewhat of a record in these days of diversion and black markets.

In the winter of 1982-83, the Church and affiliated organizations showed increasing concern about West Africa. We were hopeful that they would assume the burden and leave our group in a behind-the-scenes supporting role. These entities were the Church Welfare Program, the Thrasher Fund, and the Collegium Aesculapium. The pervasive drought in Ghana and the forced return of 1.2 million Ghanaians from Nigeria motivated the Church to send massive relief shipments to Ghana in early 1983: These consisted of fifty tons of food, medicine, and other emergency supplies. We helped a little in suggesting some appropriate items and the necessary government contacts.

As stated above, the Thrasher Fund was seeking an African connection. This fund, handsomely endowed by Al Thrasher, is administered by the Church on a nonsectarian basis. Its interest lies in child health research and demonstration projects. The fund had appointed Janath Cannon, then on the Relief Society General Board, and me to its executive committee.

During this period we learned of another group that might be interested in African medical affairs. Dr. Milton Brinton, a returned missionary from the Africa West Mission, was active in the Collegium Aesculapium, an organization of Mormon physicians who were seeking Third World projects. We were hopeful they would be interested in West Africa and particularly in Ghana where the medical establishment had been rather sophisticated but was falling into disrepair. We envisioned their participation to be one of arranging for physicians from among their ranks to serve in Ghana as volunteer practitioners and teachers, and vice versa.

With these groups signalling involvement it looked as if our rag-tag group of expatriates could relinquish the torch to better organized forces. We proposed such to Elder Derek Cuthbert who, at that time, oversaw Church activities in Africa. After careful consideration, the Church leadership concluded that there was need for all, including our group. In its large shipment to Ghana, the Church had been most humanitarian in designating a sizable portion go to the general populace. With its worldwide commitments the Church could not be expected to single out West Africa for preferential treatment. As subsequent events have shown, the Church has continued to support African relief in a major way. The second group, the Thrasher Fund has the specific objective of research and demonstration projects, not relief measures. Currently, there is in Nigeria a large Thrasher project. The Collegium is an independent body and, although it had some further involvement with Dr. Kissi, as indicated later it opted to drop out.

Our group was encouraged to organize and expand our scope. We were single-minded in our purpose to help the peoples of West Africa. We had been there and knew the needs. As an independent agency, we could solicit help from sources outside the Church and deal with the Ghanaian government, still wary of any outside church.

We also explored other avenues of help, such as Direct Relief International, and Food for Poland. In some cases, their interests were too global for us, or they were concentrating on other areas of the world. In the larger agencies we sensed a business orientation where the concern centered on the staffs and the mechanisms rather than the basic relief purpose.

Feeling somewhat like the little red hen, in early 1983, Naomi and I invited the West African expatriates to a meeting to consider the propriety of formal organization. Thirty persons attended, which represented just about the potential, and authorized an ad hoc committee to proceed. Mark Bradshaw located an attorney who drew up the documents free. By April a charter had been granted by the state of Utah to Friends of West Africa, a nonprofit charitable corporation. The Board of Trustees also constituted the unpaid officers: Vic Bartholomew, Mark Bradshaw, Milton Brinton, Charles Johnson, and I. Charles had not been to West Africa but had special pharmaceutical skills. Our wives were very much involved but preferred to work behind the scenes. The Advisory Council consisted of six from the United States, namely, David Billeter, Val MacMurray, Ben Shippen, Charles Smart, Ewart Swinyard, and Bruce Woolley. The others were Emmanuel Kissi and Banyan Dadson from

Ghana, Alex Morrison from Canada, and Titus Efidiba from Nigeria. These are knowledgeable persons from the medical, legal, and business fields. Each official pays his own way. Certain ones have been most helpful and others less than interested.

Recognition by Internal Revenue Service came more slowly. The incredulity of the tax man is understandable when he reviewed our application showing no paid personnel, no rented office, and no warehouse. With the help of U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch and a staff man at that time, Bill Loos, the IRS granted tax exemption in November 1983. With that approval came the benefit of tax deductions for contributions. Also, we fell heir to the usual tax report requirements, many not fitting our situation. For instance, we are required to file quarterly payroll reports even though we have no payroll or personal service costs.

Several events occurred in the summer of 1983 which further cemented the Ghanaian connection. To promote the exchange of professional personnel, we had initiated contact between Professor Dadson and Brigham Young University with the end of having him serve as a visiting instructor. Dr. Dadson has impressive credentials. His Ph.D. is in chemistry from Cambridge, a Fulbright scholar and now Vice President of the University of Ghana at Cape Coast. He taught that summer at BYU.

The Collegium brought Dr. Kissi to BYU to participate in a symposium. The expatriates paid for his wife, Elizabeth, an R.N. and midwife in her own right, to accompany him. This made their temple marriage possible. The Kissis and Professor Dadson impressed the participants to the extent they again expressed a desire to help.

The Thrasher Fund and Friends of West Africa sponsored a reception for the Ghanaians in which they met a broader cross section of professional, community and Church leaders. Apostle David B. Haight met separately with them in his capacity as general supervisor of African Church affairs.

While the Kissis were in town, a meeting was arranged with the relevant Church groups. Karl Keeler of the Welfare Department chaired the session. In attendance were staff representatives from the Relief Society, and Welfare and Missionary departments; the Thrasher Fund; and Friends of West Africa. This meeting confirmed the physical needs of Ghana and our respective roles in meeting those needs.

Friends of West Africa continued to collect supplies donated by hospitals. Dr. Morrison put us in touch with a Canadian pharmaceutical firm, Novopharm, which contributed a considerable quantity of new products. Food for Poland gave us a large volume of surgical supplies it was unable to use. The expatriate group paid the freight costs to Salt Lake City. The Church packaged the cargo and shipped it to Ghana.

Dr. Kissi by this time had developed arrangements with six other health institutions in Ghana to share the shipment. The seven institutions were Korle Bu, Kibi, and Deseret hospitals, and Asuom, Martyrs, Abomosu, and Osino clinics. They had agreed not to charge the patients for the supplies.

The arrival of the shipment was a big event in Ghana. Newspapers carried banner stories and pictures. In Ghanaian currency the wholesale value of the

shipment was 2,600,000 cedis (\$75,000 American) which was a sizable sum to them. The same papers carried news of a shipment from the Italian government amounting to 1,200,000 cedis so our contribution seemed large.

Dr. Kissi had proposed that he and his Ghanaian colleagues organize a branch of Friends of West Africa in Ghana. It didn't seem needful but we thought it would do no harm. His idea turned out to be pure wisdom. Up to that point, we had used the good offices of the Church for tax-free entry of our goods into Ghana. As a permanent arrangement this was not satisfactory. Later, the Government started challenging imports regardless of their religious or charitable purposes. Ours was let through because it had a Ghana base. FOWA (Ghana) received its Certificate of Recognition from the Republic of Ghana on 24 May 1984. The officers are Drs. Kissi and Dadson, and John Sampson-Davis, Crosby's father, all of whom we had worked with while in Ghana. An attorney, Alfred Kye, and a social worker, Ama B. Prempeh, are also officers. This home-grown organization has a vital ingredient often lacking in foreign relief programs. It is an autonomous, indigenous Ghanaian organization which has government acceptance but not government interference.

In a plenary meeting of the board and the expatriate membership in the fall of 1984 the question was raised, "Why not Nigeria?" Most of our group had served in Nigeria and not in Ghana. We and President Cooper had tried to obtain a presence in Nigeria but the government wanted to distribute the goods itself. We didn't want to risk that. Also, we could not locate a reliable professional to serve as the Dr. Kissi of Nigeria. We reminded them that the Thrasher Fund had a large project in Nigeria. Even so, when your heart is in a particular country, it's hard to sustain enthusiasm for another. Despite this, the group urged another drive for Ghana.

For the first time, we solicited funds beyond the expatriates and their families. We sent an appeal to approximately 3,000 persons. Many responded. We received a check from an elementary school class in New Mexico. A Boy Scout troop in Salt Lake City had a fund-raising dinner. Later, a high school group of dancers held a benefit for African relief. When they could find no interested agency engaged in Ethiopian relief, they turned to us. We also broadened our solicitations to medical supply firms with fair results.

Dr. Betty Dillon of the LDS Hospital staff and her husband, Dr. Bill Dillon, were assiduous collectors. Pat Moore and Charles Ellis, both University of Utah senior medical students, solicited pharmaceuticals on their own. With the cash donations, a considerable quantity of specific medications and vaccines were purchased for the most widespread diseases such as diarrhea, malaria, cholera, measles, and infections. This process extended from September 1984 until March 1985 with the shipments going by air for the perishables. In all, they approximated \$150,000 in wholesale value. Charles Johnson and Mark and Elma Bradshaw worked very hard. Naomi was the exchequer along with Charles, and our house was the collection point. The Church packaged and shipped the goods, once more.

Another facet, as stated previously, was a hoped-for interchange of medical personnel. When the Collegium Aesculapium dropped the idea we approached

Dr. Kim Bateman, then president of the Utah State Medical Society. He was supportive, having participated in a like program elsewhere. A committee was appointed with Dr. Brinton as a member. This committee encouraged the two medical students, Moore and Ellis, but in the end did no more. The students came to FOWA for financial assistance and guidance. FOWA paid a portion of their air fare and put them in touch with other donors. Through a combined effort of such groups as the Kiwanis Club of Salt Lake City, St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral, and individual donors, plus their own funds, Moore and Ellis were able to fulfill their dream of serving in a Third World country. Drs. Moore and Ellis are now back in the states, enthusiastic about the challenges they encountered.

At this writing as 1986 begins, comes another season for decision. Should we launch a new drive or let things lie dormant? Up till now, we have relied upon the expatriate group to be the workforce, but its interest and participation have begun to wane. Several couples of the old guard have been called on additional missions, and our personal relationship with the newcomers back from West Africa is not as close. With the establishment of a mission specifically for Ghana, the pioneering days are coming to a close. While it's not an easy mission (which is?), the uncertainties and hardships are not there as in days of old. The notable exception to this reliance on the old guard is Dr. Betty Dillon who has neither West African nor our Church ties. When asked why she so diligently collects usable discards, she replies, "I just can't see things go to waste."

Bill Loos, now at the University of Utah, and others have urged us to broaden our horizons — to include interested individuals regardless of their connection with West Africa or the Church. This we are reluctant to do, for it would dampen the zeal and involvement of those of us who had personally lived the experience. We are afraid it could evolve into a self-perpetuating body of professional "do gooders," interested in continuing the enterprise for the sake of staff and reputation. We have seen that in relief organizations. Those who urge us to continue on a broader scale feel we have unwittingly developed a model for Third World relief efforts, capitalizing on the close relationships with local individuals and institutions such as Dr. Kissi, et al. Certainly we have two large virtues — our expense of operation is nil and the goods get to their destination.

In assessing possibilities, there is a virtually unlimited potential. Every modern health institution discards usable items in large volume. As mentioned earlier these are not wasteful practices. Labor costs make it prohibitive to re-process many items. An operating room is a good example where they lay out the items they think they might need for the procedure (it would be risky to scrimp at that point) and it often turns out that several items were not needed. Its cheaper to junk these than sort them out, sterilize them, and return them through the supply line. The other factor is obsolescence. No hospital in America will use any but the very latest in technique and product. We picked up literally tons of such supplies in our limited drive. We were in touch with Alex MacMahon, president of the American Hospital Association, and the



Texas Hospital Association contacted us relative to supplying surplus goods from their institutions. We ended up discouraging them, for it would have meant a veritable flood of goods which we could not handle. It would also have meant greater financing for storage and shipping.

On the financing side, we have only tried a limited solicitation of 3,000 persons. We had modest success — no large contributions but many small ones. The terrible conditions in Ethiopia and other parts of Africa have focused attention upon their plight. Certainly the needs of Ghana are not as great. We do not know how successful, or deserved, a broader solicitation for medical needs in Ghana would be.

Perhaps we should broaden our perspective and involve others, including paid professionals. This would be foreign to our nature but might be for the greater good.

In the matter of exchange of medical personnel, the prospects are not so bright. Realizing that only a professional body could give the prestige and support necessary, we sought out three such organizations, including the University of Utah Medical School. Its dean, Richard Lee, explained that the school just didn't have the resources. The other two made initial starts but didn't follow through. It's true that such an "exchange" would be a one-way street insofar as the financing is concerned, but our American physicians would benefit by learning tropical medicine to which they have had little exposure. As the interchange of peoples increases, this knowledge would be valuable to American medicine. They would also get an appreciation of how fortunate they are and thus become more interested in their fellowman in other climes.

The real crux of our dilemma is the risk of fostering dependency of the recipients. We know of no way the patients could be meaningfully involved. They are so poor that even our suggestion of a token payment for services rendered them has not been followed. The medical staffs rendering the care are not supposed to charge for the supply items we furnish; and to the best of our knowledge they are not, but the fact remains it is still a relief program. We are not helping to instill within the health industry of Ghana the will and methodology of developing its own resources. This sounds grandiose for our small enterprise, but you wouldn't think so if you could see the poverty of the health establishment in Ghana. On this matter of dependency, we are consulting the experts.

Our motivation has come, not through altruism, but simply through an experience indelibly inscribed in our memories — of a beautiful people suffering from the lack of basic medical attention. Whether to continue on our path of personal involvement, or to broaden involvement, or to abandon the project altogether — those are the questions. In Ghana, each mammy wagon has its own slogan inscribed above the windshield. One of these assures us:

ONLY TIME WILL TELL

# Joseph Smith, Sr., Dreams of His Namesake

*Michael Hicks*

Vermont, Autumn 1805

And the boy, the milky angel said,  
will be like the wild rain  
that shatters the crops and spins the brittle stalks  
end upon end.

The crescents of his eyes  
will scythe the slanted hay,  
sever and heap,  
sever and heap,  
and the trunks of his arms  
heave the nations over his back.

With a book he will hoe the earth,  
break the stiff stone cities.  
Each page will sift the debris of continents  
while kings plant their coins in his steps  
and rake his fields with their crowns.

And the farmer spoke into the night cloud,  
When shall these things be?

When the sun's petals close  
and the moon sags like a plum against the hills  
and the stars drop like seeds  
into the black soil of the universe.

## Science: A Part of or Apart from Mormonism?

*Richard Pearson Smith*

*Every art and science known and studied by the children of men is comprised within the Gospel.*

President Brigham Young, 1868  
(JD 12:257)

*Beware of false science.*

*Priests Study Course, 1973*  
(Series B, p. 79)

**F**or three decades I have mourned the absence of a benevolent spirit which helped me and my generation of Mormons find our way. I watch incessantly for its resurrection, only to see more nails driven into the coffin from time to time.

When will I again see General Authorities, Church publications, teachers, and parents giving assurance to all that science blends beautifully with Mormonism? Yes, Virginia, that's the way it was in the thirties when I was a child in northern Utah, and on into the early fifties. That sort of support for science is unknown to today's young Mormons; instead they hear that much of what the schools teach is wrong and they had better not believe it. I'm thankful that my faith wasn't subjected to that test and that I had help with my concerns about whether a scientist could be a Latter-day Saint. Are not today's students and scientists in greater jeopardy of failing to develop strong faith in the Church?

I have watched and pondered science's banishment with astonishment and frustration. It has seemed to run counter to basic Mormon teachings and to the Church's general forward movement.

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With pride I have watched my church come forth “out of obscurity and out of darkness.” In my day it has changed from an obscure group in the western states, widely regarded as a cult, to a large and respected international church. And it has moved from darkness into light in many ways, divesting itself of anachronisms and embracing new things found to be “of good report or praiseworthy.”

In my ward in New Jersey, several black members, including a seventy, a priest, and a teacher are among our stalwarts. Throughout the Church, women are regularly called on to pray and speak in sacrament meetings. Talks at all levels are now brief and well-prepared instead of lengthy and extemporaneous. People spend less time in meetings and more time at home, where excellent manuals help them enjoy and cement family bonds. Gone are most of the fund-raising activities and the donations of labor for construction. Social services are available to people who have severe personal problems. Public relations expertise and other modern tools help spread the gospel. BYU operates on a higher plane, even teaching and researching philosophy, a subject once taboo. Professional historians write honest Mormon history, aided by their own societies and journals, even though the golden days of apparently official approval now seem to be over.

Nowhere is progress more evident than in the use of technology, the fruit of science. Satellite television takes general conferences to a thousand stake centers. A million rolls of microfilm stored in Granite Mountain vaults preserve and centralize much of the world’s genealogical information. Computers minimize work for membership and financial clerks while providing better reports for bishops. Prodigious genealogical databases under construction will someday be researchable from computer terminals everywhere. And what other church creates and distributes sophisticated software for personal computers?

Then there’s science.

I have always loved science (by which I mean, mostly, the natural sciences). Perhaps that is because powerful (though not deliberate) forces at home were pushing me toward it from my earliest years. Perhaps those forces were strong partly because of the positive statements about science which some of the General Authorities were making.

Many Mormons today would ignore the science of psychology and say that I must have acquired my taste for science in the preexistence, but it seems to me it happened right in the Bear River Valley. Everyone liked science when I lived there. Long before then, President Brigham Young had established a positive Mormon attitude toward it by preaching that it comes from God and that we should learn all we can about it.

The Reformation, the early global explorations, and the establishment of the United States helped prepare the way for the restoration of the gospel. Over the same period, developments in science and technology came faster and faster until the pace was furious by 1830. President Young saw the Church benefit greatly from the new technology, especially the steam locomotive and the telegraph. He sensed the hand of the Lord in that and made a number of

comments to that effect in his sermons: “Where did the knowledge come from which has enabled man to accomplish such great achievements in science and mechanism within the last few years? We know that knowledge is from God” (JD 12:257–58). He would have loved to have studied science in depth: “How gladly would we understand every principle pertaining to science and art, and become thoroughly acquainted with every intricate operation of nature, and with all the chemical changes that are constantly going on around us! How delightful this would be, and what a boundless field of truth and power is open for us to explore!” (JD 9:167)

Praise for science and technology — and to the Lord for revealing them — continued. In their special Centennial address on 6 April 1930, President Heber J. Grant and his counselors reviewed at length “the increase of scientific knowledge, invention, [and] industrial development” which had come about through “light, radiating from the presence of God, illuminating the minds of men, increasing intelligence and knowledge, which is the glory of God, and by the application of which the past one hundred years have been made the Miracle Century of the ages” (CHC 6:562–63).

At that time I was four years old. My mother had the finest flower garden around, and she told me the names of the many species and something about each one. She taught me about insects and birds, and let me see the collections of pressed wild flowers and of minerals which she had made in school.

My father, Clarence E. Smith, was principal of Bear River High. His education in psychology and history meant nothing to me in those childhood years; but his passion for more tangible things, which he had acquired from his father, a blacksmith who had emigrated from Denmark, came across very well. He showed me the special tools in the wood and metal shops and how they were used, the amazing devices in the large physics equipment closets, and the chemistry laboratory with its many bottles of substances having interesting colors, textures, and odors. My interest in computers had its roots in watching him program the fascinating bell-controlling IBM clock by inserting metal tabs in slots in a revolving drum.

My serious involvement with science dates from one evening when I was seven, as the family returned home after an outing in Logan Canyon. An entire day of close association with both parents was uncommon; not only did Father run a sizeable high school in a rather personal way, but he presided over Bear River Stake with its fourteen (later eighteen!) far-flung wards. Looking up through the windshield, I noticed the stars for the first time in my life, and asked what they were. Father explained the basic facts, which I thought the most interesting information I had ever learned. Right away I was given two nice astronomy books which were about on my level. I pored over them every day, the way we are supposed to study the scriptures. (Years later I heard Father expound on the importance of teaching a child about a matter at the very time he or she shows curiosity about it.)

It wasn't long before I had college astronomy books, a subscription to *Sky* magazine, a small telescope, and a notebook in which I recorded my observa-

tions. Concurrently my fascination with chemistry grew; and by the time I was ten or twelve, I was doing experiments in the basement and at the high school. (People weren't as safety-conscious in those days as they should have been.) And Father introduced me to the high-school biology teacher; soon, a friend and I were collecting insects. Father went to the wood shop and built a display case.

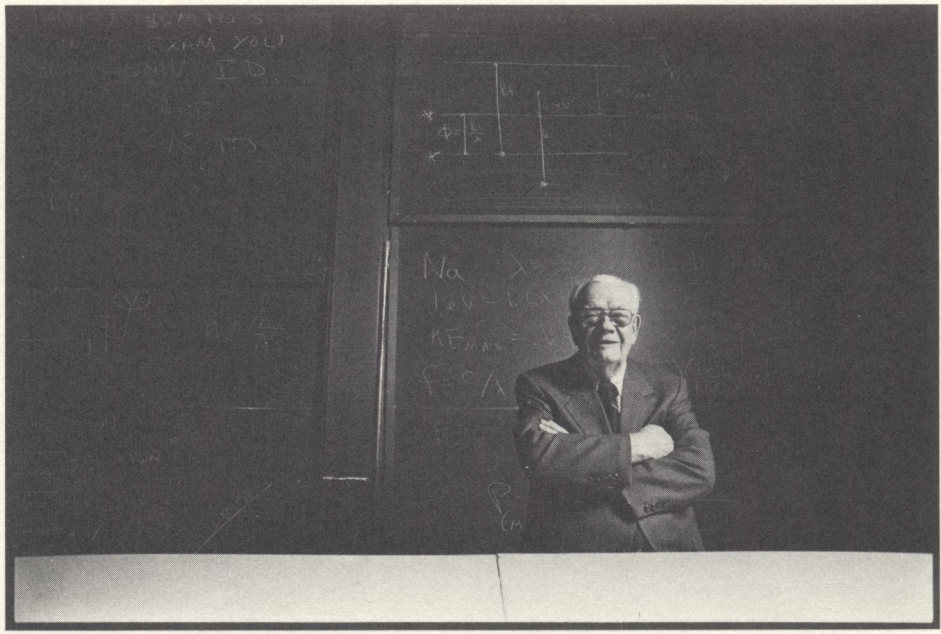
By the time I entered the University of Utah, high school classes in biology, chemistry, physics, and math had increased my love for those subjects to the point where I approached their study on a higher level with awe and reverence, sensations akin to the strong spiritual feelings some people report having in the temple. The textbooks had far more information in them than I had seen before, all of it interesting, and I could find the names of some of the professors in books and see that they had made important discoveries. Work at the frontiers of knowledge was going on in the laboratories. It thrilled me through and through. I could not have even thought of majoring in a field outside the natural sciences. I chose chemistry.

I knew a fair amount about science and had an unassailable faith in its basic concepts and methods by the time I entered the university; I think that is usual for a science major, based on my observations of other students. If anyone had urged me to test what I was learning against the scriptures, or had told me that one should not seek to understand the origin of the universe or of life on the earth, or had tried to convince me that no creature died on this planet until six thousand years ago, I would have thought that a reason to question the Church, not science. Fortunately, no one was saying such things; instead, two apostles who were respected scientists were preaching the unity of science and true religion. They were the very apostles whose personalities I liked the most.

Four scientists have served as apostles: astronomer, mathematician, and philosopher Orson Pratt (Whittaker 1982; Paul 1982), geologist James E. Talmage (Rowley 1984), chemist John A. Widtsoe, and physicist Joseph F. Merrill. Pratt acquired a fine education on his own; the other three earned doctoral degrees and made solid contributions to science. The terms of the four in the Quorum of the Twelve covered practically the entire period 1835–1952.

I knew of Elders Pratt and Talmage by reputation and by their writings (Talmage died when I was quite young), but Elders Widtsoe and Merrill were around until about the time I completed my formal education. Mother proudly spoke of how she had been taught geology and mineralogy by Talmage, and physics by Merrill, at the University of Utah in 1900–01. It was nice, too, that Elder Richard R. Lyman (after whom I had been named, though we were not related) was a Ph.D. engineer, and therefore almost a scientist. As a child I was privileged to meet these Brethren myself, as they stayed overnight at our home and had Sunday meals with us when their turns came to visit our stake conferences. I wish I had been mature enough to discuss science and religion with them!

The very presence of well-educated and accomplished scientists among the apostles made it easier for me to take the Church seriously. In addition, their



talks and writings helped with many of my specific concerns. Science students in the Church do face problems, as Widtsoe knew: “The struggle for reconciliation between the contending forces [science and religion] is not an easy one. It cuts deep into the soul and usually leaves scars that ache while life endures” (Widtsoe 1908, preface).

As I see it, the most serious difficulty for Mormon science students is that a testimony of science is gained at an early age, as my personal story illustrates, and it can hinder the development of a testimony of the gospel, which rarely comes until later. A science student needs special help because the Church requires belief in many things which a person with a scientific orientation is more likely to tend to doubt than are other people.

For example, many people are able to take prayer for granted, but a student of science is almost sure to contemplate how it might work. Prayers often are for immediate help; but even if God is only as far away as the nearest star, timely response would seem to require communication at a speed greater than that of light. A communications system would seem to be needed which is unobservable yet in constant contact with every mind and every object; is the universe really filled with the required medium, unknown to scientists? At any given moment, there must be immediate evaluation of every one of the millions of prayers being offered, taking into account righteousness, the needs and prayers of others, and many other factors, and then answers must be formulated and mechanisms to provide them set in motion. Is there really a computer in the sky large and fast enough to handle all of that?

Of course prayer might not work that way. Orson Pratt thought that God has no need to listen to us: “If God foreknows all things, he must have foreknown all about our prayers millions of ages before we were born, and must also have foreknown the precise time when we would pray, and the kind of spirit or feeling, and the degree of faith that would accompany each prayer” (Pratt 1849, 31). This idea presents its own difficulties. Does God have no real involvement with my affairs? Do I have genuine free agency? The failure of a bolt or an artery can set into motion a chain of events profoundly affecting the lives of many people. Did God precompute the times and places of all such “accidents” and all their consequences?

Other gospel concepts, such as the reality of the spirit world and the possibility of moving mountains through faith, present similar problems. Then there is the fact that the Church teaches that a testimony of the reality of unseen things can be gained only by methods foreign to science. Surely most Mormon science students are tempted, at times, to lighten ship and reject so much baggage, especially since it is in the spirit of science to seek simple models using generally accepted methods.

Further questions arise in connection with the descriptions given in the scriptures of ancient events. Few science-oriented people are able to believe that the earth is very young, that evolution played no role in the creation of species, that the earth stopped rotating for a while in Joshua’s day, that Noah took two of every kind aboard the ark, or that the flood covered the entire earth. Other Bible-believing churches have faced these problems and resolved them in various ways; but for Mormons, there is the added complication that the modern scriptures seem to reinforce some of the most troublesome biblical passages.

The modern scriptures also contain statements about the universe which are unique to Mormonism and which need to be pointed out to Mormon science students and discussed. Do they fit in with science, or do they present further problems? I am thinking especially of physics in the Doctrine and Covenants and astronomy in the book of Abraham.

I became interested in the science-religion relationship while in my teens, a time of great increase in my awareness of the teachings of the Church. I soon learned that Elder Widtsoe was active in seeking to help people feel comfortable in this area. He published numerous articles in the *Improvement Era* and elsewhere throughout the entire first half of this century, many of which dealt with science.

In his *Joseph Smith as Scientist*, based on early *Era* articles, Widtsoe explained that he saw opportunities, not problems, in the science in our scriptures and he argued that the Prophet had anticipated many of the findings of modern science. He said that “there is no real difference between science and religion. The great, fundamental laws of the Universe are foundation stones in religion as well as in science” (Widtsoe 1908, preface). He accepted evolution within limits, not claiming any knowledge of just what those limits are, and he had no problem with a great age for the earth.

In his *Evidences and Reconciliations* books, based on later *Era* articles, Widtsoe explained that the earth did not necessarily pause in its rotation for



Joshua; it would have been easier for the Lord to have created the illusion that the sun stopped. As for Noah's flood, he thought it "doubtful whether the water in the sky and all the oceans would suffice to cover the earth so completely" as to inundate all mountain peaks. But water could have covered the earth anyway, in keeping with the Mormon concept that the flood was the earth's baptism, if there was a general downpour; "on sloping hillsides, it might have been only a fraction of an inch in depth" (Widtsoe 1943, 1:109–11).

In *Joseph Smith as Scientist*, Widtsoe argued that the concept of a space-filling ether is found in the Doctrine and Covenants, which he thought tended to confirm that Smith was a prophet, but by the time I came along science had abandoned the ether. That didn't bother me, though; I knew that reinterpretation is a way of life for seekers of truth. Widtsoe's writings included provisional theories of his own, and one would expect some of them to turn out to be wrong. What was important to me was that Widtsoe, with his fine credentials both in science and in the Church, believed science to be part of Mormonism and tried to help science students stay with the Church by showing them how they could believe as he did.

Elder Merrill also was helpful, but in a different way. In his 1945 radio talks he described, in his uncommonly friendly style, some of the wonders of the universe which had been discovered by physicists and astronomers, and then he talked about how thrilled he was to see support for the existence of God in those wonders (Merrill 1945). And he quoted famous scientists to show that they believed in God. As my studies broadened I learned that many scientists and philosophers could not see God in nature, and that not all scientists believed in God. Perhaps it is a matter of the uneven dispensing of gifts by God for reasons that only he understands. However that may be, it was good to know that Merrill, intimately familiar with both Mormonism and science, considered science to fit in well with Mormonism.

Perhaps illustrating my remark that a science student is likely to have extra difficulty gaining a testimony, Merrill stated in his final radio talk that beginning at age ten he had prayed daily for *nine years* for a testimony that God lives, before receiving an answer. He wondered if unworthiness had stood in the way, but we have two reasons to suppose that he was at least as worthy as most young people — he did all that praying, and he later became an apostle.

Further confirmation that Mormonism and science go hand in hand was provided by scientists who were not Church leaders, such as Frederick J. Pack, a University of Utah geology professor. Father owned Pack's book *Science and Belief in God* (1924); and when I was in my teens, he suggested that I read it. It helped with some of the problems I have mentioned. For example, Pack reviewed the reasons for wondering if the flood really covered the entire earth and concluded by doubting that it did. He showed to my satisfaction that Noah could not possibly have taken two animals of every kind aboard the ark. For one thing, creatures are *still* being discovered by scientific expeditions — how could Noah have found them all in a short time? But Pack made it clear that his basic faith in the Bible was unshaken. I was happy to learn that I

could be flexible in my understanding of some of the troublesome ancient stories, and still be a good Latter-day Saint.

In addition to all the helpful books and articles by Widtsoe, Merrill, Pack, and others, there was a monthly column in the *Era* called “Exploring the Universe” by Franklin S. Harris, Jr., a University of Utah physics professor. It highlighted new developments in science and technology and, therefore, the Church’s interest in them.

While a soldier in Japan in 1946, I learned of Henry Eyring’s move from Princeton to Utah, found a chapter by him in the library, and decided to do my graduate work with him; he was a theoretical chemist, and I considered theory to be the best part of science. A devout Mormon and a respected scientist (E. Kimball 1973, 1982), he helped me with my worries about science and religion from the time I entered graduate school until the end of his life. He gave many other people the benefit of his wisdom through his talks and articles in Church magazines.

Eyring did not try to get science and Mormonism to mesh in detail, but pretty much kept them in separate compartments, believing that science is revealed through scientists, not prophets. To Elder Richard L. Evans he wrote: “I never worry what the Brethren believe about my specialty today because it is part of the genius of the Lord’s Church that both they and I will understand the entire situation better tomorrow” (Eyring 1954). I shared Widtsoe’s desire to merge science and Mormonism, so at first I had difficulty accepting Eyring’s philosophy. Eventually I came to see much wisdom in it, as I learned (partly through the fate of Widtsoe’s chapter on the ether) that one must not take too seriously any very specific ideas as to how Mormonism and science fit together.

Although Widtsoe, Eyring, and other Church scientists differed in their styles, they preached the same basic message: Science is a part of Mormonism. I began postdoctoral work at Harvard thoroughly imbued with that philosophy.

At Cambridge I found a remarkably talented group of Mormons. Branch President Melvin Herlin was a physics professor at MIT. The students, who represented many specialties, broadened my outlook; they taught me to see their disciplines, too, as dovetailing with Mormonism. A good number of them, building on that belief, went on to make distinguished careers for themselves while remaining true to the Church: Richard Anderson, Carlfred Broderick, Richard Bushman, Mark Cannon, Chase Peterson, and others.

One week Hugh Nibley visited our branch. I sat spellbound as he made me aware that the Book of Mormon is a gold mine, loaded with rich nuggets waiting to be picked up and analyzed, and that every talent is needed. Perhaps I could make a contribution! Is there science in the Book of Mormon? The Nephite monetary system caught my eye. I found that it was based on the binary number system, and in the library I learned that the Egyptians had used that system in their mathematics. In basing their monetary system on it the Nephites had modified it, probably to minimize the number of coins needed for transactions, in exactly the way that the manufacturer of the sortable cards on

which I kept my literature references had modified it to minimize the work of sorting out the cards in a given category. It was exhilarating to become actively involved with the science-Mormonism connection, adding a thread to it myself, and I gained a sense that a great many other points of contact await our discovery and investigation. I was more convinced than ever before that the marriage of science and Mormonism, which already was good, could only get better and better.

I was in for a big surprise. It came in 1954, just when I began teaching science, and just when the publication of my little contribution (R. P. Smith 1954) had my optimism soaring at new heights.

Elders Widtsoe and Merrill both died in 1952. Two years later, President Joseph Fielding Smith of the Council of the Twelve published *Man: His Origin and Destiny*. I read the book with considerable discomfort; according to it, much of science is quite apart from Mormonism.

President Smith felt that "Satan dominates the thinking of the world today" (p. 319). He saw that domination in several areas of science, but most of all in biology. Satan, he said, authored the theory of evolution, which is "the most pernicious doctrine ever entering the mind of man" (p. 133) and "Satan's chief weapon in this dispensation in his attempt to destroy the divine mission of Jesus Christ" (p. 184). I didn't understand that; what did the truth or falsity of evolution have to do with whether the gospel was true? And I knew that many good people believed in evolution, including Eyring, whose thinking coincided with mine: "Organic evolution is the honest result of capable people trying to explain the evidence to the best of their ability. From my limited study of the subject I would say that the physical evidence supporting the theory is considerable from a scientific viewpoint" (Eyring 1983, 61).

It seemed to me, as it had to Widtsoe, that there must be evolution at least within some limits. I was willing to believe that the Lord guided it, but in my youth I learned, as I collected butterflies, that different species often are so much alike that they cry out to be seen as distant cousins. As a chemist, I thought it unlikely that the fundamental reproductive processes could be perfectly protected from ever going astray a little bit; mutations seemed inevitable. And I could not easily disbelieve all the evidences for evolution which I read about regularly in *Scientific American* and elsewhere, including direct laboratory observations.

Apparently President Smith objected to evolution mostly for reasons I still can't quite grasp; he just knew that the Lord didn't work that way. In addition, he flatly repudiated evolution by asserting that the earth is only a few thousand years old (Ch. 24) and that there was no death for any creature prior to Adam's fall (p. 362). President Smith ignored the existence of fossils over 6000 years old, commenting only on skeletons in the closet, such as the Piltdown hoax. Posing another problem for biologists, he asserted that prior to the fall, Adam had no blood in his veins (p. 362).

He also denied a widely held astronomical theory which Widtsoe had accepted, insisting that stars never "become dead cold bodies" because the

Lord “does not create anything to be destroyed” (pp. 272–73). He was sure that the earth really did pause in its rotation in Joshua’s day; after all, it will literally “reel to and fro as a drunkard” in the last days (p. 12). He quoted and condemned Pack’s ideas on the flood (pp. 414–15).

The names Talmage, Widtsoe, and Merrill were not in the exhaustive index; the only entries under *scientists* were “claim Bible a myth,” “faith in scriptures weakened by,” “false concepts of God of,” “reject fall and atonement,” “revelations attacked by,” and “will formulate false theories as long as they ignore the Divine Creator.”

Through long study and reflection and with the encouragement of apostles and scientists, I had come to see some flexibility in the interpretation of the scriptures as both permissible and necessary, especially regarding such prehistoric events as the creation and the flood. President Smith was denying that flexibility, and what he was saying would have required a drastic turnabout in my thinking which I felt I would be unable to make.

I was bothered not only by President Smith’s rejection of science, but by his implied rejection of teachings of past Church leaders as well. President Young hadn’t taken the writings of Moses so seriously:

How long it [the earth] has been organized is not for me to say, and I do not care anything about it. As for the Bible account of the creation we may say that the Lord gave it to Moses, or rather Moses obtained the history and traditions of the fathers, and from them picked out what he considered necessary, and that account has been handed down from age to age, and we have got it, no matter whether it is correct or not, and whether the Lord found the earth empty or void, whether he made it out of nothing or out of the rude elements; or whether he made it in six days or in as many millions of years, is and will remain a matter of speculation in the minds of men unless he give revelation on the subject (JD 14:115–17).

I liked that statement. Couldn’t I stick with it, and with some things I had learned from Widtsoe which President Smith evidently saw as false doctrine? But it bothered me to have to ignore precepts which the living president of the Quorum of the Twelve felt so strongly that I must believe. I asked Eyring, who seemed never to worry, how he handled that problem. As usual, his reply was both witty and pithy: “Maybe it will turn out that everything Joseph Fielding Smith ever said was exactly right, and maybe when I go to be judged he’ll be delegated to judge me. I’ll just say, ‘I’m sorry I was wrong. Now let’s get this over with as quickly as possible!’”

In my innocence I finally concluded that despite President Smith’s high position, the publication of his book was an aberration which was not to be taken seriously. His views seemed to make little sense, and I figured that he must not have much support in them, as no one had said such things before. While Eyring sprang into action, defending science and scientists in talks and correspondence with Smith and other Church leaders (Heath 1982), I thought everything would soon be smoothed over and forgotten.

I was wrong again.

*Man: His Origin and Destiny* has not often been quoted in Church literature, perhaps owing to the protests made not only by Eyring, but by many

other scientists as well. Probably the majority of today's members have not read it, although many of them are familiar with its concepts through Bruce R. McConkie's extensive quotations from it in *Mormon Doctrine* and elsewhere. Nevertheless, as Duane Jeffery said in 1973, it "sparked a wave of religious fundamentalism that shows little sign of abatement." That wave continues unabated today.

President Smith said little more about science during his lifetime, but other General Authorities proceeded to warn against evolution and to preach an earth history which most scientists find untenable. Their warnings and teachings have issued forth under increasingly impressive circumstances right down to the present time.

Even more disconcerting to me has been the lengthy and continuing silence which the remaining General Authorities have maintained. Encompassing virtually all branches of science, it has worked in concert with the warnings to create the impression that all the Brethren are uncomfortable with science. And it is a rare day when a Church publication has anything good to say about science or scientists, a notable exception being a 1984 *Ensign* article on James Fletcher (Van Atta 1984). It is usually in vain that I watch for some praise for science, for some attempts to show that science and Mormonism can be reconciled, and for some use of the wonders discovered by science (and a great many marvelous things have been discovered since Merrill's day) to promote faith. No one is growing up in the Bear River Valley today with the advantages I had.

The change has surprised me partly because when I read *Man: His Origin and Destiny*, I thought of it as an isolated bolt out of the blue, not knowing that evolution and related topics had long been vigorously debated by some of the General Authorities. Enlightenment came years later when I was able to read interesting essays by Duane Jeffery, Richard Sherlock, and Jeffrey Keller, where I learned, among other things, that President Smith had been pitted against Elders Talmage and B. H. Roberts in arguments mediated by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, and that *Man* was based on an old manuscript which had long been held up, apparently due in part to opposition from Elders Widtsoe and Merrill (Jeffery 1973; Sherlock 1980; Keller 1982).

I did know that at least a few General Authorities supported President Smith; he noted in his preface that Elders Mark E. Petersen, Marion G. Romney, Milton R. Hunter, and Bruce R. McConkie had given him "encouragement and help." But still it surprised me when two of those four became ardent antisience spokesmen; I guess I had just wanted to put that possibility out of my mind.

Elder Petersen, who wrote the foreword, sniped away at science from time to time through his *Church News* editorials for the remainder of his life. He particularly objected to efforts to understand the origins of the universe, of the earth, and of species, as well as to the theories which have resulted from those researches: "No worm or similar lower form of life could, by accident or otherwise, evolve into such an intricate pattern as bird-life. No attempt at reason or research or hypothesis can provide the answer — only the divine

creation" (1 Sept. 1979). "We need no longer speculate as to the origin of life or the manner by which the earth and the heavens were created" (20 Dec. 1980). Regarding the "big bang" theory of the origin of the universe: "Did explosions ever bring order out of chaos, or do they produce chaos?" (17 Oct. 1981). One wonders if he really supposed the astronomers hadn't thought of that.

Some of Elder Peterson's editorials made me feel rather uncomfortable. He made scientists out to be quite foolish, or at times even possibly evil. He was not in favor of some scientific activities which I and most scientists considered legitimate. And he seemed to be telling me that I should rid myself of some of my strong beliefs.

The views on evolution and related topics which Elder McConkie held are well known because of their prominence in *Mormon Doctrine*, an immensely popular book ever since its first publication. He completely dismissed all findings of science which seemed to conflict with what he saw in "the inspired word." In so doing, he did not even comment on the obvious questions which are thereby raised. He was especially persistent in teaching that it is a "revealed truth that there was no death either for man or animals or plants or any form of life until some 6000 years ago when Adam fell" (McConkie 1958, 613-14). That statement requires disbelief in thousands of findings of science; I doubt that very many Mormon science students were or will be persuaded to reject so much evidence. How about all the ancient fossils of myriads of species of living things? Isn't coal derived from ancient vegetation?

*Mormon Doctrine* is not Church-published, and presumably the *Church News* editorials did not speak for the Church. But in 1979, assertions with which most scientists would disagree appeared in places having more status. Sherlock pointed out that the denial that there was death for any creature prior to the fall appears under "death" in the *Bible Dictionary* which, though unofficial, keeps good company — it is bound with the 1979 Bible; and that some antievolution quotations from the writings of President Joseph Fielding Smith were published that year in a priesthood manual and in a Sunday School manual. The Sunday School manual was used again in 1985.

In June 1982, Elder McConkie's views on the creation and the fall moved up to the *Ensign*, giving them very wide distribution and at least the appearance, to many, of still higher status (McConkie 1982). He prefaced them with the remark that "an understanding of the doctrine of creation is essential to salvation" and concluded that "we are duty bound to accept" the "revealed verities" he outlined. He explicitly dismissed evolution and taught that there was neither reproduction nor death for any species until after Adam's fall. (Didn't baby dinosaurs grow into egg-laying adult dinosaurs?) Again we can presume a lack of official standing; only the prophet can confer that. But perhaps many Mormons have assumed, and more will yet assume, that when Elder McConkie made strong assertions in the *Ensign*, he spoke for the Church.

Further escalation came at the October 1984 General Conference, through the words of two senior apostles — one apostle at each of the Sunday sessions (McConkie 1984; Packer 1984). The addresses reached an audience of un-

precedented size, thanks to all the scientists and engineers who gave us satellite television and to the Church for being so modern as to use it on a large scale, but the science-related remarks were not modern. All the Brethren were seated behind the speakers, their presence seeming to underline the assertions which were made.

Using homey examples (chicks don't grow up to become horses or dogs), Elder Boyd K. Packer stressed that "the pattern for all life is the pattern of the parentage," a statement with which any biologist would agree, except that he seemed to mean it in an absolute sense and to be using it as an argument against evolution, following a pattern laid down by President Smith and Elder Petersen. He made clear his distaste for evolution by adding that "surely no one with reverence for God could believe that His children evolved from slime or from reptiles." He concluded with an enigmatic statement: "The theory of evolution, and it is a theory, will have an entirely different dimension when the workings of God in creation are fully revealed." I hope, as I imagine most religious biologists do, that he meant that the theory will survive, but that it will be purified and expanded, allowing ever more clearly for the workings of God.

Elder McConkie's remarks were, as usual, unambiguous. In the course of outlining "some simple tests that all of us may take to determine if we are true to the faith," he said that "true believers know that this earth and man and all forms of life were created in an Edenic, or paradisiacal, state in which there was no mortality, no procreation, no death" — a state which ended only when Adam fell. By definition, then, anyone who believes that plants and animals were reproducing and dying millions of years ago is not a true believer.

Statements which are less than friendly to science have not been concerned solely with evolution and allied themes. A lesson for priests covered much more territory. It warned the youths to test "the theories of men against the truths of the gospel, not the other way around," to "beware of false science," and that "to be learned is good only [!] if we hearken to the council [*sic*] of God" — a bit of neo-Nephi which I do hope no one really believes (Priests Study Course, 1973).

While some findings of science are condemned by some General Authorities, many other findings are just widely ignored. I have already alluded to a widespread tendency to assume that personality traits originate in the preexistence rather than in early life; at a recent stake conference, I heard a high local leader cite the personality differences among his children as proof of the preexistence. Another example: It was preached at a general conference, and then repeated to the teachers quorums for several years, that a smoker who doesn't quit will go to the spirit world plagued by a craving for tobacco, because it really is the *spirit* that is addicted (Teachers Study Course, 1970). Those youths knowing it to be a solid scientific fact that a craving for tobacco expresses addiction of the body to nicotine might have wondered if they really had to believe all the other teachings in their manual.

What will happen next, and what can we do?

Since Mormonism and science are both basically true they will converge eventually, and then an even more benevolent attitude toward science than I

knew in my youth will prevail in the Church. At present, though, I feel great concern as I see movement in the wrong direction from time to time and none in the right direction.

From 1954 until 1982 I dismissed, with some effort, the antiscience statements, assuming them to express only the personal opinions of a few General Authorities who were not following a 1931 First Presidency directive to General Authorities: "Leave Geology, Biology, Archaeology, and Anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research, while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church" (Jeffery 1973, 64). What seriously concerned me then was the lack of a supportive climate for Mormons interested in science. That concern continues, but now there is a new worry — the teachings which I dismissed have appeared in the *Ensign* and have been preached in a general conference. That raises the possibility that the General Authorities now unitedly approve them. It may be that the resurrection of the benevolent attitude toward science which I once knew will not occur soon.

How are today's Mormon science students getting by without science-religion reconciliations? Wouldn't it help them to be shown, in a religious setting, some of the wonders of the universe? Isn't it still a part of Mormon thought that "the heavens [and other natural wonders] declare the glory of God"? Shouldn't something be said in praise of science now and then, as Presidents Young and Grant did? Wouldn't that help science students (and older scientists, too) feel good about themselves and the Church?

Instead, a young person today learns in school of the thousands of researches proving that life, death, and reproduction have been going on for millions of years on this planet while learning that "the Church" (as he or she is likely to perceive it) teaches otherwise. How that must strain the faith of many!

What can those of us do who are friendly to science? For one thing, we can follow Eyring's example, explaining science and speaking and writing positively about it for Mormon audiences. *Reflections of a Scientist*, a masterful compilation of some of Henry Eyring's thought, will have much influence for good (Eyring 1983).

Discussions of Mormonism and science too often revolve about evolution and the age of the earth. Those topics are important, and scientists with expertise in the relevant areas should continue working for a more enlightened attitude. At the same time, I would like to see more discussion of other areas of science where fewer people firmly hold to unreasonable positions. There are many areas where the risk of polarization is small and therefore the chance of doing good is great.

Modern technology could be discussed more to good advantage. The Church has always been comfortable with it, and we could show how technology is based on science. The Prophet Joseph Smith and his highest associates in the Church traveled from Utica to Schenectady by rail 29 July 1836 on one of America's first railroads (HC 2:463), even before its inaugural run on 1 Aug. 1836 (Stevens 1926, 125). Did the Lord arrange that trip to symbolize



the fact that he was making modern technology available for the sake of the Church? The transcontinental railroad and telegraph were both completed in Utah, in time to be of great help to the Church, and so on with the automobile, air transportation, radio, television, the satellite, and the computer.

The Lord guided Luther, Columbus, and those who brought into being the United States government, according to Mormon teachings. A large part of his reason for doing so was to prepare the way for the Church. Did he likewise guide the development of technology? Presidents Young and Grant thought so, as I have shown, and in 1975 President Spencer W. Kimball went further: "The telephone and telegraph and other such conveniences were permitted by the Lord to be developed for the express purpose of building the kingdom. Others may use them for business, professional or other purposes, but basically they are to build the kingdom" (S. Kimball 1975). There is much interesting material along these lines for us to research and to speak and write about.

The guidance of pure science by the Lord is another exciting Mormon concept which provides a natural framework within which to discuss science. For example, I think it thrilling to contemplate the enormous body of astronomical knowledge we have in connection with a statement the Lord made to the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1839. At that time, astronomers were just beginning to reach beyond the solar system and were discovering the very first facts about the stars — determining their distances from their relative apparent motions. To the Prophet in the Liberty jail the Lord said, referring to the sun, moon, and stars: "All the times of their revolutions, all the appointed days, months, and years, and all the days of their days, months, and years, and all their glories, laws, and set times, shall be revealed in the days of the dispensation of the fulness of times" (DC 121:31). Widtsoe pointed out that this revelation is remarkable in that it was given "many years before the fact that all celestial bodies are in motion was understood and accepted by the world of science" (Widtsoe 1908, 47–48). Frank Salisbury further noted that "*now* is the dispensation of the fulness of times" and that "many of the things the Lord promised to reveal have already been discovered by modern astronomers" (Salisbury 1976, 151). It is overwhelming to read a modern overview of astronomy, such as Asimov's *The Universe* (1980) and get a glimpse of the universe as scientists now know it. Only scientists are able to ask the right questions and understand the answers. And the Lord must have guided the astronomers; he knew what would happen.

I have given only two examples of the many marvelous resources, unique to Mormonism, which we can use to show the rising generation of science students (and our present and future leaders!) that science mixes well with Mormonism — better, probably, than with any other religion. It is up to us to teach our convictions to as many people in the Church as we can, from young students on up through General Authorities. Everyone needs to know that science really is part of Mormonism, and that the Lord works through both prophets and scientists. All those good people in the Bear River Valley knew those facts when I was young. It saddens me that their grandchildren do not. We must do all we can to change that.

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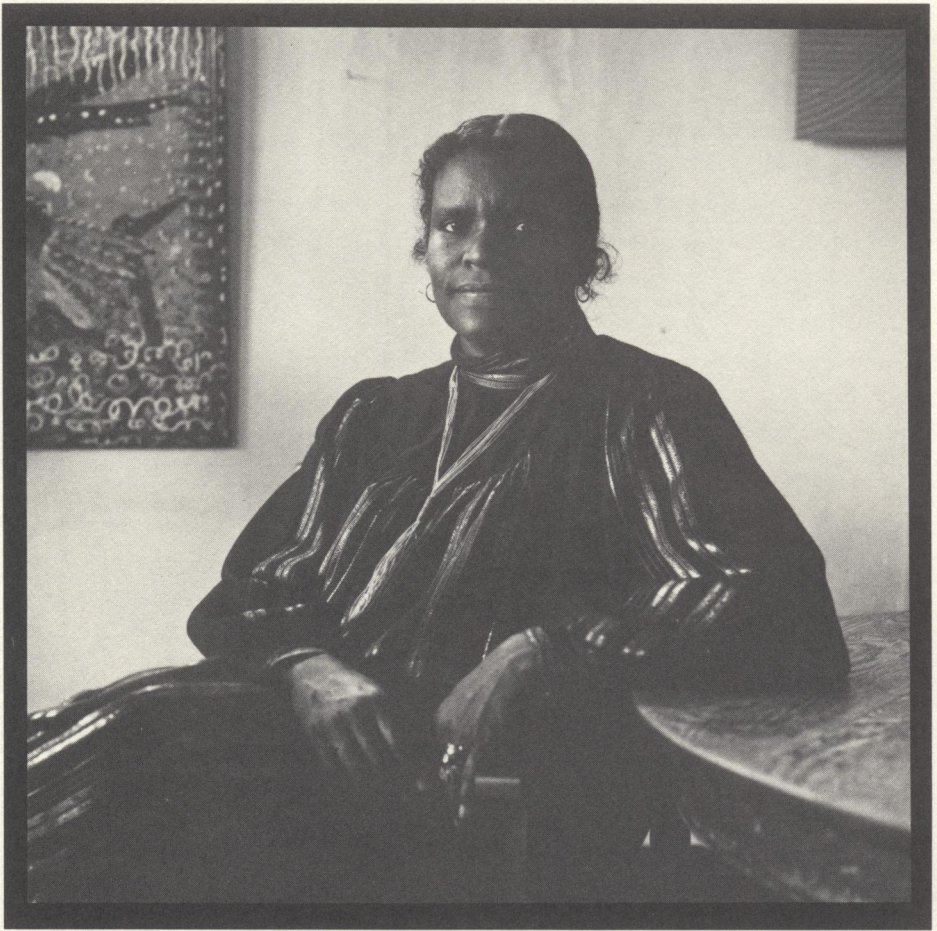
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## John Taylor's Religious Preparation

*G. St. John Stott*

**I**n the spring of 1836 when John Taylor was baptized in Toronto by Parley P. Pratt, he had completed a quest for religious certainty. His search had taken him from Methodism to Christian Primitivism and had involved a period of fascination with the restorationism of the now little-known Catholic Apostolic Church. Taylor, who would become the third president of the LDS Church in 1880, had been converted to Methodism in his early teens in England and was appointed a Methodist exhorter at age seventeen (Roberts 1892, 28). But when Taylor emigrated to Canada in 1832 at age twenty-four, though he acted as preacher and class leader in York (as Toronto was known until 1834), he was not fully content in his faith.

This discontent was perhaps first shown in January 1833 when Taylor married Leonora Cannon, a member of his class. Officiating at the ceremony was the Reverend Samuel J. I. Lockhart, chaplain to the Right Reverend C. J. Stewart, Anglican Bishop of Quebec, and connected with the Church of England-sponsored Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.<sup>1</sup> The Marriage Act of 1830 (actually passed in 1829) had given Methodist ministers in Upper Canada the right to perform marriages (Riddell 1921, 239), and for Methodists not to take advantage of this was unusual. Thus, even if Lockhart's services were originally proposed by Cannon's employer, the wife of the private secretary to the Governor General, Taylor's consent to an Anglican wedding was probably a sign of his disaffection.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lockhart claimed SPG affiliation on Taylor's marriage record, but he is not listed as a missionary in SPG records in the USPG Archives in London.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the decision was an impulsive one. Lockhart and Stewart were only briefly in York, to offer public prayers of thanksgiving for the passing of a cholera epidemic (Millman 1953, 148; SPG 1835, 150).

Be that as it may, within that year, Taylor gave a clear sign of his dissatisfaction with Methodism by joining a Bible study and prayer group with Christian primitivist leanings. It met under the leadership of William Poyntz Patrick, a wealthy young man, a licensed preacher, and a member of the York Methodist establishment (Clark 1948, 307). Its members agreed — at first, at least — “to reject every man’s opinion and work, and to search the scriptures alone” (J. Taylor, 269).

According to Joseph Fielding, who began meeting with them in 1835, those who associated with Patrick were convinced that the Christian church was apostate and laid great emphasis upon the doctrines of the resurrection, the judgment, and Christ’s millennial reign (Fielding 1841, 50). But according to Taylor himself, in a personal history he wrote in Utah as an LDS apostle, their conclusions were even more radical:

We believed in the apostasy of all the Christian churches and in their departure from the true faith. We believed in the gathering of Israel, in the restoration of the Ten Tribes, in the personal reign of Christ, in the power of God that should be manifested at the restoration of pure principles and a true church on the earth. We believed that there ought to be Apostles and Prophets, Pastors, Teachers and Evangelists, that men had not the gift of the Holy Ghost, as in former days; or the world would be guided into truth, and know of things to come. We believed in the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, miracles, prophecy, faith, discerning of spirits and in all the gifts and blessings as experienced in former days; but we had them not, we believed also that no man had a right to preach nor administer in ordinances without he was called of God by prophecy and ordained by proper authority as formerly; we believed that no such authority existed on the earth, or if it did we did not know of it (J. Taylor, 269).

These were the beliefs of 1835, however — what Taylor was thinking just before Pratt’s arrival — and not his milder thoughts of two years before.

In 1833 Taylor and the others (Patrick included) were still serving in Methodist church positions — some of them as ordained ministers — and it is unlikely that any of them brought to their first meetings any more than a nagging sense that the purity and grace of the primitive church had been lost. It took reading, prayerful discussion, and — most importantly — a catalyst to transform this vague yearning for a New Testament Christianity into a systematic indictment of the contemporary church. Perhaps not surprisingly, Taylor, anxious to highlight his conversion to Mormonism and stress the providential nature of his preparation for Pratt’s message, made little mention of the study, debate, and prayer, and completely ignored the catalyst — the Catholic Apostolic Church. Nevertheless, it was Irvingism which turned Taylor into a restorationist and prepared him for Pratt’s ministry.

The Patrick group was introduced to the teachings of the Catholic Apostolic Church by the conversion of the Reverend George Ryerson. Ryerson, a friend of Patrick and a member of a leading Methodist family in York, had gone to England in 1831 to help raise money for Methodist Indian missions and to petition Parliament on behalf of the non-Anglicans of Upper Canada. He had stayed on to settle details of the estate of his first wife’s mother and, disillusioned by what he saw of British Wesleyanism and horrified by the godlessness of London, had been attracted by the preaching of Reverend Edward Irving and

joined the Catholic Apostolic Church. Irving had been dismissed from the Church of Scotland ministry by his home presbytery of Annan because he had argued in *The Doctrine of the Incarnation Opened* (1828) that Christ's human nature was sinful. Ryerson was untroubled by this and uninterested in Irving's Christology. Instead he was impressed by the Scot's emphasis on ritual (Ryerson had wanted to enter the Anglican ministry but had been refused) and excited by his millennialism. Irving called for the elect to gather out of the churches to await Christ's return and afterwards rule with Christ during the millennium. He considered the gifts of the Spirit which his congregation at Regent Square enjoyed — prophecy, tongues, and healing — as signs of divine approval and a confirmation that the Parousia was at hand. The Catholic Apostolic Church, in which Irving held minor office, was largely the creation of Henry Drummond, but it drew heavily on Irving's ideas as well as Drummond's own, and was popularly known as the "Irvingite" church (Shaw 1946; Davenport 1970).

Ryerson was to devote the rest of his life to Irvingism and, following his return to Upper Canada in 1836, served as "angel" (CAC minister) in Toronto. In 1834 he asked for missionaries to be sent to Upper Canada and urged the two men assigned to go — William Renny Caird and William Hastings Cuthbert — to make the Patrick home their first call ("Canada" 1953, 9; Dougall 1982, 797; Shaw 1946, 112). Ryerson's reasons for directing them to Patrick are unknown, though it is possible he had learned of the group after talking with his brother, Egerton Ryerson, who had visited London the previous year. It is also not impossible that Patrick had been among the friends who had written to ask why he had left the Methodist Episcopal Church. But however arrived at, Ryerson's conclusions were sound. Patrick was indeed looking for some such message as that brought by Caird and Cuthbert — and so were the rest of his group. They had been praying for guidance and either a restoration of gospel power or a messenger from "a true church."<sup>3</sup>

The missionaries arrived in May (Burwell 1835, 24). They were well received by the Patrick group, but the leaders of conference summoned Patrick and others, including Taylor, before a disciplinary committee (Shaw 1946, 114; Roberts 1892, 33; Fielding 1841, 51). There were no conversions from the Patrick group that year, and Caird and Cuthbert returned to England at the end of the summer (Caird 1863, 36), deeply disappointed that their only successes had come from their preaching in Kington and Toronto (Sanderson 1908, 348). Possibly the appointments to preach had been made by Patrick ("Canada" 1953, 9). Nevertheless their mission should not be considered a failure. Those like Patrick who had been deprived of church office for their advocacy of Irvingite ideas were only temporarily chastened. When Fielding started meeting with the group in 1835, it was studying the Bible in the light of the teachings of Edward Ewing, a Scotch minister in London (Fielding, personal history, before his 1837 diary). When Caird made a second trip to the

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<sup>3</sup> Taylor reports fasting and prayers for "a true church" as occurring just prior to Pratt's arrival (J. Taylor, 269), but it seems probable that they would have started much earlier.

province the following year, Patrick led a small number into the CAC fold (Sissons 1937, 1:369).

Caird's influence is not, of course, shown only in the number of his converts. Many in the Patrick group adopted Irvingite ideas without ever joining the Catholic Apostolic Church. Taylor, for example, had become Mormon by the time Caird returned, but he had once been very interested in Irvingism and if some allowance is made for his anachronistic Mormon phrasing, each one of his pre-LDS criticisms of contemporary Christianity can be found in the preaching of Caird.

Granted, Caird's message survives only in summaries which appeared in the Methodist press, and *The Doctrines of the Holy Spirit* (1835), a book written by Adam Hood Burwell, under Caird's influence, with the hope of introducing Irvingism to Upper Canada.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence to show that Caird had a view of the gospel that paralleled, and no doubt shaped and clarified, Taylor's own. While Taylor could well have arrived at some of his conclusions unaided (or at least before the CAC missionaries arrived), the similarities between his thinking and Caird's preaching seem to be beyond coincidence, especially in view of Taylor's enthusiasm over Caird.

Christendom was under condemnation for apostasy, Caird taught (Shaw 1946, 114; cf. Sissons 1937, 1:360); the reformation had been incomplete and Protestantism, the Catholic Apostolic Church excepted, was living "under the direct agency of most grievous errors" (Burwell 1835, iii). Further, the offices of the primitive church had fallen into abeyance and the gifts of the Spirit were neglected. What was needed — and what Irvingites had — was a church led by apostles and blessed with the New Testament gifts of healing, tongues, and, most importantly, prophecy (Burwell 1835, 26–28). Caird had been sent to Canada by prophecy, Burwell triumphantly noted (1835, 24, 116). Such a church would gather the elect to await Christ's return and then supply "the civil and ecclesiastical government" of his millennial reign (Shaw 1946, 114; the phrasing is Egerton Ryerson's). When the kingdom of God had thus come on earth "by a mighty act of the Lord Jesus" (Burwell 1835, 119), Israel would be restored to her inheritance, and the world would be renewed. (See Shaw 1946, 114 for Egerton Ryerson's amusement at Caird's vivid descriptions of "an Elysian Canaan and an earthly heaven.")

By April 1836 when Pratt arrived in Toronto, Taylor was beginning to doubt the authority of Irvingism and was once again praying to learn which church was true. But he still believed in the scenario of apostasy, restoration, and second coming that — since March 1834 — he and the other members of the Patrick group had studied, discussed, and searched the scriptures to prove. It is no wonder that Pratt thought him prepared for Mormonism and *its* message of apostasy, restoration, and the imminence of Christ's return (Pratt 1888,

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<sup>4</sup> Burwell was the Anglican incumbent of Bytown (later Ottawa), "a responsible and deserving minister" who had overcome the handicap of an irregular education (Stewart 1832), but who was probably discouraged by the conflicts precipitated by the attempt to complete the Bytown church (SPG 1835, 152). He joined the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1836 and served as "angel" in Kingston.

146). Nor is it remarkable that Taylor was not at first interested in Pratt's message. He had, after all, heard much of it before.

Pratt's breakthrough came by preaching. When he addressed the Patrick group (he had been invited to attend by a third party), Taylor thought that the force and conviction with which he spoke was of God and shortly thereafter agreed to be baptized. No doubt Taylor had, before then, recognized the logic of Pratt's Christian primitivism, but had felt no need to accept any of Mormonism's special claims. When Pratt had arrived, armed with a letter of introduction from Moses C. Nickerson, a merchant with whom Taylor had a "very slight acquaintance" (J. Taylor, 270), Taylor had been unimpressed by both Pratt's message and Nickerson's letter.<sup>5</sup> When Pratt had converted Isabella Walton, one of Taylor's neighbors, and healed one of her friends, Taylor was not convinced that anything extraordinary had occurred. He needed to recognize the authority of Pratt's ministry before he could see the Church of Christ (as the LDS Church was then known) as "a true church" — and want to join.

Perhaps not too much should be made of this. Had Taylor not already been longing for a restoration of primitive Christianity when he heard Pratt preach, the Mormon elder might well have spoken in vain. Still, Taylor would have first noticed the great similarities between much of Mormonism and what he already believed some time before, when he and Pratt first met. These similarities did not seem significant then, nor would they ever have done, one might venture, had Taylor not been convinced that the Spirit validated what Pratt had to say.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Nickerson had been converted in 1833 by Joseph Smith's testimony of having enjoyed the ministry of angels (Jessee 1984, 304), and since then had witnessed the gifts of speaking and singing in tongues (Nickerson 1834, 134); possibly his letter to Taylor had touched on this.

<sup>6</sup> See Alexander 1976, 57–59, for Wilford Woodruff's similar conversion after a period of schooling in Christian primitivism.



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# The Third Nephi Disaster: A Geological View

*James L. Baer*

One of the most vivid descriptions of the utter destruction of cities and the death of hundreds of thousands of people is found in 3 Nephi 8 of the Book of Mormon. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, landslides, and storms of incredible proportions destroyed the largest part of the whole nation. At least five interesting questions are raised by this description.

1. In what kind of geological setting would one expect these events to have occurred?
2. If such a disastrous scene were possible, could it conceivably have taken place within three hours, as described in 3 Nephi 8:19?
3. Are there any likely locations in America where it might have occurred?
4. Are there any presently detectable evidences that such an event actually happened?
5. Could such a disaster discriminate between the wicked and the righteous?

As recorded in 3 Nephi 8, beginning with verse 5, the disaster was ushered in by “a great storm, such an one as never had been known in all the land.” The storm was of such ferocity that thunder shook the ground and lightning started fires in the city of Zarahemla. The city of Moroni sank into the depths of the sea, and the earth buried the city of Moronihah. Many other cities were sunk, burned, or devastated. The ground surface suffered a general breakup: open fissures developed, and new hills and valleys formed (3 Ne. 5:8). These events took place in three hours and were followed by a foreboding darkness that the people could feel, a darkness so intense that fires could not be kindled and people were overcome and apparently suffocated (3 Ne. 10:13).

In summary, the disaster was characterized by a terrible storm, earthquakes, and a smothering darkness. Attending these events was fire sent down from heaven (3 Ne. 9:11).

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Every aspect of this dreadful occurrence, except for its selectivity, can be accommodated by modern earthquake models. Nibley, in *Since Cumorah*, does an admirable job of documenting events similar to those recounted in 3 Nephi in locales around the world (Nibley 1967, 262–65). However, it is possible, using modern models, to identify the west coasts of Central and South America as the geological setting where the events described in 3 Nephi could have occurred.

Geologists know that earthquakes generally occur in well-defined belts or zones on the earth. These belts mark the junctions of the earth's plates, or large segments — usually continent sized — of its brittle crust. As these plates move slowly over the surface of the earth, they collide with one another, pull away from one another, and in some cases slide over and beneath each other. The most geologically dramatic junction, called a subduction zone, occurs when one plate slides beneath another. A subduction zone is characterized by periodic, severe earthquakes, by volcanic activity, usually by a deep trench, and, where conditions permit, by large-scale change of ground elevation by means of faulting. (A fault is a fracture in the earth's crust along which opposing sides of the crust have moved.) Movement along some faults has been measured in thousands of feet. It is generally thought that such massive movement along a fault occurs in small increments over a long period of time; but under some conditions, a single earthquake can cause significant large-scale movement.

One of the more active subduction zones of the world is located along the western coast of South America and the western edge of Central America (Fig. 1). Several devastating earthquakes have occurred during historic times in this vicinity. One earthquake destroyed Antiqua, then the capital of Guatemala, on 11 September 1541. In October 1746 an earthquake struck Lima, Peru, killing at least 5,000 people. Locals still wear purple in memory of that event. On 31 May 1970 a severe earthquake, centered offshore from Chimbote, Peru, triggered massive land and mudslides. One massive mudslide moved at an estimated 250–300 miles per hour down from the mountains and along the valley. It completely buried the town of Yungay, killing more than 20,000 inhabitants. Was Moronihah “swallowed up” by a similar phenomenon? Subsequent subsurface drilling at and near the site of the Yungay disaster found ruins of two other cities buried by previous landslides.

The mountainous area of Central and South America abuts a long, linear ocean trench. This trench exceeds 20,000 feet in depth and is bordered along the shore by mountains more than 22,000 feet high. The elevation difference of more than 40,000 feet makes this a likely site for large-scale fault development, allowing blocks of earth to slip oceanward. Such a slippage could occur during a devastating earthquake and could explain the loss of the city of Moroni into the depths. High-altitude air photos of the Andean Mountains exhibited at a professional meeting I once attended reveal what may be disconnected segments of an ancient highway system, apparently separated by considerable vertical displacements. Could they be part of the highway system mentioned in 3 Nephi 6:8? If so, they could have been disrupted by the earth-

quakes described in 3 Nephi 8. Even if these are not the highways of 3 Nephi, their existence lends credence to the idea of a general topographic disruption as described in 3 Nephi.

All this earthquake activity, with the main violent quake followed by several aftershocks, could well have occurred within three hours. Several earthquakes in Guatemala had a main shock followed by periodic aftershocks for more than five weeks afterward.

Two devastating Guatemalan earthquakes (23 December 1586 and 29–30 September 1717) were accompanied by severe and violent eruptions of the volcano Fuego. The vapor of darkness could well have been, as Nibley suggests (1967, 267), the result of volcanic activity. However, it is also possible for an earthquake to be so violent that huge, dense clouds of dust rise into the air. The vapor of darkness could have been a combination of earthquake-caused dust and volcanic gas and smoke. Active volcanoes are common along the west coast of South America and, particularly, Central America.

It is common for areas that have frequent, severe earthquakes to have a high incidence of volcanic activity. A violent earthquake could have caused volcanic eruptions, which perhaps were the fires from heaven described in 3 Nephi. These eruptions would not only have made the atmosphere dark with dust and cinders but would have released carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, and sulfurous gases into the atmosphere. Sufficiently concentrated, this mix of potentially lethal gases would not only have been suffocating but would have made fire kindling impossible. In several modern cases, gases have collected in low spots after an eruption, killing both animals and vegetation. In one 1947–49 volcanic eruption in Iceland, hundreds of sheep suffocated while the shepherders, located on rims above the sheep, suffered no ill effect (Macdonald 1972, 257). Interestingly, the vapor of darkness described in 3 Nephi remained for three days, a duration not unlikely in cases of volcanic dust and gas emission.

The selectivity of such a disaster is more difficult to explain. Of course, because the majority of people living at that time were not righteous, most of those killed would, by chance, have been wicked. Another explanation is that because, even in the most destructive earthquakes, the disastrous effects seem to be localized and because people of similar beliefs tend to live together, the disaster that struck a particular city would be likely to kill people of a particular persuasion.

In summary, the disaster described in 3 Nephi was probably a gigantic earthquake with attendant storms and volcanic activity. The west coasts of South and Central America have the geological features that one would expect to find at the site of such a disaster. Modern geological models of plate motion confirm that this area could have produced the 3 Nephi events. The subduction zone of Central and South America shows evidences of earthquake and volcanic activity very similar to the activity described in the Book of Mormon. It is important to note that this subduction zone model and its implications had not been developed when Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon. Obviously, a great deal of work must precede a definitive answer, but it is at

least significant that what is currently known supports the possibility — even the probability — of the events described in 3 Nephi.

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## New Friends

*Anonymous*

**T**he unsigned letter stunned me. It pleaded for help, yet how could I offer anything to an unknown writer. He was male; he said he would contact me. I did not trust that he would. He thrust his pain upon me — pulled me into his anguish, expected me to somehow provide relief, to prevent the suicide he threatened. Yet he would not identify himself.

He described an inner turmoil that prevented him from sleep, estranged him from family, denied him appetite. He had lost so much weight that he lacked strength to work, but work was his only escape. He stayed late at his office, fought the arrival of solitary weekends. He hated himself. As punishment, he refused to eat. He was not worthy to live, he said. He needed to die, wanted to die. He made plans to die — one plan after another.

I tried to set the letter aside reasoning that most people who commit suicide do it confidentially and those who threaten are mainly calling for help. Since he refused to sign the letter, the responsibility would have to remain with him. If he contacted me I would respond, but even then I did not relish the idea of counseling with a homosexual.

Still I was troubled. The fact that he had sought my help seemed a positive sign. Was he a member of my ward — someone I had been called as bishop to lead? Did it really matter whether he lived in the boundaries?

As much as I thought about him, I also feared an encounter. Once years before I had counseled with someone I knew to be gay, face to face. Though I had tried to listen sympathetically, my uneasiness had shown. He read my feelings and did not return.

After that, the issue of homosexuality simply did not present itself to me. Admittedly, I do not go in search of the suffering that slumbers below the surface of appearances — my Christianity does not extend that far. But I had learned a good deal in the decade since my last chance to listen. I had read, sought counsel.

He was right to give me a week to think. This time, I resolved, I would try harder. But then what?

I had no formula for recovery except dramatic repentance. I had seen some real miracles: transformations, forgiveness, spiritual awakening. They dealt with other problems, however. My soul was electrified as I watched people discover the simplicity of the Redemption, finding that they could actually change. They uncovered what had seemed trite but was actually hidden from them: that Christ was available to help pay the debt they could not. Homosexuality seemed tougher, more elusive, but I did not doubt that the Redemption embraced it, too. The theology of repentance and redemption was valid, but the homosexuals I knew found it difficult to use religion as a catalyst for change, and I did not know anyone whose behavioral modification formulas worked very long. So I began to read again, seek more advice, and pray.

The writer did not contact me again. Two months passed. Some days I shrugged it off. Some days I scanned the obituaries. Then I reread his letter carefully with the hunch that he was waiting for a response. Maybe he wanted a signal that I could listen. I found some clues embedded in the text. Putting them together, I had an idea. Immediately I dialed a number.

After two rings he answered.

His voice was all business as he gave the name of the firm.

"Hello, Clarke, I received your letter."

Silence.

"Clarke, the letter is beautiful. It is honest."

Silence.

"Clarke, I've been waiting for your call. I'm ready. Do you want to see me?"

Silence. Then a whispered, "Yes."

"I will be at my office at 10 tonight. Do you know where it is?" (I purposely chose a time when he would be free, when no one would be in the foyer.)

"Yes."

"I'll be waiting. Thank you for writing."

With time to weigh his choices, I wondered if he would come.

He did.

Our first meeting was painful. He shivered. My stomach knotted. He spoke with great difficulty, sometimes gasping, heart pounding. I thought he needed immediate admission to the mental ward.

When he mentioned that he had been in therapy for a year, I was both relieved and bothered. At least I could depend on the psychiatrist to watch for anorexia, borderline personality, schizophrenia, but his emotional pain was more intense than I had ever encountered. I told him I would always be available; but I secretly wondered if he needed more help than I was competent to give. I was most disturbed that he had sought a second counseling relationship. Was he going to bounce from ear to ear, seeking sympathy, instead of acting to eliminate the source of misery? I also wondered if the psychiatrist had ordered a thorough physical examination. Was a chemical deficiency triggering this acute depression? Was the psychiatrist exacerbating Clarke's problem?



I listened to his story. It seemed quite conventional: estrangement from his father (though Clarke was still in touch with the family), secrecy to protect parents and grandparents from what he was sure they could not face. A younger brother had fulfilled the athletic and muscular expectations in the family. Clarke had made excuses, manipulated his parents, and connived to avoid the physical work his father demanded of him. The distance between Clarke and his father had widened. There had been ugly encounters and long weeks of silence. A male cousin had introduced some sexual fondling at age twelve and again at sixteen, this time more pornographic and overt. The encounters had become more frequent. He had felt terrible guilt but had not discouraged his cousin's continuing invitations. But he also had a healthy and fulfilling high school romance with a neighborhood girlfriend.

Clarke had initiated a talk with his bishop, mentioning the homosexual experiments briefly, embarrassing both of them. He then prepared for a mission and entered the field — to the great relief of all concerned. He hoped for a transformation. His parents, who had imagined all sorts of deviancies but who had felt so guilty that they were unable to discuss Clarke's feelings, tried to convince themselves that their worst fears would be quieted. Everyone breathed more easily as weeks stretched into months.

Clarke found missionary work agreeable. Despite constant intimate contact with desirable males, he suppressed his homosexual thoughts. Midway in the mission, Clarke began working more closely with the mission president, whose family became very fond of him. At times Clarke was haunted with the thought, "If they only knew what I am really like." At other times he tilted in the other direction, "That is only part of me. All people have a weak side; but I have a genuine spiritual side, too — and it is winning."

Eventually Clarke built the courage to tell his mission president what his bishop had not really wanted to hear. The president did not act shocked. In fact, he confronted Clarke, extracting an admission that there was more than Clarke had told the bishop. Clarke had no more extended talks with the president, but each day was like a heart-to-heart encounter. Their eyes met. Clarke felt trust and encouragement as the president continued to give him responsibility.

The mission ended on a high, but the flight home was full of panic. At the airport, Clarke could not embrace his father. As time passed, he felt increasingly alone. He had no idea what to do next. His mission euphoria lasted about seven months. His high school girlfriend was unhappily married. He could not force himself to date anyone else. He continued to fantasize about males.

Now he was in my office. Four years of increasing involvement in the gay network had brought him here. He knew its seamy side and its tender side. He had tried a committed partnership, endured its catastrophic collapse, and resorted to the desperation of pickup points — well-established spots where gays go to meet others anonymously for a quick, one-time sexual encounter.

I ventured a blunt question, knowing I could offend him, "What pleasure is there in such a risky and fleeting encounter?"



“It is enough,” he said, “to hope, even if it is only for five minutes, that someone wants me.”

Church meetings exacerbated Clarke’s crisis. Just seeing the sacrament emphasized his hypocrisy. He tried to change his values to meet his behavior. That took him out of Church activity, away from temple commitments, but gave him no relief. He realized he could not discard the Church, did not really want to, but his feelings of unworthiness overpowered him. His psychiatrist told Clarke that he was not really a homosexual — that his gay life was a mere symptom of his self-rejection. He punished himself with homosexual acts because he hated himself, and those acts triggered guilt because he was so intensely religious. The argument impressed me; but it led to no relief, no therapeutic success.

When Clarke left that evening I put my arms on both his shoulders, extending a cautious touch, looking closely in his eyes. I expressed my admiration for the courage it took to come. He warmed also, cautiously. He said his father had never held him so. He was barely able to talk. I worried that he might not be able to negotiate the roads. He insisted he could.

As the days went by, I realized that I did not fear further talks with Clarke. I was not repelled. I was not interested in intimate details. I did not fantasize about homosexuality. I was liberated.

Andy’s way of contacting me was the opposite of Clarke’s. He saw to it that we interacted often on other matters first. Rather naively, I missed the testing that he was putting me through. Then one day he blurted out that he was gay. I knew enough to roll with it. He told me that he had driven past my home night after night, vacillating between stopping or prowling for a contact. He said that one of our other chats had so scared him that he stayed out most of the night trying to calm down. I had been oblivious to it all.

But there it was. It was out.

Andy was so different from Clarke. He did not seem depressed. He was witty, socially skilled, full of humor, at ease everywhere. I suspected that underneath there must be tension that would yet come when he could suppress it no longer, but his easy laughing belied the insecurity that seemed to dominate him behind his well-constructed facade.

He wanted to disassociate himself from the gay scene, but he was deep in the net — gay bars, gay gyms, gay porn. He knew dozens of pickup points and many partners. He had completed a successful mission but now lingered about the edge of the Church. He kept his secret from his family, safely distant in another state, who saw him as an active Mormon.

Andy decided that excommunication was the route for him. He overcame the fear of censure that causes many people to hesitate when the idea of a Church court first arises. He sought forgiveness and felt he could not even start without a court.

He was so different from Clarke. He had had no long sessions of anguish, no intense battle with parents, no expressions about suicide. He withheld his inner self from me, perhaps even from himself. He had many friendships, both heterosexual and homosexual. He dated extensively before his mission and

after; but his numerous homosexual encounters before his mission were repeated after, even though he had abstained completely during his mission. When he came home, he immersed himself in the gay world.

I wondered how Andy coped. I did not want to destroy his defense mechanisms and push him into a depression like Clarke's, but I could not penetrate his defenses. Because he was popular in both homosexual and heterosexual settings, he was not sure he wanted to get beyond his present lifestyle.

The court was held with modest success. There were no hard feelings. He spoke openly with the high council and expressed closeness to the stake president. When the president asked Andy if he could predict a break with the gay world, he said he could only hope. He and I felt we were on a common wavelength, at least as friends. Then he failed to come back for the regular counseling sessions the stake president had prescribed. He settled into the reality of living without the priesthood.

I'm fond of Andy. We trust each other. He has brought me reading material on homosexuality. He has advised me in my counseling with others and wants to help people break out. He says he fully intends to marry and raise a family in the gospel.

I am puzzled.

After Andy, I began to develop a cautious hypothesis about male homosexuality. It is such a taboo that most of us wish to avoid the subject. We are repulsed. We condemn. But underneath, I think we mostly fear homosexuality. We fear that maybe, just maybe, there is some of it in us all. Do we all have some degrees of heterosexuality and some degrees of homosexuality? Perhaps our youthful experiences reinforce one sexual preference over the other. At least when Ned came I found myself able to identify with him past stereotypes or fear. He had had early encounters with homosexuality as childhood experimenting — particularly in Boy Scouts. He certainly was not a confirmed gay before his mission; but he knew the fear of that question, "Am I gay?" He cleared matters with his bishop, then waited for a probation period. Finally he left for the mission field. A few months later he became sexually involved with a companion. Both were sent home for professional help. After a few months, Ned returned and completed his mission. His parents were aware of his "problem." They appeared to be accepting, at least they were not driven with fear as they talked about it openly with me. Ned's mother continued to urge him to date. Though he felt that pressure from family and relatives, he could not get interested in a woman.

Ned was completely convinced that homosexuality was wrong. But he did not feel that he could ever be heterosexual. He avoided the gay world, knew nothing of its systems, and did not want to. Yet about once a year he fell into an encounter he did not seek. He immediately came to me. I supported him and kept in contact with our stake president.

In the interim, Ned carried out Church assignments and was the backbone of many activities. He brought order to his vocation. He participated in community activities. He had dozens of friends, and he kept dating casually.

Ned's condition was in some ways similar to Tad's. Tad came to me with his homosexual experience behind him. It was expiated; he had completed the probation of disfellowshipment and was in total control. But now he could not take the next step. He simply could not feel physical affection for a woman. Was he doomed to celibacy? he asked. He desperately wanted a family but felt he could not use a wife to bear children, and then have no further sexual interest in her. He recoiled from the suggestion of sharing his concern midway through courtship. He doubted that any woman could want him enough to gamble on such a threatening point. Because he is a wonderfully talented, handsome, and winning person, I hope otherwise. Tad has moved away. I miss his wholesome spirit.

My interaction with Antonio was as frustrating as my contact with Tad was uplifting. He made an appointment to see me on the advice of an anonymous friend. (I wondered just how well known I was among gays.) Antonio came to me angrily. He wanted me to explain why he could not be a Mormon and a gay at the same time.

He had joined the Church a year before, after having the missionary lessons. The elders never mentioned homosexuality, so neither did he. His sexual choice became evident shortly after his baptism. I confronted him with the evidence. Antonio did not deny being homosexual. I asked him whether he was prepared to break with his sexual activity. Antonio said he was not, that he did not feel he could or should. He argued that all gay suffering was the fault of a bigoted, rejecting society, that homosexuality was a legitimate choice, that it hurt no one, was for consenting adults, had always been around. It was time the taboo ended. Other churches were coming around. Why not the Mormons? There are thousands of gay Mormons, he argued. Why persecute them? They cannot help being gay; they are made that way.

He and I ended up polarized both in words and feelings. Nothing happened for a few weeks. Then I asked Antonio to come to the office again. I explained to him that homosexual activity was just as serious as fornication and could not be countenanced, that the practice did indeed harm others, was forbidden by God, and was therefore a violation of baptism and sacrament covenants. Antonio would have to make a choice between homosexuality and his membership. I assured him that I would support him if he chose to change his sexual lifestyle and understood that changing could take time. I asked Antonio to think about it and especially to pray about it.

Antonio refused to see me again. I sent him notice to appear before a Church court. He burned the letter. When I sent the second letter, that he had been excommunicated by a bishop's court, he brought it to me, asking how we could be Christians when Christ said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

Our chat was not helpful. He wanted to argue. He wanted to dump on me. I could not get through to him. He just kept reading a sentence in the letter about the court's obligation to protect the Church. Then he would fume that no one cared, especially not the people who were supposed to—the priesthood.

That was my last visit with Antonio, but, ironically, he sent me Kirt. Like Clarke, Kirt came in a terrible physical condition. He was using medication to calm his nerves, but the medicine kept him from sleeping. Without the medication he was so nervous that he could not sit down.

Kirt was a farm boy and had grown up with easy experimentation with himself, with other boys, even with animals. A stunning physical specimen, he was sought by older gays. He kept the secret from his father, with whom he worked. He went into the mission field without discussing the matter with his bishop and never talked with his mission president about it. He completed his mission without problems and returned home. His straight friends had either married or gone to college. He did not intend to associate with the old gang; but after a year, he had added drugs to homosexuality. They were his only friends, and he had spent every weekend with them until he and his gay roommate had broken up. Now Kirt determined to break out.

Kirt had an interesting logic. He had asked for excommunication to get the pressure off. Now he was trying to decide whether to use excommunication as a license to stay gay or as a stimulus to make some changes. He was dating a number of women, about which he felt a tenuous hope, but he was still unemployed and unclear about a career. His dependence on medication was diminishing, but the only close friends he had were gay. His was a circle of captives.

Antonio also sent me Curtis, divorced and a life-long, active Mormon. He and Antonio had nothing in common except their message: they were both gay, and they both wanted to be in the Church. Curtis, however, had leveled with bishops all along the way. Like many who try to use missions as a cure, Curtis entered marriage hoping for a change. His wife was aware of the experimental nature of their relationship. They were married long enough to have three children, and then they parted. Curtis's pain had been multiplied manyfold by that marriage. He is counseling regularly with me and the stake president and is moderately active in the Church. He is resigned to permanent bachelorhood and has informed his parents why.

Counseling with lesbians was more difficult for me. Women hesitated to approach me; our discussions did not come as naturally as those with men. We were both uneasy. I realized that it took real conviction on their part to overcome the gender gap. Nonetheless, they came.

Krista and Carla, both returned missionaries, came with both humility and humiliation. Their physical affection had begun as platonic respect for each other. They decided to become roommates out of a longing for friendship, for spiritual support, for a Latter-day Saint lifestyle. Their normal touching had grown gradually into an involvement that did not seem indiscreet initially. They talked themselves into denying that they had passed the border of propriety. Three months later, they had resolved to break what had become a habit. They had abstained for six weeks and then broken their resolve, abstained again, and now were ready to admit that they were fooling themselves. They wanted help, confidential help.

It was hard for them to come to me. They knew I would ask why they did not stop living together, but their friendship was almost all they had. Both came from unsatisfying families. Both were lonely. Both were highly competent professionally. Neither had any previous homosexual experience.

We met regularly but at widening intervals. Then Krista rather suddenly became engaged. A year later Carla, too, married. I continue to observe them both from a distance. They each appear to have acceptable marital relationships. They have moved to different communities and have established new circles of friends.

Dotty is a complete contrast; she has checkmated me. She knows that I know about her homosexuality, and she has entertained the idea of coming to see me — I think. I am not sure whether she resents me personally or whether she is convinced that no one has a right to interfere. I am pretty sure that she hates the homosexuality that encircles her; she is deeply depressed and turns increasingly to alcohol. It is unclear to me which of her defeating behaviors is causal and which is symptomatic. She is explosive, perhaps dangerous.

Dotty moves often, but the moves do not help her find a new beginning. She alternately breaks with her lover and then returns. Similarly, she sees the Church as a point of refuge at times and as her tormentor at other times. She seeks out people who have been excommunicated and convinces herself that a court would be her nemesis. We have never talked about her homosexuality. She will not let me. I'm torn between a destructive intervention and patience that may never produce results.

I believe that other women must also need to discuss their homosexuality but feel unable to. I feel inadequate; I suspect that some women are still bearing guilt about events long abandoned. But they hesitate to confide in me merely because I am a man. I am grateful for the few women therapists to whom I can refer people, but I wish homosexual women would at least give me a try.

Where does all this lead? Certainly these few cases are too limited to generate universal solutions. They have brought me, average Church member that I am, to know that homosexuality exists and has likely always existed — facts I wanted to ignore. Knowing and loving these people has not diminished my conviction that homosexuality is unnatural and unholy. I have seen no positive long-run benefits from its practice. I have read of some moderately successful companionships but have never spoken to someone who has experienced one. Even without considering the spiritual implications, the results of living a homosexual lifestyle seem overwhelmingly negative. I do understand that homosexuality sometimes provides the tenderness and touching that everyone needs but some have been denied. The childlessness of homosexual relationships is only one shortcoming. There are many others: severe guilt, social estrangement, manipulative relationships.

These ideas are not new nor are demands for social justice for gays. However, I also understand that those demands, even if implemented, will not eliminate most of the pain that I see in each person who confides in me.

I have found that we really do not know enough about homosexuality to be dogmatic. The question of whether gay behavior is biologically determined or socially formed has not been answered. Another fifty years might bring us to a realization that both options are inadequate explanations.

If this is actually the case — that we know far too little — then we are in a delicate position when making judgments about homosexuality. Is it an illness? The American Psychological Association and the American Psychiatric Association have officially said no. Yet I know members of each organization who dissent from that stand. I have not seen evidence that contradicts our traditional views based on scriptural sanctions.

Is there a physiological cure awaiting discovery? Will our interventions or judgments hasten suicide? Is homosexuality a learned behavior that can be unlearned or sublimated? Can determined repentance effectively eliminate homosexuality? These are the sacred and secular questions I ponder.

The Church leaders I have worked with are generally cautious on the matter. I sense that they are also searching for answers. The policy of deciding each case separately is wise, especially since clear information is lacking.

For example, Victor Brown, Jr.'s, analysis of homosexuality is insightful in some cases but inadequate in others. He argues three points. First, male homosexuals feel they do not fulfill the gender expectations of their fathers. Furthermore, they lack relationship skills. Finally, they have frequent fantasies of their own sensual activities (Victor Brown, Jr., "Fred's Story," manuscript in author's possession).

Some of the people I have met with fit Brown's description. Some completely defy his analysis. Nonetheless Brown's three ideas are helpful because each suggests preventive actions. Certainly fathers would be well advised to realize their key impact in their sons' lives. Boys need to feel the warmth of their father's physical touch. Sons desperately need their fathers' vocal acceptance, too, even of choices that may not fill a father's hopes. Not all boys can be football players or should be. The need for much cross-generational talk between parents and offspring is well known and is especially important when viewed from the vantage point of homosexuality. The need for deep, lasting friendships within wholesome peer groups is central. A youth busy with many activities and aware of parental support will usually not drift to deviancy.

Brown's prescriptions are helpful as preventions but inadequate as cures. Most adult homosexuals have long histories of pain and addiction that cannot be undone. Some adolescent homosexuality is mere experimentation, but adult homosexuality is most often deeply rooted. My knowledge is too limited. What experts have written or told me is still too limited.

What I do know is that homosexuals are people I can associate with quite normally and with whom other Church members can associate. I did not previously know that. I subconsciously feared they might entice me. They did not; I found no allurements in their histories. I know homosexuals who love the gospel and the Church dearly. I know homosexuals for whom the gospel and the Church are terrible obstacles. Thus far, the most powerful tool I have found to help them is still the idea that change is possible, gradual as it may be.

# Mornings

*Linda Sillitoe*

I

**F**riday morning. June sky like denim through the bus windows. The last day before the weekend, Marc repeated to himself, like a gypsy muttering a chant.

He swung off the bus four blocks before his stop and walked. He watched the sky behind the city's buildings, how the reappearing yellow streaks along the clouds' curve faded to cream. He watched the leaves flash in the morning breeze that was gusty enough to lift his hair and cool his throat. He made a mental note to brush his hair in the elevator.

He walked quickly but snapped a memory of the flower banks, scarlet, periwinkle, and gold. Had they always been so vivid in June? Had he always paid attention to the morning sky? He'd read an article the week before on terminal patients who told how beautiful the world had become, how they gloried in it as they grieved. Mark had read with a shock of recognition. Now the article haunted his odd moments. But why? he wondered. I'm not dying. But then, neither was he a gypsy.

The Church Administration Building was near now and no longer towered in his vision unless he tipped his head all the way back. Marc remembered his pride when the building went up, the squared-off base, the aggressive concrete, then the arrogant height. It overshadowed the famous temple and tabernacle, the Lion House and the Beehive House. His children could spot it from any place in the valley. "There it is!" they would shriek from the back seat of the car. "Daddy's building!"

He pushed the revolving door, as instructed by the sign. June disappeared in a rush of cool air and in gleaming floors surrounding the hush of carpet. As Marc waited for the elevator, he reached into his jacket pocket for his brush.

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Sister Anderson was on the elevator when it stopped. She wore a light blue dress and low heels. The dress flattered her bluish-silver hair and her sweet, blue eyes. She and the other building hostesses took people on tours.

"Why, Marc."

"Good morning. How are you?"

"Why, I'm just fine." She beamed as she watched him brush his hair. "Oh, your grandmother was so proud of those curls," she teased. "We girls thought she'd never let your folks cut your hair."

"Hair like this is really a nuisance."

"Oh, but you were such a beautiful child." She tapped his arm playfully. "That's why they always chose you for an angel in the Christmas program."

"I remember," Marc said, rolling his eyes. She laughed.

"Poor boy," she said gaily as the doors hissed.

Marc stepped out of the elevator. His office was in the missionary department. He was two minutes early. Exactly right.

It was ten o'clock before the telephone rang, but by the way his heart caught, Marc knew he had been waiting. It was Nancy, a college friend who'd worked with him on Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign. Lately he and Kate seemed to run into Nancy and her husband everywhere, at every party, fireside, discussion group. The four became friends.

"Marc," Nancy said with her usual energy, "I'm working with a committee here at BYU to give input on women in the missionary program."

A ragged, familiar click muffled her next words. Marc listened through a light etching of static. ". . . you remember we talked about it a little at Judy's house?"

"Oh, yes."

"Well, it's crazy, but I can't seem to get current statistics. I've talked to the staff in the managing director's office, but they just put me off. All I need to know are the percentages, Marc. The number of women who go, their ages, the number of baptisms and so on."

It sounded so simple. Careful, Marc thought, and took a breath. It was always safe to repeat. "You've discussed it with the managing director's office?"

"Have I discussed it with them! Listen, Marc, could I get those figures from my stake president, or a mission president, or a regional representative or anyone like that? They're not confidential, are they?"

Careful. "I don't know what their official status is. Let me ask around and see what the problem is."

But she would not be put off. Couldn't she hear the static on the line or, if not that, the distance in his voice?

"Oh, we've tried all that. Martha tried, too. She got Dr. Ehlert to call. It's no use. I just wondered if you have that information available, and if it wouldn't cause you any problems to get it for me. . . ."

"Well, that's not exactly my area," Marc said.

"I know, but —"

"I'm sure the information is on computer file, but it would take someone with the right code to get it."



“Oh.”

“If I become aware of any materials that have been mailed to the local leaders, I’ll get you a copy. There wouldn’t be any problem with that.”

“Okay.” She sighed. “Thanks. Say hello to Kate.”

“Right. ’Bye, Nancy.”

Marc heard her hang up, aggravated no doubt, but he kept the receiver against his ear. My turn to listen, he thought grimly. There it was — a definite click ten seconds after Nancy’s. Sweat broke out across his back and under his arms.

Marc stared into the perforations on the earpiece. What I wouldn’t give to get a look at that ear, he thought. He imagined himself screening all the employees in the building for a particular cartilage pattern, or an orange tinge above the lobe, and managed a wry smile. Then he slammed his fist down on the desk.

Whose ear was it? A man’s? A woman’s? Someone in management? How long had it been listening? Had his jokes about Church Security brought the ear to his line as he became paranoid? No, he comforted himself, it probably was Ralph who worked three partitions away and had an eye on his job. Maybe even Betsi, the young secretary who flirted and pouted at the reception desk. When his line lit up, did she lift the receiver to listen? And if it was only Betsi or Ralph, then why this clutch in his guts? The last day before the weekend, he told himself again.

He wheeled his chair to the typing desk and worked on reports until lunch.

“There he is,” Phil announced into his curled fist as Marc approached the crowded round table in the cafeteria. “It’s him, my friends, Brother Blueblood.”

Marc ignored him and began unloading his tray before the last empty chair. “Hi Pete, Ben, Mike, everyone.”

“Ev-eryone,” Phil muttered, moving his fist to one side like a microphone that shouldn’t pick up his aside. “Humble guys like me are listed as everyone.” He paused for effect. “Just because I’m not related to six different buildings at BYU!”

Phil’s on a roll, Marc thought, sitting down. “Just three buildings,” he corrected, suddenly hungry as he stirred the French dressing into his salad.

“Oh, just three!” Phil tried again. “Cement and stones compose Marc’s bones. . . .”

“Holy heck,” Mike interrupted, “who put a nickel in Phil today? Dig in, Marc. You look like today had better be Friday.”

“Half over,” Marc grinned, a flash of his morning walk zipping through his mind. Pete, across the table, grinned back.

“Actually, Marc,” Pete said softly, “I’ve never figured out why you don’t run for office with a name like yours.”

“Think I’d get elected?” Marc asked.

Most of them, Marc knew, thought him a flaming liberal, even among them, let alone the whole of Utah. Sure enough, they all hooted and Phil slapped him on the shoulder.

"You just gotta be careful of one thing," Phil said thickly, pausing to swallow a mouthful of strawberry pie. "If someone asks you about the ERA, tell them that when the Church magazines got correlated it was replaced by the *Ensign*."

Not much laughter. An old joke.

"Speaking of the ERA," said Mike, "here comes the girl who started in Genealogy on Monday. Healthy looking, isn't she?"

"What does she have to do with the ERA?" Phil asked, as the girl approached. "She's too pretty to be a libber."

"Not a darn thing," Pete said reverently, his eyes following her past their table.

Marc thought the girl might be eighteen, no more. Her cheeks reddened as she felt their eyes on her. Her auburn hair was swept into a barrette above each ear, and her white, cotton dress swung as she walked.

"Why don't you just grab her?" Marc asked, a trifle bitterly.

"Hey, hey!" Mike objected. "Are you so enlightened you can't appreciate a thing of beauty?"

"And a joy forever," Ned smirked.

"Now me," Phil said, "I'm a man after Joseph Smith's own heart." He rolled his eyes.

They all laughed. It felt good, Marc thought. Then he saw the girl glance back from another table, her face flaming.

"Okay, Phil," Marc said, stifling guilt with irritation. "When do you bring out a book on Joseph's wives? All of them. Complete with dates of marriage."

"It's in the works," Phil said, but his grin faded.

"Seriously," Marc probed. "Your research doesn't affect your feelings for the Church, right? So share it with the world, not just this little table of closet liberals."

"Who's a closet liberal?" Phil snorted. "I'm just a closet moderate!"

"Actually, it's a good point," Ben said, as they warmed toward another discussion that would send them back to their departments late, but with their adrenaline flowing. "Who does the history belong to? To us? To the membership? To the Church? What *about* all the information we have? Why not let it all hang out?" He glanced over his shoulder nervously. "I ask that philosophically, of course."

"People have trouble just living the basics," Phil said, a single line appearing between his brows. "We have access to a lot of esoteric stuff. It doesn't have anything to do with salvation."

"Come on, no serious stuff on a Friday," Mike objected. "We had staff meeting this morning and I'm still overwrought."

Phil affected his drawl again. "We're all overwrought. Except maybe Marc who's overwrought and doesn't look like he sleeps nights. If you don't want that doughnut, boy, pass it over and save yourself some indigestion."

Marc spun the saucer a few inches toward Phil. "You deserve it."

"Is that remark directed at my figure?"

“Nope. You’re in a bishopric. You need all the quick energy you can get.”  
They all smiled.

“You’re right about one thing, Phil,” Marc said. “I’m pooped. Kate and I talked half the night. We keep doing that.”

“Talked!” Ben said. “How long have you two been married?”

“Too long to be up all night doing anything,” Phil put in.

“Nine years.” Marc said. “You mean you guys don’t ever talk with your wives all night?”

“You mean like when we were in Scouts and slept under the stars?” Mike asked. “Naw. My wife talks all right, but by the time the kids conk out, I’m too tired to do more than grunt and snore. Now maybe if she’d quit talking, it’d be worthwhile to stay alert!”

“Now you’re talking,” Ben said, waving his fork between two fingers like Groucho Marx’s cigar.

Pete was watching Marc closely. “Well, what do you mean, talked? Has something happened? Nothing serious, I hope.”

“No, nothing’s wrong. We just got into a big discussion.”

“About what?”

“Oh, everything. Our kids. Our parents. Our lives before we met. Why we married — really, I mean.”

“Holy cow,” Phil said.

“And you’re still married today?” Ben said, but no one laughed.

“It’s amazing,” Marc said. He wanted to stop explaining, but couldn’t. “One of us will say something, and there’s this silence as a whole stretch of our lives slides into place. Revelation by the chunk.”

“Revelation!” Phil pounced. “Did you hear that? Get this man back to his terminal before he tries to usurp high office.”

“Sounds great,” Mike put in awkwardly.

“Nobody leave,” Phil said as Marc collected his empty dishes. “I almost forgot. New spot quiz.”

Pete groaned.

“Everyone describe yourself with one word. Hyphens allowed. Go.”

“Over-qualified,” Mike said.

“Underpaid,” said Ben.

“Perspicacious,” said Pete.

“Overbearing,” Phil added with a sigh.

“Halfbreed,” Marc said and picked up his tray.

There was a pause. “Nope,” Phil said. “You’re a liberal, so that couldn’t have been racist.”

“You’re right,” Marc said. “Here, stack your trays on mine and I’ll dump them.”

Before Marc left work that day, he slipped three sheets into his binder, then placed it in his attaché and turned the key. The heading on each page read “Female Missionaries” and the year the data represented. He and Kate were having dinner with friends in Provo. He would post a legal-sized envelope with no return address to Nancy at BYU.

## II

Callie centered a huge plant on the coffee table as soon as Marc set it down. He grinned at her and straightened. "Home sweet home?"

"I guess," she sighed, tucking a wisp of brown hair behind her ear.

It was 10:45 Saturday morning.

"One more trip should do it," Marc said. "Do you want to ride back with us or unpack?"

"I'd better go."

"Very wise. You're better off not trusting klutzes like Craig and me." He tried to be more a friend than a home teacher, but there was always a shadow of constraint. He berated that shadow in himself.

Still, she laughed. "Thank goodness my ex took the boys today. He hasn't seen them for months."

"Kids aren't much help when you're moving," Marc sidestepped. "Come on Craig," he called as the screen door banged behind them. "One more time."

Craig was inspecting the duplex foundation. "I can see why you'll pay less rent," he said as they all crossed the yellow lawn to the truck.

"How come?"

"The limestone is starting to crumble. Did you check the basement?"

"There isn't one, really. Just a shelf."

"Ought to look that over," Craig said, turning the key in the pickup. Callie looked worried.

"That's the landlord's headache," Marc said. Callie had enough to worry about, uprooting two little kids just to move a few blocks. At least this house was still in the ward. He and Craig could continue as her home teachers. Home teaching could be tedious, but it wasn't hard to be concerned about Callie.

The mattresses were awkward to lift. Craig insisted on hoisting the double mattress on to his shoulders, leaving Marc to steady, more than lift, the other end.

You could trust Craig to be at the bottom of the stairs under a washing machine, Marc thought. Then he immediately wondered if somehow, even through the way he positioned himself, he took the easier part. Thank goodness the stove and refrigerator were part of the rental.

They sat on boxes in Callie's small living room and ate tuna sandwiches and drank lemonade from styrofoam cups.

"Imagine thinking of lunch the night before," Marc said, nodding toward the ice chest. "Efficient."

Callie looked embarrassed. "It was the least I could do. I really appreciate you helping me. With my dad in the hospital—and movers are so expensive—"

"Don't mention it," Marc said. "Some people will do anything for a tuna sandwich."

As usual, Craig seemed only half tuned to their conversation. He cleared his throat formally. "Well, Callie, that was really good." He dusted the crumbs

off his jeans on to the carpet as he stood. "Now that you're just around the corner from the ward, we'd sure like to see you at church sometimes."

A little of Marc's lemonade slopped on the floor. "Whoops," he said, dabbing with his napkin. He threw Craig a dark glance. The first time they'd visited Callie they invited her to come to church. She didn't speak for several tense minutes. "My husband and I were very active before the divorce," she said finally, and that was all.

Marc had been afraid she'd never let them in again, so he talked Craig into avoiding the subject of church attendance. Marc and Callie discussed books, politics, Callie's children, and her struggle to support them. Craig usually said little.

"I guess you remember what time the meetings are?" he asked now.

Callie's cheeks flamed. Marc stood also. Why doesn't he just hand her a bill? he wondered.

"I think so."

"Callie, I forgot to bring back the Potok book you loaned me," Marc said hurriedly. "But will you trust me for the other one anyway? I'll bring both the next time we drop by."

Callie looked at him blankly before her eyes responded to the shift in topic. He saw her brows, her mouth, relax. "Sure," she said. She almost smiled as she looked around the living room. "But which box?"

"Oh. . . ." He glanced at the stacks of boxes and felt blood in his face. "Of course. Okay," he began again, edging Craig toward the door, "you unpack and I'll find your book."

"It's a deal."

Marc reached past Craig for the doorknob.

"Thanks again," Callie said.

"Any time," Marc waved, and then they were on the porch.

Marc was halfway into the truck before he noticed he still had Callie's house keys in his pocket. "Go ahead," he told Craig. "I'll jog home. Do me good."

He saw Craig shake his head as he drove away.

Callie said nothing when she took the keys, just stared at them in her hand.

"Well, see you," Marc said, moving away.

"Marc."

He turned back. She was twisting the keys slowly. "Marc, I can't come to church. Not right now."

He looked back at her through the screen. "Callie, it's okay. . . ."

She interrupted him. Her blue eyes seemed almost black, but maybe it was the dimness of the room compared to the sun baking his shoulders through his shirt. "I can't talk about it yet, but. . . ."

"You don't have to," he said, hoping she would.

"He beat me," she said, her voice perfectly expressionless. "He —" She stopped, her eyes staring over his shoulder.

Marc looked at her, a small, brown-haired woman, tired, hot, in jeans and an oversized sweat shirt. He was wordless. Where was Craig to ask if she

wanted a blessing? Where was Kate to throw open the screen door and put her arms around her?

"Callie," he said, "I'm sorry."

She looked at him, almost startled. The glaze was gone from her eyes. She shrugged a little, tried to smile. "Oh, well. It's just that I can't. It's complicated."

"Callie, it's okay." He hopped his look through the screen, his hand against it made his words count.

"I know," she said. She touched her fingertips to the wire grid that printed his palm, then stepped back. "Thanks, Marc."

He lifted his hand, wheeled, and ran toward home.

By the time he panted through the front door, he felt better. It was quiet. No one was in sight. He looked into the kitchen and found Kate sitting by the large window that overlooked the backyard. The kitchen table was heaped with books, magazines, notes, and her Relief Society manual, as well as the children's brightly scribbled art.

"Hi ya," Marc said, heading for the sink and a glass of water. "Been able to get anything done?"

"Surprisingly, yes," she said. "The boys are outside sailing their blocks in the wading pool."

Marc stepped to the window for a look. "Great. Where's Karen?"

"I think she's still in the family room. She wanted to play with the family home evening supplies, and I said she could if she just uses one packet at a time."

He dropped into a chair beside her. "You certainly look well prepared for one measly little lesson." He smiled at the way the sun lit her dark hair.

"This is no measle, my friend. This is double pneumonia. I'm thinking of calling in sick myself."

"Oh, come on. You?"

She rolled her eyes toward the ceiling, then gazed at him. "Marc, it's on being involved in the community. You know how Betty and Eileen are. According to them, we should censor the elementary school library and tear down any theater that shows R-rated movies."

He laughed. "Yeah, I know. But what about that corner near the school that still needs a stop sign? And who volunteers at the senior citizens center? Who's worrying about the unfenced canals? Who's babysitting for an inactive single mother, for Pete's sake?"

"Good ideas," she said, touching his forehead with the end of her pencil as if she held a magic wand. "Did you get Callie moved? Gee, we ought to take her a casserole or something later this afternoon."

Marc hesitated. "Let's not overwhelm her." Seeing into the dark corners of people's lives wasn't easy. "Find someone else of the same description if you feel you must feed the world."

"Okay. Well, if the red flags wave us down in Relief Society tomorrow, should I tell them about Sharon? Is it too personal?"

He considered. "It's up to you, honey. It makes the point."

I wouldn't go into all the details. Maybe I could just explain that it was a toxic pregnancy. And the doctor thought the fetus was dead, but the tests were inconclusive. If they hadn't done an abortion, my sister would have died."

"Yes," Marc said, "they'll understand that."

"No, Marc. If Eileen and Betty had their way, the abortion wouldn't have been done. Sharon wouldn't have had a chance." Her voice wavered.

"Maybe it's too hard to talk about, though. Too recent." He flicked a tear from her cheek.

"Well, it's just that even the Church's stand on abortion isn't as rigid as theirs."

"Mimeograph it? Pass it out?"

"But will they believe it, coming from me? She turned her mouth down comically, though her eyes shone wetly. "I'm rumored to be a feminist," she said in her mime whisper.

Marc saw that the pulse on one temple had become a tiny pickaxe. He kissed it, a hand lingering on her hair. "Beats me," he said.

Downstairs Marc watched Karen from the doorway and wished he had film in the camera. Three dolls and a hairy chimp were propped against an overstuffed chair facing Karen who held a picture book about Joseph Smith.

He listened to her artificial voice as she pretended to teach, and winced. Did he and Kate sound like that? He was about to warn her he was there, when one bare foot kicked the book. It fell forward, slamming shut.

"Karen?"

She turned and glared at him. He crossed the room and sat down beside her on the floor. "Something wrong?"

She didn't answer.

"You were telling stories about Joseph Smith?"

After a minute she nodded. Her lower lip came out. His mind raced. What could it be?

"I found out what they did," she said, her voice accusing.

"What who did, Karen?"

She looked up, her eyes angry. "They shot him, Daddy. They killed him."

"Oh." Marc leaned back against the chair, pulling her with him. "I know they did, baby."

"Who did it?"

"Well, a mob of men came at the jail he was in, and there was a gunfight. They shot Joseph."

"But who? What were their names?"

"I don't — I don't know their names, Karen. The men painted their faces so no one would know them."

He didn't dare touch her, her control was so fragile, but he scooted a little closer. "Karen, they didn't understand Joseph. They thought he was wrong. They thought he was bad."

"They didn't have to kill him," she said, and suddenly she was crying.

He gathered her in. "Well, Joseph went to heaven. . . ." Marc began.

"I don't care!" she cried out, then sobbed harder.

He pulled her on to his thigh and held her so her face wet the front of his shirt. His hands cupped her small ribs, his fingers soothing the shaking.

"They didn't have to kill him," she said again, the words jerking and falling.

He held her hard, suddenly unable to separate her pain from his own, familiar now like a wound at the very core.

"I know," he whispered. The cover picture of Joseph in the Sacred Grove lay near his knee. He closed his eyes, pressed his face against her curls. "I know," he said again. "I know, I know."

### III

Marc woke in a cold sweat, the dream alive in his mind. He checked the clock. Sunday was the only morning the alarm did not ring at six, but it was only six-thirty. He stared at the ceiling, then swung his feet to the floor. More sleep wasn't possible, tired as he was.

He dressed, looking at Kate's dark curtain of hair. He hoped her dreams were good. The carpeted stairs were quiet under his loafers, and he let himself out the back door.

Immediately he was glad he was up. The sky was peach and robin's egg blue. The birds exercised their morning voices. Flowers and grass were dewy, but the air was already warm. The day was going to be a scorcher.

He unwound the hose and attached the hand sprinkler, watering the vegetables, then the flowers. He arched the spray so millions of glittering needles became fireworks, disappearing mid-air in the shade.

Marc could smile at what he remembered of the dream. It was like a spy novel. In it, he was working intensely, and the sense of danger was high. Now he couldn't recall what he and the others were trying to gain or protect. Clearest in his mind was the segment that woke him. He'd been whispering confidential information to a key friend in the network, standing almost toe to toe.

With a jolt that sent spray onto the leaves of the peach tree, Marc recognized the man — Bishop Thomas! The bishop who had sent him on his mission. Now Marc concentrated. He'd been telling the bishop the heart of the plot, he remembered. And the bishop was listening, looking past Marc to something else. There was a shift in the dream then, some small interruption, and Marc paused. It was then he caught the bishop offguard. A change, a shadow, passed over the familiar, homely features, and suddenly they were sinister. In that instant of the dream, Marc knew with a sickened heart that everything had changed. He felt himself spin into reverse gear as the bishop's eyes turned back to meet his own. Marc looked deep. Yes, behind that friendly regard there was a knowing — a sneer? — he had never seen before. Close to panic, Marc had groped for a counterplot fast, one convincing enough to fend off this double agent. Everything was in jeopardy, he realized, as his tongue swelled in his mouth.

Marc sprayed the water high into the air and watched it fall. He could read the dream easily enough. He needed a week's vacation to relax, play with



the kids, play tennis with Kate, fix up the yard, and get everything into perspective. But that would subtract a week from their California vacation to visit Kate's folks. He couldn't do it.

He caught a movement from the corner of his eye and looked up at the back wall of their split-level house. It was Kate, lifting the wicker blind with one arm. Her green nightgown fluttered as she waved a plastic bottle with the other hand.

The bottle meant Nicky had wakened her, wanting an early morning snack. They felt guilty giving him a bottle now that he was two, but he still insisted on it. He might fall asleep drinking it, Marc thought, and that could mean an hour with Kate before the Sunday rush really began.

He turned off the tap, wound the hose quickly, and slipped back into the house.

At first he thought Kate was drifting to sleep. He lay down carefully beside her without touching her. She turned, raised her head and looked at him. "Morning."

He slipped an arm under her shoulders and kissed her forehead. "Sleepy?"

"No." She sat up suddenly and faced him, her legs curled under her. "I've been thinking."

"Oh," he said. Hardly an adequate response, but he would rather close his eyes right now and touch than hear and think. There has been too much, he told himself, too much to think about.

"Marc?"

He opened his eyes and managed a smile. "Thinking seems pretty strenuous this early in the morning."

She regarded him steadily. She *had* been thinking.

"Are you all right, Marc?"

"Sure. We're always thinking these days, aren't we?"

"I guess so. I feel like I'm on a hanging bridge. I hate it, but I can't go back and for some reason I don't want to reach the other side. Do you know what I mean?"

"Yes." He laughed. "You just reminded me of the fast one Phil pulled at lunch Friday." He told her about the one-word descriptions.

"And you said 'halfbreed'?"

"Yes, I did. Brother Blueblood."

She said nothing. Her green eyes filled. He took her hand, and her tears and words came at the same moment. "But Marc, you are honestly the best Mormon I know." She shook the tears off, swallowed, and lifted her chin challengingly. "What don't you do that you should?"

"A typically Mormon question," he teased. "Fraught with guilt."

"Yes, but see, I really *am* a halfbreed. A convert. I can remember what it was like to be outside the Church in all that space."

He raised his eyebrows, opened his arms again. She snuggled close, but didn't miss a beat in the conversation. "I've been thinking about it. It's hard to explain, but in college — when we met —"

"I remember," he said, sliding his hands under her nightgown.

"I knew I wanted to dance. I knew I wanted my degree. I assumed I'd marry some day, but there were so many other decisions, so many paths to follow. Do you see what I mean?"

"I'm not sure." He stilled his hands. His mind felt still, too, weighted and weary.

"Well, with you — you were always so sure. You knew you'd go on a mission and you went. Later you knew you'd get married and have a family. You knew you'd finish school, and then a good job would come along. I mean, you *knew* all that."

"But it was what I wanted."

"I know. But you never really considered anything else. Do you see what I mean? Those had always been the things you would do." She sighed and gave up. "Oh, I can't explain it."

"But wait." He propped himself on an elbow so he could see her face. "Have you always felt like a halfbreed? When you joined the Church, you did the expected things, too. Got married in the temple, had a baby, then another baby, then another baby." He stared at the front of her nightgown.

"I get the point!" she said, shoving his elbow suddenly so it slid from under him and brought him down beside her. "I know. That's what I meant. I joined the Church and wanted to be a throughbred like you."

"Do you still? Do you want to feel all the way Mormon?"

Her eyes left his and moved to the window opposite the bed. "What does that mean?" she asked vaguely. "Mormons say you're with them or against them. Us, I mean. One way or the other. So either I am or I'm not. What does how I feel have to do with it?"

"How we feel seems to be everything these days."

She sighed. Then she sat up and looked hard at him. One hand smoothed his forehead, her fingers passing lightly over his eyelids. "But you, Marc. You're not a halfbreed."

"I'm not sure it's a bad term, except in the racist sense. But I do feel out of synch — a feminist and a priesthood holder. An employee of the Church, both paid and volunteer, and yet, somehow, an enemy."

Her eyes widened. But Nicky's wail tore through the bedroom. "Oh no," she said, "he's stuck again." And she was gone, the hem of her nightgown trailing as she whirled through the door.

As Marc waited on the bench for sacrament meeting to begin, he wondered what Kate had been about to say. Nicky was on his knee and Michael squirmed restlessly beside him. It was tough to get the boys through three hours of meetings with the hardest meeting last, so Marc wouldn't let them take out their books until the meeting was well underway.

Where was Kate? he wondered for the twentieth time. Karen had gone to look for her, but neither had returned. Marc sat Nicky on the floor and blocked the aisle with his knees. A hand punched his shoulder and he looked up. It was Pat Moran, beaming at him.

"How you doing, Marc?"

"Fine, Pat. How are you? Have you seen Kate?"

“Oh, she’s coming. Hey, tell her for me she did a good job with the lesson. Tell her not to let them get her down.”

“Who?”

Pat laughed as if he’d cracked a joke. “There are some of us who really appreciate her lessons. I think she could persuade me of anything,” she said, without answering his question.

“I’ll tell her.”

Pat swayed down the aisle clutching her two-year-old with one hand and holding her baby to her shoulder with the other. A diaper bag was slung high on the opposite shoulder. Her older daughter carried Pat’s purse over her small shoulder, with both hands steadying it against her thin side. Pat was expecting another baby soon. She looked like Mother Earth, Marc thought with a smile. Kate looked frail in comparison, pregnant now for what they’d agreed was the last time. They hoped for another girl.

Soon Kate would take a casserole to the Morans, conveniently packaged so it could be used immediately, refrigerated a day or so, or frozen. And a few months after that, Pat would be on their doorstep with a huge peanut butter jar full of her applesauce cookies.

“No, Nicky,” Marc said, reaching to pull up his socks. Nicky had rolled them to his shoe tops. He set Nicky on his knee firmly enough that the boy’s light curls bounced. Nicky stared at him as if he were being unreasonable.

“You’re right, Nick,” Marc said. “It is unreasonable. So humor us.” He kissed Nicky’s head. With these curls, he thought, this kid will end up playing the angel in Christmas pageants, too.

Marc recalled the elder’s quorum Christmas party. A bunch of them got on the subject of who should do the dishes. Later, as Mark scooped potato salad onto plates, Pat had poked him in the chest. “You know what?” she’d asked, loudly enough for the entire line to hear.

“What?”

“I guess you know I’m not pro-ERA,” she grinned, “But I sure wouldn’t mind having a husband who was!” She burst into laughter, and everyone in earshot laughed, too.

There was Kate, entering the chapel with Karen by the hand. He looked at Kate closely. She was smiling. It wasn’t until she faced him, sliding past him into the pew, that he saw the glitter in her eyes.

“I told you,” she muttered, still smiling. She sat down on the far side of Michael, who was slowly falling asleep. She moved still farther down the bench and adjusted Michael so his head was cradled on his arm.

Marc nodded toward Michael and winked at Kate as the bishop’s counselor began the meeting. One fewer to contend with, the wink meant. Kate stared a second, then smiled back, but her mouth was tense. She looked away. Marc felt his stomach squirm, empty since it was fast day.

The welcome. The opening song. The opening prayer. Announcements. Three babies to bless, one baptized child to confirm. The sacrament song. The deacons took their places along the aisles and the noise level dropped.

The bread tasted slightly stale. Marc held the tray for Nicky, then Karen, then Kate. He handed Nicky a new book, once the tray was gone, and tried to concentrate on the state of his soul.

The list began. This morning he'd seen to the garden and lawns, talked with Kate, helped dress the children, led a discussion in the elder's quorum, paid their monthly tithing, volunteered for next week's farm assignment, signed up for the monthly temple day. He'd avoided controversy when the subject of polygamy was raised in Sunday School. He waited but felt no glow of blessing.

Okay, Marc thought. I'll settled for the approval of my fellow Saints along these benches. We give that to each other, week after week, the recognition we're doing what's right. We're here, we believe, we tithe, we serve. He looked at Nicky, who was using his fingers to burble low sounds. We endure, he amended.

But he caught sight again of Kate's tense neck and shoulders. And we judge, he added. He closed his eyes for a second and sighed. They do. I do. Each other and ourselves.

As far as Marc could tell, his fellow Saints knew the same God he'd always known — the God one approached on one's knees, confessing all one dared, always tarnished. Maybe that's why we need to meet so often, Marc thought. We reassure one another.

But his new God, the secret one he'd encountered by accident recently, cared nothing for his rationalizations, his recriminations, his inadequacies. If he began that sorry litany, the God withdrew. No, he had learned that all he could do was review the store in his heart, and occasionally something in it would shine. Then, bathed in a sudden radiance, he would find himself shaping from his wordless emotions only, "Thank you." It was as if he and the God whispered "thank you" back and forth in the intimate dark.

Marc looked up as the deacons walked down the aisles again and realized he'd omitted something from his list. This boy, Jason — Marc had spent a few minutes with him after he saw Jason bolt through the lobby and out the glass doors.

"What's wrong?" Marc had asked as he approached, then he saw Jason's scarlet face and stopped. What else could be wrong with a thirteen-year-old boy who fled priesthood meeting?

Jason rubbed his shoes against the grass over and over, as if scraping off mud. He and his friends had bought a magazine, he said, and together they'd looked at the pictures of naked girls. Then he'd won the toss to take it home, and he'd looked at it some more in bed that night. After a while he couldn't help what he did with himself. Marc put a hand on Jason's shoulder and they talked, then went back inside.

Careful not to look directly at Jason now, as he handed Marc the tray laden with cups of water, Marc rejoiced that he was no longer an adolescent. He held the tray for his family, then took a cup of water.

As Jason moved silently to the next row, it happened. Something eased then lit behind Marc's eyes. The bread had been dry as ashes, but the water was a thimbleful of light.

The rows of shoulders shifted. The sacrament was over. Michael still slept on the bench. Karen reached for the book bag and removed a small box of crayons and a coloring book about Jesus. Nicky dangled from the back of the pew in front of them until Kate touched his shoulder and showed him his bottle.

Marc took Nicky and tipped him back in his left arm. What a miracle it would be if he fell asleep, Marc thought, looking into the wide, alert eyes.

Marc stretched his right arm along the bench until his fingers touched Kate's shoulder. She smiled at him and moved a little closer. Nicky drained the last swallows of milk as noisily as soda through a straw. Suddenly he hurled the empty bottle into the air.

Marc's hand shot from the bench, caught the bottle as it arched toward the pew behind them. Kate's sigh of relief joined his own and a chuckle rose from the back benches. He ducked a smile toward their friends, tucked the bottle into the book bag, and set Nicky on the bench beside Karen with a book.

The counselor conducting the meeting finished bearing his testimony to the truthfulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, then invited the congregation to express its belief. He sat down. There was a pause.

Marc had considered sharing his feelings about the new God. But he wasn't sure that everyone else didn't already know what he'd been so slow to learn. Perhaps he'd been the only one caught at the throne of the authoritative God, whispering his bargains, his pleas. He hadn't even told Kate yet about this tentative, surprising light.

His first memory of it was after he went to lunch with his father. "I'll get the tip," Marc had offered when his father covered the bill with his hand.

Their waitress had been in her late twenties, pretty, but with dark smudges under her eyes. Her right hand wore a plain gold band, and her required high heels were scruffy in back.

Marc noticed her shoes as he reached into his wallet for the few dollars that would have bought his whole lunch in the cafeteria. Behind them he saw the twenty dollar bill they'd earmarked for Nicky's birthday present. He pulled it out, shielding it with his hand, and put it under the bread and butter plate.

He wrote a check for Nicky's present and worried how to justify his extravagance to Kate. They couldn't afford it.

That night in bed he found himself reviewing the day, trying to pinpoint the source of his well-being. Suddenly in the dark bedroom he saw the minor events of the day before him on a low table or altar. The guilty twenty dollar bill gleamed, then burst like a flare in his heart. The new God spoke to him without words.

Listening to Eileen Evans begin her remarks, Marc decided such experiences were not for relating. They were too soft, hidden, and subjective, yet clear as candlelight in the interior of the self.

"We had such a fine lesson in Relief Society this morning," Eileen was saying now, her round face smiling below her cap of curls. Marc snapped to attention. "It was about our responsibility to be involved in our community."

Marc winked at Kate, who raised her eyebrows slightly.

“Of course, many of us have worked for years and *years* giving compassionate service. But too often we don’t look past our own sisters here in the ward.” Her voice went up a note just as Marc began to relax. “I can tell you, it is a witness to me that our leaders will tell us what we can do and which issues are worthy of our concern. We know what they are!”

Marc listened to the rest disappointed. Pornography must be halted; homosexuality cannot be tolerated; abortion must be totally outlawed; the Equal Rights Amendment must never be ratified.

“What happened to the stop sign?” he whispered, but Kate was studying her hands, as if listening closely to an opponent in a formal debate.

He breathed more easily when Eileen sat down, and a young woman he didn’t know took her place at the microphone.

“Brothers and sisters,” the woman began, “I am just so thankful for my home and my husband and our babies. It just makes me sick, the women who go out and work and leave their children. . . .” When she steadied her voice, she went on. “I’m sorry to be emotional, but I just wish every woman could be as content within her home as I am. Oh, I know it can be boring, and some days we all just about go crazy —” Her voice caught on a laugh or a sob, Marc wasn’t sure which, and the congregation stirred with sympathy, “but we know this is what we should do.”

Marc’s stomach growled. Usually fasting was not difficult for him. He was used to it. But colors swam before his eyes. When his vision cleared, he realized he was angry.

He remembered an evening a few months ago when he and Craig visited Callie. She was depressed and Marc finally got her to tell them why.

“It’s Brad. My ex. He’s mad at me because I had an attorney friend call him because he missed two months of child support.” She met Marc’s eyes. “He threatened to move out of state and never send us another cent.”

She looked at the bedroom door where her boys slept. “If he does that, we’ll have to go on welfare. I can’t make enough proofreading and editing to keep us alive. He’s already cut the boys from his health insurance.”

Marc remembered how he and Craig had shifted in their chairs. As if she understood their discomfort, Callie smiled at them.

“Oh, he wouldn’t do that,” Craig said.

The smile vanished. “My friend, Anne — her husband did just that. She went on welfare, and the state tracked him down and made him pay. When she got a job, he quit paying and moved to another state. She couldn’t make enough to have her babies tended, so pretty soon they were back on welfare again.”

Then suddenly she was on her feet. She paced the length of the small room, then whirled on them. “I’ll cut my wrists before I use food stamps!” she exploded.

Sitting in church, Marc remembered how he’d tried to convey friendship, but he’d felt like an enemy.

Now Brother Loring was finishing up. His testimony had praised those that preceded it. He advised the sisters to heed the advice of the priesthood.

Automatically mouthing “Amen,” Marc felt a tug of disloyalty as if he were, again, the enemy.

Then Lane Meeks put in a few words about his newborn son, followed by several Ames children bearing rapid-fire testimony. The former bishop spoke nostalgically for a few minutes.

Marc tried to relax. His stomach churned. Adrenaline on a fasting stomach is potent, he thought. No wonder people have had psychedelic experiences during fasts.

Kate held Nicky on her lap. Marc could see she was weary. Her energy was short these days, and he guessed she’d expended enough this morning to drain her for the rest of the day.

He tapped her shoulder and held out his hands to Nicky, lifting him over Karen’s lap. He fastened his watch on Nicky’s round arm just below the elbow, and held it to Nicky’s ear. Then he closed his eyes, wishing away the beginning of a headache. He opened them again when something crossed his arm. It was a microphone cord.

“I heard somebody say something about a prophet,” Karen’s voice said loudly, and Marc pulled the microphone back from her mouth. “And I just want to say I know about Joseph Smith.”

There was a ripple of amusement, which Karen ignored.

“I know he was a good prophet, and he never did anything bad.”

Marc had a sudden vision, a Karen ten years from now, her blond hair still shining, her voice strong, a determined young woman speaking her mind. He felt tears warm his eyes.

“A man after Joseph’s own heart,” Phil’s voice mocked as Marc’s eyes blurred. Again he saw the red-haired girl in the cafeteria. Marc blinked.

Now it all spun around him like a film projected at too high a speed. He sat half dazed through Karen’s closing “Amen” and Kate’s opening, “My sisters and brothers.” He felt helpless. Why must Kate speak? Why today?

He urgently wanted her to sit down, to be quiet. He held Nicky closer to keep his own hand from tugging at Kate’s hem or elbow. What’s wrong with me? he wondered. He was trembling.

He looked at Kate. Despite her pregnancy, just beginning to show in the tailored dress she wore, she looked almost as young as the afternoon he met her; the same light behind her face, the same irony that surprised her listeners into laughter. But he saw that the hand holding the microphone quivered. Not like Kate.

“The Church has given me a lot,” she was saying. “I guess I grabbed it like a life preserver in a sea of experience! It gave me a new home, a community, a way of living. And it gave me Marc.” Her voice snagged, but she smiled and swallowed.

And I gave her this morning, Marc thought in sudden horror, on which to be on the wrong side. For a second the room tilted.

True, he’d seen Kate as floundering in that sea, glad for the life preserver that towed her to his ship. Now it was her ship, too.

But for the first time he wondered if she had been swimming instead of floundering. Or floundering and swimming toward one of the many shores she'd described. While he had simply affirmed the easy, pleasant, right voyages that had lain charted for him all his life. Someday — how had it escaped being today? — would she look at him and see in a blinding instant not a rescuer but a double agent who ensnared her in a hopeless plot?

He felt weak. That flash had taken only a minute, he discovered.

"I love to cook," Kate was saying tightly. "I love playing with my children. I'm very lucky to have them."

What is she doing? Marc asked himself. Then he realized she was reciting her credentials, her passport for safe passage. She didn't mention her college degree or her dancing experience.

Nicky yelled. Marc glanced down and saw one of his hands clutching Nicky's thigh, gripping it so tightly his knuckles were whitening. Nicky yelled again. Marc shifted him to his shoulder and stood, ducking his head a little. He walked quickly from the chapel, knowing even as he did how ideal he appeared — the helpful father.

In the foyer, Marc set Nicky down and stared out the glass doors. Kate's voice came from a ceiling speaker, but Marc couldn't take in the words. He was amazed to see the sky outside absolutely blue, the trees quiet. Still, there was something in the air. He picked up Nicky and went outside.

On the sidewalk in front of the chapel, Marc breathed deeply. He looked all around at the undeveloped fields that backed the subdivision, and the long, two-lane streets that ran through them. He could almost see the intersection by the canal. It was at the top of a little rise. As Marc drove toward it one day last summer, he'd spotted a child bobbing and rolling in the canal. The scene had had the simultaneous clarity and unreality of a nightmare.

A glance showed the intersection empty, and Marc accelerated through it, passed the child, screeched to a stop, and ran to the canal's edge where he threw himself flat. He edged farther and farther out on the bank, his right arm extended. The second before the child reached him, he thought the little body would wash past, but his fingers touched cloth, he grabbed, got a better grip, and pulled the child — a little boy — up on the bank.

He was still working on him when a sheriff's car squealed beside him and a deputy sheriff and the boy's parents jumped out. Looking at the parents, Marc felt himself go limp and cold all over. He handed their boy, now crying, to them without a word.

When he detailed the story to the sheriff, he mentioned his race to the canal.

"You didn't stop?" the sheriff said.

"What?"

"There's a stop sign at that intersection. You didn't stop?"

"No," Marc said, ready to laugh at a lame joke. "I didn't stop."

"Getting in a wreck wouldn't have helped the kid," the deputy said.

"The intersection was empty. I saw that."



“Well, I won’t give you a ticket.” The deputy rubbed the back of his sun-burned neck.

Marc, in front of the chapel on Sunday, grinned again with the same bafflement he’d felt staring at the deputy as weed scratches stung his arms and his knees still trembled. What to say to someone like that? he wondered again.

Thinking that somehow brought Marc around a mental corner to what he’d tried all weekend to forget — that listening ear on his telephone at work in the Church’s headquarters. The static buzzed in the back of his brain.

Holding Nicky’s hand, he walked to the edge of the grass and stared over the fields between the redwood fences and the swing sets. Once the fields had been alive with rabbits, he’d heard. He had a quick image of himself as a rabbit, paralyzed by the inevitable roar between two headlights on a dark road.

But half a dozen strategies erased that picture, breaking the paralysis. He pictured himself with an ear to the receiver and an eye out the door toward the secretary’s desk. He imagined complaining to his supervisors about the faulty phone line. Sometimes he could return calls from Ralph’s phone. Whatever the method, he could hop. He need not stay still.

Swiftly Marc lifted Nicky under his arms and tossed him high into the dizzy blue sky. He felt the answering jolt on his spread hands clear into his shoulder sockets. He flipped Nicky’s little body so it lay across his arms. Nicky was breathless with laughter.

Two steps to the lawn and he was swinging his son in circles high and low, around and around in the yellow day until both sprawled on the tailored grass. There they watched blue sky, green grass, and the red and white chapel circle them gaily. Any time now the church doors would open and their people, tired and talking, would come out.



## A Selected Bibliography of Recent Books

*Stephen W. Stathis*

A formidable challenge faces those who try to write confidently about Mormonism only to be denied access to critical resources. It is widely felt among those who follow Mormon scholarship that both Leonard J. Arrington and Richard L. Bushman experienced this problem. Neither of their long-awaited studies, *Brigham Young: American Moses* nor *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, has fared especially well among reviewers. Arrington and Bushman, it is suggested, should have been less apologetic as well as more intellectually challenging. Still, each book is an important work with which all serious students of Mormonism should ultimately become familiar.

For now, however, most of the attention and praise is being bestowed on Jan Shipps's *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*, *American Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* by Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, and *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippett Avery. These three vastly different books will interest both the Mormon and non-Mormon reader alike. A similar experience awaits those who take time to look at Gordon and Gary Shepherd's *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* and Clifford L. Stott's *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition*.

Other selections which seemed destined to be widely read include the several new works published by Brigham Young University's Religious Studies Center and Bruce R. McConkie's *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith*.

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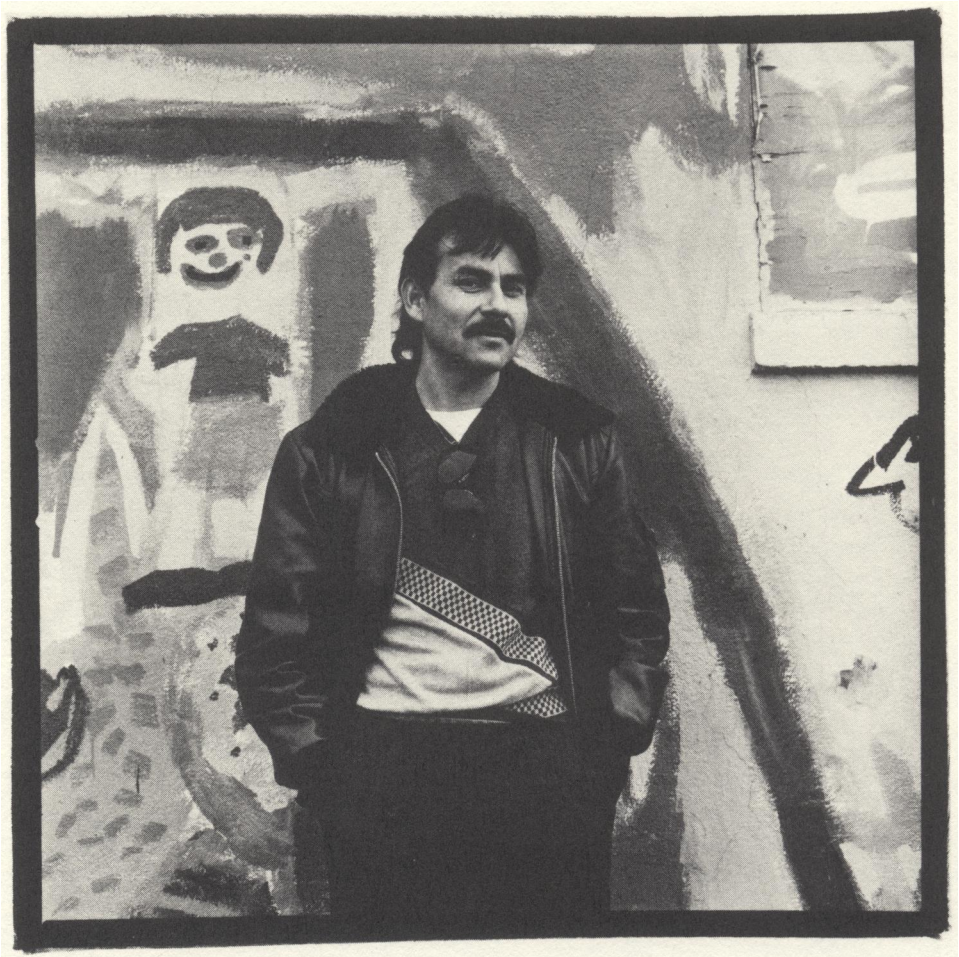
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## REVIEWS

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### Penetrating Muddied Waters: Creationism and Evolution

*Darwinism Defended: A Guide to the Evolution Controversies*, by Michael Ruse (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, Advanced Book Program/World Science Division, 1982), xvii, 356 pp., \$12.50, paper; *Creation and Evolution: Myth or Reality?* by Norman D. Newell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), xxii, 199 pp., \$25.90; *The Monkey Business: A Scientist Looks at Evolution*, by Niles Eldredge (New York: Pocket Books/Washington Square Press, 1982), 157 pp., \$2.95, paper; *Abusing Science: The Case Against Creationism*, by Philip Kitcher (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), x, 213 pp., \$15.

Reviewed by Luther Val Giddings,  
Office of Technology Assessment, Washington, D.C.

*Do you think that a fellow could grasp more of the wickedness of [evolution] if he had an education?*

Buckshot Morgan  
(In Ginger 1958, 109)

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN creationism and evolution in the past few years has probably brought mixed feelings to many Latter-day Saints. Although some excellent scholarship has demonstrated that we have little or nothing in common with the philosophical positions held by modern creationists (Jeffery 1973), their combination of conservative politics, religious devoutness, and concern with the moral condition of our society are appealing to many Mormons.

Most creationists agree on a number of specific beliefs. They insist on a very young age for the earth (generally less than ten thousand years), formation of the fossil

record in a single, world-wide flood, unique special creation events for each biblical "kind," separate ancestry for humans and the other primates, and the absolute, literal truth of the Bible as a historical and scientific record. In recent years, efforts to embed these views in public school curricula have been repudiated legally in Louisiana and Arkansas.<sup>1</sup>

Additionally, main-stream scientists have produced a blitz of books aggressively critical of creationism. (In addition to those reviewed here, see Futuyma (1983), Godfrey (1983), La Follette (1983), Montague (1984), Newell (1982), Nelkin (1982), Wilson (1982), and Zetterberg (1983); some are reviewed in Jeffery (1983). Do these legal and scientific counter-attacks represent merely another case of persecution of a religious perspective? Are they an assault by the marshalled forces of the scientific Sanhedrin against a group of right-thinking allies who simply get a bit over-enthusiastic once in a while? The four books reviewed here have something to offer in answer to these questions.

Michael Ruse is a historian and philosopher of science at the University of Guelph, Ontario. His background and pro-

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<sup>1</sup> For reports on the Arkansas trial proceedings see "Judge's ruling hits hard at creationism," *Science* 215 (1982): 381 and 217 (1982): 232-33. For a complete text of Overton's decision, see *Science* 215 (1982): 934-43 or *The American Biology Teacher* 44 (1982): 172-79. The case was more complicated in Louisiana. A trial court struck down the law mandating the teaching of creationism. After various legal maneuverings, this decision was upheld on appeal. The appellate decision can be found in *Aguillard v. Edwards*, 765 F.2d 1251 (5th Circuit, 1985).

lific record seem to justify high hopes for his offering. *Darwinism Defended* purports to be "A Guide to the Evolution Controversies," and therefore it deals with far more than just the challenge from creationism. The first twelve chapters outline the historical development of Darwinism and evolutionary biology into this century. In these discussions, Ruse borrows heavily from earlier works of his own and others, rarely with any improvement over the antecedents.

Most of the discussions are superficial, and some are simply inaccurate — for instance, the slipshod treatment of meiosis and the wholly inadequate discussion of the sources of variation on which natural selection can act. The only source of such variation that Ruse discusses is mutation. While it is true that all variation is due ultimately to mutation, the role of recombination, amazingly, is not mentioned at all. The power of recombination to increase exponentially the possible gene combinations among which natural selection can choose is therefore overlooked, and thus Ruse skims past what was arguably the most important development in the evolutionary history of life on this planet — dioecy, or sex. Many of the other discussions are no more profound.

Ruse also devotes a chapter to the origin of life, or abiogenesis. Although this issue is not, strictly speaking, in the domain of organic evolution, it involves some crucial presuppositions that are assumed in most evolutionary discourse, and its treatment here is not misplaced. In this chapter, he rightly emphasizes the 1953 experiment of Stanley Miller and Harold Urey, which Miller performed as a student at the University of Chicago (Miller 1953). In this experiment he mixed a number of chemicals thought to have been present in the atmosphere of the primitive earth. This mixture was circulated and exposed to an electrical discharge for a week and then assayed for any chemical products. From methane, ammonia, hydrogen and water (Ruse mistakenly implies that hydrogen

sulfide also was included), Miller generated several different amino acids, organic compounds fundamental to life. Repeats of the experiment produced a great variety of molecules, thus demonstrating how easily important compounds can be synthesized abiotically.

Unfortunately, Ruse fails to point out that since 1953, experiments of this sort have been repeated at least twenty-six times with a variety of starting mixtures and an impressive array of different energy sources including UV, alpha, beta and gamma radiation, heat at different temperatures, electrical discharges at different strengths, sonication, agitation and more. Molecules synthesized include a great many amino and fatty acids, sugars (including ribose and deoxyribose, essential to nucleic acids), porphyrins (hemoglobin and myoglobin precursors), metabolic energy sources like ATP (adenosine tri-phosphate, which powers most chemical reactions needing energy in the cell), and both simple and complex polymers (Fox and Dose 1977; Calvin 1969). Such a formidable array of results deserves at least passing mention in any discussion of abiogenesis, and Ruse is negligent not to provide one.

His last two chapters deal with creationism. While his preface claims that creationism is "considered in close detail, and an extended refutation is given of every one of the creationist's claims," the first of the two chapters draws almost exclusively on only one creationist source (Morris 1974) to describe these claims while the "extended refutation[s]" are relegated to the concluding chapter of only twenty-six pages. The space devoted to the task is inadequate even to list and describe the relevant claims briefly, much less provide the extended refutations claimed. Here and there Ruse does provide entertaining bits of rhetoric in the "call a spade a bloody shovel" vein, but his style would be better suited to the pages of the *National Enquirer* than to an issue from the Advanced Book Program of a publisher's World Science Division.

Fortunately, the other three books are superior to Ruse. Although Newell's *Creation and Evolution* is somewhat restricted in scope and occasionally flawed (not to mention expensive), it is well constructed and has unique and significant virtues. Curator emeritus at the American Museum of Natural History, Newell has focused on his own strengths in geology and paleontology and in so doing has slighted some biological matters. The discussion of meiosis and probability contains serious misunderstandings, but the take-home message remains accurate—that recombination generates enormous variation as grist for the mill of natural selection. The discussion of intermediate forms in the fossil record is weak, but other authors have handled that subject well, and the good points of the book are quite strong.

Happily, Newell's treatment of a favorite creationist argument is definitive. Creationists argue that evolutionists date the ages of geological strata by specific fossil remains ("index fossils") they contain. The age of these fossils is determined, (so the claim is made) according to their stage of evolutionary progress. Thus, to claim that the fossil record supports an evolutionary interpretation of life on earth is to use the worst sort of circular reasoning—the only reason it does so is that evolution was presupposed in the initial studies! In fact, this is a distortion, and Newell deals with it by presenting a careful history of stratigraphy.

The study of stratigraphy was pioneered by William Smith, "an unsophisticated English civil engineer unacquainted with evolution" (p. 88). Beginning in 1781 as a land surveyor's assistant, Smith followed his work around England. His lively curiosity and precise methodology soon led him to notice "that many of the rock layers, or 'beds,' changed in thickness and character from place to place, but he found that the fossil assemblages maintained their general characteristics and lay in the same relative sequence throughout the region of his study. In spite of gradual changes in rock characteristics from place to place, he

could keep track of the sequence and depths of strata by reference to the fossils" (p. 92). Smith was thus able to predict accurately which strata would be encountered by drilling or shafting in certain places. English coal mining companies benefitted, Smith's data base grew, and, as Newell points out, "the international geologic time scale that eventually emerged was a product of stratigraphic studies by practical men who had neither knowledge of, nor interest in, organic evolution" and was "established and widely used by 1840" (p. 93), nearly twenty years before Darwin published *The Origin of Species*.

Indeed, almost all the "practical scientists" who developed the techniques of stratigraphy were creationists who had moved beyond the positions of most "modern" creationists, that fossils are remains from the Noachian Deluge. Cuvier (1768–1832) demonstrated the untenability of this thesis; and from his time forward (until recently), those who believed in special creation were most likely to embrace his notion of a series of special creations interspersed with waves of extinctions, each easily seen in the fossil record.

Newell also discusses the dating methods geologists use in reaching their consensus opinion of a very great age for the earth (approximately 4.5 billion years). More detailed treatment can be found in Brush (1982, 1983); and while Newell's analysis is good, one section, that on varves, is weaker than it need have been.

In many lake-formed strata geologists find paired layers of alternating light and dark bands of finely grained sediment. By observing the same sorts of laminae formed in modern lake beds by seasonal variation in the texture of runoff deposits they conclude that each paired structure—a "varve"—represents an annual deposit. Newell mentions that "long sequences of varves equivalent to several tens of thousands of years have been counted and studied in North America and Europe," but he overlooks a far more impressive example in the Rocky Mountains. The

Green River formation is centered over a wide area in portions of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah. It was laid down during the Eocene Period (beginning roughly 58 million years ago). Varves found in this ancient lake-bed are particularly fine and have been studied in some detail (Bradley 1929). An estimate for the age of the Green River Epoch, based on conservative assumptions of the number of varves it contains, yields a figure of 6.5 million years. Similar analyses of the Wasatch and the Bridger and Uintah formations yield estimates of their durations at 10.7 and 5.7 million years, respectively, for a total Eocene of 22.9 million years! If growth rings in bristlecone pines, corals, or simply the sight of the Grand Canyon coupled with a little humble reflection don't negate creationist claims of a young earth, these Green River varves certainly should.

To give a capsule judgment of Newell's book, it is lucid and informative and its considerable geological strengths make it well worth reading.

With *The Monkey Business*, Niles Eldredge has provided us with the second entry from the American Museum of Natural History, where he is curator of invertebrates. A mass-market paperback, this well-written book is the most entertaining of the four and potentially the most effective.

He opens with a brief history of creationist movements in the United States and the interaction of science and society in our culture. He follows with a brief sketch of the evolutionary history of life on earth and the development of ideas on the subject. This is followed by an exposition of creationist arguments, and a final, summary chapter on creationism, religion and politics. All the discussions are well-framed, succinct and entertaining. The only points of disagreement I found involve minor, specialist nit-picking. But the best discussion deals with taxonomy and systematics (naming species and defining their relationships) and how these disciplines contribute to evolution and are misconstrued by creationists.

The particular focus Eldredge uses in this discussion is the creationist notion of "kinds." By contrast, to a biologist a species is basically a reproductive community. There are a variety of ways to test this criterion, and most of them lead to the strong conclusion that a species is a real unit in nature. No such precision can be gleaned from creationist writings on the subject of "kinds." Eldredge quotes from the least inarticulate creationist treatment, that by Gish (1978):

It is obvious, for example, that among invertebrates the protozoa, sponges, jellyfish, worms, snails, trilobites, lobsters, and bees are all different kinds. Among the vertebrates, the fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals are obviously different basic kinds. . . . Within the mammalian class, duck-billed platypuses, opossums, bats, hedgehogs, rats, rabbits, dogs, cats, lemurs, monkeys, apes and men are easily assignable to different basic kinds. Among the apes, the gibbons, orangutans, chimpanzees, and gorillas would each be included in a different basic kind (pp. 116-17).

Eldredge points out Gish's anthropocentric bias:

The closer we come to mankind, our own species *Homo sapiens*, the smaller the "basic kinds" Gish and other creationists wish to recognize. The invertebrate groups Gish lists are huge: "worms" include at least five phyla, snails constitute an entire class of molluscs (comparable at least to the vertebrate classes, such as birds and mammals), and trilobites are an arthropod class. Protozoa — one-celled animal-like creatures — include many different phyla. . . . Trilobites are as diverse and prolific as the mammals, and examples of evolutionary change linking up two fundamental subdivisions of the 'Class Trilobita' . . . are as compelling examples of evolution as any I know of. Airily dismissing 350 million years of trilobite evolution as "variation within a basic kind" is actually admitting that evolution, *substantial evolution*, has occurred (pp. 117-18).

Eldredge is also eloquent on the age of the earth and the correlation of index



fossils with the stratigraphic record. He writes,

Creationists have even maintained that when fossils are found out of the "proper" sequence, they are ignored — a charge which is nothing short of a vicious lie. . . . There is such a complex system of cross-checking of independent ways of assessing age — all pointing to the same results — that I must remind myself that scientists cannot claim to have the ultimate truth. . . . There are far too many independent lines of evidence — *none* of which is based on the assumption of, let alone an underlying commitment to, evolution — that amply confirm what geologists thought must be so 150 years ago: the earth simply cannot be a mere ten thousand years old (pp. 98, 104).

There is more, and all of it is accurate and entertaining, but by now it should be clear that this book is well worth \$2.95. No individual interested in creationism and evolution should be without it.

Philip Kitcher's *Abusing Science*, however, is the best of the four, though a difficult book to review. A philosopher of science from the University of Vermont, Kitcher handles almost every issue very well, and his mix and balance are superior. He is not quite so patiently scholastic as Newell, nor as engagingly edifying and combative as Eldredge, but Kitcher has combined two different approaches — analyses of substance and of structure — with rare success.

I have observed that, in the clash between creationism and evolution, the intelligent responses to creationism fall into two distinct groups. Some, mostly scientists, address the specific issues that creationists raise and offer data-based, point-by-point refutations. The second group, composed largely of philosophers, emphasizes problems of methodology, logic, and the types of claims susceptible to proof. The difficulty with the first approach is that, although I have yet to see a creationist argument that cannot be well and truly refuted, for every canard that scientists dispose of creationists hasten to prop up sev-

eral more. As one observer commented, "An advocate more concerned with winning an argument than with seeking the truth can utter more nonsense in five minutes than can be adequately refuted in five hours." Furthermore, no individual can be fully conversant with all the areas of study that creationists have distorted in their fanatical advocacy. On the other hand, although philosophical critiques are ultimately far more devastating to creationist positions than are responses to specific points, the same certainty that makes a creationist impervious to evidential argument gives him the conviction that philosophical issues are even less relevant.

Obviously, attempts to wring concessions of defeat from creationists by debate are time wasted. But if the goal is to educate an uninformed audience and to demonstrate the nature of the issues at stake, then neither of the two approaches can be used exclusively without losing the power of the other. An effective balance is most difficult to find, and it is this balance that Kitcher achieves so well.

In the foreword, Kitcher outlines his strategy: "The Creationist is allowed to choose one battleground after another. . . . In every case, 'scientific' Creationism is defeated. When all the distortions have been removed, all the attempts to flaunt credentials examined, all the misleading questions returned to their contexts, all the fallacies laid bare, we shall see Creation 'science' for what it is — an abuse of science." This Kitcher does, time and again. Repeatedly he focuses on an issue of creationist choice, defines the philosophical parameters, delivers a mortal blow and then illustrates with specifics. He draws on nearly every major creationist work from the past twenty years, revealing the plethora of internal inconsistencies that others have often overlooked.

One of the most effective sections Kitcher develops deals with the "quotation out of context" issue. Creationists are often belabored for taking the writings of mainstream researchers and transplanting them

to new contexts wherein they appear to support, if not creationist causes, at least their anti-evolutionary interpretations. Kitcher gives several detailed examples (after establishing that arguments from authority in science have almost no value) that derail some favorite creationist arguments (e.g., the supposed absence of transitional forms and the allegedly non-humanoid characteristics of australopithecene locomotion). As the oft-misquoted Stephen Jay Gould has written,

It is infuriating to be quoted again and again by creationists — whether through design or stupidity, I do not know — as admitting that the fossil record includes no transitional forms. Transitional forms are generally lacking at the species level, but are abundant between larger groups. The evolution from reptiles to mammals . . . is well documented. Yet a pamphlet titled ‘Harvard Scientists Agree Evolution is a Hoax’ states: “The facts of punctuated equilibrium which Goul and Eldredge are forcing Darwinists to swallow fit the picture that Bryan insisted on, and which God has revealed to us in the Bible” (Gould 1981, 34, 37).

In the end though, the section of the book I found most interesting is that describing the nature of science. Most scientists today distinguish science from non-science according to the criterion of “falsifiability” developed by Karl Popper. Briefly, this holds that science can *prove* nothing; rather, science can only disprove, by demonstrating with counter-examples. If an experiment (real or imaginary) cannot be devised wherein at least one possible outcome must compel the rejection of the tested hypothesis, then the hypothesis was not scientific in the first place. Deriving this principle primarily from the physical sciences, Popper first criticized evolutionary theory from this perspective, but since learned something about the subject and recanted (Popper, 1976, 1978, 1980), something I have yet to hear a creationist admit. Kitcher concedes that Popper’s criterion of falsifiability has been very important historically but asserts that the work of phi-

losophers of science (particularly Hempel and Quine) over the past thirty years has demonstrated this “naive falsificationist” view to be inadequate, and he describes an alternative.

Kitcher believes that there are three characteristics of successful science against which theories should be judged. They are *independent testability*, which “is achieved when it is possible to test auxiliary hypotheses independently of the particular cases for which they are introduced. *Unification*, [which] is the result of applying a small family of problem-solving strategies to a broad class of cases, [and] *fecundity* [which] grows out of incompleteness when a theory opens up new and profitable lines of investigation” (p. 48). He concludes that evolution is a scientific theory par excellence, and then quotes from Mayr, “The theory of evolution is quite rightly called the greatest unifying theory in biology,” and from Dobzhansky, “Nothing in biology makes sense except in the light of evolution” (p. 54). Kitcher also demonstrates that creationism is “a theory that has no detailed problem solutions to its credit (except those borrowed from its rival), that has no clearly defined problem solving strategies, that encounters anomalies whenever it becomes at all definite, but that typically relapses into vagueness whenever clear-cut refutations threaten. Why should we taken this ‘theory’ to be worthy of any consideration?” (p. 155). Not surprisingly, he concludes that we should not.

As excellent as Kitcher’s book is, however, neither it nor any of the others develop two significant topics: the relationship between evolution and cosmology, and the interaction between evolution and the second law of thermodynamics. By “the relationship between evolution and cosmology” I do not mean the existence of an evolutionary scheme that astronomers and physicists use to explain the present appearance of the universe. Rather, I mean the testimony provided by cosmological studies indicating that natural laws are the same today as they were in the beginning,

“the same yesterday, today and forever” (1 Ne. 10:18; 2 Ne. 27:33, 29:9; Alma 31:17; Morm. 9:9; Moro. 10:19).

Measurements of astronomical distance from stellar parallaxes and cepheid variable stars combine to place us in a very large galaxy. Cepheid variables can, in turn, be observed in nearby galaxies. Correlation of these data with cosmological red-shifts, extend our view and calibration of space to a distance of as much as 20 billion light years, and thus the age of the universe to a similar number of years as a minimum estimate. Any good, modern astronomy text should treat cosmological red shifts and the size/age of the universe. The most lucid treatment for the critical role of cepheid variables remains the absorbing account in Shapley’s (1943) classic with an up-to-the minute account in Hanes (1985). Spectral analyses give us excellent reason to suppose that the natural processes we see close at hand are the same as those operating at great distances, and that neither have changed during this length of time. These deductions build a formidable case for the very great age of the earth and the constancy of natural law, while directly repudiating such nonsensical claims as that of Morris who insists that “the evolutionist is committed to the constantly changing nature of law” (Morris 1974, 12).

A second, pivotal argument involves the second law of thermodynamics, a two-edged sword creationists often wield. Simply put, the result of this law is that the state of any closed system will tend towards maximum disorder, or maximum entropy. Creationists are fond of claiming that the second law therefore prohibits the generation of order from disorder, and that life, obviously a highly ordered process, could not have arisen from nonlife without external guidance. This supposedly disproves the possibility of evolution. Scientists inevitably counter by pointing out that the second law applies to *closed* systems, which exchange neither matter nor energy with an external environment. Living things constantly violate this constraint by eating

food and being warmed by the sun, and thus are *open* systems, immune to the constraints (such as the second law) that apply to closed systems. All four books make responses similar to this, and they are correct. It is also true that if one were to isolate the solar system, not only would entropy be seen to be increasing, but life on earth would be shown to accelerate this process significantly.

But none of these four authors develop the most interesting application of thermodynamics to open, living systems. In 1977, the Nobel Prize in Chemistry was awarded to Ilya Prigogine of the Free University of Brussels and the University of Texas. He has investigated open systems of a particular sort — those far from thermodynamic equilibrium. These are systems that experience a significant influx of energy from the environment (*e.g.*, living things on a planet bathed in sunlight). In studying them Prigogine developed the concept of “dissipative structures.” These structures are complex forms that self-assemble spontaneously, and function to decrease the energy gradients in open systems. Their only requirements are very simple starting materials and energy inputs that are, in thermodynamic terms, high; that is, sufficient to produce a situation “far from equilibrium.” Living systems are precisely these sorts of dissipative structures when viewed thermodynamically. Prigogine’s work thus leads to an interesting conclusion: not only does the second law not preclude the evolution of life, but rather it seems, in fact, to predict it! These ideas have been developed at several levels accessible to the (determined) layman, (Prigogine, et al., 1972, 1973; Prigogine and Stengers, 1984; Schieve and Allen, 1982) and have been brought to the attention of the appropriate creationists. But like so much that is troublesome to their goals, this work has been ignored by creationists, “whether through design or stupidity I do not know” (Gould 1981, 37).

In summary, of the four books, those by Newell, Eldredge, and Kitcher are worthy to the task (or a sufficient part of

it) and the last two are excellent. Reading any of them leads to one unavoidable conclusion about creationism: it is a parochial dogma without substance, and its contemporary advocates do not share our own love and respect for learning and scholarship, nor our commitment to honesty. They use methods that betray the values we hold dear. Whatever their motives, they are not the guardians of our faith and have no comfort to offer us.

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## Mormonism from the Top Down

*A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* by Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1984), 307 pp., \$19.95.

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, assistant curator of social history, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

A KINGDOM TRANSFORMED is required reading for anyone who may feel that statistical analysis can make only negligible contributions to the study of Mormon history and culture. Those who were already believers in the value of combining historical research and social science methodology should be encouraged by the work of Gordon and Gary Shepherd. While many of their conclusions about the themes developed in 150 years of General Conference addresses will not surprise well-versed students of the subject, the statistical verification of long-held assumptions can be comforting.

Since conference speakers have almost exclusively been General Authorities, grassroots historians may argue that this monograph represents an intellectual history of the Mormon elite, not a true analysis of the development of Latter-day Saint history and culture. The Shepherds assert that Mormons' "paramount belief in modern revelation" has made a systematic content analysis of official speeches a valid barometer of the composite mind of Mormonism (p. 3). They may well be right but the proof of such a thesis lies outside of their study.

The authors clearly take exception to some of the conclusions about Mormon authoritarianism by anthropologist Mark Leone in *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (1979). While Leone has argued that the apparent authoritarianism and doctrinal orthodoxy of the Latter-day Saints is but an illusion, the Shepherds contend that the official viewpoints, as highlighted by con-

ference sermons, are vital to the religion (pp. 10-11). A major question raised by *A Kingdom Transformed* is whether the common religion of Mark Leone's individual Mormons along the Little Colorado River in east central Arizona was but a shadow of the official, institutionalized dogma emanating from Salt Lake City. Further studies focusing upon local Mormon congregations would be required to answer this query.

The strength of this book is to be found in its various tables and figures. Even to a reader who gets lost in or is bored by the authors' frequent discussions of sociological theory and theorists, the overall conclusions of the study, at least from a statistical standpoint, are clear. Mormon leaders were primarily concerned about Church government, persecution, and the enmity of non-Mormons during the first three decades of Latter-day Saint history. From about the 1860s to 1890, their concerns shifted to plural marriage, gentile antagonism, and obedience to gospel principles. Church (i.e. priesthood) authority and dedication to the gospel headed conference themes at the turn of the century, while missionary work and the divine nature of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling were stressed between 1920 and 1949. Post-war emphases have featured Jesus Christ, parenthood, and missionary work (p. 76). The absence of comments on the family prior to 1950 seemed surprising, but no other listings were unexpected.

The methodology employed and the total concentration upon official rhetoric has, in some instances, tended to skew reality. For instance, even a cursory perusal of Mormon diaries and letters for the pre-Utah period will reveal that the Prophet Joseph Smith as well as many of his followers were quite interested in familiar relations. However, as the authors note, conference attention to this subject was "unremarkable" during the formative years of

Mormonism (p. 87). The transformation of the Latter-day Saint religious institution from a small mid-nineteenth-century denomination to a major late-twentieth-century religion, and particularly the Church hierarchy's response to the perceived needs of the believers is the in-

tended purpose of *A Kingdom Transformed*. The book does go far toward accomplishing this; but future researchers most certainly will ask, as many currently are asking, whether the pronouncements of the General Authorities truly speak for all Mormons at all times.

## Mining Mormon Gold

*Mormon Gold: The Story of California's Mormon Argonauts*, by J. Kenneth Davies. (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1984)+429 pp. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Brigham D. Madsen, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Utah.

THIS BOOK IS AS much a history of the Mormon Church in California during the 1847-57 decade as it is a history of Mormon gold mining. The author gives a plethora of detail concerning both subjects, based on numerous diaries, journals, tithing records, and other important documents. In somewhat chronological fashion, he examines Mormon efforts at gold digging from the first strike at Sutter's mill to the final withdrawal of the Saints from California as a result of Brigham Young's order to return to Utah when Albert Sidney Johnson's Army approached the territory in 1857. Some good maps identify various mining camps and settlements frequented by Mormon gold-seekers and proselyters during these years. Attractive early pencil drawings and selected pictures of California scenes are interesting illustrations. The text is readable and written with clarity.

The author's main point, earlier researched by Leonard J. Arrington and Eugene E. Campbell, among others, is Brigham Young's double-edged policy of publicly discouraging his Saints from deserting the valleys of Utah for the golden fleshpots of California while secretly dispatching "gold missions" to the diggings to acquire the liquid capital necessary for the economic establishment of the Mormon

Church in Salt Lake Valley. Davies's research is so comprehensive and carefully done that the reader is left with little doubt about Young's intentions in California. In fact, any reader must be impressed that so much could be found out about the hundreds of individuals, plus their origins and family relationships, who participated in the California rush. The book is a genealogist's gold mine of information; the Index of Personal Names is a valuable addition to the Subject Index. The book seems intended for a mostly Mormon audience, as the author assumes that the reader will understand his incidental references to events in Utah history and to such LDS practices as the Word of Wisdom.

The chief defect of the book is in its haphazard organization and repetitive references. The reader must deal with a kaleidoscope of events and people in Davies's rather topical approach set in a rough chronology. A conclusion sums up the author's analysis and major objective, but some summaries and transitional paragraphs at the end of each chapter would have offered some guide posts to keep the reader on a clearly marked path. An additional package of 63 pages of appendices is offered by an order blank inserted in the book, but nowhere is there a description of the contents of the appendices.

*Mormon Gold* will be a must for anyone interested in the activities of the Mormon people in California from the discovery of gold to 1857, and especially for scholars working in the field. Though it lacks continuity as a narrative, it is a whole library packed with information.

# Grains of Life: Fragments of a Sonnet Cycle

*Helen Candland Stark*

## I

### PLANTING

If I could give to you a dew-wrapped day,  
You have no need to tell me — I should know  
That you would use it all to make things grow.  
The furling bud, the fruiting branch are pay  
More than enough for foam from stubborn clay.  
If noon wilted or harsh rains turned to snow,  
If whirl of locusts darkened skies to mow  
Earth naked — plant again. Thus you would say.

But love, our love, can have no second root.  
We gardened well and won a tall white flower  
From a bud that burgeoned from a bitter shoot  
Rooted in sullen soil. Let come no hour  
When we neglect to guard that tall bright tree  
Whose harvesting must be our destiny.

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*HELEN CANDLAND STARK, now in her eighties, lives in Provo, Utah. She and her husband Henry lived in Delaware for thirty years where she was part of the pioneer effort to establish the Church in Wilmington. She has published in Exponent II, Sunstone, Ensign and remains active in conservation efforts and women's issues. This poem was awarded first prize in the Eliza R. Snow Poem Contest and was published in the Relief Society Magazine 28 (Jan. 1941): 10-11.*

## II

### BLIGHT

August is the month of broken dreams:  
The amber pear splits in the grass, worm-eaten;  
The fish drift sideways in the shrunken streams;  
And in the fields the fecund shocks lie beaten  
With hail. What are those puny stalks of gray  
Seen through a midday dusk of drifting soil?  
Listen! The crickets work on stubbled hay,  
And canker takes the perfect rose as spoil.

And I who kept my body for this fruiting,  
Know now the wandering seed can find no rest —  
Part of the waste of August's heavy looting,  
Part of the waste of nature's heavy jest.  
September, can your gentler hands redeem  
The scattered fragments of the broken dream?

## III

### BIRTH

Let this then sober you about to wed:  
Your loins and hers are living woof and warp  
For special patterning. That tilt of head,  
The tall bone, the laugh-closed eye, the sharp  
Strength of hand — lovers made these belong  
To us. Through them still other lovers sent  
Our strand of silver words, our love of song —  
Once more designing new experiment.

Let this then sober you about to wed:  
That pattern, broken, now begins anew;  
Here is the snapping of the ragged thread,  
The family pattern rent of us and you.  
Yet part of you goes with us past your place,  
And Mother looks again from your son's face.



