

DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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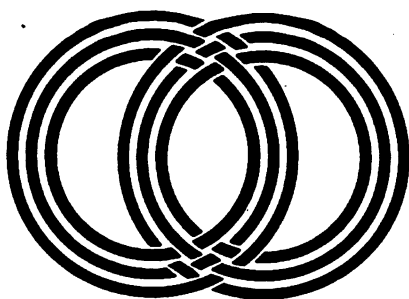
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DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT
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to secular life. It is edited by
Latter-day Saints who wish to bring
their faith into dialogue with the
larger stream of world religious thought
and with human experience as a whole
and to foster artistic and scholarly
achievement based on their cultural
heritage. The journal encourages a
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accurate scholarship and responsible
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Thanking and Reflecting on Dialogue

Undoubtedly you receive many letters, email messages, or other, expressing appreciation for the contents of *Dialogue*. I just finished reading issues that were “handed down” and feel enriched and edified by the essays and articles, as well as moved by fiction and poetry. In one of your issues with research on the political views of the late apostle Ezra Taft Benson, I recalled my own experience with his political views at a devotional at Ricks in early 1976 when foreign students demonstratively stood up and left the devotional, offended by the remarks made by Benson. I recall how we talked about our frustrations with the Geography and World Affairs professor, who assured us that apostle Benson was talking more like a politician than like a general authority. We, the foreign students, felt that the audience (among them many preparing for missions) were being encouraged to adopt feelings far exceeding healthy patriotism. America and being an American citizen meant that one was superior and blessed above all other people and nations, and yes, of course, Communism was mentioned as the great evil. I recall how upset I felt when he mentioned “those poor lovely people of Yugoslavia.” I had spent quite some time there in 1971. In fact, my mother had begged me to read the *Book of Mormon* while I was there, and I was converted by reading it in July of 1971 in a small village north of Novi Sad in Vovojdina. Yugoslavia was dear to me, and I felt that under Tito, although not ideal, it was a place where people had a relatively good life. Then later on I wondered if Benson had indeed had a vision of what would happen to “those poor lovely people in Yugoslavia,” as

history sadly showed. Now, after September 11th, I wonder how he would have felt, knowing that not Godless Communism, but religious fanatics have proven to be the greatest enemy of the free world.

I just want to express my thanks for your efforts to select such professional documented material. I look forward to the forthcoming issues of this great periodical.

Margriet M. Dekker
Lopik, The Netherlands

Non-canonical Sources as Almost Conclusive Proof of LDS Religious Truth, Ancient Apostasy, and Joseph Smith’s Divine Calling

Even if Nibley’s alleged “paral-lelomania” might be a bit excessive—and there is insufficient evidence from Salmon’s few, even if accurate, examples thereof to prove that point—we must nevertheless acclaim Nibley for his creative research and massively documented/footnoted corpus of writings. I can’t wait to see Nibley’s own rebuttal to Salmon.

My point here is narrow. Everyone must acknowledge Nibley’s “almost conclusive” demonstration of (1) LDS religious truth, (2) ancient orthodox Christian apostasy, and (3) Joseph Smith’s divine calling via Nibley’s [anticipation of] newly discovered (by non-Mormon historian/paleographers) “Jesus Logia,” i.e. actual Sayings of Jesus Himself sometimes *not* contained in the Bible, discovered *only* after Joseph Smith’s death, but nevertheless revealing ancient Jesus teachings uniquely revealed to Smith as part of Jesus’ original Gospel. Some of these newly discovered ancient Christian textual parallels are utterly foreign

to orthodox Christianity [and] hence destructive of Christendom's official ancient creeds.

A "new" Jesus teaching revealed in these pristine Jesus Logia and taught in Christianity *only* in its Mormon, but not at all in its orthodox formulation, is the teaching of "human pre-existence," i.e. that *all* human beings existed individually in heaven as actual spirit children of Heavenly Father *before* their later human births to mortal parents here on earth below. Here are the presumptively genuine Jesus Logia now available on the internet and published inter alia by the "Jesus Project" which publishes the "Five Gospels," i.e. Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Thomas. English translations from the Coptic below are from the original English edition (1959) as well as the later Nag Hammadi English translation (1977):

Logion 19:

"Jesus said: Blessed is he who was before he came into being. . . ." tr. Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1959), 13.

"Jesus said: Blessed is he who came into being before he came into being. . . ." tr. T. Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (N.Y. Harper & Row, 1977), 120.

Or, expressed in the Mormon Christian vernacular:

"Blessed is he who pre-existed in Heaven before s/he was born here below into earthly mortality." This doctrine of human pre-existence as children of God in heaven before mortal birth is precisely the understanding of the gospel Jesus had in John 10:34-35, which quotes verbatim Ps. 82:6 (bene elo-

him), and plainly speaks in terms of plural "Gods," during those "Gods'" (elohim) own Council in Heaven (82:1) before the earth was formed, articulating perfectly the Mormon-Christian concept of pre-existent Heavenly Parentage toward pre-existent individual human progressive salvation. Orthodox Christianity has never known such a Jesus teaching and suppressed these important, newly [re-]discovered Jesus Logia from the New Testament during its early formative period in favor of orthodoxy's own essentially Greek philosophical concept of monotheistic omnipotent deity (later Three-in-One trinitarianism).

Logion 49:

"Jesus said, 'Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you shall find the Kingdom; because you come from it, (and) you shall go there again.'" Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 29.

"Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you will find the Kingdom. For you are from it, and to it you will return." Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 123.

Logion 50:

"Jesus said, If they say to you: 'From where have you originated?', say to them 'We have come from the Light, where the Light has originated through itself. It [stood] and it revealed itself in their image.' If they say to you: '(Who) are you?', say: 'We are His sons and we are the elect of the Living Father.' If they ask you: 'What is the sign of your Father in you?', say to them: 'It is a movement and a rest.'" Guillaumont,

Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 29.

"Jesus said, 'If they say to you, "Where did you come from?", say to them, "We came from the light, the place where the light came into being on its own accord and established [itself] and became manifest through their image.' If they say to you, "Is it you?", say, "We are its children, and we are the elect of the Living Father." If they ask you, "What is the sign of your Father in you?", say to them, "It is a movement and repose.'" Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 123.

Logion 70:

"Jesus said: If you bring forth that within yourselves, that which you have will save you. If you do not have that within yourselves, that which you do not have will kill you." Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 41.

"Jesus said. 'That which you have will save you if you bring it forth from yourselves. That which you do not have within you will kill you if you do not have it within you.'" Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 126.

Logion 83:

"Jesus said, The images are manifest to man and the Light which is within them is hidden in the Image of the Light of the Father. He will manifest himself and His Image is concealed by His Light." Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 45.

"Jesus said, "The images are manifest to man, but the light in them

remains concealed in the image of the light of the Father. He will become manifest, but his image will remain concealed by his light.'" Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 127.

Logion 84:

"Jesus said: When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images which came into existence before you, (which) neither die nor are manifested, how much will you bear! Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, Al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas*, 45.

"Jesus said, 'When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images which came into being before you, and which neither die nor become manifest, how much you will have to bear!'" Lambdin, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 127.

"Jesus said, 'If you could see your real image, which came into being before you, then you would be willing to endure anything'" Hugh Nibley, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (1973): 77.

I have included Nibley's own translation of Logion 84, above, to demonstrate a weakness undiscussed in Salmon's evaluation of Nibley's ostensible "parallelomania," i.e., Nibley's "better" translation of ancient texts precisely because of his correct understanding of Jesus's "fuller" (Mormon-Christian) Gospel, an understanding totally absent from all other orthodox Christian translations. Indeed, Logion 83, above, in its orthodox Christian translation makes no sense whatever until, as Logion 84 explains, "images" are correctly understood to

be pre-existent human beings born in heaven to our Heavenly Father.

It needs not be emphasized that if this important doctrine of "human pre-existence" had been properly understood by the earliest Catholic Fathers (and retained inside the then-forming New Testament), the official creeds of Christendom could not have formed at all. God would have been properly conceived without Greek metaphysics. Trinitarianism would have been unnecessary, and the "apostasy" of ancient Christianity might not have occurred. Alas, it was not to be! Hence, the necessity of "restoring" Jesus's original Gospel via Smith to again include many omitted "plain and most precious parts of the gospel of the Lamb" (1 Nephi 13:32), includ-

ing Jesus' important concept of "human pre-existence."

Smith, of course, could not possibly have derived this newly discovered Jesus teaching of human pre-existence from any known antecedent sources. There weren't any. Nibley's demonstration of the above "conclusive" evidence in favor of Smith, LDS theology, and orthodox Christian apostasy *alone* ranks Nibley as the greatest "Defender" of Mormon Christianity in the 21st century.

Nibley's parallelomania? Unproven. But in light of the above, who cares?

Gerry L. Ensley
Los Alamitos, California

David O. McKay and the “Twin Sisters”: Free Agency and Tolerance¹

Gregory A. Prince

ON A SPRING DAY IN 1955, a group of distinguished gentlemen gathered at a White House dinner at the request of President Dwight Eisenhower. The guests included founding partners of three law firms, the President of the Teamsters' Union, three Army Generals, a Cabinet Secretary, the publisher of the *Boston Globe*, the Vice President of ABC, the Chairman of CBS, the President of MIT, four CEO's and one clergyman—David O. McKay, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Following a tour of the White House led by President Eisenhower, the group moved towards the dining room. President McKay described the scene:

As we came through the hallway, a secretary approached with the plan of the table and the place where each would sit. As I came, he said: “President McKay, your place is just opposite the President's.” (This seat, directly across from the President of the United States is the honor seat). Just before we took our seats, President Eisenhower came up to me and said: “President McKay, your seat is just opposite mine, and just before we take our seats, I should like to have you say grace.”²

President McKay consented. After the prayer the gentleman seated next to him started a conversation:

He said “You mentioned in your grace the freedom of the individual. Is that fundamental?” I said, “Next to life itself.” He was a Presbyterian by training.

1. Originally presented at the Salt Lake City Sunstone Symposium in August, 2000.
2. David O. McKay Office Journal (hereafter DOMOJ), 7-12 May, 1955.

He said, "They crowded me so much I have finally left churches," but he said, "I believe in that freedom of the individual and developing oneself." I said, "That is fundamental in the Mormon Church."³

To understand David O. McKay's reverence for the principle of free agency is to understand the basis of his extraordinary tenure as president of the church, as well as the highest esteem in which countless thousands to this day, both within and without the church, continue to hold him.

Although President McKay's feelings about free agency were lifelong, they were heightened in the mid-1930s by the growing menace to world order of Soviet Communism under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. On Independence Day, 1936, the First Presidency (of which President McKay was a member) published its first statement warning of the dangers of Communism, stating in part:

"The Church does not interfere, and has no intention of trying to interfere, with the fullest and freest exercise of the political franchise of its members, under and within our Constitution. . . .But Communism is not a political party nor a political plan under the Constitution; it is a system of government that is the opposite of our Constitutional government, and it would be necessary to destroy our government before Communism could be set up in the United States. . . .Communism undertakes to control, if not indeed to proscribe the religious life of the people living within its jurisdiction. . . .Such interference would be contrary to the fundamental precepts of the Gospel and to the teachings and order of the Church."⁴

World War II pushed American concerns over Soviet Communism to the background, but the onset of the Cold War renewed President McKay's concerns, central to which was Communism's suppression of the principle of individual free agency. In dedicating a chapel in Wisconsin in 1954, he addressed the issue publicly. A wire service article reported:

President David O. McKay. . .said Sunday that Communist rulers will fall if they continue to rob people of their free choice between good and evil.

President McKay said he believes persons under Communist domination will revolt because their leaders have tried to take away their most valuable possession—free will.

Speaking at the dedication of a new Madison branch chapel, President McKay said, "No power on earth can take this freedom away." He said the Communists are trying to, but will not succeed.

3. Ibid.

4. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 Jul., 1936.

"When a group claims that you and I are not free as individuals, you may rest assured that their philosophy is on a sandy foundation," he said.⁵

Three years later, in a meeting with Senator and future President John F. Kennedy, he reiterated this theme. Speaking of Khrushchev and Soviet Communism, President McKay said, "They are fundamentally wrong. Free agency is inherent in every individual. Rule by force has been fought against by men throughout history." Kennedy replied, "They have the power to continue. Their prospects for the immediate future are bright," to which President McKay rejoined, "I have hoped for 20 years that they would break up, and I do not see how they can last. It is just wicked to dominate men that way."⁶

But it was not just the threat of Communism that he abhorred; it was any threat to an individual's free agency, whether from a government, an organization—including a church—or an individual. Speaking to his driver, Darcy Wright, one day, President McKay quoted from memory the verses from the *Doctrine and Covenants* that warn of such a threat:

We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion.

Hence, many are called, but few are chosen.

No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned.⁷

Then he added, "That section alone is proof that the Prophet Joseph Smith was one of the great—there is no question about it!"⁸

He developed this thought in a public sermon reported by the *Deseret News*:

Declaring the divine right of man to freedom of choice, President David O. McKay. . . said there was never a time in the history of mankind when the evil one seems so determined as now to strike at this fundamental virtue of free agency.

The Church leader told a congregation of nearly 1000 persons. . . that he stressed this fundamental principle of the Gospel because he thought it was one of the most vital problems facing the world today, and particularly vital to the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . .

"God has given us our free agency," President McKay said, "and any

5. DOMOJ, 25 Apr., 1954.

6. DOMOJ, 12 Nov., 1957.

7. D&C 121:39-41.

8. DOMOJ, 4 Feb., 1963.

nation or any group in any nation, our nation included, that will take from an individual that right, freedom of thought, freedom of action, is acting contrary to the will of God. There is that in the spirit of man which will rebel against it, against tyranny.”⁹

To speak of free agency is noble, but to practice it in one’s own backyard is the measure of one’s character, particularly when doing so exacts a price. Yet time and again David O. McKay showed his true character as he placed free agency first, even when those around him felt otherwise. I will present eight case studies, four of which involved the liberal side of the ideological spectrum and four of which involved the conservative side. In each case the central issue was free agency.

STUDY #1: JUANITA BROOKS

One of the great figures in Mormon historiography, and considered by some to have been the brightest intellect ever produced within the state of Utah, Juanita Brooks published in 1950 a landmark history of the Mountain Meadows Massacre that remains one of the classics of Mormon history and, after a half-century, is still in print. In sharp contrast to the accolades given the book by the historical community, stood the icy reception of some general authorities of the church, including an unsuccessful attempt to have its publication stopped. Once published, however, the quality of its scholarship led the Lee family to petition President McKay for the reinstatement to membership of their ancestor John D. Lee, whose role in the massacre had led to his excommunication. President McKay set up a committee, chaired by Apostle Delbert Stapley, to investigate the matter. Based upon the committee’s recommendation, President McKay authorized Lee’s reinstatement although he strongly counseled the Lee family that knowledge of this action be held in confidence. Brooks complied with this wish in the small first printing of her John D. Lee biography, but shortly thereafter included notice of it in the second printing. Incensed by what he felt to be a breach of trust, Stapley recommended that Brooks be excommunicated. President McKay’s response was brief and unequivocal: “Leave her alone.”

Several years after the fact, a Stake President related to Brooks, for the first time, this story as it had been related to him by Apostle Stapley. In the words of that Stake President:

In this life I was not permitted to see the plates of the Nephites, but I did see the tears in Juanita Brooks’s eyes when I told her of President McKay’s instruction to “leave her alone.” Again, it was never mine to handle

9. *Deseret News*, 3 Dec., 1951; DOMOJ, 2 Dec., 1951.

the plates, but Sister Brooks thrust out both of her hands and I took them firmly in mine. No words were exchanged, none were necessary."¹⁰

STUDY #2: STERLING McMURRIN

In 1952, Sterling McMurrin, a philosophy professor at the University of Utah, met with two senior apostles, at their request, to discuss his religious beliefs. Entirely candid in his responses to their inquiries, he readily professed himself to have heretical beliefs, while simultaneously remaining an active church member. Alarmed at his beliefs, they initiated a series of events that resulted, two years later, in McMurrin's Bishop making a decision to call a church court to put him on trial for his membership. Although McMurrin resigned himself to letting events unfold as they might, his close friend, Apostle Adam S. Bennion, reacted swiftly to news of the impending judicial proceedings. Bennion informed President McKay of the matter, and he, in turn, placed a phone call to McMurrin to request that the two of them meet privately.

In a 90-minute meeting at the University of Utah, McMurrin responded to the questions asked of him, but made no attempt to ask for President McKay's intervention. McMurrin later recounted the concluding portion of that meeting:

[President McKay said,] "They cannot put you on trial!" And I said, "Well, President McKay, you know better than I what they can do, but it appears to me that they are going to put me on trial." He said, "They cannot do it!" And then, there was a rather long pause, and he said, "Well, all I can say is, that if they put you on trial for excommunication, I will be there as the first witness in your behalf." . . .

He said, "I have only one piece of advice to give you, just one piece of advice. It is the advice that my uncle gave me." President McKay indicated that this uncle was kind of a non-conforming member of the family, and a non-conforming member of the Church. "Now, when I was just leaving to go on my mission, we were down at the station, people were down there telling the missionaries goodbye, and my uncle shook hands with me and said, 'Now David, I just have one piece of advice to give you, just one piece of advice. Don't you ever let anybody tell you what to think, or what to believe. You just think and believe as you please.'" And President McKay said, "Now, that's my advice to you. Don't ever let anybody tell you what to think or what to believe."¹¹

10. William H. Delves, "Leave Her Alone': The Dynamic Triangle—David O. McKay, Delbert L. Stapley and Juanita Brooks," unpublished manuscript communicated from Delves to Gregory A. Prince [hereafter GAP], 3 Aug., 1995.

11. Sterling M. McMurrin oral history, ca. 1980. Original tape recording transcribed by GAP.

In a follow-up letter, McMurrin wrote, "You have always been a symbol to me, as to countless others, of the religion that reaches out to include rather than exclude, that unites rather than divides, that is concerned with large moral and spiritual issues."¹²

Several weeks later, without mentioning any names, President McKay used the forum of General Conference to send to the entire church the message that he'd sent to McMurrin:

"Ours is the responsibility. . .to proclaim the truth that each individual is a child of God and important in his sight; that he is entitled to freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly; that he has the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. In this positive declaration, we imply that organizations or churches which deprive the individual of these inherent rights are not in harmony with God's will nor with his revealed word."¹³

The intent of his message was not lost on his audience. Four days later, M. Lynn Bennion, Superintendent of Salt Lake City Schools, wrote the following letter to President McKay:

Our recent conference impressed upon me more than ever that Religion is a constant struggle between the formalistic and the traditional on the one hand and the unending stimulation of the spirit. Your conference messages are based on laws and commandments, but the great stress is upon love, freedom, and compassion. I want to congratulate you again on your prophetic leadership. . . .

There is a fundamental issue at stake in the case being formulated against [Sterling McMurrin]. You expressed it directly when you spoke of man's right of freedom to think and to worship within the Church. God bless you for taking this stand. It is our most precious possession and worth every sacrifice to maintain. I noted with joy that a number of the brethren caught your spirit and spoke in the same vein. . . .¹⁴

Although many are familiar with parts of this story, it is more complex—and more subtle—than most people appreciate. It is true that President McKay's offer to be a witness in McMurrin's behalf immunized him from church judicial action, not only then but also for the remainder of his life. In making the offer, however, President McKay was defending a principle—the free agency of the individual to think as he wished without adverse ecclesiastical reaction—without condoning McMurrin's

12. Sterling M. McMurrin to David O. McKay, 24 Mar., 1954; in DOMOJ, 14 Mar., 1954.

13. David O. McKay, *One Hundred Twenty-fourth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (4 Apr., 1954), p. 26.

14. M. Lynn Bennion to David O. McKay, 8 Apr., 1954; in DOMOJ, 14 Mar., 1954.

beliefs and actions. Indeed, in a conversation a short time later with Ernest Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, President McKay expressed his disapproval of McMurrin's vocalization of his heretical beliefs, and his irritation at McMurrin's having made known to others the content of what had been a private conversation. Furthermore, he clearly differentiated McMurrin's status as a professor at a state university from that of professors at BYU, whom he held to a much higher standard of conduct. Wilkinson recorded in his diary the essence of that meeting:

[I said I had heard] that President McKay had had a conference with Sterling McMurrin, and had told McMurrin that there was plenty of room in this Church for diverse religious beliefs, and further said that if any excommunication proceedings were ever held, President McKay would appear as a witness in his favor. I further told him that in the eyes of the dissident McMurrin group, he, President McKay, was now being held up as their idol. I told him that I felt I ought to report to him what was being represented as to his views. President McKay replied that there was all the difference in the world between whether a man should be excommunicated because he may not accept all the views of the Church, and whether he should still be employed on the faculty of BYU. He told me that I would have his complete support in refusing to renew the contracts of any teachers who did not teach the doctrines as they were interpreted by the leaders of the Church. He expressed disappointment that McMurrin had been around telling of his private conversation. He told me that McMurrin had himself proposed that he believed in the Church. He told me further that he had told McMurrin that McMurrin should not have stated the things he did to President Smith and Brother Lee, and McMurrin agreed that he should not have done so.¹⁵

Perhaps because of McMurrin's breach of etiquette, the two men never met privately again. However, although President McKay later commented to his counselors that he was disturbed over McMurrin's subsequent statements and attitude towards the church policy on blacks and priesthood, he never made it known publicly, and never failed to defend McMurrin's right to hold such views.¹⁶

STUDY #3: O. C. TANNER

At one time a teacher and author in the Church Education System, O. C. Tanner had long since parted company philosophically with the conservative faculty who came to dominate the system when to his surprise a request came, in 1955, from the General Sunday School

15. Ernest L. Wilkinson diary, 15 Jun., 1954.

16. DOMOJ, 26 Jun., 1968.

Superintendency that he author a Sunday school manual. Initially, he turned down the request, not knowing that it had originated at a higher level. He later recounted:

After my negative reply, I had my hand on the door knob and I was about to leave, aware that when I opened the door, I would have turned down an opportunity, which I might later wish I had accepted. At that moment, Superintendent Hill asked his associates: "Should we tell him?" They replied affirmatively. He said, "We have been to President McKay and asked him to give us the name of someone who could write the best text for our college-age Sunday school classes on the subject of Christ's teachings. Without hesitation he mentioned you as the one who could do this."

I must say this surprised me. I loved President McKay. I had seen him in many circumstances and I thought he always came through with intelligence, perception, and compassion. He had spoken at my Steven's funeral in 1949. I was not about to turn him down on anything he might ask me to do. I went back to where I had been sitting in front of them, and replied that if President McKay asked me to do this, then I certainly would comply with his request.¹⁷

As he set about the task, however, doubts came to his mind. His wife described the episode:

President McKay requested that Obert write *Christ's Ideals for Living*. But he didn't think he could, for he said, "President McKay, I don't think I could pass the reading committee, because I'm quite a liberal Mormon." And what do you think President McKay said? "Then we'll change the reading committee!" And they did!¹⁸

The Sunday school manual that Tanner authored, *Christ's Ideals for Living*, became the most widely-distributed and, arguably, finest manual ever written for the Sunday school.

STUDY #4: DIALOGUE

Dialogue, A Journal of Mormon Thought began publication in 1965 and soon came to the attention of the First Presidency. After discussing the subject with his counselors, President McKay recorded that "it was the sentiment at that time that we do not think it wise to oppose it nor to support it." That settled the subject in his mind, but not for some of his associates. In a later meeting of the Church Board of Education, a senior

17. Obert C. Tanner: *One Man's Journey in Search of Freedom* (Salt Lake City, The Humanities Center at the University of Utah, 1994), 116.

18. Grace A. Tanner, interviewed by GAP and Wm. Robert Wright, 10 Oct., 1994.

apostle spoke on the subject, as reported later by a board member and general authority present at that meeting:

"Well, that book, *Dialogue*, has no value in the world. In fact, if I had my way, I would burn the book," just like that. . . . Well, President McKay sits up and says, "Brethren, in this Church we do not burn books. But if we did, we ought to burn some that have been written around this table!"¹⁹

STUDY #5: JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH

President McKay's feelings about free agency and tolerance were not reserved for the liberal wing of the church. In 1954 Joseph Fielding Smith, the senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, published a book entitled *Man, His Origin and Destiny*. Outspokenly critical of science in general and of biological evolution in particular, the book raised serious concerns among Latter-day Saint scientists and among Institute of Religion teachers who were being told they had to teach it in their classes.

Several Institute teachers took their case directly to President McKay, who was disturbed to find out that the book was being promoted without having been passed by the reading committee of the general authorities. Seeing that damage was being done by the way in which the book was being used, he commented privately to the teachers (and later to individual scientists who inquired) "that that book should be treated merely as the views of one man. It is true that one man is President of the Twelve, and makes it more or less authoritative, but it is no more to be taken as the word of the Church than any other unauthorized book."²⁰ Furthermore, he said "that so far as evolution is concerned, the Church has not made any ruling regarding it, and that no man has been authorized to speak for the Church on it."²¹

It would be easy to interpret this episode as a criticism by President McKay of President Smith, but it was not. Indeed, the two men had the highest respect and love for each other, having served together as General Authorities for over forty years at that time. It was not the publication of the book that caused President McKay's reaction; rather, it was a combination of its unauthorized use as an Institute textbook, not having been approved for such by the reading committee, and the fact that its views concerning evolution, on which the church had not taken an official position, were being advanced as the church position. There is no

19. Paul H. Dunn, interviewed by GAP, 18 Feb., 1995.

20. DOMOJ, 13 Sep., 1954.

21. DOMOJ, 29 Dec., 1954.

record of a reprimand to President Smith, nor was there ever any public statement by President McKay concerning the book. Rather, he handled the matter quietly and privately, not ducking the issue when confronted with it by church members, but not dealing with it in such a way as to inhibit, in any way, President Smith's ability to carry out his sacred calling as President of the Quorum of the Twelve.

STUDY #6: BRUCE R. McCONKIE

Four years later, Bruce R. McConkie, a member of the First Council of Seventy, took it upon himself to write an encyclopedic work that, because of his own church office and the book's title, *Mormon Doctrine*, quickly came to be regarded by many as the official position of the church. It soon became apparent to President McKay that the book, which consistently employed authoritative language, was causing damage among many church members, who mistook it as representing official church policy, and among many non-members, particularly Roman Catholics who took great offense at the way their church was portrayed. Indeed, Duane Hunt, the Catholic Bishop of Salt Lake City, approached a newly-elected Latter-day Saint Congressman, with book-in-hand and tears on his cheeks, saying, "Why did you do this to us? We are your friends."²²

Not willing to act precipitously, President McKay asked two senior members of the Quorum of the Twelve to read and report on the book. Several months later they met with the First Presidency and submitted their reports, which stated that the manuscript had not been submitted to the reading committee prior to publication, was written without the knowledge of Elder McConkie's father-in-law, Joseph Fielding Smith, and contained over one thousand errors that "affected most of the 776 pages of the book."²³

There were several ways in which the matter could have been handled, all of which would have caused Elder McConkie public embarrassment and interfered with his ability to carry out his calling. Instead, President McKay chose a course of action that addressed the damaging aspects of the book while still respecting the free agency of its author and not undermining his position as a General Authority:

It was agreed that the necessary corrections are so numerous that to republish a corrected edition of the book would be such an extensive repudiation of the original as to destroy the credit of the author; that the republication of the book should be forbidden and that the book should be repudiated

22. David S. King, interviewed by GAP, 1 Feb., 1995.

23. DOMOJ, 7 Jan., 1960.

in such a way as to save the career of the author as one of the General Authorities of the Church.²⁴

Not wishing to place Elder McConkie in an awkward position in front of his fellow General Authorities, President McKay and his counselors met privately with him to inform him of their decision, thus succeeding in avoiding a "rebuke that would be embarrassing to him and lessen his influence with the members of the Church."²⁵ Eight years after its initial publication, *Mormon Doctrine* was published in a second edition containing hundreds of changes that addressed some, but not all of the major areas of concern with the first edition.

STUDY #7: HUGH NIBLEY

A different dilemma was presented to President McKay with the writing of a Melchizedek Priesthood manual by Hugh Nibley. I'll let Nibley relate the incident in his own words:

I wrote the priesthood manual for 1957, you know, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*. Well, there was a reading committee on it. Adam S. Bennion was the head of the committee. . . . The reading committee wiped out every lesson in that book. Now this is one thing in which I'm greatly obliged to President McKay. They kicked out every lesson in the book. They said it was over people's heads. And every time, President McKay overruled them. The book is exactly as I wrote it. They wanted to make hundreds of changes and get rid of the whole thing entirely, and President McKay said, "No. If it's beyond their reach, let them reach for it." Adam S. Bennion said, "It's over their heads." And President McKay said, "Let them reach for it." Now there's a great man. I liked that.²⁶

STUDY #8: EZRA TAFT BENSON

In commemoration of the 1947 centennial of the pioneers' entry into the Salt Lake Valley, the church commissioned a play entitled "Promised Valley." In 1961 the church staged a revival of the play in Kingsbury Hall, on the University of Utah campus. President McKay reported on the attempt of one senior church official to censor the revived production:

Clare [President McKay's secretary] called me at the apartment and said that Elder Ezra Taft Benson had called and left a message that he was greatly concerned over what had been reported to him about the MIA play, "Promised Valley." He said that he has heard that in one scene there is "too much kiss-

24. Ibid.

25. DOMOJ, 27 Jan., 1960.

26. Hugh Nibley, interviewed by GAP, 5 Jun., 1995.

ing,” and in the “sparkin’ on a Sunday afternoon” scene is not what it should be. I told her that we would judge that after we have seen it this afternoon.

5 p.m.

Sister McKay and I attended the MIA’s production of the play “Promised Valley” held in the Kingsbury Hall, U of U Campus.

The original of this production was composed by Dr. Crawford Gates at the request of the Centennial Commission of which I was Chairman in 1947. I was, therefore, very interested in seeing this musical again after all these years. It received wide acclaim at the time. Sister McKay and I thought this production by amateurs was wonderful, and much credit should be given to the MIA drama directors for the excellence of the entire play. There was nothing in it that could be criticized.²⁷

By not rushing to judgment on the basis of hearsay and by viewing the production from his own vantage point, he prevented an unjustified and probably damaging censorship that would have sent the wrong message to the community.

The fact that these eight studies are equally divided among the conservative and liberal sides of the spectrum is potent evidence that President McKay’s concern was not to favor one ideology over another, but to ensure that all points on the spectrum were given access to free agency as well as receiving protection from those who would have constricted that free agency. His was an inclusive church, not an exclusive one—perhaps the most inclusive it had ever been. He was not threatened by diversity; indeed, he appreciated, as few others have, the strength that comes from diversity. Having spent his formative years on a farm, he understood from his own observations the dangers of inbreeding, and even his choice of general authorities reflected that understanding, as he surrounded himself with ardent conservatives, true liberals, and everything in between.

However, his tolerance of diversity did not necessarily translate to approval, a distinction not appreciated by all recipients of his largesse. For example, he did not approve of Sterling McMurrin’s self-described heretical viewpoints and would not have tolerated their having been taught at BYU. Neither, however, did he share Joseph Fielding Smith’s anti-evolution beliefs, and would not allow them to be advanced as the official church position. But in all eight case studies, whether or not he agreed with the beliefs, thoughts, or actions of the individual, he defended the exercise of free agency and intervened only when such exercise was threatened or when a church officer’s words and actions caused sufficient institutional repercussions to require damage control. Even in

27. DOMOJ, 9 Jun., 1961.

those extreme cases, the damage control was buffered so as to minimize its negative impact on one's ability to continue in a church calling.

His was truly a universal church, and we remain indebted to him, thirty years after his death, for establishing so lofty a standard. One of the most eloquent and profound of the many tributes that followed President McKay's death, written by Sterling McMurrin, highlighted the importance of his universality. It reads in part:

Universality as a religious ideal is possible only where there is an authentic conception of the reality of the individual, a genuine concern for his dignity and worth, and a full measure of human sympathy. It was not an accident that Jeremiah, who may have been the first of the prophets to declare unequivocally that there is only one God and that he is the God of all men and all nations, was also the first to clearly champion the moral freedom and responsibility of the individual. Nor was it an accident that in teaching that Christ came to save all men, Paul declared that each is precious in the sight of God. I believe that the universalism of President McKay, his identification with humanity, was grounded in his respect and concern for the individual, his reverence for the freedom and autonomy of the moral will, his sympathy and compassion for every person.²⁸

McMurrin would have been pleased, but not surprised, to hear President McKay make his point when he said to his secretary one day, "Men must learn that in presiding over the Church 'we are dealing with human hearts, that individual rights are sacred, and the human soul is tender. We cannot run the Church as we would a business.'"²⁹ I continue with McMurrin's tribute:

My point, then, is a very simple one: that President David O. McKay, whom we knew and loved as a charismatic leader and friend, combined the virtues of kindness, compassion, love, and profound commitment to the moral and intellectual freedom of every person with a strong consciousness of the unity of mankind and the ideal possibilities of human brotherhood. We may hope that future historians will find that his ideal was in fact the beginning of a new era for the Church.³⁰

28. Sterling M. McMurrin, "President David O. McKay—1873-1970," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4, no.4 (Winter 1969): 55.

29. DOMOJ, 17 May, 1962.

30. Sterling M. McMurrin, "President David O. McKay—1873-1970," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon thought* 4, no.4 (Winter 1969): 55.

History of the Church—Part One

Robin Russell

I feel grace descend like whiskey-scented oil poured over me in the upper room on my way to heaven. I dance in the heat of a fire, like ghosts following Sitting Bull to their deaths, pounding the earth as I whirl, feeling the scent move out through my veins, pulled by the dance into my feet and fingers and loins, the beating gyre burning my bones and blood back into the earth. Spinning faster, dizzy with peace and the nearness of understanding. One voice sings like a cry thrown out across the crush of the world, like the weeping question of Enoch, or Adam, or Samuel, and the sun turns to snow whiter than noon-day. And in that glow I rest, healed and glistening, warm fatigue where once arose the aroma of belief and the coryphée of hope. And, then, as it will, in the denouement of grace, the dance winds down, becomes a shuffle, and the twirling scent dissipates in the gnawing whisper that is only wind. And I wonder where have we come to in these many years? And where is here? Is this the place, a desert beyond what is known? Now, do we move without the stillness, caught in the rhythm of our own shouts, unable to hear the song cast across our sight like a fleeing bird or an unanswered child? And in the hammering silence I make out no reply, just a kneeling, drunken man unable to rise, his lolling head turning the world back and forth, his yawping gasp a cry that spins us back and starts the scratching dance anew.

Edward W. Tullidge and *The Women of Mormondom*

Claudia L. Bushman

IN THIS PAPER, I SING the virtues of Edward W. Tullidge, English convert to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, cultural enthusiast, and serious journalist and author. Tullidge, who was mercurial, changeable, and emotionally and perhaps mentally unstable, wrote despite his difficulties, turning out five long books, editing several periodicals and contributing significant essays to others. Diligent and optimistic, he was a victim of his broad aspirations, falling short of what he might have done. Able, hard-working, and articulate, he was also a heavy drinker given to emotional outbursts. Much of his work has been dismissed or ignored, valued primarily for the large chunks of undigested biographical material he included. I want to take him seriously.

Tullidge wore his heart on his sleeve, serving his current grand ideal, whatever it was. He had troubled relationships with the LDS church, the RLDS church, and the Godbeite movement. He yearned to be a devoted follower and to promote the virtues of an institution, but could not stick; disillusioned, he moved on to more promising venues. He wanted the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be part of something grand, to shine in a universal context. Historians label him a “rebel historian.” Ronald Walker explains Tullidge as one who saw Mormonism as a “distinctive form of American culture.”¹

Tullidge was born in England in 1829 into a cultured, middle-class, Methodist family, then apprenticed to his cousin as a coach builder and painter. At the age of seventeen, he joined the Latter-day Saints. In 1848, at age twenty, he began twelve years of missionary activity in Great

1. William Frank Lye, “Edward Wheelock Tullidge, the Mormons’ Rebel Historian,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (January 1960): 56–75. Ronald W. Walker, “Edward Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon Commonwealth,” *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 55.

Britain, without “purse or scrip,” making money by mending shoes.² He wrote for the *Millennial Star*, published in Liverpool, where he exhibited considerable literary promise as well as mystical enthusiasm. He dramatically offered his services to Brigham Young to assist in developing a culture and an epic history for the church. He foresaw a Mormon *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost* with Young as the central hero. Tullidge envisioned “a truly national or Mormon literature, national education of every kind, national music, painting, and every branch of art.” He wanted the church to rank in the “first class of civilized society” and for Zion to move toward greatness,³ a vision which many of us promote. He wrote to Brigham Young, “I shall never rest until I am in your hands, nor be satisfied until I am engaged in your service.”⁴ Young, more inclined toward action than talk, gave him limited encouragement.

Tullidge and Elias L. T. Harrison began the first of several periodicals in 1864. Tullidge wrote descriptive pieces on Mormon topics for Eastern periodicals, the New York *Galaxy* and the *American Phrenologist*, which were considered impartial and sophisticated. He was the first writer to bridge the gap between inside and outside views of the church, a synthesis to which many of us still aspire. Tullidge hoped his articles would inform the world, but Brigham Young told him not to expect too much, just to do his best and leave the result with the Lord.⁵ Tullidge then wrote editorials for a new publication, favoring spiritual life and power, international brotherhood, and urging Mormonism to grow and help civilize the world.

His friends Elias Harrison and William Godbe, disillusioned with the autocratic Brigham Young, moved toward Mormon reform and then into spiritualism. They were excommunicated for apostasy. Tullidge resigned his own membership in their support. He wrote a number of plays before reconciling with the LDS church and writing a life of Brigham Young. He also wrote *The Women of Mormondom*,⁶ this paper’s subject, and *Life of Joseph the Prophet* before allying with the RLDS church, which bought an interest in the latter work. He served a mission for the RLDS church, preaching against “polygamic theocracy” in Utah, but he soon left that group. Tullidge later wrote *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders*,

2. Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, “Edward W. Tullidge: Celebrant of Mormon Nationalism,” in *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 29–31. However, Walker in “Edward Tullidge” credits him with sixteen years of missionary activity, rather than twelve.

3. Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 31–32.

4. Walker, “Edward Tullidge,” 58.

5. Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 32–34.

6. Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1877).

which includes extensive historical and biographical material.⁷ Although he projected a multi-volume series, it was never completed.⁸

Edward Tullidge married three times. His first two polygamous, childless marriages ended in divorce. His third marriage produced ten children. He died at 65 in 1894.

Quixotic, mercurial, self-destructive, Tullidge often discarded positions he had once profoundly claimed. He remained true to some Mormon ideals even as he warred with the church. In a characteristically dramatic statement, he noted how hard he was working, "fighting with my characters and themes through the battles. . . their eventful trying lives." He threw himself "into brain fever or delirium for three weeks," barely escaping with his life. "I have, however, my will and nerve again and can execute my work as well as ever. In one thing at least I am a Mormon—I am hard to kill."⁹ He was a cultural Mormon who preferred the pristine religion of Joseph Smith to the evolving frontier autocracy of Brigham Young.¹⁰

In this paper, I want to consider Tullidge's *The Women of Mormondom*, a large book with 550 pages of text, a chronology from before Eve to the 1870s, with an international scope. What have historians said of this book?

William Frank Lye, who taught at Ricks College, and wrote an article on Tullidge in 1960, said little of the book except that it showers praise on Eliza R. Snow, a kindred poetic spirit.¹¹

Ronald Walker, who wrote extensively of Tullidge and his Godbeite friends in *Wayward Saints*, dismisses *Women of Mormondom* as autobiographies of "prominent Mormon women tied loosely together by his epic prose." He notes that Tullidge wrote to kill Fanny Stenhouse's negative book, *Tell It All*,¹² "not because she wars against her polygamic life with [her husband Thomas B. H.] Stenhouse, which is natural, nor against Brigham Young, which is also very natural with us Apostates, but because she has blasphemed against her sisters and the religious system that I have worshiped."¹³ Tullidge then, will favor the sisters and the

7. Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886).

8. Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 34–38, 38–40.

9. Edward W. Tullidge to B[atshsheba] W[alker] S[mith], 18 January 1875, Tullidge Name File, Historian's Office, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

10. Lye, "Edward Wheelock Tullidge," 72.

11. *Ibid.*, 66.

12. Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington, 1874).

13. Walker, "Edward Tullidge," 65–66. Ronald Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 309–10.

system. Tullidge, Walker says, adorned the women with a “peculiar prose,” and found them “collectively without a flaw.” Walker notes that the book’s exaggerated language, awkward syntax, and repeated exclamations fail to sustain a narrative, epic history.¹⁴

Davis Bitton and Leonard Arrington note the book’s defensive nature which makes it panegyric, overwritten, and of patchwork organization. They find the book’s greatest contributions in its original histories. They do note, however, that Tullidge stood alone as a Mormon feminist historian before the revitalization of the women’s movement in the 1970s.¹⁵

Such have been the dismissive evaluations of this man and his large book. One might wonder what the hard-lined Sister Snow thought of the boozy, changeable, apostate enthusiast. In fact, her attitudes toward him were also changeable.

Snow was involved in the *Women of Mormondom* from the beginning. She put her considerable prestige behind the book and was engaged in gathering funds for publication on subscription. The *Woman’s Exponent* reports a meeting of the Senior and Junior Retrenchment societies where Miss Snow “laid the subject of the *Woman’s Book*” before the group and “solicited [the sisters’ aid] in behalf of the publishing of it.” She also requested that “any special items in their lives, or spiritual manifestations which had been given them which they considered strong testimonies upon the principles of the gospel,” be recorded and given to her or Mr. Tullidge.¹⁶ The *Woman’s Exponent* frequently spoke in favor of him as “one of the most gifted literary men of America” and provided a very favorable review in which he praised LDS women: “There is a providence in the very attitude of Mormon women. The prophesy is distinctly pronounced in the whole history of their lives, that they shall be apostolic to the age.”¹⁷

A letter from Snow to an unnamed correspondent documents her editorial and financial efforts on behalf of the book: “I wish you would get up some interesting items immediately.” The purpose was to present a conception of church history: “They want particularly the testimonies of the sisters how they have lived polygamy—whether their hearts have been broken by it—whether they were forced into it &c.” She notes that the author will “dress it up in his own style.” She urges haste in sending the testimony, “(which will be good for your grand children to read) do not wait a day.”¹⁸ Tullidge himself noted that Utah women would be of

14. Walker, “Edward Tullidge,” 69.

15. Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 37.

16. *Woman’s Exponent*, 5 (11 November 1876).

17. *Ibid.*, 6 (1 January 1878): 119; 6 (15 August 1877): 45.

18. E. R. Snow to ?, n.d., Peterson family Papers [ca. 1844–1957], MS 2175, 37290, ARCH-88, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, 2–3.

great interest to the general public and allowed the women to choose which of them would be handsomely engraved to illustrate the volume.¹⁹ Clearly Snow, Tullidge, and the Relief Society were collaborating closely, hoping to reap propagandistic and pecuniary benefits.

Yet in 1878, three years after soliciting her sisters, and a year after the publication of the volume, Snow was carefully distancing herself from Tullidge. Tullidge had acknowledged her help in revising the Smith volume, a position she denied. He had presented the manuscript for her perusal, and she had suggested a few alterations to the biographical narrative, but loftily refused to accept the position of reviewer or critic. Neither Snow nor Joseph F. Smith cared to assist Tullidge in throwing "an air of Church authority around [Tullidge's] work."²⁰

The Women of Mormondom is shrouded in changing opinions, even as the author was perennially changeable. Yet it still stands, in print since 1877, and is worthy, I decided, of another look. The book provides real plums of quoted personal accounts, undigested and under-synthesized, held together by a heroic dough. I decided against searching for gems among the autobiographical plums. We all know their value: the preservation of accounts which might not have been written and might well have been lost. Instead, picking through the epic prose, the overwritten panegyric, the wild enthusiasm, I wanted some sense of Tullidge's plan and explication, his ideas for illuminating the early sisters and their time. I wanted to see beyond his eccentricity as he speaks from his world to ours. I wanted to find what the book holds, apart from Tullidge's dramatically vacillating reputation.

Let us discuss three of Tullidge's general strategies. First, as I mentioned before, Tullidge writes for audiences inside and outside the church, on both sides of the abyss. He was not appreciated for that position, being too sympathetic for the outsiders and too cool for the insiders. This is our problematic stance as Mormon writers. In 1875, when Tullidge was in New York City engaged in publishing his book, *Life of Brigham Young*,²¹ he was described in the newspapers as "a man of talent and ability" who was "under the spiritual control of Joseph Smith."²² He was too close to Mormonism to be considered reliable.

Yet the *Millennial Star* took him to task for his outsider ways. The *Star* dismissed Tullidge's accounts of the lives of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith and *The Women of Mormondom* as lacking in authority. The

19. Tullidge to Smith, 18 January 1875.

20. Eliza R. Snow to ?, 7 October 1878, published in *Millennial Star*, 18 November 1878.

21. Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young: or, Utah and Her Founders* (New York: 1876).

22. *Woman's Exponent*, 4 (15 August 1875): 45.

Star proclaimed that all books dealing with doctrine, ordinances, and history should be issued under official church authority. In the book on Young, Tullidge wrote in the preface, "I have been, for many years, an apostate, and cannot be justly charged with a spirit of Mormon propagandism."²³ He assured President John Taylor, who called him on the statement, that he was not an apostate, that the statement had been removed from the latest edition, and that he supposed it had only been included "with the expectation that it would make the book sell better in the East." President Taylor summed up, "Then, when in the East, you are an apostate, because it is expected your book will sell better, and here you are a Saint, because to be a Saint pays better."²⁴ Tullidge repudiated the remark, but the exchange frames an important issue for writers who are Mormons and who tell the Mormon story. Writing for both audiences is a daunting effort, one for which we may well be dismissed by those on both sides of the gulf. However, I think we should all aspire to this position. Mormons must move beyond writing for themselves to writing for a wider audience, as Tullidge attempted to do.

Second, Tullidge places Mormons in history. He sees their saga within a long line of human activities. Mormons are often seen as an aberration, not part of the American sweep, or the grand human sweep, or anything significant. Tullidge puts the church and individuals within a continuum. Church members are "the sons and daughters of the Pilgrim sires and mothers who founded this nation; sons and daughters of the patriots who fought the battles of independence and won for these United States a transcendent destiny." The Mormon pioneers descend from seventeenth-century Europeans who had been pioneering for the past 250 years. The Huntington girls, Zina and Prescindia, he is delighted to tell us, are the grand-nieces of Samuel Huntington, signer of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Connecticut, and president of Congress. Lorenzo Snow's wife Harriet was born of Mayflower descendants. All this is tedious and repetitious, except for Tullidge's aim. He makes the pioneering story, the story of repeated exile, into the Mormon story. Mormons are the most worthy descendants of Pilgrim fathers and mothers.²⁵ He ennobles Mormon women as the natural successors to honored American predecessors.

Third, he places the Mormon story in literature, utilizing the genre of the romance. He notes that "the divine romance of the sisterhood best opens at Kirtland." He later says, "Presently we shall see that the romance of Mormonism has centred [sic] around the sisters abroad as well

23. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young*, preface.

24. *Millennial Star*, 18 November 1878.

25. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 201, 27, 201–34, 438, 204.

as at home."²⁶ This interesting phrase, "the romance of Mormonism," re-frames the Mormon story, usually told as devotion, bravery, and sacrifice. A romance, according to the *American College Dictionary*, is "A tale depicting heroic or marvelous achievements, colorful events or scenes, chivalrous devotion, unusual, even supernatural, experiences or other matters of a kind to appeal to the imagination."²⁷ Tullidge writes this stylized story, with allegories of good and evil, a heroic, colorful, supernatural story. He shows interaction between humans and immortals, adventures with heroes and demons, elevating women to magical creatures. Women are attuned and mystical, more sensitive and effective than the men, the first to see the possibilities of the great spiritual work of the age. This romantic view casts a bright light on women. Summing up these preliminary strategies, we see that Tullidge writes for a wide audience, puts Mormonism into history, and tells it literarily.

This female story, paralleling and intersecting the traditional male authoritarian story, makes women's world and sisterhood, the family as mother and children, central, not peripheral. Tullidge's purpose is to counter Fannie Stenhouse's blasphemy against her sisters, taking her on obliquely, rather than directly.

Tullidge continually asserts in *Women of Mormondom* that women are more mystical and spiritual than men. This familiar idea, still given lip-service today, probably did not originate with Tullidge, but let us consider his analysis. He sets up the mystical, spiritual world of Mormon women by noting that many people in Smith's time were receiving the administration of angels: "Thousands both in America and Great Britain" recorded visions and intuitions. They had manifestations of elders who would bring them the gospel. Mary Ann Whitney heard the voice of an angel from a cloud (45). Tullidge establishes that signs follow the believers, and details such signs as the reading of revelations from hands held up as a book, where "letters of light and letters of gold" writing appeared to their vision, on the hands of these "mediums" (56-57).

Not content to make women equal receivers of gifts, Tullidge makes them superior. The best receivers, he tells us, were among the sisters. "In modern spiritual parlance," they were more "inspirational." The sisters have always been the "best mediums." Tullidge further notes that the "gift of tongues" has been markedly the woman's gift (55-57, 475).

Tullidge's style was to make grand generalizations and illustrate them with homely examples. He says of the Kirtland temple that the apostles and elders laid the stone foundations, built up the arches, and put on the capstone. "But it was woman that did the 'inner work of the

26. *Ibid.*, 26, 215.

27. *The American College Dictionary*, 10th ed., 1956, s.v. "romance."

temple.'" What is this inner work? The women sewed the veils of the temple. He moves to "Joseph's instinctive appreciation of woman and her mission. Her place was *inside* the temple, and he was about to put her there" (76). Tullidge generalizes in extravagant style:

Once again woman had become an oracle of a new dispensation and a new civilization. She can only properly be this when a temple economy comes round in the unfolding of the ages. She can only be a legitimate oracle *in* the temple.

When she dares to play the oracle, without her divine mission and anointing, she is accounted in society as a witch, a fortune-teller, a medium, who divines for hire and sells the gift of the invisibles for money.

But in the temple woman is a sacred and sublime oracle. She is prophetess and a high priestess. Inside the temple she cannot but be as near the invisibles as man—nearer indeed, from her finer nature, inside the mystic veil, the emblems of which she has worked upon with her own hands.²⁸

The temple interprets and protects woman. Her strong powers, which would be ridiculed in the greater world, are suited for temple work. There she is not only at home, but she is also superior. Her great gifts not only suit her for finer work, they unsuit her for ordinary life. In a temple, she "is the medium of Jehovah" (78).

Through Eliza R. Snow, Tullidge tells of fast-and-testimony meetings in the Kirtland temple each first Thursday. Spiritual gifts outpoured, especially healings and tongues. On fast days, according to Snow, the veils which intersected at right angles, divided the house into four parts. Each section had a leader, and a meeting in English, "lest a spirit of enthusiasm should creep in." At 4 p.m., the veils were drawn up and the congregations joined. For an hour the people could "speak or sing in tongues, prophesy, pray, interpret tongues, exhort or preach," as they wished (100-101). The united faith brought the saints into closer fellowship, but Snow noted the presence and the dangers of two powers, and that when using the good power, people were more open to its opposite.

Because of these two powers, the manifestations became known as "fire that could burn as well as bless." Fearing a confrontation between the two great forces, the Saints began to shy away from visions, angels, prophesy and "speaking in tongues." Consequently, the sisters, who ever are the "best mediums" of spiritual gifts in the church, have, in latter years, been shorn of their glory (58). The danger of the opposing forces explains the loss of, or at least the hiding of, female spiritual power.

If the spiritual gifts sound foreign and distant, Tullidge's argument that Mormon women are Hebraic, is equally difficult. All things work

28. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, 76-77.

together for Tullidge. Kirtland, he says, "is the place where this Israelitish drama of our times commenced its first distinguishing scenes,—the place where the first Mormon temple was built." The restoration was of the Old Testament gospel, much more than the New. Woman had been central and valued in old days, he suggests, and after she had fallen in the eyes of other religions, Joseph Smith restored her place. Woman, according to Tullidge, "was among the morning stars, when they sang together for joy, at the laying of the foundations of the earth." "The Mormon prophet rectified the divine drama," he goes on to say. "Man is nowhere where woman is not. Mormonism has restored woman to her pinnacle" (26, 177).

Eliza R. Snow, he notes, was "deeply interested in the study of the ancient prophets," "a prophetess in her very nature" (63):

Her gifts are of race quality rather than of mere religious training or growth. They have come down to her from the ages. From her personal race indications, as well as from the whole tenor and mission of her life, she would readily be pronounced to be of Hebrew origin. One might very well fancy her to be a descendant of David himself; indeed the Prophet Joseph, in blessing her, pronounced her to be a daughter of Judah's royal house.²⁹

This extravagant praise for the New England spinster, converted from Alexander Campbell's Disciples of Christ, sounds odd indeed. What is Tullidge getting at?

He further equates Sidney Rigdon with a "voice crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord!" He says that Joseph is the sign of "Messiah's coming," that he came in "the spirit and power of Elijah," to "restore the covenant to Israel" (36). Tullidge rewrites Mormon history in the style of the Old Testament. He makes Mormonism part of a long religious story, a retelling of the Hebraic story of God working with his people.

Tullidge sees a "Latter-day Israel." "The women," he says, did their full half in founding Mormondom. They comprehended, "as much as did their prototypes who came up out of Egypt, the significance of the name of Israel." "Out of Egypt the seed of promise, [came] to become a peculiar people, a holy nation, with a distinctive God and a distinctive destiny." "A Mormon Iliad in every view; and the sisters understanding it fully. Indeed perhaps they have best understood it." "Mormondom is no Christian sect, but an Israelitish nationality," he intones. "All America is the world's New Jerusalem!" (68, 71, 75). Mormon Israel acts out the Hebrew drama: Abraham leaves his father's house, heading to a promised

29. *Ibid.*, 31–32.

land where he will found a great nation. In thee, he is told, shall all families of the earth be blessed.

Tullidge's direction now becomes clear. He sees Mormons, the spiritual sons and daughters of Abraham and Sarah, gathering to fulfill the familial promise. "A host of the daughters of New England—earnest and purest of women—many of them unmarried, and most of them in the bloom of womanhood—gathered to the virgin West to become the mothers of a nation" (73). They would then begin patriarchal marriage. So in the end, the book justifies polygamy. Why was I surprised? I should have seen it coming.

Tullidge concedes that the woman's lot is difficult. "Comprehend this Hebraic religion of the sisters, and it can thus be comprehended somewhat how they have borne the cross of polygamy, with more than the courage of martyrs at the stake" (185). Yet plural marriage nonetheless exalts women in Israel. After Bathsheba married George Albert Smith in 1841, they visited his family for a feast. John Smith, the groom's father, drank a toast to the newlyweds, "pronouncing the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob upon [them]." The bride notes, "I did not understand the import of this blessing as well then as I do now" (155).

Tullidge notes that Anglo Saxons, the last race anyone would expect to go for plural marriage, had reestablished it. "Hence, they have lifted it to a plane that, perhaps, no other race could have done—above mere sexual considerations, and, in its theories, altogether incompatible with the serfdom of women." He quotes Eliza R. Snow's curious defense of the practice at the Mass Meeting of 1870. She abjures the idea that Mormon women are slaves. The women of the church have "performed and suffered what could never have been borne and accomplished by slaves" (379, 391).

Tullidge asserts that Israelitish Mormondom fully understands "the Abrahamic subject," while gentile Christendom never has. He sees Mormons closer to the ancient patriarchs than to Nephi and Mormon whose civilization is now extinct. He notes that Snow, "a prophetess and high priestess of Hebraic Mormondom," traveled to Jerusalem and stood on the Mount of Olives, raising her "inspired voice to swell the divine command for Israel to gather" (480–81).

The idea then, that Mormonism is Hebraic, a restoration of Hebrew Bible culture, has, according to Tullidge, confirmed the necessity of accepting plural marriage, a practice not very successful originally. This model has caused Mormon women to accept, even welcome, sacrifice they could never have been forced to bear, promising numerous offspring and familial blessings.

A final idea is Tullidge's creation of a female theology. He names a "holy female trinity," of Eve, Sarah, and Zion—mothers in Israel at different times in history. Motherhood is the Mormon woman's everlasting

theme. Eve is the Mother of a world, Sarah the mother of the covenant, and Zion (a group name for polygamous wives) the mother of celestial sons and daughters.

Eve is the first. God commanded Eve to be fruitful: "Thus opened creation, and the womb of everlasting motherhood throbbd with divine ecstasy." Tullidge credits Eve for breaking one commandment to fulfill another. The Mormon daughters of Eve must also break the rules to "magnify the divine office of motherhood" (197–200). Mormon woman is Eve in the creation and fall, and Sarah in the covenant.

Sarah, the Old Testament wife of Abraham, incarnates the "very soul of patriarchal marriage," who gave her husband another wife in order to fulfill his covenant with the Lord. Tullidge emphasizes the extent of Sarah's sacrifice and the pain which both Sarah and Hagar suffered. Yet Tullidge reminds us that races and empires came of them. "From the courts above the Mormon woman shall look down upon an endless posterity" (532, 535–36).

Zion personifies the woman of Tullidge's time. In his most mystical and opaque language, Tullidge expatiates on scriptures, concluding that each Mormon woman can be Zion if she is obedient. Then, "Creation begins again! Zion—the New Jerusalem—is the Lamb's bride. She is the coming Eve" (546–47). As Tullidge has placed the Mormon story in history, so also he places the polygamous woman into the continuum of Biblical history. He justifies Mormondom's strange marital practices by showing the progression from Eve and Sarah.

What then can we say about this mostly forgotten book? Tullidge, writing to make some money and to defend the early church, casts a bright light on the women of the 1870s. He sees them as potent, powerful creatures, willing to suffer for their beliefs. His defensive aims raise polygamy, this most criticized practice, to the central one in the church. As a response to Stenhouse, Tullidge's polygamy theme is transcendent. Yet men are entirely left out; this is woman's choice. "The women of Mormondom, and the marriage question! Two of the greatest sensations of the age united!" "Marriage is the great question of the age. It is the woman's special subject," he noted in 1877 (496). How can Christendom hold the Bible divine and infallible, yet not follow it? "The Mormons and the Bible," he asserts, "stand or fall together" (497).

Because of the close collaboration with Eliza R. Snow, there can be no question that this is the story LDS women wanted told. Snow, who worked extensively on the manuscript, also saw herself as the Hebraic high priestess. The Relief Society women told their own stories to illustrate their devotion to the principle they lived. If Tullidge edited their work, as he was bound to do, he did not change its meaning. He was writing to please the sisters.

He also promised them rewards: They would be redeemed from

Eve's curse. They would no longer bring forth their children in sorrow, nor would their husbands rule over them. "Woman will be redeemed from that curse, as sure as the coming of to-morrow's sun. No more, after this generation, shall civilized man *rule* over his mate, but 'they twain shall be one;' and the sisters are looking for that millennial day" (506).

Reading this book brings back whiffs of the nineteenth century, the flavors of Mormon woman's lot: her oppression, her sacrifice, her obedience, her glorification. Better than any of his contemporaries, Tullidge brings Mormon women to life, puts them into history, connects them to a past. Tullidge recreates the mystical and magical world of Utah's early female Zion, a world we frequently prefer to forget. Revisiting it does not mean that we have to relive it. For all his eccentricities and vacillations, Tullidge was a man of vision who still has something to say to us.

Preaching the Gospel of Church and Sex: Mormon Women's Fiction in the *Young Woman's Journal*, 1889-1910

Rebecca de Schweinitz.

IN 1889, UTAH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS informed their audiences about the start of a new monthly magazine, the *Young Woman's Journal* (YWJ). Initiated and first edited by Susa Young Gates, the daughter of Mormonism's second prophet, this journal, directed to girls and young, unmarried women in the Latter-day Saint (LDS) church, was to contain "the most elevating ideas of the Daughters of Zion."¹ The YWJ published poems, stories, and articles, written overwhelmingly by women. It analyzed "great" books like *Anna Karenina* and discussed topics such as women's health, suffrage, and marriage. The YWJ reveals both similarities and differences in the experiences and attitudes of Mormon women and women nationally, and it shows that LDS women were concerned about promoting their church and their sex.

1. *Woman's Exponent* 18 (1 September 1889): 55. On Susa Young Gates, see Estelle Neff Caldwell, "Susa Young Gates," in *The History of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints From November 1869 to June 1910*, Susa Young Gates, ed. (Salt Lake City: General Board of the YLMIA, 1911): 121-126; Paul Cracroft, "Susa Young Gates: Her Life and Literary Work" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1951); Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvey Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1982): 325-337; Carolyn W. D. Person, "Susa Young Gates," in *Mormon Sisters: Women In Early Utah*, Claudia L. Bushman, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976): 199-223. In its initial years the YWJ reached from 1,500-2,000 young women annually, but the subscription list had greatly increased by 1900, and by 1910 between 14,000-15,000 girls received the journal (Gates, *History of YLMIA*, 112). The actual readership of the YWJ was significantly higher, however, since those who held subscriptions shared their copies with others.

The *YWJ* was not the first periodical directed to a female Mormon audience. In 1872 Mormon women began publishing the *Woman's Exponent*. Scholars have long acknowledged the *Woman's Exponent's* role as a feminist forum for Mormon women but have given less attention to the *YWJ*.² Both journals demonstrated a commitment to the church and to the women's movement.³ The *YWJ*, however, is unique in at least two respects. First, it was directed specifically to a younger audience. Second, the *YWJ* employed *fiction* as a way to communicate ideas. An 1890 article in the *YWJ* explained: "The aim and object of this publication has been set forth many times. . . . [T]he present generation demand amusement, and. . . lessons. . . are more vividly taught, more deeply impressed through the medium of books. . . than through homilies and sermons."⁴ Fictional stories in the *YWJ* focused particularly upon advancing the lessons of women's rights. The *YWJ* reveals a connection between women's fiction and women's activism in Utah during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and at the same time traces a fundamental shift in Mormon women's experiences and attitudes after Utah achieved statehood. Through the pages of the *YWJ*, experienced LDS women expressed their beliefs about their church and sex to their younger counterparts.

"SEEK YE OUT OF THE BEST BOOKS"

Fiction was not a medium historically available to Mormon women. For forty years the LDS church taught that members should "read truthful statements," and warned against the dangers of fiction. Reading fiction wasted time that could be spent reading scripture or otherwise building Zion. It also undermined the appeal of truth, which appeared tame and uninteresting in comparison to the romance and exaggeration of personality and circumstance in fictional stories. In the early 1880s Mormon anti-fictionists stepped up their attack. The completion of the transcontinental railroad and escalating migrations to Oregon and California brought the Saints increasingly into contact with "gentiles," their earthy ideas, and the shoddy dime novels and tabloids of the Eastern states. In addition, the Godbeite and Christian Science movements gen-

2. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'Remember the Women of Zion': A Study of the Editorial Content of the *Woman's Exponent*, A Mormon Woman's Journal" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1977); Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "The *Woman's Exponent*: Forty-two Years of Speaking for Woman," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 222-39; Carol Lynn Pearson, *The Flight and the Nest* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc. 1975).

3. Scholars have used both journals to illustrate Mormon women's feminism. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not A Woman and a Sister,'" *BYU Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 161-178.

4. *Young Woman's Journal* 1 (April 1890): 235.

erated concern among church leaders.⁵ George Q. Cannon, Mormon apostle, territorial legislator, and owner and editor of the *Juvenile Instructor*, a quasi-official periodical for youth, lead the assault on fiction, equating novel reading with the dangers of alcohol.⁶

During this same period, however, other LDS leaders realized that despite the church's position, Mormon youth *liked* to read fiction. Some leaders began to see that fiction could be "good, pure, elevating," and that it could be an "effective and pleasing method of teaching doctrine [and] illustrating principle."⁷ By 1890 the church had modified its stance on fiction. Instead of condemning all fiction, leaders made a distinction between "good" and "bad" fiction, and advocated the development of a Mormon "home literature." Through home literature the church could guard the youth of Zion, harness the power of the press, the creativity of its members, and further encourage self-reliance.⁸

Producing a distinctive literature became a special mission for the LDS community. Having long been involved in Utah's non-fiction literary endeavors and with a decided interest in securing sound influences for their children, women were especially enthusiastic about the crusade to construct an original body of writing.⁹ Moreover, Mormons, like other Americans at the time, believed that women possessed a unique spirit and temper, and LDS leaders encouraged women to use their distinct moral virtues "to the fullest extent for the establishment of righteousness on earth."¹⁰

Historians and literary scholars, however, usually treat early Mormon women's fiction with disdain. Deemed inartistic, imitative, and void of "the singular qualities of the concerns with which they [Mormons] were trying to deal," it is branded as sentimental and blatantly

5. Both of these movements advocated literary endeavors. The Godbeites, a group of apostate Mormons, started a literary magazine, and the Christian Scientists opened "reading rooms" in Utah. On the Godbeites see Grant H. Palmer, "The Godbeite Movement: A Dissent Against Temporal Control" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968); Ronald Walker, "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 217-231; Ronald Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977); Ronald Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

6. George Q. Cannon, "Editorial Thoughts," *Juvenile Instructor* 19 (15 Oct. 1884): 312.

7. Nephi Anderson, "A Plea for Fiction," *Improvement Era* 1 (January 1893): 186-188; B. H. Roberts, "Legitimate Fiction," *Contributor* 10 (Feb. 1889): 135-6.

8. On Mormon economic self-reliance see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1958).

9. Mormon women published fiction in all three Mormon periodicals for youth as well as their own novels and collections of short stories.

10. Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1930): 206.

didactic.¹¹ But feminist scholars are urging a re-evaluation of women's "sentimental" literature.¹² Their ideas help establish the value of LDS women's fiction.

Scholars such as Susan Harris and Nina Baym assert that women's fiction was a political enterprise.¹³ Written by women, for women, and about women, it provided a way for them to participate in the debate over women's access to power and contribute to the development of a positive gender consciousness.¹⁴ They suggest that while on the surface women's fiction appeared to simply reflect entrenched cultural values, a closer look reveals that it often questioned traditional social prescriptions.¹⁵ For instance, although many stories ended with women giving up autonomy and worldly aspirations, they did so only after presenting other possibilities for those women, showing their desires for achievement, challenging the idea of female subordination, and identifying conflicting definitions of womanhood.¹⁶ Underneath contrived plot lines and lofty language, Mormon women's fiction reveals how its authors understood the world and their place in it. Their work, however stylistically immature, emerges as a valuable source for looking at the specific concerns of LDS women.

"EVE'S CURSE"

The YWJ emerged not only at the same time Mormon leaders embraced fiction as a suitable means for teaching, but also during a time in which the LDS church faced severe attacks on its unique beliefs and place in American society. These attacks specifically targeted polygamy.

11. See Matthew Durrant and Neal E. Lambert, "From Foe to Friend: The Mormon Embrace of Fiction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (Fall 1982): 325-339; Edward A. Geary, "Women Regionalists of Mormon Country," *Kate Chopin Newsletter* 2 (Fall, 1976): 20-28.

12. See Barbara Bardes, and Susan Gossett, *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth Century American Fiction* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Mary Kelly, "Sentimentalists: Promise and Betrayal in the Home," *Fiction by American Women*, Winifred Farrant Bevilacqua, ed. (Port Washington, New York: Assoc. Faculty Press, Inc., 1983), 11-19; Joyce W. Warren, ed., *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993); Nina Baym, *Feminism and American Literary History* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

13. Bardes, *Declarations of Independence*, 10.

14. *Ibid.*, 4.

15. Nina Baym, *Novel, Readers and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 172.

16. See Susan Harris, "'But is it any good?': Evaluating Nineteenth-Century American Women's Fiction," in *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers*, Joyce W. Warren, ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 265-271; Kelly, "Sentimentalists."

In 1870, when Utah territory extended suffrage rights to women, the federal government and national women's rights leaders expected LDS women to vote themselves out of the purportedly degrading practice.¹⁷ When they did not, national political leaders took it upon themselves to rid the country of this presumed evil. In the early 1880s Congress passed severe anti-polygamy legislation, culminating in 1887 with the *Edmunds Tucker Act*, which made polygamy a crime, disincorporated the Mormon church, and disfranchised the women of Utah. LDS women, as believers and active suffragists, fought against it. They used their church organization, the Relief Society, to educate the people and to organize mass meetings, petitions, and conferences. Mormon women, including a number of YWJ fiction writers, personally pleaded with Congress, the President, and with national women's rights leaders to help them retain their right to vote and to practice their religion.¹⁸

Understandably, national suffrage leaders found reconciling Mormon women's dual commitments to women's rights and to a seemingly perverse and patriarchal religion difficult.¹⁹ LDS women, however, argued that their religion provided the basis for their feminist beliefs. They saw "the real elevation of woman" as one of the "prime objects" of those

17. Before Congress instituted a territorial government in Utah, women held the franchise in civic matters between 1847-1852. They could also vote on ecclesiastical matters under the Mormon doctrine of Common Consent, introduced by Joseph Smith three months after the church was organized.

18. There is an extensive literature on Mormon women and the suffrage movement. In addition to works previously cited, see Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment In Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage In Utah In 1870," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970):20-30; Lisa Bryner Bohman, "A Fresh Perspective: The Woman Suffrage Associations of Beaver and Farmington, Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1991): 4-21; Jill C. Mulvey, "Eliza R. Snow and The Woman Question," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 250-264; Leon C. Thurgood, "An Analysis of the Rhetoric Used by Mormon Women to Argue Equal Suffrage in Utah 1870-1896" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973); Lola Van Wagenen, "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 31-43; Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Fall 1974): 344-369.

19. This essay draws on a vast scholarship which shows that Mormon women formed their own brand of feminism that allowed them to express progressive ideas about women and allegiance to their patriarchal religion. In addition to works previously cited, see Davis Bitton, "Polygamy Defended: One Side of a Nineteenth-Century Polemic," in *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays*, Davis Bitton, ed. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1994); Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Feminists," *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, (Olympus Publishing Co., Salt Lake City, Utah, 1976):194-5; Lawrence Foster, "From Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity: Mormon Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 3-21; Joan Smyth Iversen, "A Debate on the American Home: The Antipolygamy Controversy, 1880-1890," *Journal of the*

who received the "Gospel light" and believed that the establishment of the Relief Society in 1842 represented the "dawning of a new age" for women which would eventually restore the "natural" equality of the sexes.²⁰ Susa Young Gates considered it "the earthly beginning of woman's emancipation," and many early Mormon women saw the 1848 Seneca Falls convention as the "temporal" manifestation of the "spiritual" equality their new female organization represented.²¹ Although the nineteenth century Mormon church remained a patriarchal organization, primarily guided by a male hierarchy, Mormon women exercised a remarkable degree of authority within the church. The Relief Society was a charitable organization that sought to alleviate the physical needs of church members, but the women in this society also discussed and practiced spiritual gifts such as healing the sick.²² Eliza R. Snow, a founding member and the second president of the Relief Society (a position she held until her death), claimed that all worthy sisters "not only have the right, but should feel it a duty. . .to administer to our sisters in these [priesthood] ordinances, which God has graciously committed to His daughters as well as to His sons."²³ Snow and other Mormon women performed priesthood ordinances and were referred to as "priestesses." Some male church leaders even called Susa Young Gates the 13th apos-

History of Sexuality 1 (April 1991): 585-602; Joan Iversen, "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandaries," *Frontiers* 11 (1990): 8-16; Joan Iversen, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygamy," *Feminist Studies* 10 (Fall 1984): 505-522; Anne Firor Scott, "Mormon Women, Other Women: Paradoxes and Challenges," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 3-19; Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870-1896" (M.A. thesis, New York University, 1991).

20. "Eve's Curse: Is it Never To Be Removed?" *Woman's Exponent* 4 (1 July 1875): 22. See Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Maxine Hanks, ed., *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992); Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells," 171-173

21. See Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Leading Sisters: A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982):25-39. Susa Young Gates, "The Open Door for Women," *YWJ* 16 (March 1905): 119. Louisa Greene Richards, *Woman's Exponent* 29 (Jan. 1900 [1901]): 69. Most statements on the connections between the Relief Society and the woman's movement were made after 1870, perhaps because only after this date were LDS women required to articulate their feminist views to non-Mormons.

22. The practice of such spiritual gifts later became the province of male priesthood holders. See Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987): 111-150; Linda King Newell, "A Gift Given A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing and Blessing the Sick Among Mormon Women," *Sunstone* 6 (Sept.-Oct., 1981): 16-25.

23. Eliza R. Snow, *Woman's Exponent* 13 (15 September 1884): 61.

tle.²⁴ Although LDS women and their organizations lost much of their autonomy in the twentieth century, early Mormon women defended their religion as liberating, and used its principles to form their own distinct brand of feminism.²⁵

When LDS women became involved with the national suffrage movement during the 1870s, they not only readily accepted its expansive ideology, but they also drew from their leadership and organizational experience to build a strong women's rights movement in Utah. Local Relief Societies often served as the nucleus of community suffrage associations, and many female church leaders participated in national and international women's rights conferences, became officers in the National Woman Suffrage Association, and established close friendships with women such as Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw.²⁶

What most distinguished and even sometimes estranged Mormon women from national women's rights leaders was their defense of polygamy. Many Mormon women actually linked their feminism to the practice. Plural marriage provided women with strong female networks and helped them achieve a degree of independence.²⁷ It freed some women from household and child-care obligations, compelled others to become financially independent, and provided a means for limiting family size (they presumably had sex less often). Polygamist wives often encountered difficulties as they tried to articulate, in acceptable nineteenth century terms, the independence they felt plural marriage gave them. Polygamy rejected Victorian ideals of monogamy, romantic love, and

24. The Mormon church was and is headed by a prophet and twelve apostles (all male).

25. Many of the works previously cited in this essay explore Mormon women's loss of autonomy—in their personal lives and church organizations during the twentieth century. There seems to be a connection between the progressive era drive to build an efficient and bureaucratic state and the major re-structuring of the Mormon church, which is what took away much of this female autonomy. See also Claudia L. Bushman, "Mystics and Healers," in *Mormon Sisters: Women In Early Utah*, Claudia L. Bushman, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976), 1-23; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 80-110.

26. Works previously cited in this section document some of the personal and public interaction between Mormon women and national woman's rights advocates.

27. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (1975): 1-29; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Sisters, Sister Wives, Sisters in the Faith: Support Systems among Nineteenth Century Mormon Women," manuscript in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives; Stephanie Smith Goodson, "Plural Wives," in *Mormon Sisters: Women In Early Utah*, Claudia L. Bushman, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976), 89-111.

nuclear families—ideals some *modern* feminists consider impediments to women's autonomy, but that most nineteenth century feminists faithfully supported.²⁸

Passage of the *Edmunds Tucker Act* enraged LDS women. It disrupted families, took away their right to vote and act as full citizens, and effectively ended a social experiment many LDS women had come to regard, or at least to defend, as liberating. Although not all Mormons personally accepted the "doctrine" of plural marriage and most did not practice polygamy, church members rallied together to defend their right to this "holy principle" until the church officially rescinded it with the *Woodruff Manifesto* in 1890.²⁹ Although this declaration surprised and confused many members, Mormons struggled to put polygamy behind them and focused on convincing the country that they shared America's basic values.

UTAH'S SCRIBBLING WOMEN

The *YWJ*'s emergence in the late 1880s with Susa Young Gates as its creator and editor is not surprising. Gates was among the most outspoken promoters of the Home Literature movement and a prolific writer herself. She also defended polygamy and zealously supported women's rights.³⁰ As the daughter of Mormonism's most famous polygamist, Gates often had to defend Mormon women to her non-Mormon associates. Gates and other LDS women, however, found that explaining their positions on church and sex to outsiders was less important than teaching them to their younger "sisters" in the gospel.

Writing fiction for the *YWJ* proved an attractive way for many LDS women to express their thoughts on Mormonism and gender to a new generation. Between 1906 and 1908, for example, twenty different women contributed fiction annually to the *YWJ*.³¹ Like Gates, some of these women were well-connected to the church hierarchy or held

28. See Joan Iverson, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygamy," 505-522; Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Feminists," 194-5.

29. See Bitton, "Polygamy Defended," 34-53; Nancy Tate Dredge, "Victims of the Conflict," in *Mormon Sisters: Women In Early Utah*, Claudia L. Bushman, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976), 133-155; David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Polygamy Defenses, in *Early Mormon Pamphleteering*" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982): 321-366.

30. While she advocated women's suffrage and feminist ideas before her editorship, Gates became one of Utah's foremost women's rights leaders in the 1890s, speaking at national and international women's conferences, serving as press secretary for the National Woman Suffrage Association, and keeping a personal correspondence with Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

31. This figure does not include an average of two writers each year who wrote under an unidentifiable pseudonym or initials. Of the women contributing during 1906 and 1907,

church leadership positions themselves, and many were active in the women's rights movement. Mormon women fiction writers, however, did not all fit the same mold. Some raised large families while others remained childless. The group included university professors as well as women with little formal education, legislators and homemakers, immigrants and native Utahans, plural wives and unmarried women. Yet Mormon culture and the historical time in which they lived shaped all these writers' lives and literature. *YWJ* fiction is most striking for what it reveals about these women's shared commitments to Mormonism, independent womanhood, and for what it communicated to young LDS girls growing up in an era that brought changes to both women and Mormons.

"WHAT CAN WE DO WITH OUR GIRLS?"

The *YWJ* emerged just as Mormons abandoned the practice of plural marriage, Utah women lost the right to vote, increasing numbers of non-Mormons passed through or settled in the territory, and as Utah began an earnest campaign for statehood that included the push for woman's suffrage. These issues inform the fiction of the *YWJ* between 1889 and 1896 when Utah became a state.

Three themes emerge from *YWJ* fiction during these years: women's equality, polygamy, and Mormon religious doctrines. First, Mormon women wanted to instill in their daughters and younger sisters in the gospel a sense of independence—an understanding of themselves as individuals with the same rights as men. Second, through their fiction, these writers challenged images of Mormon women, especially polygamous women, as degraded slaves. They sought to explain plural marriage and why it went wrong—to establish it as an honorable legacy. Third, LDS women writers also used fiction to teach church doctrines. Faced with an influx of non-believers, who might lead Mormon youth astray, and the confusion and doubt created by the *Woodruff Manifesto*, *YWJ* authors emphatically affirmed their religious beliefs. Their works insisted on the importance of "gospel truths," and on the differences

eight contributed two or more stories (this counts serials as one story), and in 1908, three women contributed two or more stories. Five women contributed fiction in all three years, four women contributed for two of the years, and an average of seven women contributed only once during the three-year time period. Figures for earlier volumes are more difficult to determine because the "Contents" of the *YWJ* did not list authors or fiction separate from other literary works. Earlier writers also had a greater tendency either not to sign their work or to use pseudonyms. For 1899 and 1901, ten different women fiction writers can be identified, and the figure for 1903 is sixteen.

between Mormons and the outside world. Three serials demonstrate the ways that LDS women's fiction explored these themes.³²

"The Western Boom," by Ellen Jakeman,³³ centered on a young Mormon woman, Mrs. Lawson, who married outside her faith and left Utah. Lawson soon realized the contrast between her husband's "standard of the world" and her own.³⁴ He dressed her elegantly, knowing "that a well dressed and handsome wife was a good advertisement for a business man," while at the same time he refused to help the poor. Mrs. Lawson reminisced about her father who "had always spoken and acted as if he were but the steward of his wealth and that what his family did not *need* belonged to the poor."³⁵ She learned her lesson well, that "no girl properly taught in the principles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, can ever accept the counterfeits [read: non-Mormon men] of the world and be satisfied."³⁶

LDS women were deeply concerned about teaching this lesson. Increased contact with the outside world undermined Mormon notions of self-sufficiency and retrenchment. More importantly, LDS women feared that the end of polygamy reduced Mormon women's chances to wed within their faith and made "gentile" men more attractive marriage partners. One editorial asked its audience to "notice the great preponderance of girls over boys, . . . then subtract. . . the young men who are not as respectable as they might be." The author encouraged girls to choose "honorable" spinsterhood over the "hollow farce" of an ungodly marriage, noting, "today single women are spoken of respectfully, and marriage is at a discount."³⁷ Her editorial concluded with, "What an emancipation!"³⁸

Jakeman's story highlighted other concerns Mormon women had

32. Fiction during these years usually took the form of long-running serials or short sketches. The short pieces, however, are sometimes hard to classify as fiction. Since the serials are easily identified as fiction, and since they were more readily identified as fiction by the *readers* of the *YWJ*, the short pieces have not been chosen to represent this period—although they resonate the same three themes.

33. Jakeman was a member of the Woman's Press Club, president of the Sanpete Country Suffrage Association, and a plural wife.

34. Ellen Jakeman, "The Western Boom," *YWJ* 2 (Nov. 1890): 55.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Jakeman, "The Western Boom," *YWJ* 2 (March 1891): 252.

37. "Our Girls," *YWJ* 2 (July 1891): 477.

38. Census figures show that in 1890 and 1900, over fifty per cent of Utah's population was male. Statistics do not reveal, however, the proportion of "worthy" men to women, nor can they dismiss *perceived* threats. See Robert P. Porter, and Carroll David Wright, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1892-97), lxxviii; "Population General Report and Analysis," *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, prepared under the supervision of William C. Hunt, Chief Statistician for Population (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 1: 270.

about marriage—concerns that demonstrated a commitment to feminist ideas. At first Mrs. Lawson hid her unhappiness and sought to make amends when her husband was displeased. Jakeman narrated:

She was learning to crush back sorrow into her soul, to feed upon the vitality of her youth, that he might not see it and be annoyed, and he congratulated himself, that because he could not see it, that it did not exist; and to deceive her (for her own good) to decide what was good for her, and to take away her womanhood and treat her like a child.³⁹

At the same time, Mr. Lawson concealed a letter to his wife from “her folks in Utah.” When she discovered his deceit, Mrs. Lawson protested that he would not like her to “take the same liberty,” to which Mr. Lawson responded with: “A husband may do many things with perfect propriety that would be very unbecoming a wife.”⁴⁰ Mrs. Lawson then reflected with “trepidation, that he seemed to consider her so absolutely his that he might treat her as a child.”⁴¹ Her uneasiness deepened when, for the first time, he called her “Mrs. Lawson.”⁴² She responded by throwing back her head, and giving “way to an irresistible impulse to laugh, and long, loud and ringing came the unnatural sound from the white agonized lips, and Mrs. Lawson fell full length on the floor like one dead.”⁴³ This episode led the Lawson’s maid to declare: “Men are cowards, brutes, hypocrites, deceivers, goats!” and Jakeman to proclaim:

Oh! the love that men have for women is. . .often deadly in its selfishness. . . . [M]en. . .demand that a woman yield her name and person to the marriage vow. . .her habits of life, taste in dress and society, principles, religion, and the very teachings that she received at her mother’s knee. Before marriage he is a humble slave, afterward, too often a heartless and unconscious tyrant.⁴⁴

Mrs. Lawson again asserted her independence, this time by giving money to a tramp. After her “simple act of justice,” Mrs. Lawson walked “proudly out of the room. . .without waiting to hear what Mr. Lawson would say.”⁴⁵ Although angry, Mr. Lawson could not help but “admire what he had been unable to crush out—her truth.”⁴⁶

39. Jakeman, “The Western Boom,” *YWJ* 2 (Nov. 1890): 56.

40. Jakeman, “The Western Boom,” *YWJ* 2 (Dec. 1890): 106-7.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Jakeman, “The Western Boom,” *YWJ* 2 (Jan. 1891): 154.

43. *Ibid.*, 155.

44. *Ibid.*, 159.

45. Jakeman, “The Western Boom,” *YWJ* 2 (March 1891): 255.

46. *Ibid.*

Jakeman, like many of her fellow Mormon women writers, believed in sexual equality. A *YWJ* editorial insisted: "Woman, belonging to herself and being dependent only on her reason, has the same rights as man to liberty and equality."⁴⁷ An 1890 article suggested that: "In times past, women have. . .done many improper things; and one of them is they often preferred men's opinions to their own and even yielded points of conscience. . . .[A] course of self-reliance and self-assertion will restore our credit."⁴⁸ A report to *YWJ* readers on the national women's council maintained: "There is no difference between the intelligent woman and the intelligent man."⁴⁹ And in an address before the National Woman's Suffrage Convention, reprinted in the *YWJ*, Emily S. Richards declared: "Equal civil and political rights is largely the natural and normal outcome of Utah settlement. . . .[T]here has been a constant tendency toward independence, self-culture and self-reliance among women."⁵⁰ Mormon women's fiction urged young LDS women to demand this independence and equality. It also sought to defend plural marriage, a practice that non-Mormons saw as contrary to feminist principles.

The letter that Mr. Lawson withheld from his wife carried news about the "crusade against polygamy." Its author lamented the suffering of families and hypocrisy of the officials conducting the "inquisition," saying, "if they were morally clean themselves; if they really cared for morality I could believe them sincere."⁵¹ Mrs. Lawson was shocked to find her husband unsympathetic to the situation. She reflected:

Knowing the cause of his [her uncle's] imprisonment, the honor and nobility of his character, the esteem in which he was held by the community. . .it had never occurred to her that her husband would look upon him in any other light than a political prisoner, as indeed, most of the honorable men outside of the Mormon Church, and acquainted with surrounding conditions did.⁵²

Jakeman later explained that the true source of depravity in the world lay in its double moral standard. "A man's virtue," she asserted, "must be preserved as sacredly inviolate as that of the purest woman."⁵³ Most Mormon women did not make the connection that polygamy in some ways *sanctified* a different sexual standard for men. Instead,

47. *YWJ* 1 (March 1890): 175.

48. Santiago [James H. Martineau], "Woman's Power," *YWJ* 1 (August 1890): 406.

49. "The National Women's Council," *YWJ* 2 (April 1891): 317.

50. Emily S. Richards, "Address delivered before the National Woman's Suffrage Convention held in Washington, D C, January 27, 1896," *Emily S. Richards Collected Discourses* 4.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Jakeman, "The Western Boom," *YWJ* 2 (Jan. 1891): 154.

53. Jakeman, "The Western Boom," *YWJ* 2 (June 1891): 405.

they defended polygamy as a way to solve the problem of men's licentiousness.⁵⁴

Non-Mormons often saw polygamy as "a sort of barbarous slavery."⁵⁵ With the *Woodruff Manifesto*, LDS women not only had to defend polygamy to those outside the church, but to young women in the church who saw it destroyed—who saw families torn apart and their mothers' way of life ridiculed and condemned. One plural wife's child explained:

After the Manifesto came the hardest time. Up until then people practiced polygamy because of their religion. . . they had the consolation that they were doing right. . . The persecution did not matter—but when the Church renounced polygamy all the heroism was gone.⁵⁶

Women like Jakeman worried that the new generation would become disillusioned. They themselves were perhaps disillusioned, and needed to re-affirm their beliefs and legitimize their lives. They asserted that polygamy was not a shameful legacy, and that Mormon women "have many advantages over the women of the outside world, given us through the gospel."⁵⁷ Fiction writers stressed that rather than enslave women, polygamy represented a righteous principal that outsiders and even some Mormons misunderstood. The prophet had revoked the practice only because of such misapprehension.

Gender related issues were not Jakeman's only concern. She and other LDS women writers also affirmed Mormon religious tenets in their fiction. Although women sometimes accompanied their husbands on proselytizing missions, the church did not specifically invite women to serve as missionaries, or "certify" them as such, prior to 1898.⁵⁸ The church did, however, "call" women to do other types of "mission work."

54. There were exceptions, including Emma Smith, the prophet Joseph's first wife, who "saw the new system as perpetuating rather than eliminating a double standard of moral conduct for men and women." See Jill Mulvey Derr, "'Strength in Our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood" in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Cultural and Historical Perspective*, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 161.

55. Delia Fish, "Words of Encouragement," *YWJ* 1 (April 1890): 227.

56. Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 439.

57. Fish, "Words of Encouragement," 227.

58. Missionary work carried a certain degree of honor and prestige. Men who served the church as missionaries were considered more worthy of a Mormon woman's attentions and the respect of the community than those who were not missionaries. It was a source of status that women initially had access to only through men—either through marriage to a returned missionary or by accompanying a spouse on a mission. See Maxine Hanks, "Sister Missionaries and Authority," in *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism*, Maxine Hanks ed., (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 315-334.

Brigham Young officially appointed Louisa Greene Richards to the duties of her “calling” as editor of the *Woman’s Exponent*, as if it were a “mission,” and Eliza R. Snow appointed Bathsheba W. Smith “on a mission to preach retrenchment all through the South. . .[and] woman’s rights. . .if she wished.”⁵⁹ Gates was likewise “set apart” to perform her editorial duties, and a later YWJ editor felt “as much called of God as any missionary” to do her new work.⁶⁰ While individual fiction writers did not receive formal “callings” to write for the journal, they considered their literary efforts commensurate with missionary work.⁶¹ Mormon women were told that if they assisted with “home industries,” they were “doing just as much as an Elder who went forth to preach the Gospel.”⁶² Writing fiction helped build Zion and offered women an opportunity to interpret religious principles. Mormon women’s fiction reveals how its authors defined church doctrine and which beliefs the church’s women considered most important.

Throughout “The Western Boom,” Jakeman incorporated basic Christian concepts. The usual faith, repentance, and baptism trilogy appeared in each episode. But Jakeman explored uniquely Mormon beliefs as well. Her story affirmed the significance of temple work and the Mormon belief that righteous families would be reunited and live together eternally. An old man miraculously saved Mrs. Lawson’s child from the fire because the child had “a great work to do for its dead ancestors,” and a repentant apostate revealed that in committing adultery he had sinned both against his wife and against God, “inasmuch as I had entered into holy covenants with Him.”⁶³ The gospel principles Jakeman explored carried a special appeal for Mormon women. Women took comfort in the thought that, according to Mormon doctrine, they could be with their families forever, and that they could participate in Mormonism’s most important ordinances—those that took place in the temple.

Other serials communicated the same themes as Jakeman’s. Louisa Greene Richards’⁶⁴ story, “Lights and Shades,” contrasted two women—Gwen and Chloe. Gwen, “dear clever girl that she was,” began her “married life right” by insisting that her fiancée, Jacob, kneel with her to pray for guidance and meet with the local Bishop before taking such an

59. *Ibid.*, 318.

60. Gates, *History of the YLMIA*, 115.

61. One volume of the YWJ was even sent gratis to Mormon missionaries ca.1900. (*Ibid.*, 114.)

62. Quoted in Derr, “Strength in Our Union,” 174.

63. Jakeman, “The Western Boom,” YWJ 2 (July 1891): 451, (June 1891): 405. Mormons married in the temple made covenants to both their spouse and God.

64. Richards was the first editor of the *Woman’s Exponent*, a member of the Woman’s Press Club, and a polygamist’s wife.

important step.⁶⁵ Chloe Lee, on the other hand, hastily wed Edward, a young stranger. When the church requested both husbands to leave home for a few months to help a company of emigrants, Chloe “moaned” and “cried,” while Gwen stood firm and told her to “be a woman—be brave.”⁶⁶

Gwen embodied Richards’ ideals of Mormon womanhood. Prudent and independent, she also wanted to know about polygamy. On her own initiative she approached the Bishop’s two wives to “inquire. . .the secret of the success they were making in a life which she knew. . .was difficult to live.”⁶⁷ They acknowledged having to learn “one, two, or three little lessons,” but claimed they “never had any just cause for jealousy” and that with the Lord’s Spirit, “there can be no difficulty in living in plurality, any more than there is out of it.”⁶⁸ The first wife further explained: “that some of our people enter into that sacred order without due reflection or preparation and before the Lord has actually revealed it to them; and so they make failures of it.”⁶⁹ Richards presented polygamy as an ideal. Only “worthy” men and women who prepared themselves were “called” to practice plural marriage. Furthermore, she explicitly linked her feminism to polygamy. Gwen, the independent woman, *wanted* to be a plural wife. It was she who initiated discussion on the topic and who “joyously breathed the covenant which made her one with them [her husband and another wife] forever.”⁷⁰ Richards also showed that polygamy created strong female relationships, not immoral men—the Bishop’s wives felt drawn toward each other, and Gwen was attracted to these two women as well. “Lights and Shades” explained to its readers that the *Manifesto* came, not just because of pressure from outside Utah, but also because many Mormons did not understand and live the practice correctly. Polygamy empowered rather than enslaved women, and those who “lived in plurality” deserved respect.

Plural marriage was not the only religious principle that Richards discussed. Her story referred to prayer, faith, obedience, and it explored more complex gospel ideas. One scene depicted Gwen receiving personal revelation. With “her spirit eyes,” she saw mothers happily reunited with their children who had died in “baby innocence.”⁷¹ Her own

65. Lulu Greene Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Oct. 1890): 13, (Nov. 1890): 49.

66. Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Dec. 1890): 113.

67. Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Jan. 1891): 172.

68. *Ibid.*, 174.

69. Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Feb. 1891): 210.

70. Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Sept. 1891): 539. Jill Mulvey Derr explains that the plural marriage ceremony “often included the first wife in a significant way.” (Derr, “Strength in Our Union,” 168.)

71. Richards, “Lights and Shades,” *YWJ* 2 (Dec. 1890): 116.

son died a few months later, but Gwen received comfort as she reflected on this vision.⁷² Doctrines which taught that individual women, not just male leaders, received revelation from God and that women would be reunited in the next life with their children who died had an obvious appeal for women.

Susa Young Gates' serial, "Seven Times," also defended polygamy, discussed Mormon beliefs, and upheld visions of female independence. In Gates' story, the "Professor" approached Clara with a marriage offer. He explained that his first wife was "quite willing that I should take this step."⁷³ Clara "felt a sort of longing to be near his wife. . . she simply wanted to be near the Professor's wife, almost more than she cared to be near him."⁷⁴ Clara, however, went against her own better judgment, listened to her father who advised she "put him off," unwisely married a handsome yet irresponsible young man, and consequently found her married life a "disappointment."⁷⁵ Not only did Gates affirm polygamy but she also suggested that marriage was not always fulfilling. This was a lesson Gates knew from personal experience since her own first marriage, which she described as "a most unfortunate one," had ended in divorce.⁷⁶

Gates used Clara's father, Marcus Jones, as an example of those who misunderstood and abused the practice of polygamy. Jones taught his family "that a proposition from a good man who was married, and had proved his virtue and integrity was worthy of a girl's most sincere consideration."⁷⁷ He did this, however, with "the personal application in mind" (supporting plural marriage as long as it was *he* that got another wife.)⁷⁸ Gates countered Clara's weak and corrupt father with the virtuous and strong personality of an old maid, Aunt Ellen, who condemned Jones and admonished Clara to stand firm in her values.

Another forceful female character in Gates' story was Margery, a non-member who moved from Scotland to be with her Mormon uncle and stubbornly refused to accept the LDS faith. She also refused to admit her love to Don, an honorable young Mormon. She could not "be had for any man's asking."⁷⁹ Don loved Margery as well, but after Ellen coun-

72. Mormons believed they could receive personal revelations from God and that children who died before reaching eight died in innocence.

73. Homespun [Susa Young Gates], "Seven Times," *YWJ* 4 (Dec. 1893): 118.

74. *Ibid.*, 119. Jill Mulvey Derr asserts that "the Mormon practice of plural marriage ideologically sanctified" social relationships between women. (Derr, "Strength in Our Union," 168).

75. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (Jan. 1894): 185, 465.

76. Caldwell, "Susa Young Gates," 38.

77. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (Jan. 1894): 184.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (March 1894): 338.

seled that "the love of a man to woman and woman to man, is not the pivot around which all eternity turns," he determined "not to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage" by marrying a non-Mormon.⁸⁰ When Margery overheard Don's attitude, she plotted revenge by feigning interest in his Faith. Convinced of her sincerity, Don asked her to be with him "forever and ever," to which she "proudly and coldly" replied: "Ye'd best seek to your own poor, crazy Mormons for a wife. For I'm never sic' a fool as to sell my womanhood for a mess o' pottage like that."⁸¹ Margery, of course, eventually converted, but only after her nephew almost died and her uncle rebuked an evil spirit from her.

"Seven Times" taught young Mormon women to act independently, to respect polygamy as a principle, even if it was abused in practice, to recognize their religion as a noble inheritance too valuable to compromise, and *not* to base all their aspirations on marriage. Gates also preached specific gospel principles in her story. In Clara's deathbed scene her (unworthy) husband could not understand her attempts to communicate. The Professor (the would-be polygamist whom Clara had refused), however, understood. "'Eternity, love, and mother.' These were her parting messages to him; and he knew that some time in the great Beyond he should meet and have joy with the soul who had so repented her rash conduct."⁸² In the next life, Clara and the Professor would be together and raise a family. Because of repentance, the mistakes she had made in this life would not impede her eternal growth and happiness.⁸³

From 1889 to 1896, Mormon women writers defended polygamy, created images of independent womanhood and explored religious doctrines in their fiction for the *YWJ*. These themes reflected the issues that were most important to LDS women at that time. As Utah moved toward and finally gained statehood, however, Mormons tried to make themselves more acceptable to the rest of the nation. Fiction in the *YWJ* after 1896 reflected the main-streaming of LDS culture.

THE "NEW WOMAN IN FICTION"

In January 1896 Utah became a state. Once politically connected to the United States, Utahans became increasingly culturally connected as

80. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (Feb. 1894): 242, (March 1894): 338. Gates, as was common, used the biblical image of Esau trading his birthright to his younger brother Jacob to represent the idea of marrying outside the church.

81. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (May 1894): 369.

82. Gates, "Seven Times," *YWJ* 5 (July 1894): 468.

83. This scene explored (rather liberally) Mormon beliefs about the resurrection and eternal progression. Given Gates' first experience with marriage, this scene seems especially significant.

well. Mormons struggled to put their aberrant past behind them. Isolationism had failed, and emphasizing the differences between themselves and the rest of the nation had hurt the LDS cause. Polygamy, they argued, was a “past issue,” and while it appeared as a major theme in their stories prior to 1896, Mormon women fiction writers only rarely broached the topic after Utah became a state.⁸⁴ Their stories also became less overtly about Mormon characters and specific Mormon teachings, and more about ordinary moral people striving for happiness.⁸⁵ Mormon women fiction writers did, however, continue to voice their thoughts on women’s equality and autonomy. In fact, after 1896, women’s issues became the overwhelming focus of *YWJ* fiction.

Some scholars have argued that after polygamy was rescinded and Utah admitted as a woman’s suffrage state, Mormon women lost their incentive to work for women’s rights. They moved away from a “visible and aggressive political activism” toward an emphasis on women’s domestic role.⁸⁶ While Mormons did try to “transform and improve their relations with the larger American society,” this did not keep LDS women from advancing feminist ideas. By this time the women’s movement, which was always mainstream in Utah, was becoming mainstream in the rest of the country. After gaining political equality, Mormon women, unsurprisingly, concentrated on less visible (at least to men) areas of women’s interests. Historians have argued that after women won suffrage on the national level, the women’s movement lost its cohesiveness. This did not mean, however, that women were less active in advancing women’s issues. With the ratification of the 19th Amendment, women, who were once united in pursuit of a single cause, separated into diverse, sometimes competing organizations.⁸⁷ Mormon women followed a similar pattern, but their shift in focus came much earlier—when Utah women secured the right to vote in 1896.

Evidence of women’s activism after 1896 is not difficult to find in the *YWJ*, as it continued to support the women’s rights movement by reporting on progress toward women’s suffrage in other states, giving detailed

84. For example, out of 70 stories (counting serials with numerous episodes as one story) that appeared in the *YWJ* between 1898 and 1910, only 1 discussed polygamy. Almost all of the stories from the earlier period defended polygamy.

85. “The Recent Triennial in Washington,” *YWJ* 10 (May, 1899): 207. Of 70 stories, only 5 (none serials) were *fundamentally* Mormon. This does not mean, however, that the authors did not talk about Utah or some aspect of Mormonism (although some did not). Susa Young Gates was one who continued to write “Mormon” stories.

86. See Foster, “From Frontier Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity,” 3-21; Quote from Van Wagenen, “In Their Own Behalf,” 32.

87. See Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987).

accounts of national women's rights meetings, publishing letters from, and information about women like Susan B. Anthony, and featuring articles that promoted equal pay and educational opportunities for women. It also featured articles, poems, and stories that encouraged young women to take advantage of, and even demand, equality.⁸⁸ A 1902 article entitled "Some Things Our Girls Should Know," asserted that "the woman who lives by the light of the Gospel of Christ, sees herself, as she is, the equal. . . of her father, her husband and her son."⁸⁹ In 1899 Susa Young Gates encouraged readers to listen to "the message of woman to woman" and to "heed" the call of women who "dare" to bring forth "sweet liberty and independence."⁹⁰ LDS women wanted their younger counterparts to recognize their "divine inheritance of perfect equality with man"—an equality that went beyond political rights—and they continued to use fiction as a means for promoting feminist ideas.⁹¹ A 1900 article in the *YWJ* acknowledged the appearance of the "New Woman" in fiction, and its author asserted that "we cannot pass her lightly for she was destined to change the ideas of man towards woman and give more strength and confidence in herself."⁹²

Perhaps because Mormon women's fiction often supported marriage and domesticity, scholars have missed the ways that it encouraged young LDS girls to understand their possibilities, gain confidence in themselves, and change their ideas about male-female relations. Even stories that ended "happily-ever-after" with husband or child, could, and did, challenge traditional gender ideas and present other options for women. A close look at this literature reveals a connection between Mormon women's fiction and women's activism during a time that has too often been dismissed as "the doldrums" for both LDS women and women nationally.⁹³

Between 1896 and 1910, LDS women writers encouraged women to participate in all types of endeavors. An 1898 editorial insisted that "everywhere women are awakening from the long sleep of tradition and are determined to work. . . with intelligence and apply mental progres-

88. After their 1896 victory, Utah women considered themselves on the vanguard of women's rights and many *YWJ* writings took an authoritarian position on the subject.

89. "Some Things Our Girls Should Know," *YWJ* 13 (March, 1902): 286-87.

90. Susa Young Gates, "With the Editor," *YWJ* 10 (May, 1899): 240.

91. *Ibid.*

92. Annie Pike, "The Influence of Fiction On Education," *YWJ* 11 (Nov. 1900): 492.

93. See Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959); and Foster, "From Frontier Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity," 3-21. *YWJ* fiction supports Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's contention that Mormon women "interpreted the doctrines and set the behavioral standards for their sisters. . . discovered worthy causes and organized effective social programs. . . made alliances and identified enemies." See Beecher, "The Leading Sisters," 27.

sion to the solving of the old worn monotony of a woman's sphere."⁹⁴ Mormon women had secured laws that upheld woman's rights. A Utah woman could "engage in business in her own name," keep her earnings, wages, and savings as a "separate estate without any express gift or contract of the husband, . . . loan and invest them in her own name, . . . and . . . make contracts, sue and be sued in her own name."⁹⁵ Women could legally enter any profession or occupation (except mine work), and all of Utah's institutions of higher learning were open to both sexes. They could also vote and hold office.⁹⁶ In Utah's first state elections, women were elected to the state Senate, House, and a number of city and country positions—including Ellen Jakeman as treasurer of Utah County.⁹⁷ *YWJ* fiction encouraged women to take advantage of the rights that Utah women had won. It taught them to view themselves as capable and responsible, and not to limit their activities to domestic endeavors.

Lillian Stewart Horsley's 1898 story, "The DUEWELL Household," featured Dorothy and Jerome. Not wanting her to worry, Jerome kept his business failures from his wife. But as it turned out, Dorothy showed "the greater courage of the two" and was "disappointed" in *him* for his lack of confidence.⁹⁸ As they discussed plans for the future Jerome admired the "sound logic of her reasoning," and proclaimed, "I had no idea you were such a wise little business woman."⁹⁹ Even after this episode, however, Jerome still had trouble learning that "they were one, and that he was not always that one."¹⁰⁰ But as he watched Dorothy wisely stretch their meager resources to make their own life comfortable and take care of less fortunate neighbors, he finally got the message. After that he came to her with a perplexing expense question which she quickly resolved.

In Josephine Spencer's¹⁰¹ 1903 serial, "Love that Avails," Ruth's parents' death left her responsible for the well-being of her younger siblings. As "a brave little woman, intelligent, refined and strong" who refused to be defined as a "plaything and object of pity," Ruth let go "from her life every prop to which she had held with feminine, clinging," and managed the family's affairs with skill and determination.¹⁰² After

94. "With The Editor," *YWJ* 9 (April 1898): 190.

95. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage* 4 (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881-1922), 951.

96. *Ibid.*, 956.

97. *Ibid.*, 953.

98. Lillian Stewart Horsely, "The DUEWELL Household," *YWJ* 9 (Jan. 1898): 21-22.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*, 23.

101. On Josephine Spencer see Kylie Neilson Turley, "The Life and Literature of Josephine Spencer" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1995); Rebecca de Schweinitz, "Josephine Spencer, Mormon Writer, Woman Writer" (MS in author's file).

102. Josephine Spencer, "Love That Avails," *YWJ* 14 (March 1903): 119-20, (April 1903): 166.

turning down less respectful suitors, she eventually married a man who treated her as an equal. Spencer presented Ruth's husband as the ideal mate—one who encouraged his wife and opened "new vistas to [her] mental vision."¹⁰³

YWJ writers wanted women to take advantage of the "new doors of thought, of progress, and of development for women everywhere."¹⁰⁴ They wished "every woman to wake up from the dull routine of unthinking labor. . .and to think. . .wisely and to a purpose."¹⁰⁵ When Luella, in Mary Kelly's 1901 serial, "Luella's Repentance," lost her job as a bookkeeper, she found the "enforced idleness. . .torture."¹⁰⁶ An 1899 article praised George Eliot, "who dared defy conventionality and do what she thought right," and Emily Calhoun Clowes' 1907 serial, "The Boarding House Lady," likewise celebrated a woman, "free as the winter-wind of any form of conventionality."¹⁰⁷ YWJ articles honored women like Susan B. Anthony, as "heroines," "Eves" who "pioneered the way" so that those of the "second generation. . .might be able to come into our divine inheritance of perfect equality with man."¹⁰⁸ YWJ fiction presented characters who followed the example of these women—characters who took advantage of the new possibilities for women and rejected the idea of female subordination.

An 1899 story by Christine D. Young entitled "Inner Resources," opened to a scene that seemed to contain "the conditions of happiness:" shelves of books, musical instruments, orchards and fields.¹⁰⁹ Yet the "three girls that were the favored possessor of all this were evidently not happy."¹¹⁰ They complained of boredom and talked in disgust about a party their friend Carrie had recently hosted. This party was a "confidential evening," that involved "talking about our plans, and dreams, and such nonsense. . .Of course chocolate. . .was included," but "never a boy; not the faintest shadow of one."¹¹¹ Just as the listless girls declared that "there is simply nothing interesting around this old place, it is intolerable," the scene was transformed by the appearance of two gentlemen.¹¹²

103. *Ibid.*, 170.

104. "With The Editor," *YWJ* 9 (July 1898): 334.

105. *Ibid.*, 335.

106. Mary F. Kelly, "Luella's Repentance," *YWJ* 12 (March 1901): 118.

107. Alice Louise Reynolds, "George Eliot's Religious Life," *YWJ* 10 (March 1899): 108; Emily Calhoun Clowes, "The Boarding House Lady," *YWJ* 18 (June 1907): 254.

108. "With the Editor," *YWJ* 10 (May 1890): 239.

109. Christine D. Young, "Inner Resources," *YWJ* 10 (June 1899): 251.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Ibid.*, 252.

112. *Ibid.*

Young contrasted this picture with a look at Carrie, who was home by herself for the afternoon. *Her* day, however, was not spent in idle complaint. She walked around the budding trees and made a sketch, then settled down to read—a book by one of “those authors that spoke to her deeper self. . .and made her feel better and stronger and nearer to the fountain of her soul.”¹¹³ Carrie was playing the piano and singing when her mother returned. She did not need men; she had her own dreams and plans.

Josephine Spencer’s 1909 story, “The Worth Whiles,” made the same point. At first enchanted with parties, theaters, and boys, Ellice soon joined a nursing class and found the work exhilarating. It forced her to “stand on her own resources.”¹¹⁴ YWJ writers wanted women to realize they had abilities and opportunities for success that had nothing to do with men. Some YWJ fiction left out male characters altogether. Another of Spencer’s stories, for example, centered on a poor girl who lived with two older women. The girl grew some chrysanthemums, discovered she was a “‘borned’ artist,” and made a career of her talent for arranging flowers.¹¹⁵

YWJ stories challenged the limits of women’s traditional sphere, and the idea of female dependence. They asserted that women had every right to determine their own direction in life—even when that direction conflicted with the desires of their fathers, boyfriends, or husbands. In her 1907 story, “Requital,” Kate Thomas¹¹⁶ presented Hannah Davis, an unmarried woman who rescued a baby. Its mother died and Hannah wanted to care for it. Her ornery father, however, would not hear of it. Who would care for *him*? Hannah, long “too tame,” finally had her “say out for once.”¹¹⁷ She reproached her father for his ungrateful selfishness and declared that women should never put men above themselves. By the time Hannah finished her lecture, her father was “whimpering.”

Other YWJ stories featured spirited characters unafraid of challenging the men in their lives. Inid, in Josephine Spencer’s 1899 short serial, “Cross Lines,” was sarcastic and strong willed.¹¹⁸ A “kittenish” looking woman in Annie Pike’s 1903 “A College Priscilla,” “outwitted” a group of fraternity boys, and Kate Thomas described the “bantering relationship”

113. *Ibid.*, 253.

114. Josephine Spencer, “The Worth Whiles,” YWJ 20 (April 1909): 168.

115. Josephine Spencer, “A Corner in Chrysanthemums,” YWJ 13 (April 1902): 159.

116. See the Kate Thomas Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

117. Kate Thomas, “Requital,” YWJ 18 (Dec. 1907): 533, 536.

118. Josephine Spencer, “Cross Lines,” YWJ 10 (Aug. 1899): 348-354, (Sept. 1899): 395-399.

of a young couple in her 1903 story, "The Reconciliation of Dick and Dorothy."¹¹⁹

These stories, however, often presented an ambiguous message. Thomas' story, for example, ended with an engagement scene. Dorothy, her main character, initially refused to take any suitor seriously. When Dick, Thomas' narrator, vowed to *make* her love him, she "indifferently" replied: "I value your friendship, but I cannot let you rule me."¹²⁰ Dick indeed won her love, but Dorothy continued to resist him. When "she heard the tone of mastery in his voice; she saw the mad exultation in his eyes. He had trapped her! . . . His was the victory; hers the humiliation! A great wave of uncontrollable fury swept over her. She lifted her hand and struck him on his smiling mouth!"¹²¹ After this episode Dorothy moved to California, but the two were unexpectedly reunited and immediately began their bantering. Dorothy wanted to apologize but was "determined that he should relent." She tried to make herself cry—"Woman's best weapon for all time was tears"—but only started laughing when she realized "the ridiculousness of it."¹²² Dick softened. He loved her but worried that unless he "broke" her, her "will" would overpower her affections for him.¹²³ He made her promise to marry him, insisting that she was "not capable of governing" herself.¹²⁴

Edyth Ellerbeck's¹²⁵ 1903 story, "The Roses of Destiny" featured Kate, who, as her club's newly elected president, became absorbed in speech writing and other club duties. Ellerbeck's male narrator was Kate's boyfriend. He felt neglected and declared that he "disliked speech-making women—preferred to see them doing embroidery."¹²⁶ Kate's eyes flashed at this, and she replied, "if that is what you choose a wife for, I fear you have made a mistake in honoring me."¹²⁷ The narrator pretended indifference but, hopelessly in love, came crawling back. Kate forgave him and claimed she would learn how to embroider. He begged her not to (he hated embroidery) and insisted she "keep on making speeches—but make most of them to me!"¹²⁸

119. Annie Pike, "A College Priscilla," *YWJ* 14 (March 1903): 112-114; Kate Thomas, "The Reconciliation of Dick and Dorothy," *YWJ* 14 (Dec. 1903): 548-553.

120. Thomas, 549.

121. *Ibid.*, 550.

122. *Ibid.*, 552-3.

123. *Ibid.*, 553.

124. *Ibid.*

125. Ellerbeck was the first wife of polygamist Charles Read and a member of the Utah State Legislature.

126. Edyth Ellerbeck, "The Roses of Destiny," *YWJ* 14 (Nov. 1903): 498.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*, 501.

Both Thomas's and Ellerbeck's stories featured strong-willed, independent women who challenged traditional female roles. Both ended with their female characters' surrender—to males and marriage. These capitulations, however, were not unequivocal. In both cases the female author spoke through a male narrator, and that narrator was given a number of traditionally female characteristics. Kate's boyfriend became strained under pressure, and felt himself "flushing like a girl," and Dick was more emotional than Dorothy, who proved utterly incapable of falling back on traditional female escape routes like crying.¹²⁹ Additionally, each story portrayed men as the victims of love, and in Thomas's story, Dorothy, even to the very end, had a hard time taking anything seriously.¹³⁰

As these stories illustrate, Mormon women writers confronted a deeper struggle than the one between the sexes. They also struggled with competing visions of themselves. The women's movement they supported challenged traditional relationships between men and women, broadened "the range of choice offered to a girl," and gave her an "intense longing for the same freedom of action that her brothers have."¹³¹ This "longing" was what one 1897 *YWJ* article described as "the distinguishing characteristic of the new woman."¹³² It was also a source of conflict for Mormon women. LDS women struggled to reconcile their longings for freedom of action with a national culture which exalted motherhood, and with a religion whose first prophet supposedly ushered in the women's movement but at the same time stressed families and sanctified woman's traditional role.

When Utah became a state, LDS leaders adopted the country's Victorian model of motherhood and began to emphasize women's place in the home.¹³³ Mormons had always honored motherhood, but before the LDS church began assimilating into mainstream American culture, they had also emphasized women's roles outside the home. As they moved into the twentieth century, Mormon women found their church less willing to promote options outside the home for them. LDS women fiction writers were committed to Mormonism and to the instruction of their leaders. As scholars have previously noted, their stories conceded that a mother was the "divinest thing known on earth."¹³⁴ These women writers artic-

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*

131. "Ethical Studies: Fame vs. Home," *YWJ* 20 (Sept. 1908): 544; *YWJ* 8 (1897): 280.

132. *YWJ* 8 (1897): 281.

133. See Derr, "Strength in Our Union"; Linda P. Wilcox, "The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Cultural and Historical Perspective*, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 64-77.

134. Christine D. Young, "In Larger Perspective," 10 *YWJ* (Dec. 1899): 563-567; (Nov. 1899): 507-513.

ulated, however, the difficulties they, and other Mormon women, faced in denying themselves opportunities to pursue less traditional roles—roles they had fought for and celebrated. They wanted to fulfill the church's ideal but could not deny that they "hungered for more."¹³⁵ Mormon women fiction writers taught their younger counterparts about the range of women's possibilities. But they also taught them that those possibilities were often a source of conflict for women who recognized their individual potential *and* belonged to a religious community that idealized domestic motherhood.

YWJ editorials generally defined the "longing" women experienced as worldly ambition. They warned young Mormon women about the dangers of seeking fame over home. A 1908 article explained:

The idea now among the young people, it seems to me, is to draw away from home. The thought of home-making and devotion to home seems to be farther from their minds than ever before. . . . I do not want to discourage any improvement along any line, but it should not be to the disadvantage of the home. The home must be the center and foundation of all.¹³⁶

Mormon girls were encouraged to "get all the education possible and all the culture," told they needed "other interests, other sympathies to round out [their] character," and counseled to "grasp the idea of their possibilities," while at the same time advised that "there can be no higher ambition for a girl than to do well her part in the home."¹³⁷ Such directives were likely to cause what social scientists would later identify as "role strain"—the tension "felt by educated women, reared to be wives and mothers but educated to be independent thinkers."¹³⁸ YWJ fiction reveals the tension Mormon women felt between their longings for freedom from traditional roles and their belief that home and family represented a woman's ideal. Their stories upheld the model of wife and motherhood, but they also illustrated women's alternatives, as well as the difficulties LDS women faced in having to choose the ideal over those alternatives.

In Minnie Moore Brown's 1901 story, "Her Life-Work," the main character, Madge, asked a question: "Mamma, what can I do to be useful in this world—really and truly useful, I mean?"¹³⁹ Madge's mother told her she could set the table, but then seriously replied: "Don't you know

135. Ibid.

136. Augusta W. Grant, "The Ideal Home," YWJ 19 (August 1908): 380.

137. Ibid., 381.

138. Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1982), 144.

139. Minnie Moore Brown, "Her Life Work," YWJ 12 (Oct. 1901): 459.

that every day at home you are doing more good things for us than we can count?"¹⁴⁰ This failed to satisfy Madge—she meant outside the home. As Madge grew up she kept asking the same question. She started teaching a kindergarten class but still "could not suppress a growing want at her heart—a feeling of emptiness and vague longing which grew every hour."¹⁴¹ Then came Allen Stuart, who won her heart. "[V]ery happy now," Madge "almost forgot the little aching void."¹⁴² After they married, Madge became busy with her new responsibilities, but then the "old ache" returned. She again approached her mother, wondering if there was something wrong with her. Her mother just told her to "wait awhile and maybe that want will be completely filled."¹⁴³ Sure enough, the last scene of the story showed Madge with baby in arms exclaiming: "I have found it at last. . . .What I have longed for all the time was the blessedness of motherhood."¹⁴⁴

In Josephine Spencer's 1908 story, "The 'New' Woman," Janet lived according to the motto the "greatest good to the greatest number."¹⁴⁵ "[P]resident of a half dozen prominent clubs now, and past president of as many more [and]. . .[n]o woman in town had had the number of public honors accorded her."¹⁴⁶ Janet's current project was an Orphans' Refuge. Janet herself had no children—who would keep her from doing good to the greatest number. A tiny orphan, "pining away for mother love," however, changed her outlook. As Janet held the "pitiful" infant, she felt "all the mother feeling, long dormant, starved, suppressed, surging in her heart."¹⁴⁷ When she brought the baby home, her husband was overjoyed (he evidently had experienced something of the "mother-feeling" for some time), and found that it turned her into a "new woman. . .the old-fashioned kind."¹⁴⁸

Kate Thomas also wrote of longings in her 1901 story, "The Gobbles and Others, Principally Others." In Thomas's story Minnie wanted to cancel her wedding and pursue other options. When her fiancé, Brig, protested, she complained that men "don't understand." She exclaimed:

I hate this place! I can't breathe here! I'm stagnating. . . .I used to think I'd run away, but I was too much of a coward. Then you came. It all changed. . . . But it didn't last. . . .The old longings came back. I tried to kill them, indeed

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., 461.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., 462.

144. Ibid.

145. Josephine Spencer, "The 'New' Woman," *YWJ* 19 (Nov. 1908): 559.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., 602.

148. Ibid., 604.

I did. But they won't be still, . . . I want light and laughter and music. I want my turn at the bright things. It has always been peg away, peg away, peg away. Oh. . . you don't know how hard it is to be a girl! . . . We want freedom. . . . It is awful to be tied down and to long and long and long.¹⁴⁹

Brig tried to console her. He told her of his dreams for their life together, but Minnie replied that “[i]t sounds very lovely. But it wouldn't be that way.”¹⁵⁰ She was firm in her decision to leave. Brig would not let her go easily and asked her to be “sensible”—to not “let this mad freak spoil our lives.”¹⁵¹ When Minnie agreed to marry him if he insisted upon it, but warned that she would hate him, Brig finally let go. But by the end of the story Minnie was back—nothing else seemed to satisfy her.

Each of these stories, and many like them, upheld traditional roles for women. Brown and Spencer glorified motherhood, and Thomas showed that “there's nothing in all the world like love.”¹⁵² These writers, however, also expressed the tension Mormon women felt in a culture that encouraged independent womanhood and sexual equality at the same time it idealized traditional dependent roles.

“IN LARGER PERSPECTIVE”¹⁵³

YWJ fiction writers presented characters who grew up “longing” to make a difference in the world, who were ambitious and aware of their possibilities. Although these characters usually relinquished the “free” and “independent life” they had achieved—the fame and financial success they found in the “world”—for marriage and motherhood, they and the Mormon women who created them did not silently acquiesce to traditional roles.¹⁵⁴ LDS women fiction writers voiced the “undefined longing for something better” that they and other Mormon women experienced as they tried to reconcile their feminists beliefs with a religion that increasingly allowed only one “true” option for women.¹⁵⁵ Susa Young

149. Kate Thomas, “The Gobbles and Others, Principally Others,” *YWJ* 12 (Nov. 1901): 499.

150. *Ibid.*, 500.

151. *Ibid.*

152. *Ibid.*, 501.

153. This was the title of a previously cited story by Christine Young.

154. Lella Marler Hoggan, “The Unwritten Law,” *YWJ* 18 (1907): 16-19.

155. Christine D. Young, 511. In an era that saw the decline of women's autonomy and authority within the Mormon church, fiction remained one of the only ways for women to express their discontent. The *YWJ* functioned as part of the “informal undercurrent” that “interrupted the formal [male/power] system” of the LDS church that Maureen Ursenbach Beecher discusses in “The Leading Sisters.” See also Jill Mulvey Derr and Brooklyn Derr, “Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power,” *Dialogue* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1982): 21-43.

Gates once described herself as “one of the most dissatisfied members of my sex.”¹⁵⁶ It seems fitting that the journal she created became an outlet for Mormon women to proclaim: “how hard it is to be a girl! . . . We want freedom.”¹⁵⁷

156. Quoted in the Register of the Susa Young Gates Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2.

157. Kate Thomas, “The Gobbles and Others,” 500.

Mormon Membership Trends in Europe Among People of Color: Present and Future Assessment

C. Gary Lobb

“For behold the field is white already to harvest; and lo, he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might, the same layeth up in store that he perisheth not, but bringeth salvation to his soul.”

D&C 4:4

I HOPE I’M NOT EXTENDING the metaphor too far, but it seems apparent the field is less white and more colorful as the church moves into the twenty-first century. Most church members are aware (although some along the Wasatch Front have a hard time visualizing it) that rapid growth rates in Latin America, Africa, and the Philippines are essentially among people of color. However, it is my contention that future growth of the church even in the bastions of Nordic, Teutonic, British, and Celtic Europe—a region which supplied membership and leadership during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—will increasingly be among people of color not native to the European continent.

“BLOOD OF ISRAEL” AND EUROPE

An interesting philosophical/theological backdrop for current and future church growth and activity in Europe is the revival of a widely held nineteenth and early twentieth century view—one with which many of us who grew up in the church are familiar—that Europeans, especially northern Europeans, are literal descendants of the House of Israel and hence heirs to the Kingdom. It is surprising to discover that this “Blood of Israel” theology, relating to the Lost Ten Tribes, is being taken seriously again as it pertains to the indigenous populations of Europe. It is remarkably similar to theories of John Wilson’s “British-Israel Millen-

nialism" popular from 1835–1840, and to the 1885 views of Edward Hine on "British Israelism," which claimed that the British were superior to others and were true Israelites while Jews might actually be imposters. While not as extreme, some church leaders continue to promote similar views regarding the role of "true Israel" in the future of the LDS church in Europe. There have been prophetic pronouncements made by church leaders over the past five years suggesting the miraculous growth awaiting the church in Europe. At a seminar for stake and mission presidents of Western Europe held in Paris in November 1995, Elder Jeffrey R. Holland made the following remarks:

The Church in Europe must live again. The work of the Church has run on the backs of its European saints since the beginning. Don't think that you are just minding the shop waiting for the Savior to come. Don't think that the great days of gathering in Europe are over. This is our time. Europe is the richest composition of the *blood of Israel* we've known. The *blood of Israel* out of these lands saved the Church. They left behind family members, children, grandchildren, and friends. They are still here. And we must find them. The *blood of Israel* is here.

Brethren, the spirit of the work is urgent and we must imbue our missionaries and members with the spirit of now. NOW! We are not just waiting for natural slow growth. We must move more rapidly. We must take things up a notch. If we have to call down miracles or angels, then call them down. . . . I feel an incredible burden of urgency, I feel a sense of urgency in my chest. I can hardly breathe! The gifts of heaven are there. That we should have miracles, revelations, help from the Lord is known intellectually, but it is not enough practiced and remembered.¹

Two years later at a similar meeting in Rome, Elder Henry B. Eyring, referring to the early success of Paul in that great city, said:

I testify to you that your day has come. I have had a witness in the last few hours that the promise is coming. The promise is in force. . . .the miracle that will come will not just be statistic, but a change of heart, which change is most critical. You will see an increase in both the number and the proportion of those who will join the Church and stay as active members. . . .I'm willing to make you a promise, because as the miracle of retention takes place the Church will grow. Preserve the precious harvest.

Those new members of the Church are his children. He has known them and they have known Him in the world before this one.²

1. Hoit W. Brewster, *The Promise. The Prophesied Growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Netherlands and Belgium and Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Netherlands Amsterdam Mission, 1998), 4.

2. *Ibid.*, 6.

At a missionary conference in England, President Hinckley made the following observation regarding the future of the Swedish church to missionaries Leif and Hans Mattsson who were serving missions in Britain:

Let me say a few words to you that I want you to take home to Sweden. Sweden has for many years been like this glass of water—not much action. In the middle 1800s when the first missionaries came to Sweden, thousands of people joined the Church. It was a great and mighty harvest. When you go home I want you to tell the members that there will be a new harvest, a second harvest in Sweden, that will bring thousands of Swedes into the Church.³

Such pronouncements at missionary-oriented conferences must exert severe pressure on missionaries and mission presidents alike to baptize new members. While a missionary's zeal and spirit are hard to break, it is apparent that many European missionaries are discouraged when they hear of conversion successes in Chile, Brazil, Mexico, and the Philippines, especially in light of the favorite missionary scripture in D&C 18:15: "And if it so be that you should labour all your days in crying repentance unto this people, and bring, save it be one soul unto me, how great shall be your joy with him in the kingdom of my Father."

Somehow between the ideal and the possible lie the real and the practical. While the remarks by Elders Holland and Eyring specifically address the issue of gathering the blood of Israel, which must still be present in Europe albeit mingled with the "gentile curse," there have been other pronouncements suggesting that future church growth in Europe may include many non-indigenous Europeans. Speaking in Denmark in the summer of 1996, President Gordon B. Hinckley himself issued a challenge to the members of the church in Western Europe to double church membership in five years *by whatever righteous means necessary*.

I believe that you could double the membership of the Church here in five years. I really believe that if you would work, pray, and pray and work and concentrate on it, doing it at every opportunity and go forward in faith and without fear.⁴

Those five years are almost up and it seems all but certain there will be no doubling of membership, be it among people of color or indigenous Europeans.

CHANGING ETHNIC LANDSCAPE OF EUROPE

As is the case in the United States—where recent and massive immigration has been from less developed, adjacent countries such as Mexico,

3. Erik Nilsson, "Goteborg, Sweden: A Second Harvest," *Ensign* 30, no. 7 (July 2000): 77.

4. Brewster, *The Promise*, 6.

Guatemala, and El Salvador—immigration in Europe has also grown exponentially from nearby poorer countries over the past two decades. Similarities between the United States's interface with Mesoamerica and Europe's similar relationship with bordering Asia and Africa have not escaped comparisons by scholars and politicians. By focusing on the European Union, with its fifteen member states, it is possible to amass data for comparison with the United States and for an analysis of those sectors in European society which might contribute to the overall growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the European continent.

With a population of nearly 375 million—107 million more than the U.S.—the European Union occupies a territory only one-third as large as the United States, contributing to high population densities. Socio-economic characteristics are, however, remarkably similar. When adjusted for purchasing power standards (PPS), the gross domestic product (GDP) in the two areas is almost identical.⁵

Nevertheless, there are important demographic and cultural differences. With an indigenous population growth rate slower than any region on the planet, a geriatric population which is expanding percentage-wise, and a socio-political environment that contributes to an early retirement age for workers (only one in three men aged 55-65 now holds a job in the Netherlands),⁶ the E.U. sees immigration in a somewhat different light than we do in the U.S. As a region with considerable affluence, a well developed industrial sector, and remarkably low unemployment (1.5 to 3 percent in northern European countries and 8 percent for the entire E.U.), the E.U. is even more of a magnet for immigrants than is the U.S., if we assume that economic reasons motivate most migration decisions.

THE BORDERLANDS

Some journalistic and scholarly articles can't resist comparing the Rio Grande River and Gulf of Mexico with the Mediterranean Sea. The term "wetback" has even been used to describe immigrants from Africa who have entered southern Europe across the Mediterranean. As in the U.S., European immigrants also come from more distant locations in shipping containers and as stowaways on ferries, trucks, planes, and

5. European Commission, Office of Official Publications, *USA and the European Union* (Brussels, 1999).

6. Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, "Do We Have to Open the Border? The European Debate" (paper presented at conference, "In Migration: Immigration, Racism and Policy in Europe and California," Scripps College, Claremont, Calif., March 30-April 1, 2000).

trains from China and Southeast Asia. Once ashore in southern Europe, whether legal or not, they participate in a diaspora that takes them all the way to Scandinavia and Iceland. Two nights and a day are all the time required to travel from Sicily to Stockholm by train. Those who are issued work permits equivalent to the U.S. green card are also issued E.U. passports, which allow them to cross any national border within the Union.

THE SOURCE

The connection between European “empires”—involving European countries and their former colonies in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas—and European immigration is obvious. There are a number of former colonies which now enjoy nation state status as if they were physically part of the European continent: Madeira (Portugal), the Canary Islands (Spain), the Dutch West Indies (Curaçao, Bon Air, Aruba, and St. Martin), the French West Indies (Guadeloupe and Martinique), as well as Guyane (France) in northern South America. All residents of these overseas territories, most of whom are people of color, are issued E.U. passports.

Former colonies maintain important ties, cultural as well as economic, to their European colonizing country. “Commonwealth people” are easily identified, well represented, and often denigrated in the U.K., but British cities are not included in my study sample. However, a recent visit to a sacrament meeting in the Hyde Park Ward in London was an amazingly rich multicultural experience: an Afghan woman, covered in black from head to toe, took the sacrament through an opening near her mouth. French cities are not part of the study sample, but there, too, a recent visit to a suburban ward in northern Paris found an African bishop from Ivory Coast and many black members.

Italy, with only modest and recent colonies in Africa, would be a fascinating area to study membership trends. The church presence there, as in Spain and Portugal, is relatively recent, and indigenous Italians are the most likely to be overwhelmed by immigrants from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and all parts of Africa. Foreign nationals now number 1,250,000 in Italy, triple the 1985 statistics, while the number of indigenous Italians has grown at a rate near ZPG (zero population growth).

While the adage “We are here because you were there” definitely holds true for immigrants to the U.K., France, Portugal, and for Indonesians in the Netherlands, it is much less important for countries like Italy, Germany, Spain, and Scandinavia. Since the vast majority of recent immigrants have come to Europe for economic reasons, they tend to go where employment possibilities exist regardless of language and former

political ties. The large population of Turks in Germany, estimated at 2,107,400 in 1997,⁷ is composed mainly of economic refugees. Political refugees are important, too, but make up a small percentage of the total. Germany's liberal policy regarding refugee status has resulted in significant immigration from strife-torn areas of West Africa while the ICODO (National Institute for Victims of War) created in the Netherlands in 1980 has also sponsored political refugees immigrating to Holland.

Although Europe has not historically considered itself a culture of immigrants, as have the United States and Canada, large numbers of non-Europeans in what had previously been a homogeneous society are becoming a conspicuous and vital economic minority throughout the E.U. (see Table 1). Large-scale legal immigration of people of color began in the late 1980s and led to record numbers in 1999 (a total for the entire E.U. of 650,000). Germany, with almost 7 million foreign nationals (2 million of whom are Turks), has by far the largest number.

Table 1
Total Legal Immigration by Selected Countries in 1999⁸

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| Germany | 200,000 |
| UK | 180,000 |
| Italy | 125,000 |
| France | 48,000 |
| Netherlands | 45,000 |
| Portugal | 20,000 |
| Belgium | 12,000 |
| Denmark | 10,000 |

Spain was very active during the nineties, with 107,000 foreign nationals in 1990, growing to 196,705 by 1995.⁹

The Republic of Ireland has also become hot with a 50 percent increase in foreign nationals since 1990.¹⁰

Overall percentages of immigrants range from 2 percent in Finland to 34 percent in the Netherlands,¹¹ and in every case the concentrations are almost entirely urban. The majority of the Netherlands' 34 percent

7. Federal Statistical Office of Germany, *Immigration Report* (Berlin: 1999).

8. Julie Watts, "Passport to Unity: European Immigration Policy from Schengen to Amsterdam," *Working Paper 00-1, University of Southern California Center for International Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Center for International Studies, 2000).

9. Spanish Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, *Caritas di Roma* (Rome, 1998), 4.

10. Withol de Wenden, "Do We Have to?"

11. Watts, "Passport to Unity."

reside in Amsterdam. During the course of researching this paper, the author heard many indigenous Europeans make statements such as, "The real Germany exists only in the countryside" or "I hear Dutch spoken now only in the villages."

Not all immigrants arrive poor, and certainly not all remain poor. However, as a result of exclusionary practices by strong labor unions in socialist and social democratic Europe (especially in Italy), most immigrants have turned to service and entrepreneurial pursuits. A large number of immigrants in the Netherlands, 273,000, were reported as self-employed in 1999, and the number is also high in Belgium.¹² Some are highly successful.

THE MODERN CULTURE OF INDIGENOUS EUROPEANS

The rise of rationality and atheism, plus a growing cynicism and nihilism (especially among young people)—attitudes which are the result of two destructive world wars, fascism, communism, and genocides—have combined with rampant materialism to create a modern culture among indigenous Europeans which is not conducive to acceptance of the Mormon message. In interviews conducted during the fall of 1999 with missionaries, ex-missionaries, mission presidents, ex-mission presidents, and European members associated with five sample cities (Lisbon, Brussels, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Copenhagen),¹³ a litany of reasons emerged to explain the lack of interest in the LDS church and in religion in general among native Europeans. Common concerns expressed by LDS members in all study areas included atheism, a decline in the importance of traditional family life and values, a preoccupation with materialism and eroticism, recreational drug use (cannabis products are now freely traded in the Dutch "coffee shops"), and alcohol abuse.

In Sweden, marriage is definitely out of vogue even after children are born: One-half of all babies born in 1999 were to unwed mothers, 60 percent greater than in the U.S. Nevertheless, 80 percent of small children live with both biological parents, even though most children don't know whether their parents are married—not conventional family values by Mormon standards, yet seemingly successful familial relationships. The Social Democrats have created a situation in Sweden "where a woman would have to be stupid not to realize that she is better off not

12. European Union, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Report* (Brussels, 2000).

13. Formal interviews with mission presidents were conducted by the author, his son, David Lobb, and daughter-in-law, Mindy Curtis-Lobb. Notes are available from the author on request. Interviews with members and missionaries were informal discussions which took place in various locations.

married.”¹⁴ Ebb Witt Brattstroem, a sociologist at Stockholm University, in a recent interview with Carol J. Williams of the *Los Angeles Times* lamented, “Traditional family values are not important to us anymore. They are something we do research on like a fossil.”¹⁵ This definitely does not sound like Mormon Country.

During an interview with the author in September of 1999, the Hamburg Germany mission president, Wayne E. Kuehne, condemned the German government as being anti-family and far too pro-immigration: “The country is selling out to foreigners.” The president, himself of German descent and a former missionary in Hamburg during the 1950s, was open in his condemnation of modern German values. He complained that his neighbor in an affluent neighborhood of Hamburg “walks” her dog each morning while holding the leash out the window of her cruising Mercedes 500S. “German men and women,” he said, “take long and frequent vacations to Thailand to have sex with teenage boys and girls” or “to sunny areas of southern Europe and the Atlantic Islands to sunbath nude and have sex orgies.” Realistic, but somewhat bitter, he complained about slow missionary success among indigenous Germans. Regarding the large immigrant population in Hamburg who were much more receptive to missionary calls, even seeking missionaries out, he had high praise for the Islamic Turks, who are still committed to strong families. “They love their families but they also love their God, Allah,” he said. In fact, he suggested that “strong,” young Mormon families among German members were leaving the country for the United States, Canada, and even Brazil.

On a recent visit to Germany, Elder Richard G. Scott of the Council of the Twelve asked this same mission president, “President, why aren’t you bringing us more Germans?” The president explained the difficulty missionaries were having contacting indigenous Germans whereupon Elder Scott suggested slick TV spots such as those seen on CNN International and other networks. However, with a limited budget, the Hamburg Germany Mission could only afford spots on second-tier channels. One spot, featuring a talk by President Hinckley, aired between two programs emphasizing lesbian eroticism.

Other religious leaders share the concern over decadence as well. In his remarks to German bishops from the east in March 2000, Pope John Paul II called for Roman Catholic leaders in Germany to “speak out for the Church and its values in an increasingly godless society where

14. Paulette Kurzer, “The Politics of Sin: The Emerging Conflict over Cultural Autonomy in the European Union,” *Working Paper 99, Scripps College* (Claremont, Calif.: Scripps College, 2000) 2.

15. Carol J. Williams, *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 2000, Record edition, p. 1.

communism has been replaced by consumerism."¹⁶ Churches all over northern Europe are nearly empty on Sundays, including some Mormon churches. It is hard not to compare my recent visit to a thriving ward in Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas, Mexico (where there are two stakes and a new temple), with the sparse turnout at the only ward in Amsterdam. However, the Catholic regions of southern Belgium seem more pious, and Portugal and Spain still have large populations of believing, practicing, formal Catholics who in some ways seem prudish compared to the people of northern Europe. In fact, the racy Brazilian films and literature which make their way to Portugal are considered shocking by many there.

WHO IS LISTENING?

The church appropriately keeps no records of a member's ethnicity,¹⁷ and as a result, assessment of minority membership in Europe is subjective, inductive, and often anecdotal. During interviews with missionaries and mission presidents in all five of the study sample cities, much greater acceptance of the gospel message by minority immigrant groups was reported. Almost all agreed that African immigrants were by far the most accepting of visits, church attendance, and conversion. Tracting is difficult or even futile among indigenous Europeans. Immigrants are, of course, more accessible since they live in unguarded and unrestricted apartments and tenements in poorer areas of the cities studied.

In Hamburg, some missionaries reported teaching *only* Africans, many of whom came to them on the street or attended meetings uninvited. It is important to note that African immigrants are not of one monolithic culture. They are Sudanese, Bantu, Yoruba, and Swahili. They speak mainly English, French, and Portuguese, and in cities such as Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Copenhagen, they are taught only in English. More than one missionary expressed concern about becoming fluent in the language of his mission country: "I don't really have an opportunity to use my Danish."¹⁸

Attitudes and policies toward proselytizing immigrants varied from mission to mission, and there were often changes every time a new mission president arrived. Some missionaries (for example, those in Sevilla, Spain) were discouraged from teaching all immigrants, who were con-

16. Associated Press, *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 2000, Record edition, 2.

17. However, the author remembers writing "Blood of Cain" on membership records as a missionary in Central America in the late 1950s.

18. Most church members in Denmark speak English, as do most Danes, leading to concern over the survival of the Danish-language church publication *Den Danske Stjerne*.

sidered “transient,” and were told to be polite but not to visit Gypsies a second time. (This sounds all too similar to the policy regarding blacks in my Central American mission in 1957–60.) The Spain Sevilla president was also reportedly concerned that minority converts would not be assimilated well. A returned missionary from Sevilla remarked, “I don’t want to use the word racist to describe the Spanish people, but they are prejudiced.” There is no known “official” church policy on who should be taught and who should be politely ignored, and there is some evidence that many transient converts do remain active in the church as they travel from city to city or when they return to Africa.

The greatest acceptance of minority members seems to come from the Portuguese. A long history of miscegenation involving European and African peoples has apparently led to more tolerance of racial differences in that country. The church is growing faster in Portugal than in any other E.U. country (see Appendix). An impressive characteristic of African converts in Lisbon was the unusually large number of young missionary-age men and women. There is clearly an age factor present here. Idealistic young Africans from the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde were serving as missionaries, both elders and sisters. A recent president of the Lisbon Portugal South Mission was himself an African-Brazilian from Fôrtaleza, Ceará, Brazil. Baptizing Portuguese-speaking blacks is not without its problems, however. Two Utah missionaries in the small southern Portuguese city of Évora (with a history of Roman, Moorish, and re-conquest Catholic cultures) were discouraged with the “very Catholic” practices of the Portuguese and because the once larger congregation of the Évora Branch had dwindled due to the fact that many converts were Cape Verdians who lacked leadership experience and who fell into inactivity after returning to their island homeland.

In October of 1999, the president of the Netherlands Amsterdam Mission, Thomas C. Anderson, said that in Holland there are minorities and there are “minorities.” For example, Indonesians, many of whom have lived in the Netherlands for generations, are not thought of in the same way as recent African immigrants. The wife of the The Hague Stake President is Indonesian and their son is president of the Almere Branch, south of Amsterdam. There are now third-generation Dutch-Indonesian church members. “The Indonesians are treated as if they were Dutch,” the president said. General Authority Emeritus Jacob de Jaeger, who is Dutch, had a long career of business dealings in Indonesia and lived in Jakarta with his family for many years.

While there have been successful “blendings” of Africans and Portuguese, and Indonesians and Dutch, situations in the other study samples seem more volatile. In a recent European area conference, Elder W. Craig Zwick of the Seventy used a metaphor of the meeting of the waters

in Brazilian Amazônia—the Rio Negro and the white Solimões to form the blended Amazon River—to describe future church ethnicity. This is indeed a reminder of a passage from the Book of Mormon: “. . .and he inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white. . .and all are alike unto God” (2 Nephi 26:33).

In interviews, missionaries who were present at Danish missionary conference sessions presided over by President Thomas S. Monson in 1998 referred to a talk given by President Monson to the saints in Copenhagen in which he challenged native Danish members to be willing to accept all into membership and full fellowship, specifically mentioning recent African and Inuit converts.¹⁹

REACTION TO IMMIGRATION

There are economic and political currents operating within the E.U. which tend to marginalize the immigrant population. Most minorities occupy poorly paying service jobs and live in segregated neighborhoods in the large cities. It is even possible that membership in the LDS church contributes to further discrimination against them while at the same time holding out hope and a sense of community within the church. For example, a university colleague of mine from New Zealand conveyed his perception that while the church was present in New Zealand, the only members were poor, uneducated, minority Maori.

Immigration remains a volatile economic and social issue throughout the E.U. With falling birth rates among native Europeans, there are projections of huge labor shortfalls. Indeed, at a recent conference on migration held at Claremont College in April 2000, one presenter estimated that 1.7 million immigrants would be needed in Europe over the next two years while a staggering 150 million migrants would be needed over the next twenty-five years to prevent a fall in productivity which could total \$375 billion.²⁰

Overt racism is becoming more common. Phenomena such as the Spanish rampage against Africans in Almeria and the soaring popularity of Denmark's populist Danish People's Party foreshadow racist reactions, which could be directed toward different ethnicities and religions.

19. The author has been unable to document President Monson's talk with a written account. Attempts to see a copy of the text were denied by the Church Historians Office because the talk also included the re-dedication of Denmark for the preaching of the gospel on June 7, 1998. I was informed that the church never releases the text of dedicatory prayers. His remarks were related to the author by Anthonette Pearson, returned Danish missionary, Chatsworth, California.

20. Wihtol de Wenden, "Do We Have to?"

This is reflected in slogans such as these on billboards in Copenhagen: “When I become a Muslim the government will give me a house”; in Germany: “Kinder statt Inder” (“Children, not Indians,” referring to the need for Germany to increase its indigenous birthrate); and even in Portugal: “A criança e o melhor imigrante” (“the child is the best immigrant”). In March 2000, Denmark made an attempt to seal its borders and restrict immigration.

It seems unlikely, however, that the tide will turn. Immigration will continue. In fact, it is very much needed. A well-known geographer of the late eighteenth century, Carl Ritter, who was a strong supporter of European superiority, described Europe as a “peninsula of peninsulas” with an extremely long coastline for such a small continent. Even if the E.U. had the will to stop immigration, and it does not, no single nation—nor the E.U. as a whole—has the wherewithal to close the Mediterranean to immigrants. As in the United States, especially in California, some residents decry the system of illegal workers while nearly all use it! The cost of policing the vast coastal border of the Mediterranean would be astronomical and perhaps altogether counterproductive to the interests of both the E.U. and the LDS church.

CONCLUSION

While there has been an overall steady increase in church membership throughout Europe (the church has doubled its membership since 1976), most of the growth has occurred in Portugal and Spain. Some countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany have actually lost membership. Other areas have plateaued. For example, Denmark had 4,486 members in 1980 and 4,600 in 1999, with only 27 convert baptisms in 1998. The increases have been largely in urban areas, with some wards and branches in rural areas shut down since 1964. Germany still has the largest Mormon community, with 36,000 members in 1999, but this will surely change as rapid growth in Spain and Portugal push the numbers in each country above 36,000 in the next three to five years.²¹ Even in relatively fast-growing Portugal there seems to be a kind of mission “lore” that a temple had been planned for Lisbon, but the site was switched to Madrid even though fewer members reside in Spain, due to marital infidelity among Portuguese church members.

The number of church members in all western European countries represents only .03 to .07 percent of the total population of each country. Activity levels of European members vary from 20 to 30 percent.²² Given these remarkably low numbers, it is unlikely indeed that one might

21. *LDS Church Almanacs, 1976-2000.*

22. See www.lds-europe.org.

encounter an active Mormon on the S-Bahn in Hamburg or in Tivoli amusement park in Copenhagen.

The perception that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is essentially an "American" religion is probably an impediment to church growth among indigenous Europeans, but may be an asset in the conversion of economic and political refugees who are now coming to Europe in large numbers.

Given the current culture of affluence and skepticism among indigenous Europeans, it would be miraculous indeed if there were an acceleration of conversions among this "Blood of Israel" indigenous population, as predicted by Holland and Eyring. That church membership appeals more to immigrant groups than to indigenous Europeans is obvious. Moreover, there is some evidence that this conversion phenomenon is also occurring outside the European continent. A recent piece in the *Church News* referred to the perception among Costa Rican Mormon leaders that immigrants from neighboring and poorer Nicaragua and Panamá were vital to church growth in that Central American country.²³ Missionaries in Japan now have to learn some Spanish and Portuguese in order to teach immigrants, legal and illegal, from Brazil and Perú. Perhaps the future of church growth in Europe, as elsewhere, lies in a more liberal and practical interpretation of Israel's blood.

APPENDIX

Wards and Branches in Sample Cities: 1962, 1971, and 1999²⁴

COPENHAGEN METROPOLITAN AREA

1962. *Copenhagen District*. Three Units: North Copenhagen Branch, South Copenhagen Branch, Amager Branch.

1971. *Copenhagen District*. Two Units: Copenhagen Branch, Amager Branch.

1999. *Copenhagen Stake*. Five Units: Copenhagen First Ward, Copenhagen Third Ward, Fredriksberg Ward, Taastrup Ward, Amager Branch.

HAMBURG METROPOLITAN AREA

1962. *Hamburg Stake*. Five Units: Altona Ward, Eppendorf Ward, Hamburg Ward, Wilhelmsburg Ward, Bergedorf Branch.

23. *Church News*, July 8, 2000, 10.

24. Requests for information on stake and ward locations from several divisions at church headquarters in Salt Lake City were all denied. Information was taken from *Directory, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: General Authorities and Officers* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1962, 1971, and 1999 editions).

1971. *Hamburg Stake*. Seven Units: Altona Ward, Eppendorf Ward, Hamburg Ward, Wilhemsburg Ward, Pinneberg Ward, Wedel Ward, Bergedorf Branch.

1999. *Hamburg Stake*. Four Units: Altona Ward, Hamburg Ward, Wilhemsburg Ward, Bergedorf Branch.

AMSTERDAM METROPOLITAN AREA

1962. *Holland Stake*. Two Units: Amsterdam East Ward, Amsterdam West Ward.

1971. *Holland Stake*. One Unit: Amsterdam Ward.

1999. *Den Haag Stake*: Three Units: Amsterdam Ward, Almere Branch, Lelystad Branch.

BRUSSELS METROPOLITAN AREA

1962. *Belgium District*. One Unit: Brussels Branch.

1971. *Brussels District*. One Unit: Brussels Branch.

1999. *Brussels Stake*. Three Units: Brussels Ward (French), International Ward (English), Bruxelles Branch (Flemish, Antwerpen Stake).

LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA

1962. Zero Units.

1971. Zero Units.

1999. *Lisboa Stake*. Ten Units: Lisboa First Ward, Lisboa Second Ward, Lisboa Third Ward, Lisboa Fourth Ward, Lisboa Fifth Ward, Linda a Velha Ward, Saçavém Ward, Alverca Branch, Loures Branch, Vila Franca de Xira Branch

Lisboa Oeires Stake. Eight Units: Amadora Ward, Estoril Ward, Caxias Ward, Oeiras Ward, Cascais Branch, Paço de Arcos Branch, Quelúz Branch, Sintra Branch.

Lisboa Setúbal Stake. Eleven Units: Setúbal First Ward, Setúbal Second Ward, Miratejo Ward, Barreiro Ward, Alcochete Branch, Moita Branch, Montijo Branch, Palmela Branch, Alcácer do Sal Branch, Outão Branch, Cast Branch.

Mormonism and the Idea of Progress

David H. Bailey

INTRODUCTION

ROBERT NISBET DEFINES THE *IDEA OF PROGRESS* as the notion that mankind has advanced in the past from barbarism and ignorance, is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future.¹ It is arguably the central motivating philosophy that has led men and women throughout history to forge ahead to a brighter future.

The idea of progress is firmly rooted in Judeo-Christian thought. Most non-Christian ancient religions believed in an endless course of recurrent cycles. In Babylonian cosmology, a Great Year was thought to encompass 424,000 calendar years, after which the universe would repeat.² Even Plato's cosmology was cyclic with a periodic destruction and recreation of the world.³ The Jewish religion, in contrast, taught what is now termed "linear" or "progressive" history: the world had a starting point in the past, and we could look forward to a future epoch when the misfortunes, injustices, and evils of this world would be set right. This can be seen in the Old Testament account of the creation of the earth, in the promise to Abraham that his seed would prosper, in the account of Moses and the children of Israel migrating from Egypt to the promised land, and, finally, in the Judaic anticipation of the Messiah, who would reign in glory. Christianity further developed this tradition of progressive history by identifying Christ as the Messiah, by naming his advent as the "meridian of time," by teaching a higher law that superseded the

1. Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 1980; reprint, Piscataway, N. J.: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 4-5.

2. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton University Press, 1971), 115.

3. *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, vol. 7, *Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), 451.

Law of Moses, by predicting a future second coming of Christ, and by describing a heaven where the righteous dead would be resurrected.⁴ Later Christian theologians correctly observed that this philosophy rules out the notion of eternal recurrence.⁵

Closely connected with this concept of linear, progressive history is the Judeo-Christian belief that God governs the world based on a system of rational laws. The biblical account of the creation, for example, can be read as the creation of order out of chaos.⁶ Faith in the rationality of God is also emphasized in books such as Job, which eloquently teaches that ultimately everything will be righted in spite of the many tragedies and hardships in life. While we may not fully understand God's system of justice and order at the present time, we have faith that at some future epoch it will become clear.⁷

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN THE MODERN ERA

The Judeo-Christian expectation of a progressively brighter and more rational future has had impact far beyond the world of religion. British philosopher Alfred North Whitehead noted that modern science, as it developed in the West, was based on the "faith that at the base of things we shall not find mere arbitrary mystery. . . .When we compare this tone of thought in Europe with the attitude of other civilizations when left to themselves, there seems but one source for its origin. It must come from the medieval insistence on the rationality of God."⁸

Faith in human progress and the rationality of God sustained scientists such as Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. Even though their revolutionary system was at odds with the Ptolemaic cosmology assumed in the Bible and taught since antiquity, they recognized that it constituted a more beautiful and rational framework for the physical world. The Catholic Church resisted these developments for many years, but eventually acknowledged them as part of the Christian tradition of progress.⁹ Many Protestant writers also embraced the idea of progress. Calvin, for example, taught that before Christ's second coming, religious

4. Eliade, 102-130, 141-147.

5. *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods, vol. 18, *Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952): 350.

6. Ian G. Barbour, *Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1997), 199-204.

7. John F. Haught, *Science and Religion: From Conflict to Conversation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995), 22-25.

8. Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 17-19, 27.

9. Will and Ariel Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 8: 542; 7: 612.

knowledge and knowledge of secular arts and sciences would spread throughout the world.¹⁰ In the nineteenth century, unsettling discoveries in astronomy and biology, notably Darwin's theory of evolution, brought new challenges, but most theologians were able to accommodate these developments. In the early twentieth century, French theologian Pierre Teilhard de Chardin argued that human progress was inexorable, virtually mandated by the laws of the universe. He further saw the idea of progress as the one theme that could re-unify science and religion: "To incorporate the progress of the world in our picture of the kingdom of God. . . would immediately and radically put an end to the internal conflict from which we are suffering."¹¹

But by the mid-twentieth century, progressives such as Teilhard became minority voices. Even in the nineteenth century, German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche revived the ancient doctrine of eternal recurrence and disparaged the notion of progress: "Mankind does not represent a development toward something better or stronger. . . . 'Progress' is merely a modern idea, that is, a false idea."¹² Walter Kaufmann notes that the doctrine of eternal recurrence is "the antithesis of any faith in infinite progress, whether it be evolution, Faust's unbounded striving, or the endless improvement of the human soul. . . . It is the antithesis, too, of any faith in another world."¹³

In the past few decades, it has become fashionable in academic circles to minimize or even deny the notion of human progress.¹⁴ In part, this is a reaction to the twentieth century's grim legacy of two devastating world wars, Hitler's Jewish holocaust, Stalin's prison camps, Mao's cultural revolution, and Pol Pot's killing fields. Another factor is the growing consciousness of mistakes in past centuries, such as African slavery, the conquest of Native American peoples, and the oppression of women. Such tragedies have led many thinkers to question the notion of human progress, as well as the concept of linear history. Even in the realm of science where one would think that progress is indisputable, there have been numerous detractors. As astronomer Timothy Ferris notes, "The empirical spirit on which the Western democratic societies were founded is currently under attack, and not just by such traditional

10. Nisbet, 128.

11. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Toward the Future*, trans. Rene Hague (London: Collins, 1975), 96.

12. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1978), 3-4.

13. Walter Kaufmann, *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), 321.

14. Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 1-16.

adversaries as religious fundamentalists and devotees of the occult. Serious scholars claim that there is no such thing as progress and assert that science is but a collection of opinions, as socially conditioned as the weathervane world of Paris couture."¹⁵

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN LDS THOUGHT

Mormonism, from its founding, promoted a unique version of the progressive philosophy of Judeo-Christian thought. A central tenet of Mormonism is modern revelation, which affirms that progress in religious knowledge continues forward just as in the secular world. This is most clearly stated in the ninth Article of Faith: "We believe in all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." This language is strikingly similar to the definition of the idea of progress as given by Nisbet: "Mankind has advanced in the past, . . . is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future."¹⁶ Along this line, Joseph Smith taught that the Bible is not perfect and complete, as taught by some other denominations at the time, but contains translation errors, omissions, and other defects, and, most importantly, it is but a stepping stone to future revelation. The *Book of Mormon*, followed by the *Doctrine and Covenants* and the *Pearl of Great Price*, was brought forth as evidence that the heavens are not closed.

For centuries Christian theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, taught of an absolute and omnipotent God—a being who is unchanging, wholly beyond space and time, wholly beyond our comprehension, and who created the entire universe, including mankind, *ex nihilo* (out of nothing). Although very early LDS discourse tended to affirm this traditional, absolute concept of God,¹⁷ later teachings of Joseph Smith and others advanced a distinctly progressive theology. Joseph specifically denied creation *ex nihilo*, asserting instead that the basic elements, as well as the "intelligences" of human souls, are uncreated and eternal (and thus not contingent on God).¹⁸ Further, Joseph taught that God works in accord with natural laws, rather than by transcending them.¹⁹ Closely connected with these principles is the "law of eternal progression,"

15. Timothy Ferris, *The Whole Shebang: A State-of-the-Universe(s) Report* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 13.

16. Nisbet, 4-5.

17. Joseph Smith, *Lectures on Faith* (LDS Church, 1835). Joseph Smith's authorship of the *Lectures* is questionable—more likely they were authored by Sidney Rigdon. (See Leland H. Gentry, "What of the Lectures on Faith?" *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 5-19.

18. D&C 93:33; D&C 93:29; *Pearl of Great Price*, Abr. 3:18.

19. *History of the Church*, 4: 46 (Dec. 15, 1842).

namely that mortal life is but an interlude between a preparatory pre-mortal existence and an eternal post-mortal existence where the righteous will advance in knowledge and glory without limit. Along this line, LDS scripture teaches, “whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection,” and “the more knowledge and intelligence one gains through diligence and obedience, the greater the advantage in the world to come.”²⁰ These ideas are most clearly stated in Joseph Smith’s King Follett discourse:

You have got to learn how to make yourselves Gods in order to save yourselves and be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done—by going from a small capacity to a great capacity, from a small degree to another, from grace to grace, until the resurrection of the dead, from exaltation to exaltation. . . . Intelligence is eternal and exists upon a self-existent principle. It is a spirit from age to age and there is no creation about it. The first principles of man are self-existent with God. All the minds and spirits that God ever sent into the world are susceptible of enlargement and improvement. The relationship we have with God places us in a situation to advance in knowledge.²¹

After Joseph Smith’s death, subsequent LDS presidents and authorities further developed these unique doctrines of progress. Brigham Young asserted that the “first great principle,” the “main spring of all action,” is the “principle of improvement.”²² “We have the principle within us, and so has every being on this earth, to increase and to continue to increase, to enlarge and receive and treasure up truth, until we become perfect.”²³ “[W]hen we have lived millions of years in the presence of God and angels. . . shall we then cease learning? No, or eternity ceases.”²⁴ He further declared that those who are consigned to the terrestrial and telestial kingdoms will eventually have the opportunity to advance to the celestial kingdom, provided they prove themselves worthy.²⁵ Brigham Young specifically dismissed the idea of an absolute, unchanging God,²⁶ and he went even further than Joseph Smith in embracing progress in the secular world: “Our religion measures, weighs and cir-

20. D&C 130:18-19.

21. Stan Larson, “The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text,” *Brigham Young University Studies*, 18 (Winter 1978), 198-208.

22. *Journal of Discourses*, 2:91 (Feb. 6, 1853).

23. *Ibid.*, 5:54 (Jul. 19, 1857).

24. *Ibid.*, 6:344 (Jul. 31, 1859).

25. D. Michael Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, vol. 2, *The Mormon Hierarchy* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1997), 752.

26. Herald R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 2:214-223.

cumscribes all the wisdom in the world—all that God has ever revealed to man. God has revealed all the truth that is now in the possession of the world, whether it be scientific or religious.”²⁷

Brigham Young was hardly alone in teaching progressive theology during this period. George Q. Cannon taught that mankind will have the opportunity of “progressing from one degree of glory to another, without end, because there is no end to eternity.”²⁸ Wilford Woodruff declared, “If there was a point where man in his progression could not proceed any further, the very idea would throw a gloom over every intelligent and reflecting mind. God himself is still increasing and progressing in knowledge, power and dominion, and will do so world without end.”²⁹ In general, nineteenth century LDS discourse tended to minimize, not maximize, the distance between God and mankind and between God’s world and this world.³⁰

In the early part of the twentieth century, James E. Talmage, while elaborating on the law of eternal progression in the original edition of his book *The Articles of Faith*, asserted that progression was possible after death not only within one kingdom of glory, but also between kingdoms.³¹ John A. Widtsoe was intrigued by Herbert Spencer’s theory of evolutionary progress, which he equated with the doctrine of eternal progression.³² As Widtsoe explained, “Progress. . . is a process of adding to that which we now possess, by the elimination of errors, by the actual accretion of new truth, and by the development of greater self-mastery. . . . It is a steady approach to the likeness of God.”³³ Widtsoe also taught that God was the organizer, not the creator, of the world and that he is bound by laws.³⁴

27. *Journal of Discourses*, 8:162 (Sep. 2, 1860); see also 9:168 (Jan. 26, 1862).

28. Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 799-800.

29. *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 6, 120 (Dec. 6, 1857).

30. Eugene England, “Perfection and Progression: Two Complementary Ways to Talk about God,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 3 (Summer 1989), 31-45; Boyd Kirkland, “The Development of the Mormon Doctrine of God,” *Line Upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, ed. Gary J. Bergera (Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1989), 35-62; Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), 1-13; Kent E. Robson, “Omnipotence, Omnipresence, and Omniscience in Mormon Theology,” in Gary J. Bergera, ed., *Line Upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, 67-75.

31. James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: LDS Church, first edition, 1901), 421; Thomas G. Alexander, “The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology,” *Sunstone* 5, no. 4 (July 1980): 24-33.

32. John A. Widtsoe, *A Rational Theology as Taught by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: General Priesthood Committee, 1915), 20-22; Alexander, 29.

33. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 179.

34. Widtsoe, *A Rational Theology*, 20-22; Alexander, 29.

Brigham H. Roberts, arguably Mormonism's greatest thinker, taught that "The world's best hope is the world's continued progress in knowledge of the truth."³⁵ While commenting on the impact of the restoration, he declared, "By those collateral rays of light men have been led to those great discoveries in the arts and sciences and in mechanics, which make our age so wonderful as an age of progress and enlightenment."³⁶ Roberts also elaborated on Mormonism's distinctive theology of God, asserting that God exists in time and space and is not absolutely omnipotent and omniscient, but instead is bound by certain fundamental laws, and increases in knowledge and glory. Roberts pointed out that this progressive concept of God avoids many of the pitfalls of traditional Christian theology.³⁷ Roberts was also an eloquent advocate for a progressive approach to science and religion in the sense of championing, rather than battling, progress achieved in the scientific world. He wrote, "To pay attention to and give reasonable credence to [scientific] research is to link the church of God with the highest increase of human thought and effort."³⁸

More recently, Hugh B. Brown wrote, "We should be in the forefront of learning in all fields, for revelation does not come only through the prophet of God nor only directly from heaven in visions or dreams. Revelation may come in the laboratory, out of the test tube, out of the thinking mind and the inquiring soul, out of search and research and prayer and inspiration."³⁹ In discussing Darwin's "beautiful" theory of evolution, David O. McKay argued that the theory of evolution can be seen in a positive light as suggesting that mankind is destined to progress towards eternal life: "Why should man come so far if he is destined to go no farther? A creature which has traveled such distances and fought such battles and won such victories deserves, one is compelled to say, to conquer death and rob the grave of its victory."⁴⁰

35. Brigham H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology*, ed. Stan Larson (1931, reprint, Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 16; also published as B.H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology*, ed. John W. Welch (1931 reprint, Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994), 318.

36. *Conference Report*, (Salt Lake City: LDS Church, Oct. 1903): 73.

37. Brigham H. Roberts, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity* (1903, reprint, Horizon Publishers, Bountiful, Utah, 1982), 95-114.

38. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life*, 364.

39. Hugh B. Brown, "A Final Testimony," quoted in *An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 139.

40. David O. McKay, *A Message for LDS College Youth* (Provo, Utah: BYU Extension Publications, Oct. 8, 1952), 6-7. See also *Conference Report* (Apr. 1968): 92. The passage cited in the text was quoted from Raymond West (no source given).

MISGIVINGS ABOUT PROGRESS

But as in the secular world, there appears to have been a retreat from this progressive philosophy in the LDS church during the second half of the twentieth century. This is most clearly seen in Bruce R. McConkie's influential work *Mormon Doctrine* where God is described as omnipotent and omniscient without qualification.⁴¹ McConkie also tended to dismiss modern scientific progress, endorsing instead the literalist views of Joseph Fielding Smith in this arena. Elaborating on his views in a 1980 speech, McConkie described as "heresies" the notion that God progresses in knowledge, the possibility of progression between kingdoms in the world to come, and the scientific theory of evolution.⁴²

Although David O. McKay often praised the world's secular and technological progress, he raised concern in other areas: "Man is making great progress in science and invention, greater perhaps than ever before, but he is not making comparable progress in character and spirituality."⁴³ He noted the growing cost of crime and criticized increasing sexual permissiveness, which, he warned, could destroy society.⁴⁴ He associated these trends with an increasing irrelevance of religion in daily life, a consequence of decline in church attendance and a collapse of Christian moral standards.⁴⁵

Numerous other general authorities voiced warnings about decline in the ensuing years. Alvin R. Dyer decried the moral degradation of society.⁴⁶ Mark E. Petersen added, "The so-called sex revolution is destroying us." He connected these regrettable developments to the "selfish element" in the world that no longer believes in God.⁴⁷ Ezra Taft Benson linked this erosion of morality to economic decline together with concerns that the U.S. and other western nations were drifting towards socialism and communism.⁴⁸ On another occasion he cited juvenile delinquency, pornography, narcotics, and crime and then tied these to U.S. political problems such as federal budget deficits, welfare, and inflation.⁴⁹ Howard W. Hunter questioned whether "spiraling progress" is good for society: "What of the future of the family and home life, which in past generations have been great stabilizing forces in society? What of

41. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 544-545.

42. Bruce R. McConkie, "The Seven Deadly Heresies," talk given at BYU on June 1, 1980, transcript in author's possession.

43. *Conference Report*, Oct. 1963, 89; Apr. 1968, 91; Apr. 1953, 14.

44. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1966, 106.

45. *Ibid.*, Oct. 1946, 112.

46. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1964, 75.

47. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1969, 62-64.

48. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1957, 54.

49. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1968, 50-51.

the solidarity of community and national life? What of the future of our economy, as the consequence of inflation and increased debt? What of the modern course of deterioration of morality and its effect upon individuals, families, nations, and the world?"⁵⁰

THE PRESENT SITUATION

At present there appears to be an ambivalent approach towards the idea of progress in LDS thought. On one hand, there has been some moderation in the stream of rhetoric bemoaning the decline of modern society. For example, Gordon B. Hinckley, the current president, recently declared, "But in a larger sense this has been the best of all centuries. In the long history of the earth there has been nothing like it. The life expectancy of man has been extended by more than 25 years. Think of it. It is a miracle. The fruits of science have been manifest everywhere. By and large, we live longer, we live better. This is an age of greater understanding and knowledge. We live in a world of great diversity. As we learn more of one another, our appreciation grows. This has been an age of enlightenment. The miracles of modern medicine, of travel, of communication are almost beyond belief. All of this has opened new opportunities for us which we must grasp and use for the advancement of the Lord's work."⁵¹

But on a more basic doctrinal level, the retreat from the progressive doctrines of the early church continues apace. O. Kendall White has given the name "Mormon neo-orthodoxy" to this new emphasis on absolutism, literalism, and fundamentalism.⁵²

Two recently published books by BYU religion scholars illustrate this trend. In *How Wide the Divide: A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*, BYU religion professor Steven E. Robinson declares, "There is not a word of the Bible that I do not personally accept and believe."⁵³ He extends this view to the whole church: "[T]here is not a single verse of the Bible that Latter-day Saints do not accept," and "We take the Scriptures to be literally true, and we hold symbolic, figurative or allegorical interpretation to a minimum, accepting the miraculous events as historical and the moral and ethical teaching as binding and valid."⁵⁴ Robinson's book makes virtually no mention of well-known limitations of biblical

50. *Ibid.*, Oct. 1970, 129.

51. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1999.

52. O. Kendall White, *Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

53. Craig L. Blomberg, Stephen E. Robinson, *How Wide the Divide: A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*, (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 59, 72.

54. *Ibid.*, 20, 55.

scripture, even those that are well-known to many Latter-day Saints. His position is clearly in the same spirit as a recent statement by Christian evangelical groups affirming the inerrancy of the Bible.⁵⁵

Equally problematic is Robinson's treatment of the LDS doctrine of God. He affirms without any reservation or qualification that "God is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, infinite, eternal and unchangeable."⁵⁶ He acknowledges some early LDS teachings that man can become as gods and that God was once a man, but he dismisses them as being from "non-canonical" sources. He repeatedly emphasizes that Mormons do not believe in "a limited God, a finite God, a changeable God, a God who is not from everlasting to everlasting, who is not omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent."⁵⁷

Another interesting recent book is *Answers: Straightforward Answers to Tough Gospel Questions* by BYU religion professor Joseph Fielding McConkie. Here are some excerpts:

God is not subservient to the laws of the physical universe. . . .The laws that govern in the celestial realm are far beyond those known to us in this temporal, telesial state in which we find ourselves.⁵⁸

Question: Is the theory of evolution compatible with the doctrine of the Fall? Answer: No. We can tug, twist, contort, and sell our birthright, but we cannot overcome the irreconcilable differences between the theory of organic evolution and the doctrine of the Fall. . . .Evolution is the notion that lower forms of life can, through the course of generations, genetically improve themselves. For that to happen, both birth and death would have to exist [before the Fall].⁵⁹

This world will know seven thousand years of temporal history. . . .To argue for a longer time is to suggest ages for which God has forgotten to call for accountability.⁶⁰

Question: Did God discover law, or is he the author of it? Answer: God is the author of law, not its creation or its servant. . . .God is not a scientist. He does not harness law and then use it to bless and govern his creations.⁶¹

Many passages of scripture exalt learning [quotes D&C 93:36, D&C 131:6 and D&C 130:19]. Properly understood, such texts center our attention on things of the spirit rather than the intellect. It is not the learning of the

55. "The Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics," International Council on Biblical Inerrancy, 1982, copy in author's possession.

56. Blomberg and Robinson, 77.

57. *Ibid.*, 78.

58. Joseph Fielding McConkie, *Answers: Straightforward Answers to Tough Gospel Questions* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 156.

59. *Ibid.*, 158-160.

60. *Ibid.*, 165.

61. *Ibid.*, 166-167.

classroom to which these passages of scripture refer but rather to those things that can only be learned in the service of others.⁶²

Question: Does the gospel embrace all truth? Answer: No. Innumerable truths have no bearing on that sacred body of truth we call the gospel. . . . Similarly, any principle that does not require the Spirit of the Lord to teach can be taught as well by a faithless man as a learned, as well by students of faith as by those who are making no effort to accord their lives with the standards the Lord has set. Such a truth is not a gospel principle and will be of no value in the world to come.⁶³

Needless to say, these positions are at odds with the progressive doctrines of earlier LDS leaders. Yet given the popularity of these two books, it is clear that many, if not most, modern Latter-day Saints are comfortable with these views.

THE END OF DECLINE

As mentioned above, bemoaning the decline and degradation of modern society has become a common fare in both academic and LDS discourse. But tilting against the tide of human progress is a dangerous thing to do since progress generally triumphs over decline. In this regard, it is interesting to note these recent developments:

1. There has been a dramatic decline in crime in the U.S. during the past decade.⁶⁴ Criminologists are at a loss to explain these declines, which have now continued for eight consecutive years (although rates now appear to be bottoming out). Further, the good news is not limited to the U.S.—similar but less dramatic declines have been reported in Europe.⁶⁵
2. Rates of abortion and teenage pregnancy have declined recently in the U.S., now reaching the lowest levels since the federal government began to collect statistics in the 1970s. Teen sex is also declining from its peak in the early 1990s.⁶⁶ One factor behind these favorable developments is that young people (particularly young women) are brimming with ambition, due to improved education and an optimistic outlook for the future.⁶⁷

62. *Ibid.*, 170.

63. *Ibid.*, 223.

64. Michael J. Sniffen, "Report: Serious Crime Falls in 1999," *Washington Post*, 22 Nov. 1999.

65. Ian Burrell, "Crime Rates Fall Fast, but Fear Still Grows," *Reuters News Agency*, 14 Oct. 1998.

66. Randolph E. Schmid, "Teen Births Drop to Record Low," *Associated Press*, 17 Apr. 2001.

67. Tamala M. Edwards, "The Opposite of Sex," *Time*, 13 July 1998, 39.

3. Drug use is declining, particularly the use of dangerous drugs such as cocaine and heroin, and teenage attitudes towards drug use are becoming more disapproving.⁶⁸ Alcohol use among young people is also declining—the percentage of 12 to 17-year-olds in the U.S. using alcohol in the previous month dropped from 50% in 1979 to 20% in 1997. Among 18 to 25-year-olds, the rate fell from 75% to 60%.⁶⁹
4. Progress in scientific research continues unabated. Some recent highlights include the discovery of the “accelerating universe;” a rapidly growing catalog of human, animal, and plant DNA sequences; dramatic advances in knowledge of the planets and moons in the solar system; breathtaking photographs of distant stars and galaxies; and the discovery of elegant fundamental physical laws governing the basic constituents of matter. In the medical arena, recent developments include promising breakthroughs in the treatment of cancer,⁷⁰ and the discovery of an agent that may retard aging.⁷¹ Even more exciting developments are expected in the years ahead.
5. A wave of new information technologies, notably the Internet, is providing people around the world with unprecedented access to educational, scientific, artistic, and religious materials. These modern information technologies also serve to expose and inhibit the misdeeds of tyrants, seemingly in fulfillment of LDS scriptures that promise “their iniquities shall be spoken upon the housetops, and their secret acts shall be revealed.”⁷²
6. There is a widespread perception, both within the LDS church and elsewhere, that church attendance and religious belief significantly declined during the twentieth century. But a recent study indicates that according to several specific measures, religiosity has not declined, but in fact is nearly the same as 50 or 100 years ago.⁷³ In fact, there are some indications of a revival in religious belief at the present time. A separate study of American research scientists (physicists, biologists and mathematicians) produced a

68. Christopher S. Wren, “More Teenagers Disapprove of Drug Use, Survey Finds,” *New York Times*, 22 Nov. 1999.

69. Jeffrey Kluger, “How to Manage Teen Drinking,” *Time*, 18 June 2001, 42.

70. Nicholas Wade, “Scientists View New Wave of Cancer Drugs,” *New York Times*, 29 May 2001.

71. Christine Gorman, “An Attack on Aging,” *Time*, 26 Jan. 1998, 35-36.

72. D&C 1:1-3.

73. Andrew M. Greeley, *Religious Change in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 14.

similar result—the percentage who believe in God today is not significantly different than in 1916.⁷⁴

I do not wish to imply that all is well with our society. In this day of unprecedented wealth, millions of people worldwide still live in hunger, and millions more needlessly die due to inadequate sanitation and health care. The success of the Internet is stained by fraud and hard-core pornography. A quality education is not available to a significant fraction of the younger generation, even in the U.S. Long-term environmental damage, including global warming and species extinction, is a grave concern. But unlike the deep pessimism that prevailed during the cold war era, there is a growing sense that these problems can be solved. The idea of progress is very much alive.

SOME PERSONAL THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

Charting the course of the LDS church through the shoals of modernity has never been an easy task, and it is clear that it will be even more difficult in the future. Meeting these challenges will require prayerful consideration on the part of many in the church. To that end I offer these thoughts, recognizing that others may see things differently.

First of all, it must be recognized that many of the concerns that have been expressed through the years by various church leaders regarding moral decline are well justified. For example, almost everyone in the church today would agree that child abuse, pornography, and media violence are causes for concern. Further, it must be acknowledged that some previously accepted notions in secular and scientific scholarship have been overturned by more recent research. Thus, some degree of separation from modern society, as well as some measure of reserve towards modern secular and scientific scholarship, is entirely appropriate.

But if the church only emphasizes the negative developments in society and downplays or dismisses the positive, its message may fail to resonate in an era when progress is evident on many fronts. There is much that is “praiseworthy and of good report” in the world around us, and focusing only on the negative isolates the church and discourages some potential converts.

Secondly, if LDS discourse continues to drift away from its traditional concept of a progressing, co-existent God and emphasizes instead the sectarian notion of an absolute and unchanging being beyond time

74. “Poll: 40% of Scientists Believe in God: It Indicates Faith Coexists with Quest for Natural Law,” *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1997, 7A.

and space, wholly beyond our comprehension, then LDS theology may lose much of its distinctive appeal. It is also likely to become ensnared in many of the philosophical difficulties that have afflicted traditional Christian theology for centuries.

Along this line, if the church loses sight of its traditional notion of a God who works within the realm of natural law, it may lose its unique doctrinal foundation for finding harmony between science and religion. Do we believe in a capricious magician who has placed evidence throughout the universe to mislead diligent seekers of truth? Or do we believe in an intelligent, rational God who is pleased when we discover the elegant laws by which the universe is governed? In any event, it is essential that we do not teach doctrinal views that are clearly at odds with well-established principles of modern scientific or secular scholarship. To do so needlessly places many Latter-day Saints, especially college-age youth, in severe conflict with the intellectual world.

Some in the church today dismiss modern secular and scientific scholarship as mistaken and irrelevant, claiming that the world to come will operate on completely different principles, which are beyond our present comprehension (as expressed in some of the quotes cited above). In addition to being unacceptable to many thoughtful Latter-day Saints, this philosophy has the difficulty that the church's teachings then appear to be of questionable relevance to those who seek solutions to the troubling challenges of this life. Mormonism has always been a practical religion, one as concerned about our welfare here and now as in the world to come, and this is one reason for its success. It thus seems unwise to adopt a highly other-worldly approach to doctrinal issues.

In a similar vein, if we in the church discount or downplay the possibility for progress in the world to come, this may lead some who have faltered to lose hope. Hope for the future has always been a source of comfort and direction, both for those who have been able to meet the challenges of this life and for those who have not. Maybe we should take the "law of eternal progression" more seriously.

Finitism and the Problem of Evil¹

R. Dennis Potter

ACCORDING TO TRADITIONAL THEISM, God is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnibenevolent. If God were omnibenevolent, he would want to eliminate evil. If God were omnipotent, he would be able to eliminate evil. So why should there be any evil? This problem is, by far, the most discussed subject in the philosophy of religion. In this paper, I argue that rejecting the traditional notion of God is the best way to deal with this problem. First, I explain the nature of the problem, pointing out that it is really three different problems. Second, I explicate the terms involved in the traditional notion of God and the nature of the doctrine of *finitism*. Third, I examine the traditional solutions to the problem and show how they fail. Fourth, I show how those same solutions can work when coupled with the claim that God is finite. I will also show how God's finitude can explain pointless evil. Finally, I respond to objections given to finitism along the lines that it requires that God be too finite.

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As J. L. Mackie points out, "God is omnipotent; God is wholly good; and yet evil exists. There seems to be some contradiction between these three propositions, so that if any two of them were true the third would be false."² Of course, Mackie explains, the contradiction does not follow right away, but rather we need a couple of very plausible assumptions in order to reach the contradiction. Indeed, if we suppose that (i) *if X is omnipotent then X could eliminate evil*, (ii) *if X is wholly good then X would desire above all else to eliminate evil*, and (iii) *for any state of affairs, S, that X desires, X will bring about S, unless X cannot bring about S or there is a desire which*

1. Presented at the 1999 Salt Lake City Sunstone Symposium.

2. J. L. Mackie, "Evil and Omnipotence," *Mind* 16 (1955): 64, 200–12.

overrides X's desire to bring about S, then it follows from the existence of evil that there is no God. This version of the problem of evil is often called "the logical problem of evil," because it claims that the existence of God is logically inconsistent with the existence of evil.

Many philosophers believe that the logical problem of evil can be solved: One only need show that it is *possible* that there be an omnipotent, wholly good God and there be evil. However, advocates of the problem of evil have insisted it is not enough just to show there is some possibility in which God exists and in which evil exists. Instead, one must show that such a possibility is not significantly less likely than one in which the sort of evil exists and there is no God. Indeed, we may grant that there is a possible world in which God allows the sorts of evils that we see in this world, but we may still argue that God's allowing such evils is very unlikely. The kinds of circumstances justifying the existence of the Holocaust, for example, would be very rare indeed. Thus, the very existence of evils such as the Holocaust count as evidence against the existence of God, even if they do not show that there is some inconsistency in supposing it. This version of the problem of evil is often called "the evidential problem of evil."

Finally, there is a concern often discussed in conjunction with the other problems above: Real evil occurs and people have to face this evil. Sometimes they are victims of it. How should they deal with it? How does it affect their belief in God? How do we best help them overcome the affects of this evil? This is not really a philosophical problem for the existence of God. Evil may make us angry with God, but our anger alone is not reason to reject his existence. Moreover, the existential problem of evil is obviously one that must be faced by atheists and theists alike, since both suffer evil and must learn to deal with it in some way. So we will say nothing more of the existential problem of evil in this paper, turning our attention to the logical and evidentiary problems of evil alone.

2. DEFINITIONS

It might also seem that we should make our terms clear at this point. We don't really have to define evil itself. Whatever definition we give, practically everyone believes there is evil in the world. However, it is important to draw a distinction between *moral* and *natural* evil. The former is any evil resulting from, or part of, what an agent does. Natural evil is any evil that is not moral evil. So the Holocaust would be moral evil, while the suffering caused by tornadoes in Oklahoma is natural evil. Some people deny the existence of natural evil. Everything nature does is supposedly morally neutral, according to such a view. Yet this seems clearly wrong when we consider the fact that we often try to avoid or

correct things in nature. For example, we cured small pox because we believed small pox to be a bad thing. Moreover, most people would think it would be a bad thing for a comet to hit the earth, but a comet is certainly not an agent. So there are very good reasons to believe in both natural evil and moral evil.

Not only do we need to make some clarifications about the nature of evil, but we should also clarify what we mean when we say God is either omnipotent or finite. The claim that God is *omnipotent* in some way amounts to the claim that God is unlimited in power. Likewise, the claim that God is *finite* is a denial of the claim that God is omnipotent. So where we have different definitions of omnipotence, we will also have different definitions of finitism. We do not want to say that God is omnipotent in the sense that there is no sentence like "God cannot do X," where X is replaced by the description of any action. Such an understanding of unlimited power winds us into logical contradiction. The traditional problem of whether God can create a rock so large he cannot lift it illustrates this contradiction. Moreover, when you say to me, "You cannot create a round square," you really haven't slighted my power in any way since the object you propose is impossible. Similarly, to say that there are some true claims of the form "God cannot do X," where X involves a logical contradiction, is not to impose substantive limitations on God. Logical limitations are not substantive ones.

Given these considerations, we should say that God is *omnipotent* if and only if he can bring about any logically consistent state of affairs. This is a common way of spelling out the idea that God is unlimited in power. There are some fairly technical problems even with this definition—i.e., it is not clear that it avoids contradictions—one of which we will discuss below, but this definition is good for now. Given this definition of omnipotence, we can define finitism in the following way: S is *finite* if and only if there is some logically possible state of affairs, A, such that S can do nothing to bring about A. Notice this does not say much about how powerful S is. I am finite and so are you, but extremely powerful "deities" such as Zeus are also finite. Interestingly, a being can be finite and yet "almighty" in the sense that the being has some power and influence over all beings.

3. TRADITIONAL SOLUTIONS

There have been many traditional attempts to solve the problem of evil; we cannot discuss them all here. However, two solutions seem to be the most popular among philosophers of religion. The first of these is the so-called "soul-building theodicy." The second is the "free will defense." We will take these in turn, but first we should explain what these solutions attempt to do. Essentially, they try to show that even if God were

omnipotent and wholly good, he would not necessarily eliminate all evil. Thus, these theodicies must disagree with one of our aforementioned premises, (i)–(iii). We will see that the most questionable premise is (ii), the idea that God would want to eliminate all evil.

The basic idea in the soul-building theodicy is that God allows evil because it makes us better persons, i.e., evil is instrumental in bringing about the greater good of turning us into God-like creatures. The analogy often raised concerns a parent and her daughter: The parent has the choice of sheltering her child from the world and denying her the opportunity to learn or of allowing her child to suffer the many defeats and traumas of the real world in order that the child may become a better person. Likewise, God allows us to suffer through disasters because it gives us the opportunity to become better persons through helping the victims or learning to cope with such suffering.

There are some well-recognized problems with this theodicy. For ease of reference, I will give these problems names. The first will be called *the incoherence of instrumental evil*. It is not at all clear that there can be such a thing as instrumental evil. Instrumental for what? Presumably, it is instrumental for some greater good. If we are consequentialists of any sort, then the incoherence is obvious at this point, but even if we are not consequentialists, we can recognize the problem by focusing on the analogy often offered by the soul-making theodicist: The parent allows the child to undergo difficult experiences in order to help her become a better person. Is the parent doing something wrong? Clearly not. Are these difficult, painful, and even traumatic experiences evil? It's difficult to say they are. They serve to help the child. However, if there were a really bad thing that might happen to the child, and the parent both knew about it and could stop it, then she should. So it is not even clear that those "bad" events we undergo to become better persons are in any real sense "evil." If this is right, then the soul-building theodicy denies the very existence of evil.

Even if we grant that there may be some evil which is instrumental toward a greater good, it would remain the case that the soul-building theodicy would face problems. One example is *the soul-building minimum* problem. Here it is postulated that not all evil in the world really contributes to soul-building. We all know of cases where victims of accidents or crimes have become worse persons as a result of their trauma. Moreover, some suffering doesn't help the victim because the victim dies; nor does it help anyone else if no one knows about the death of the victim. Finally, it is not at all clear that if there were just the smallest bit less evil in world—for example, if the fall experienced by my daughter this morning had not happened—that the world would be any less soul-building than it is. Some minimum amount of evil is sufficient for the sort of soul-building God wants, and we have reason to think that the

evil in this world exceeds that minimum, i.e., there could be less evil and yet we would still “soul-build” just as well. However, if the soul-building theodicy works, then the amount of evil in the world is certainly at the soul-building minimum.

The soul-building theodicy might respond that the evil in our world is indeed at a soul-building minimum despite appearances. This response certainly works against the logical problem of evil, since it shows it is possible that God would allow the evil in the world. Yet it may not respond to the evidential problem, since it seems more likely than not that the world could have had less evil and yet still have a sufficient amount of evil for us to soul-build. Certainly God, being omnipotent, would be capable of bringing this about.

The third problem is *the soul-building without evil* problem. God, being omnipotent, could clearly create us perfect in the first place; we wouldn’t then need to build our souls. If the result were all that mattered, as the soul-building theodicy seems to think, then things would be better this way. One might object that we are better off if we have built our souls ourselves. This may be right, but certainly God could do this without any real evil. All he need do is put us in virtual-reality machines which would make the world appear exactly as it now does. Then he could cause us to experience apparent evils in these machines and allow us to try to overcome them. Of course, these evils wouldn’t really occur, so we would learn the same lessons without those evils actually existing.

The fourth problem is *the problem of hell*. Not every soul achieves that state which God intends it to achieve. Some end up in hell, so to speak. However, if the soul-building theodicy is correct, then evil can only be justified if everyone eventually benefits by it. If God is omnipotent, he can make it such that everyone is saved. A natural response to this problem, and perhaps to some of the others, is “What about free will?” Note we are not yet considering the free will defense; we are considering merely the soul-building theodicy. If we also have to assume free will, then the soul-building theodicy alone doesn’t work.

Now let us consider the free will defense. The central idea behind the free will defense is that the presence of evil in the world can be explained by the existence of free will. God believes (correctly) that a world in which we have free will is better than one in which we do not, even if that free will sometimes lead to evil. Thus God may not eliminate all evil in the world because it would require him to also eliminate free will. Here the evil is not quite instrumental, since it does not directly result in a better state of affairs as it does in the soul-building theodicy. Instead, the evil is a by-product of something which a good God has to allow.

The central problem with the free will defense is *the possibility of correct choice*. It is surely possible, if we have free will, that we all might choose to do the right thing. If God is omnipotent, then he can bring

about any possible state of affairs. So God should be able to make it so that we are both free and we choose to do the right thing.

Alvin Plantinga, a Calvinist philosopher, has given an extensive and somewhat technical response to this objection.³ He argues roughly as follows: God's omnipotence does not entail that God can bring about any logically consistent state of affairs. Indeed, God cannot bring it about that we are both free and we choose to do the right. Plantinga considers an example like the following: Suppose that in the actual world, Saul T. Lake offers Olympus a bribe of \$1,000 for Olympus to hold his annual convention in Saul's hotel. Olympus declines. Saul then wonders, "What would he have done if I had offered him \$2,000?" Clearly, it is true that either (a) if Saul had offered Olympus \$2000, then Olympus would have accepted, or (b) if Saul had offered Olympus \$2000, then Olympus would have declined, but not both. If Olympus is free with respect to this act, it is just as clear that both are possible. Whichever one is true, there is a possible world which God could not have actualized, since if (a) is true, then it is beyond God's power to make it such that Saul offers Olympus the \$2000 bribe, God makes Olympus free with respect to this decision, and God ensures that (b) is true. That is, it would be beyond God's power to create a world in which both Saul makes the offer and Olympus declines.

This is not yet enough to defend the free will defense against our criticism. We might argue that when God is deciding whom to create, he can create someone, S, of whom all the true counter-factual conditionals have S doing what is right. It would also seem possible that God could create only people who are like S in this way. Plantinga would respond to this by postulating that in every possible world that God could actualize, it is possible that everyone would go astray.⁴ He calls this *transworld depravity*.⁵ I have argued elsewhere that it is possible for each and every person to do the right thing in all cases.⁶ This does not contradict Plantinga. Rather, Plantinga argues that God cannot make it so that we all do right. Plantinga's free will defense may already sound a bit like finitism, since he says there are possible worlds, which God cannot actualize. However, I believe his position is not finitistic. Recall that by "omnipotent" we mean a God who is unlimited in power; thus, there are no

3. Alvin Plantinga, *The Nature of Necessity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974)

4. Notice he cannot just say that *someone* will go astray, since presumably in this world everyone does. A world in which one person goes astray is better than one in which everyone does.

5. Plantinga, *The Nature of Necessity*, 186.

6. R. Dennis Potter "The Myth of Inevitable Sin," forthcoming in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, and "Moral Dilemmas and Inevitable Sin," forthcoming in *Faith and Philosophy*.

substantive limitations on God's power. We already noted that not being able to make a contradiction true is not a substantive limitation of God's power. This seems to indicate that God can do anything logically possible. We cashed this in by saying that God could bring about any logically possible state of affairs. However, Plantinga has shown us that this definition is contradictory, rather than showing us that God is not unlimited. If God could bring about any logically possible state of affairs, then God could bring it about that God does not exist. This is clearly impossible, even though it is possible that God does not exist. So what we should say instead is that God is omnipotent *if and only if* God can bring about any possible state of affairs that does not involve a contradiction in the process. With this understanding of omnipotence, there may be possible worlds which an omnipotent God cannot actualize.

Plantinga's free will defense is the most sophisticated response to the logical problem of evil in the literature. Most philosophers, including most atheists, believe that it works. However, it is not a response to the evidential problem of evil. Here it seems more likely that transworld depravity is false rather than true, i.e., that there is at least one possible world, which God could actualize in which we all choose the right. After all, there are quite a lot of possibilities out there, and we need only one. Moreover, when we note that transworld depravity entails that every world possibly created by God is one in which *everyone* goes astray, the likelihood seems to diminish even more.

However, I am skeptical of the free will defense's ability to respond to the logical problem of evil. What worries me is the coherence of the doctrine of transworld depravity. Plantinga argues that this doctrine is *possibly* true, and that is all the argument he needs, but if we can show the doctrine to be contradictory, then his defense does not work. Elsewhere I have argued that the very nature of moral obligation entails that we *can* do right.⁷ We can live perfect lives if we so choose. This is because the fact that I *ought* to do X implies that I *can* do X. Let us call this *Kant's principle* after the famous philosopher who emphasized it. This is a principle which applies to individuals. It implies that for each individual there is a possible world in which he does right, but it does not imply that for each group of individuals there is a possible world in which *every* member of the group does right. Only a collective version of Kant's principle would imply this: If there is a rule that each member of a community ought to obey, then the community can obey this rule conjointly. That is, if I shouldn't kill you and you shouldn't kill me, then it is possible that you don't kill me and I don't kill you. If the collective version of

7. Potter, "Moral Dilemmas."

Kant's principle were true, then it would follow that for any group of possible persons there is a possible world in which they do what they ought to do. Let us call this *the doctrine of morally perfect alternatives*.

The doctrine of morally perfect alternatives does not yet entail that transworld depravity is false. Yet notice what happens if transworld depravity holds: Then any possible world where we are created by God is one in which we will all inevitably fail in our moral obligations. That is, it is impossible that there be a God and we also do what God commands. This seems very strange indeed. Moreover, the same reasons we might have for wanting to reject the doctrine of inevitable sin are also reasons we would want to reject the conclusion that God can give us commandments which we cannot keep. In other words, in Plantinga's view, God ought to give us commandments and we ought to keep them, but we cannot fulfill our obligations if God fulfills his. This contradicts the doctrine of morally perfect alternatives. If we are right, then there must be some world in which God can fulfill his obligations and we ours. Thus, transworld depravity must be false given the nature of moral obligation. Before we consider finitism, it might help to consider another problem for traditional theodicies. This problem, *the problem of practice*, is that theodicies which explain evil in terms of a greater good seem to imply that we should not eliminate evil ourselves since this would undermine God's plan. If these evils are for the greater good, then we make things worse by eliminating them. Yet surely we should eliminate evil when we can. Hick has a response to this problem in *the claim of epistemic distance*. He says that God and we are so far apart with respect to what we know that we cannot be in a position to know what it is that makes these evils allowable. Thus, we should try to eliminate them.⁸

However, this response will not work since it remains the case that we should work with God's plan, and we *do know* that all evil is part of God's plan. So even if we cannot see why, we should still allow the evils that we allow. We will see below that finitism offers a better solution to the problem of practice.

4. FINITIST THEODICY

We should point out that the logical problem of evil, as it is usually stated and as it is stated in this paper, is solved immediately once we adopt the premise that God is not omnipotent. Indeed, some proponents of the problem of evil claim that finitism is quite enough to avoid the prob-

8. John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (reprint, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), parts 3 and 4.

lem of evil altogether.⁹ Yet this picture is too simple. Even if God is not omnipotent, it does not follow that we have shown his existence to be consistent with the existence of evil. It may be that God is “omni-po-beneficent,” a being who has just enough power to eliminate any evils which actually occur. Since we have good reason to suppose that God might be quite powerful after all, we also have to deal with the problem of evil.

Now I want to show that the problems encountered by the soul-building and free will theodiscists can be solved if we adopt the additional premise that God is finite. First, let us consider the soul-building minimum problem, which says that the world could have been a little better than it is and still have had the same amount of soul-building value. Then God should have made things that much better. However, if God is finite, it is perfectly possible that, while he can keep the amount of evil at the level that it is in the actual world, he couldn't reduce it without that amount dipping below the soul-building minimum. This is not an option for an omnipotent God, since it is certainly logically possible that the amount of evil in the world could be just a bit less than it is. Next, let us consider the soul-building without evil problem. It seems possible for God to build souls with only the semblance of evil, so why doesn't he do so, if he is omnipotent? The finitist answers that God doesn't do so because any deception would not be as valuable a learning tool as the real thing. The omnipotent God, of course, can pull off a deception which is indistinguishable from the real thing.

The problems of hell and the incoherence of instrumental evil are more complicated. In the case of the former, it is clear that we must employ the existence of free will in an attempt to solve this problem—either that or we must countenance pelagian universalism.¹⁰ But finitism helps the free will defense immensely. Remember that the problem with the free will defense was the possibility of correct choice. Plantinga had to propose his sophisticated doctrine of transworld depravity to respond to this problem, but we don't need any such complexities once we have the finitist assumption. Indeed, if God is not omnipotent, we can simply deny the possibility that God gave us free will and also ensured that we were in a situation where we would do right.

As for instrumental evil, it seems clear that if God is finite, it might be that he can only accomplish certain things by using evil means. If God is finite, then these evil means might not be logically necessary, since the

9. See Mackie, “Evil and Omnipotence,” for example.

10. This is the doctrine that not only are all saved, but all are saved because they choose to do things which would bring about the fact that they are saved. I am sure that Pelagius was not a universalist.

result could have been brought about in another way, but not in a way available to the finite God.

There is a further problem with both the soul-building theodicies and the free will defense which we have not yet mentioned: It seems that perhaps some evil is pointless, by which we mean that it neither helps in the soul-building process nor is it a product of free will. The traditional theodicist has to deny that any evil is pointless, but this is hard when we are faced with examples. I have already mentioned the case of someone who suffers a very painful (but natural) death without anyone else knowing about it. This death might have natural causes and, hence, is a natural evil. Yet it does not help the person who suffers it, nor does it help other people.

However, if God is finite, then the existence of pointless evil can be explained. Here we do not employ the use of the soul-building or free will theodicies; God's finitism is the sole explanation. In some sense, God cannot eliminate the pointless evil that exists. Importantly, this means that God cannot eliminate *all* the pointless evil that exists. It does not mean that God cannot eliminate a particular instance of pointless evil, but we will come back to this later in our discussion of the objections to the finitist solution to the problem of evil.

Now let us recall the problem of practice: If evil is an instrument to greater good, we cannot explain why we should try to eliminate it. However, notice that we have argued that there is such a thing as pointless evil. Given the claim of epistemic distance between God and us, we can never be sure that any case of evil is one which is not pointless. Thus, we should be actively engaged in eliminating any evil that we can since any of it may be pointless. If finitism were not true, there could be no pointless evil, and thus, without finitism we cannot respond to the problem of practice.

5. OBJECTIONS TO FINITISM

The first objection to finitism is *the problem of an unsuccessful God*. The problem here is that if God is not omnipotent, then he might very well fail in his plans. We cannot, therefore, be sure that God can successfully save us and ensure that justice reigns. Although the claim that God is omnipotent entails that God will be able to succeed in any logically consistent plans, the claim that God is not omnipotent does not imply that he can fail in his plans. We might claim that God is *redemptively sovereign*,¹¹ wherein God is sufficiently powerful that he can ensure our redemption and salvation. Getting the exact definition here is a bit tricky. It is not enough to say that S is redemptively sovereign if and only if S can

11. David Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy at Brigham Young University, invented this term for the purpose of responding to this very problem.

carry out his plans since S might have very minimal plans. Nor can we say that S is redemptively sovereign if and only if S can carry out her plans, *whatever* they may be since this would imply omnipotence, at least. Instead, we must say something like the following: S is redemptively sovereign if and only if S has substantive plans for the salvation of mankind and can carry out those plans. Clearly God can be redemptively sovereign and yet be finite. This is enough to respond to the problem of the unsuccessful God.

There is one possible problem with redemptive sovereignty: It might raise a new version of the problem of evil because it makes a substantive claim about the amount of power held by God. When we make the negative claim which finitism makes about God's power, we avoid the problem of evil because it can always be a result of God's limitation. However, when we couple this with a positive claim about God's power, we run the risk that the amount of evil existing exceeds the amount that should be allowed by a being with so much power. For this very reason, I think we should reject the alternative, non-absolutistic definitions of omnipotence, which have sometimes been offered. For example, one might say that the Mormon God is omnipotent if and only if he can do whatever is consistent with the nature of eternal existences.¹² Or better: God is omnipotent if and only if God can do whatever is physically possible. The problem is that much of the evil that exists might not be physically necessary, and thus the non-absolutistic definitions of omnipotence (besides confusing the issue) do not make much headway. I don't know what to conclude about redemptive sovereignty. I am inclined to think that God is redemptively sovereign, but I am also tempted by the idea that God's plan is what William James says: a wonderful one with great result should it succeed, but also a risky one with a real chance for failure if we do not cooperate.¹³

The second problem is *the problem of cured evils*. Sometimes humans do a good job of getting rid of evil themselves, but such evil existed before humans were capable of eliminating it. If the fact that God allows evil were explained by his inability to eliminate it, then it would seem to follow that God would be less powerful than humans in this respect. This objection has been made by P. J. McGrath, who used the aforementioned example of the elimination of small pox.¹⁴ Given the way we have described finitism, it should now be clear that the problem of cured evils is no problem at all.

12. For example, see David L. Paulsen, "Joseph Smith and the Problem of Evil," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 590-60.

13. William James, *Pragmatism*, ed. Bruce Kuklick (Hackett Publishing Co., Indianapolis, 1981), 130.

14. P. J. McGrath, "Evil and the Existence of a Finite God," *Analysis* 46 (1986): 1, 63-64.

Finitism does not merely explain evil by claiming that God cannot eliminate it. In some cases, this is indeed the explanation as with pointless evil. However, much evil is such that God could only eliminate it by causing greater harm, like eliminating opportunities for growth or eliminating free will. Thus, using the finitist's solution, God can allow evils that we can eliminate and still remain more powerful than we are.

One may press the problem of cured evils further, by focusing on pointless evil. One would argue that some pointless evil exists which humans have eliminated, or could eliminate, and which God does not eliminate. For example, consider the case of the five children who died in a car trunk recently. Certainly, if God is godlike at all, he must have been able to release the latch of the trunk, and yet he failed to do so. If one of the neighbors had become aware of the children's plight, she could and certainly should have released them. So why does God fail to act in such cases?

The response here must be different. We cannot say that God fails to eliminate evil because he would also have to eliminate the opportunity for growth or free will since we are considering pointless evil. To see how we can respond, consider *the case of the over-burdened doctor*. This doctor has three patients: The first is seriously injured and can be saved with a long, involved operation. But if the doctor spends time on the first, she won't have time to get to the second and third patients before they die. The second and third both have life-threatening injuries, but saving them is less complicated. If the doctor treats the second and saves him, she can also treat the third and save him. Obviously, the benevolent doctor can save the second and third without being held morally accountable for the death of the first even though she could have saved the first and would have done so if she could have also saved the others. Sometimes God may be in a similar situation to the overburdened doctor. There are evils, which God could have averted but which occur at a time in which it is more important for God to attend to other matters. It is hard to know what could be more important than saving the lives of children dying in a car trunk, but it is certainly not hard to imagine that there is possibly something.

Peter Appleby gives an objection to finitism that is very similar to the problem of cured evils.¹⁵ He argues that if God could do the miracles described in the scriptures, then there are certainly many evils present in the world today, which he could and should eliminate. So for finitism to work, God must be less powerful than we think him to be. Yet this seems wrong, and our response is similar to that for the problem of cured evils. First, we don't know which of the contemporary evils are ones that con-

¹⁵Peter Appleby, "Finitist Theology and the Problem of Evil," in *Line upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, ed. Gary Bergera (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

tribute to soul-building or are by-products of free will. Secondly, we can claim that for some of such evils, God is busy “helping other patients.”

Another, less convincing objection to finitism is that if God is finite, then he is not worshipable. This objection is more amorphous than the other objections. Indeed, I am not even sure what it claims. The advocate of this objection surely must give us a non-trivial criterion of worshipability. Furthermore, why would we think that this would have to include omnipotence? I’m not sure what to say in response to this criticism until the objector clarifies the problem, but clearly the burden of argument is still on the shoulder of the objector. I can point out that if a God is redemptively sovereign, then we would seem to have good reason to worship him since he is perfectly benevolent and very effective in achieving his goals.

6. WHY GOD IS FINITE ANYWAY

You might wonder: “This is all well and good, but Mormonism believes in an omnipotent deity, and so we cannot opt for finitism. After all, it says that God is omnipotent in the Book of Mormon” (Mosiah 3:5). It is one thing for the Book of Mormon to use the word “omnipotent” to describe God and another thing to use it in the traditional sense explicated above. In that sense, Mormon theology denies that God is omnipotent because it would contradict what Joseph Smith tells us about God. God, we are told, is embodied. I therefore argue that God must be finite. The argument is simple: Let a body be any space-time region which is filled with enough fundamental material to be such that we can run up against it, so to speak. Now, whatever is embodied is—by virtue of that fact—located wherever its body is. So if God is embodied, he is located in a particular space-time region. Let us take any given time, and God will be at one and only one location at that time. Thus God cannot be multiply located. For example, the property of redness is located in my daughter’s fire engine truck and in my sleep-deprived eyes simultaneously. So it follows that there is something which is logically possible which God cannot accomplish. This, I submit, shows that God must be finite.¹⁶ Couple this with the fact that finitism nicely solves the problem of evil, and it follows that Mormons should no longer ignore this very reasonable aspect of their brand of theism.

¹⁶This argument needs a lot more to fill it out. For example, the definition of a body is neither rigorous nor uncontentious, but I submit that any rigorous definition will inevitably entail that bodies are at only one place at one time. This is the key to the argument.

Commonplace Nightmares

Holly Welker

Most likely it was an act of God that
the cathedral caught fire even before
the hangman put the mask on my head
and all my executioners ran in search of water
and left me gasping, brittle with fright,
until an old woman cut my noose and let me down,
retreating into the hood of her cape so no one could see
the malicious smile sticking to her tarry lips.

It must have been all the malevolent forces of the universe
pursuing me to that place so old
that even the moment I got there it felt like
500 years ago. Thirteen loaves of bread were held up
against the light of the stained glass windows,
and the choir tower thrust itself into the mottled sky.
The hag sent me home to bathe in herbs as penance;
I've done it but now I can't swallow,
my whole life is in my throat,
all the joy and misery I'll ever feel is
condensed in a lump the size of my fist
and wrapped around my brain stem.

My dreams are full of petticoats.
I can never own enough lingerie but I don't
mess with garters, they just falter and my stockings fall
below the fringed hem of my skirt
embroidered with a border of pomegranates and bells.
I wonder what I've sacrificed and what
I could have done differently,
sometimes I lie back and think
this is punishment for everything I've ever done wrong:
to dream of escape, blank sheets of stationery,
cups full of coffee, lipstick, tall men,
of mirrors and escape,
of petticoats, portraits, cabinets and keys.
And I worry that if I don't get ahold soon
of something full of whimsy,
full of the odd fancy of capricious notion,
I will someday have gray hair and
very thick ankles and wear a dress
that used to be sort of brownish,
shuddering out of that nightmare
where all I do is take care of a baby and someone old.

The “Breathing Permit of Hôr” Thirty-four Years Later

Robert K. Ritner

IN 1967, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART in New York made a gift to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of eleven papyrus fragments once owned by Joseph Smith and employed as the basis for “The Book of Abraham.” In January and February of the following year, sepia photographs of the fragments were published in the magazine *The Improvement Era*, and on the basis of these photographs, the journal *Dialogue* commissioned translations and commentaries on the texts, now designated as “The Joseph Smith Papyri.” In the Summer issue of 1968, (vol. 8, no. 2) Egyptologists John A. Wilson and Richard A. Parker identified fragments within this collection as sections of a late mortuary text known as a “Book of Breathings,” copied for a Theban priest named Hor.¹

The first extensive translation of this document appeared in the subsequent autumn issue (vol. 8, no. 3), authored by my teacher and predecessor, Klaus Baer.² Though Baer was ultimately able to examine the papyri personally, his study was conducted primarily from *The Improvement Era* photos and was considered by himself to be nothing more than a “preliminary study.”³ Nevertheless, he was able to provide a complete translation of the surviving sections, including fragments pasted haphazardly as patches within the unrelated Papyrus IV and two vignettes that originally bracketed the main text: Papyrus I (originally redrawn as “A Facsimile From⁴ The Book of Abraham No. 1”) and the now lost fragment redrawn as Facsimile No. 3 from The Book of Abraham. Baer’s

1. Wilson 1968, 68-69 (document D) and Parker 1968a, 86 and 1968b, 98-99 (partial translation).

2. Baer 1968 (hereafter simply Baer).

3. Baer, 111.

4. The LDS authorized publication of these drawings as illustrations from The Book of Abraham clearly answers the polemicist Nibley’s unjust complaint against his former tutor (1975, 1) that “There would have been nothing wrong with Dr. Baer’s title if he had been

translation of "the Breathing Permit of Hôr" has served as the basis of all further studies of the text, the most extensive of which was the 1975 edition by Hugh Nibley. No full edition of this papyrus document has yet appeared. Baer provided only a translation annotated for a popular audience, with phrases restored from parallel texts indicated by italic script.⁵ Nibley attempted a transliteration and literal interlinear translation only of the unrestored portions of Papyri XI and X (with the "patches" in Papyrus IV).⁶ The corpus of parallel texts, on which any restorations must be based, has not been published as a group, though lists of such texts have been compiled and collective translations have appeared.⁷

In the absence of any formal edition of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing combining full translation and transliteration, and with the recent publication by Charles M. Larson of vastly improved color photographs,⁸ it seems proper to revisit the papyrus. As each generation of Chicago Egyptologists has dealt with the Mormon papyri (Breasted, Wilson, Baer), it has now fallen to me to reassess Baer's translation in light of Egyptological advances of the past thirty-four years. In preparing the following annotated edition, I have had access to Baer's original notebook⁹ and files, which have proved valuable for determining his restorations and readings. To prepare his translation, Baer hand-copied parallels from

good enough to explain to his readers why it was apparent to him that his text is the source of the Book of Abraham." Baer did precisely that in footnote 111-12n11 and on 126-33. This derivation had been discussed fully in Heward and Tanner 1968, to which Baer refers throughout his article. The Book of Abraham is published as being "translated from the papyrus, by Joseph Smith," and as the facsimile is also "from" the Book, then the Book must have been derived (by whatever questionable means) *from* the papyrus. See also the explicit link between the text and facsimiles in Abraham, 1:6 (note c) and 1:12 and 14. Nibley's professed amazement (1) that anyone could derive an elaborate account from a few Egyptian signs is disingenuous, since just such "symbolic" translations had been done by the discredited Athanasius Kircher, whose work Nibley had previously described (1968a, 173-76). The work of Nibley and his acolytes is a professed attempt to counter the analysis of "people innocent of any bias in favor of Joseph Smith. . . . So now it is time to hear the other side of the story" (1968b, 105).

5. Baer, 119.

6. The word for word, incomplete translations in Nibley 1975 (hereafter simply Nibley) produce disjointed lines of the very sort criticized by Gee 1992, 105-06 regarding Larson 1992. Cf. Nibley, 19-20: "inside (of) the lake great (of) Chonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after clasped" with Larson 1992 as cited by Gee: "this pool great Khonsu born of Taykhebyt justified likewise after grasped." Nibley noted that his literal translation was "nonsense" (47).

7. A list of Books of Breathings appears in Vallogia 1979, 293, with fuller references in Coenen 1995. Translations appear in de Horrack 1907 and 1875 and in Goyon 1972.

8. Larson 1992, 33 (folded color plate). Contra Gee 1992, 93-94, these photographs *are* the first true four-color separation images of the papyri to be published. The difference in legibility is pronounced and inspires further respect for Baer's abilities with inferior materials.

9. Oriental Institute Archives, Papers of Klaus Baer, file 2321. I thank John A. Larson,

a series of papyri: Hague 42/88 (P. Denon), Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291, British Museum 9995 and Berlin 3135, noting also minor variants in Louvre 3121, 3126, 3158 and 3166. Of these exemplars, Papyrus Louvre 3284 served as the representative "standard text," as it has for all translations since its publication by de Horrack in 1877. The following translation also adopts this basis for restorations, with annotations indicating other variant readings. It must be stressed, however, that Baer's translation, like my own, presents the text as copied by the scribe of the Joseph Smith Papyrus (hereafter P JS). Other versions are employed only in restorations or annotations. As noted by Baer, the manuscripts show "relatively little variation, so that it is not too difficult to restore the missing passages."¹⁰

As the reader will see, changes from Baer's understanding of the document are few and do not challenge his basic understanding of the text. The most notable changes entail matters of column numbering, dating, and the interpretation of one title and a name. Column numbers in this edition have been increased by one, with the lines on P JS I now considered sections within column I. Since the Breathing Document actually began at the end of P JS I, it has been necessary to revise Baer's numbering to avoid beginning the text in column "0."¹¹ In regard to dating, Baer, like Wilson and Parker, followed contemporary assessments based on the paleography of Books of Breathing and so dated the papyrus of Hor to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period.¹² Recent studies by Quaegebeur and Coenen have suggested a date in the first half of the Ptolemaic Period (first half of the second century BC).¹³ This revision, based on the similarity of common family names and a rare title, remains controversial, though possible.¹⁴ The possibility of family connections between the owner of this Joseph Smith papyrus and individuals noted in comparable Louvre papyri was already a matter of discussion between Baer and Wilson in 1968.¹⁵ Among the titles of Hor listed in the first line of the surviving papyrus is an office of the fertility god, whose name Baer ren-

Oriental Institute Museum Archivist (and no relation to Charles M. Larson), for authorization and assistance with the Baer materials.

10. Baer, 119.

11. Already recognized by Baer in his notebook, and corresponding to the final two signs mentioned in Baer, 129 (line 5).

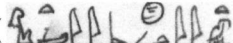
12. Baer, 111.

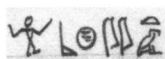
13. See Coenen 1998, and the references there cited.

14. No document securely establishes the genealogy proposed in Coenen 1998, 1110, and as noted by Quaegebeur 1994, 216, it is not clear if the relevant individuals are part of the same family. Coenen is perhaps overly confident, 1110, that the problem of differing titles for the Hor of P JS and the like-named man of certain Tübingen papyri "does not, however, preclude the proposed identification." See also the remarks of Quirke 1999, 84-85.

15. Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 7/2/68) and Baer file 2373 (response of 7/5/68). For another Hor son of Osorwer, see Quaegebeur 1994, 216-17.

dered as “Min, Bull-of-his-Mother,” employing the god’s most common epithet.¹⁶ From Baer’s notes, it is apparent that he was suspicious of this reading, and improved photography shows clearly that the divine name is rather “Min who slaughters his enemies.”


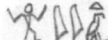
More problematic is the question of the interpretation of the name of Hor’s mother, Taikhibit. Examples of the name had previously been gathered by de Meulenaere, whose transliteration **Ṭ̣(y)-ḥy-ḅ̣.t** and translation “The one who is joyous” (literally, “high of character”) have been universally adopted in reference works and articles.¹⁷ Writings of the name vary within the Breathing Document, from spellings consistent with de Meulenaere’s examples ( Col. 2/2 and



Col. IV/13) to the hieroglyphic spelling in Col. I/3



with the “b” shifted before the human figure for spatial reasons.

While aware of de Meulenaere’s reading, Baer rejected it for the mother of Hor because of what he considered a logographic writing in Col. III/7 (his column II/7): . This he transcribed as 

Ṭ̣y-ḥbi.t, translating the human figure as “dancer”(ḥbi.t).¹⁸ While the human figure that terminates this spelling of the name is distinct from that employed to spell “high”(ḥy),¹⁹ it does not really match the figure used for dancer either and seems a scribal peculiarity.²⁰ The figure with upraised arms (ḥy) is used in Col. IV/13, so the standard interpretation is probably correct. The spelling in Col. III/7 is perhaps best understood as an abbreviated form of the name, **Ṭ̣y-ḥy**, otherwise common in hieratic and Demotic.²¹ In general, the hieratic handwriting of the Breathing Doc-

16. Baer, 116n21.

17. de Meulenaere 1955, 147-48; Devauchelle 1978; Quaegebeur 1982, 264; Quaegebeur 1994, 222n56 (disagreeing with Baer); Quack 1996, 65; and E. Lüddeckens, ed., 1980-2000, I/14 (1996), 1081; Gee 2000, 11 and 52. The name is rendered into Greek as Chibois; see Coenen 1998, 1104n7.

18. Baer, 111n10: “The dancer,” based on Erman and Grapow 1971, III, 250/15-16, and the assumption that Ṭ̣y reflected a phonetic spelling of the definite article, as in Coptic Ṭ̣/TẸ̣. Oriental Institute Baer file 2374 (letter of John Wilson, 7/2/68) and Baer file 2373 (response of 7/5/68).

19. Cf. Möller 1912, 1. no. 4.

20. The sign is inconsistent with Möller 1912, 1. no. 6. Few examples are listed, so the range may be greater. The sign most closely resembles Möller, 3. no. 30, a seated child.

21. Devéria, 1881, 70, no. III.23 (the same individual as Ṭ̣y-ḥy-bi.t in the Joseph Smith papyri), and E. Lüddeckens, ed., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/16, 1999, 1237.

ument is fairly coarse by Egyptian standards,²² but this does not seriously hamper either the literal reading or the significance of the text.

The last major difference in the proposed translations derives from the ambiguity of Egyptian grammar as reflected in the script. However odd it may seem to modern readers, the Late Egyptian basic conjugation form (*sdm=f*) has various translational equivalents that can be distinguished only by context ("he did" vs. "may he do" vs. "so that he might do"). Where the context is not definitive, the translator is forced to adopt a personal choice. Previous French translations have attempted to avoid the problem by employing an inaccurate present tense²³ while Baer rather consistently chose the past tense. Baer's preference cannot be termed incorrect, but I have made other choices where context dictated.

The original width of the papyrus was correctly estimated by Baer as being about 150-155 cm., allowing for textual restorations and the now lost Facsimile 3.²⁴ The number of vignettes varies in Books of Breathings, but introductory and concluding vignettes are common.²⁵ At most, the papyrus might have been expanded by the inclusion of a further, middle vignette, as found in Papyrus Tübingen 2016,²⁶ but there is no reasonable expectation of any further text and certainly nothing even vaguely resembling the alien narrative of The Book of Abraham.

The true content of this papyrus concerns only the afterlife of the deceased Egyptian priest Hor. "Books of Breathings," such as this Joseph Smith example, are late funerary compositions derived from the traditional "Book of the Dead." Like the "Book of the Dead," the sole purpose of the later texts is to ensure the blessed afterlife of the deceased individual, who is elevated to divine status by judgment at the court of Osiris and is thereby guaranteed powers of rejuvenation. These powers, including mobility, sight, speech, hearing, and access to food offerings, are summarized in the term *snsn*, or "breathing," which refers to the Egyptian expression *ḥw n nḥ* "breath of life," the fundamental characteristic

22. Nibley insists (2) that P JS X and XI cannot be the source of the Book of Abraham because Joseph Smith wrote that "the Abraham document was beautifully written" whereas modern scholars like Wilson describe those papyri as relatively coarse. Modern scholars have examined many hundreds of hieratic documents and can, therefore, determine the standards of contemporary Egyptian handwriting. Joseph Smith had no such experience. With no frame of reference beyond his own limited collection, he had no reason or incentive to consider the writing poor.

23. de Horrack 1907 and Goyon 1972.

24. Baer, 127n113. There is no justification for Gee's attempt to more than double this figure to "320 cm (about 10 feet)" in Gee 2000, 10 and 12-13.

25. Baer, 127n111 (P. Berlin 3135) and Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, pls. 3-6 (P. Denon/Hague 42/88).

26. Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 296-97 and pls. 12-13, 150 (bottom) and 151 (left).

that distinguishes the living. The title *š.t n snsn*, literally “Document of (or ‘for’) Breathing,” employs the term for an official document or letter (*š.t*), so that these “books” serve as formal “permits”—or perhaps more accurately “passports”—to the world of the gods. To be effective, they had to accompany the corpse, and the directions for using the texts declare explicitly that the document must be placed below the mummy’s crossed arms and wrapped within the bandages. Most examples place the directions at the end, but the Joseph Smith papyrus has shifted these before the main text. Perhaps for the same reason, the papyrus inverts its versions of the two common illustrations (“vignettes”) that often accompany “Books of Breathing”: a scene of the deceased at the court of Osiris, and a scene of the corpse in the process of reanimation.²⁷ The latter scene may also include a depiction of the risen *ba*-spirit, the human-headed bird that represents the soul of the deceased individual. Since the fate of the *ba*-spirit is the focus of the document, this depiction is logical and is found on the Joseph Smith example.²⁸ The modern designation “Books of Breathing” includes a variety of late funerary compositions, but the text found in the Joseph Smith collection represents a specific type termed in antiquity “The Document of Breathing Made by Isis for Her Brother Osiris.”²⁹ These were used by (often interrelated) priestly families in Thebes and its vicinity from the middle Ptolemaic to early Roman eras, and the limited distribution probably accounts for their uniform pattern, displaying only minor modifications. Thus the reanimation scene of P JS I is adapted from contemporary temple depictions, but has precisely the same meaning and purpose as other examples with the mummy reinvigorated by the sun disk.³⁰

Here follows the transliteration and translation of Hor’s papyrus. Broken sections are indicated by []. For the sake of simplicity, optional diacritics have been dropped (Hor, not Hôr). Following proper Egyptological convention, Egyptian names are rendered in Egyptian format, not Greek approximations (marred by alphabetic deficiencies and irrelevant

27. For the court scene first and corpse scene last, see Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, 25, 27, and 31-32; and Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, plates 12-13 and 151.

28. Wrongly restored with a bird’s head and identified in Facsimile 1, Fig. 1, of *The Book of Abraham* as “The Angel of the Lord.” This is true only if Joseph Smith’s “Lord” was Osiris.

29. Formerly known as the “First Book of Breathing”; for the current terminology, see Coenen 1995.

30. The supposed second (and dappled) “hand” of the prone corpse may be the remains of a winged sundisk such as that found above the mummy in P. Tübingen 2016, P. Denon and P. Louvre 3284, rather than Isis in bird form. Gee’s quibbling, 2000, 29-30, regarding temple vs. papyrus scenes is pointless since the priestly owners of these papyri will have devised and had access to both, and contemporary “cross-over” imagery is known. A “weighing of the heart” scene usually confined to papyri is carved at the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina.

terminations) as adopted by Coenen and now inconsistently by Gee (Taikhibit rather than Chibois).³¹ With regard to the articles by my former student John Gee, I am constrained to note that unlike the interaction between Baer and Nibley, and the practice of all my other Egyptology students, Gee never chose to share drafts of his publications with me to elicit scholarly criticism so that I have encountered these only recently. It must be understood that in these apologetic writings Gee's opinions do not necessarily reflect my own nor the standards of Egyptological proof that I required at Yale or Chicago.

The Breathing Document opens with a vignette depicting the resurrection of the Osiris Hor on the customary lion-headed funerary couch, attended by the jackal-headed Anubis and (probably) the winged Isis, while the human-headed ba-spirit of Hor hovers above his head. The image has been grotesquely misrepresented as a human sacrifice in the labels and text of The Book of Abraham (Abraham 1: 11-14).³²

Introductory Vignette with 5 Hieroglyphic Sub-columns (Col. I = P JS I)
Address to Hor:

(I/1) [Wsir it ntr³³] hm-ntr ʿmn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hm³⁴ Mnw sm³
hrwy.w•f³⁵ h[m] Hnsw p³ [ir] sbr m W[ʿs.t] (I/2) [...]. Hr m^{3c}-hrw s³ ml-

31. Coenen 1998, 1104n7; Gee 2000, 11-12 and 53-59 (Amenophis, Chibois etc., but Hor rather than the Greek Horos). In this note, exceptions are made only for the names of deities now standard in the Greek or Latin form (Osiris, Anubis, Horus etc.).

32. The most reasonable explanations of the vignettes appear in Baer, 117-19; Ashment 1979 and Thompson 1995. Human sacrifice in Egypt was rare and more properly political execution, never depicted as on the altered Book of Abraham rendition of P JS I. For such sacrifice in Egypt, see the references gathered in Ritner 1993, index, 308. The early assessments of this material by Egyptologists Breasted, Petrie, Mercer, et al., solicited by Spalding in 1912 remain valid in 2001, despite *ad hominem* attacks by Nibley, cited in Gee 1992, 97. Gee's implication, 103, that these 1912 statements are invalid because, quoting Anthony Leahy, "in 1914 Egyptology was essentially an amateur subject" misrepresents Leahy's remarks, which indicated not youthful ignorance, but restricted information: "few university or museum posts. . . preserve of the few who had the private resources. . . therefore easy enough for the interested scholar to keep abreast of developments" (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 [1990], vii).

33. Restored from Hor's titles in P. Louvre N 3209; see Coenen 1999a, 258. For this typical title combination of god's father and prophet, cf. Devéria 1881, 71 (III.24), 104 (III.73), 106 (III.75), 110 (III.80), and among the owners of Books of Breathing, see 131-37, (IV.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 9).

34. For the use of hm for hm-ntr "prophet," see Coenen 1998, 1106.

35. Ultimately read by Baer as k³ mw.t•f "Bull of His Mother" (116 and n21), but marked as uncertain in his own working notes. The correct reading was first published by J. Quaegebeur 1997, 74; and discussed by Coenen 1998, 1103-15. The published photos used by Baer were ambiguous, but improved photography published by Charles M. Larson establishes the writing of sm³ hrwy.w•f with knife, oar, plural strokes, enemy determinative and flesh-sign (for •f). As the basic verb sm³ "to kill" is commonly used regarding human

nn³⁶ ḥry-sštḥ 'b ntr Wslr-wr m^{3c}-ḥrw lr.n n[b.t-pr ḥy.(t) n] (I/3) [Imn]-R³⁷ T^{3y}-ḥy-b(y).t m^{3c}.t-ḥrw

'nhḥ b^{3r}k m-ḥnw-w q(r)ys.t(w)k ḥr 'Imnt.t [W^{3s}.t]³⁸

(I/4) [...]... m^{3c}(?) (I/5) [dl^{3r}k n-f q(r)y]s.t³⁹ nfr.t mnḥ.t ḥr imnt.t n W^{3s}[.t] ml.[tt]⁴⁰ ḏw.w M³[nw(?)]⁴¹

(1/1) ["Osiris, the god's father], prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, prophet of Min who slaughters his enemies, prophet of Khonsu, the [one who exercises] authority in Thebes, (1/2) [...]... Hor, the justified, son of the similarly titled overseer of secrets and purifier of the god, Osorwer, the justified, born by the [housewife and sistrum-player of] (1/3) [Amon]-Re, Taikhibit, the justified!

May your ba-spirit live among them, and may you be buried on the west [of Thebes]."

(I/4) ["O Anubis(?),⁴² ...] justification(?). (I/5) [May you give to him] a good and splendid burial on the west of Thebes as on the mountains of Ma[nu](?)."

enemies and sacrificial animals, the negative term "massacre" is here rejected for the more commonplace "slaughter." In addition to the precise parallels noted by Coenen, the martial nature of Min is well attested; see Rochmonteix and Chassinat 1897, 395 (Min who makes massacres of her (= Isis') enemies lr 'ḏ.w n ḥfty.w^{3s}), 403, l. 17 (who smites his enemies ḥwl ḥfty.w^{3f}), and 404 (who brings an end to his enemies ln ph.wy r ḥfty.w^{3f}); Junker 1917, 36a (who tramples the execration figures ptpt rsy.w); and Bonnet 1952, 465a (who overthrows his enemies sḥr ḥfty.w^{3f}).

36. The suggestion by Quaegebeur 1994, 214 and 219, that this phrase means only "priest of the same rank" among the clergy at Karnak must be discarded. The expression was used throughout Egypt to indicate a repetition of specific titles, occasionally supplemented—as here—with additions. Examples recur throughout my forthcoming volume *The Libyan Anarchy: Documents from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Osorwer will have held all of Hor's offices in addition to "overseer of secrets" and "purifier of the god."

37. The lost titles of Taikhibit are restored from P. Louvre 3207, a Book of the Dead belonging to "the Osiris Hor, the justified, son of Osorwer, the justified, and born by the housewife and sistrum-player of Amon-Re, Taikhibit, the justified." This surely is the same Hor as the original owner of the Joseph Smith Book of Breathing. The extract in Devéria 1881, 70, no. III.23, misread the parents' names as Osor-aàou and Tai-xi or Tai-x..., hindering previous identification. This identification has now been made independently and published by Coenen 1999a. Although Coenen is hesitant (258), the title ḥy.(t) (n) 'Imn-R^c is certain from Devéria's transcription of the Louvre papyrus.

38. Restored from l. 5.

39. Text restored from Joseph Smith copies (Smith 1966, F and V); see Baer, 117 and 129.

40. The words n W^{3s}.t ml.tt are fully preserved in "Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar," F and V (ml.tt garbled).

41. For Manu, cf. Devéria 1881, 68 and 105.

42. A divine name (Anubis?) must be lost here, since the following address shifts from Hor to a deity on his behalf. This passage rebuts Gee 1992, 100 and 104-05: "Where, we may

Directions for Use (Col. I/5 - Col. II/9 = P JS XI.1)⁴³

[lw⁴⁴](II/1)[w st³ Wsir r] hnw n p(3)y š wr (n) Hnsw (II/2) [Wsir Hr m^{3c}-brw] ms.n T3y-ḥy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-ḥrw ml.ty (II/3) m-ḥ[t ḥf]^cw⁴⁵ c.wy f 2 r⁴⁶ ḥ³.ty f lw w⁴⁷ qr(II/4)ls t³ š^cy.t (n) sns n lr n⁴⁸ nty (II/5) m sš.wy hnw bnr n-lm s m šs ny-sw.t rdl.tw (hr) ^c f (II/6) Bby n mtr ḥ³.ty f lw lr w⁴⁹ p(3) mn n t3y f (II/7) qrls.(t) r p(3y) s⁵⁰ bnr
lr lr.tw n f md³.t tn ḥr (II/8) sns n f ml b³[.w] nṯr.w r nḥḥ ḥn^c (II/9) d.t

[(II/1) Osiris shall be towed in]to the great lake of Khonsu, (II/2) and likewise [the Osiris Hor, the justified,] born of Taikhibit, the justified, (II/3) after his two arms have been [placed] at his heart, while (II/4) the Breathing Document, being what (II/5) is written on its interior and exterior, shall be wrapped in royal linen and placed (under) his left arm in the midst of his heart. The remainder of his (II/7) wrapping shall be made over it.

As for the one for whom this book is made, (II/8) he thus breathes like the ba-spirit[s] of the gods, forever and (II/9) ever.

ask, in all of Papyrus Joseph Smith XI-X is there any prayer to any Egyptian God?" A further example occurs in the invocation (col. VIII/11) of Facsimile 3. Actually, since Hor is repeatedly and explicitly stated to be deified, a member of the company of the gods, and a form of Osiris, the entire Breathing Document is itself an extended "prayer to an Egyptian God."

43. Restored from the parallel text of P. Louvre 3284, col. 6, in de Horrack 1907, pl. XI and 135.

44. Hieratic text restored from Joseph Smith copies ("Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar," F, V, and 11 of "smaller book.")

45. Literally, "grasped."

46. The scribe has reinterpreted the standard text found in P. Louvre 3284, converting a visually similar hieratic shape into a later Demotic (and hieratic) form (ḥr > 2 r). The meaning is unaffected. Nibley, 20, misread ḥr and assumed the sign was "heavily re-touched."

47. Contra Nibley, 20, who read m.

48. Emended by Baer, 119-20, and Nibley, 21, the phrase lr n means simply "which amounts to/corresponds to/equals" in contemporary Demotic Egyptian; see Erichsen 1954, 36. The scribe has here deviated from the standard text, which has nothing between sns n and nty. Perhaps, as suggested by Baer, the scribe conflated this passage with the opening of Paragraph I.

49. The form lw lr w here must mark a second tense stressing "over it," not a circumstantial past. Other versions have only lr w "Let them make."

50. Contra Nibley, 21-22, who read gs ("side"), the spelling is an abbreviated alphabetic writing of the possessive adjective, common in Ptolemaic and Roman texts. This section of text, unread by de Horrack and Parker, is confirmed by the following variants: P. Louvre 3284, ll. 7-8: lr w p(3) mn (n) t³ qrls.(t) r p³y s bnr; P. Louvre 3121: lr w p(3) mn n t³y f qrls.(t) r p(3y) s [bnr]; P. Louvre 3126: lr w p³ mn (n) t³[y] f qrls.(t) r p(3y) s bnr. For hand-copies, see de Horrack 1907, pl. XI. For the sign mn, see Möller 1912, 52, no. 540.

The Main Body of the Breathing Document

(Col. III/1-V/13 = P JS XI.2 + P SJ IVA-D [mismounted fragments] + P SJ VI [mismounted fragment] + P JS X)⁵¹

Paragraph I

(III/1) **ḥ3.t-ḥ m [š'y.t n sns]n ir.t.[n 3s.t n sn' s Wsir r s'nh b3'f r s'nh ḥ3.t'f r srnp ḥ'.w'f nb]** (III/2) **m wḥm [r ḥnm'f] 3ḥ.t ḥn' it'f R' [r sb' b3'f m p.t m itn n i'ḥ r psd ḥ3.t'f m S3ḥ m ḥ.t n Nw.t r]** (III/3) **rdl.t ḥpr m [it.t n]n n Wsir Ḥr m3'c-ḥrw s[3 ... Wsir-wr m3'c-ḥrw ms.n T3y-by-by.t m3'c.t-ḥrw]** **ḥ3[p⁵² sp-2]** (III/4) **imy'k r[dl] 'š s.(t) s nb 3ḥ[os n s m ḥr.t-nṯr 'nh'f m wḥm m sšrw] m3'c ḥḥ n sp⁵³**

(III/1) Beginning of the [Breath]ing [Document] that [Isis] made [for her brother Osiris in order to revivify his ba-spirit, to revivify his corpse, and to rejuvenate all his limbs] (III/2) again, [so that he might unite with] the horizon together with his father Re, [so that his ba-spirit might be made to appear gloriously in heaven in the moon disk, so that his corpse might shine in Orion within the body of the sky-goddess Nut, and so that] (III/3) the same things might be made to happen to the Osiris Hor, the justified, son [of. . . Osorwer, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified.] Hide [it! Hide it!] (III/4) Do not let anyone read it!⁵⁴ [It] is effective [for a man in the necropolis, so that he might live again,] [being proved] truly [effective], millions of times.

Paragraph II

(III/5) **hy⁵⁵ [Wsir Ḥ]r m3'c-ḥrw ms.n T3y[-ḥy-by.t m3'c.t-ḥrw iw'k w'b ḥ3.ty'k w'b ḥ3.t'k m] 'bw pḥ.ty'k⁵⁶** (III/6) **m dwr⁵⁷ ḥr(y)-ib'k m bd [ḥsmn nn ' im'k m isf.t w'b] Ws[ir Ḥ]r m3'c-ḥrw ms.n⁵⁸** (III/7) **T3y-**

51. Lacunae restored from P. Louvre 3284 and variants 3121, 3126 and 3291, in de Horrack 1907, pls. VII-XIII.

52. The final traces **ḥ3[p]** appear on a fragment pasted upside down in the upper left corner of P JS IV (= P JS IVA/1).

53. The final words **m3'c ḥḥ n sp** appear inverted on P JS IVA/2.

54. Commands for secrecy in religious texts were intended to maintain elite privilege not magical efficacy; see Ritner 1993, 202-04.

55. For this interjection in late (and often Theban) texts, see Quaegebeur 1990, 76 and 86.

56. The final words **'bw pḥ.ty'k** appear inverted on P JS IVA/3.

57. Written for **twr**. The loss of the **d** sound in later Egyptian led to a common conflation of the once distinct consonants **d** and **t**.

58. The final words **Ws[ir Ḥ]r m3'c-ḥrw ms.n** appear inverted on P JS IVA/4.

59. Misread **Rmny-q3l** by Nibley, 26. Nibley's error was further confused in J. Gee

ḥ(by.t)⁵⁹ m³.(t) ḥr[w] m šdy.(t) twy nt[y] Šḥ.wt-ḥtp ḥr mḥt.t n.(t) šḥ.wt snḥm.w] sw^cb tw[•]k W³dy.t⁶⁰ (III/8) Nḥb.t m wnw.t 3.t⁶¹ n.t grḥ (m) wnw.t 3.t [n.t hrw my r[•]k Wsḥr Ḥr m³-ḥrw ms.n T³y-ḥby].t m³.(t)-ḥrw ^cq[•]k r wsh.t⁶² (III/9) M³.ty iw[•]k⁶³ w^cb.tw r ḥww [nb bt³w nb inr n M³.t rn[•]k]

(III/5) "Hail, [Osiris Ho]r, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! You are pure! Your heart is pure! Your front is in] a state of purity, your rear is in a state of cleanliness, and your interior parts consist of soda and [natron. There is no limb of yours in an evil state.] The Os[iris Ho]r, the justified, born of (III/7) Taikhibit, the justified, [has been purified] in this pool of the Fields of Offerings on the north of the Fields of Locusts. Edjo and Nekhbet have purified you (III/8) in the third hour of night and in the third hour [of day. Come, then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibi]t, the justified! May you enter into the Hall of the (III/9) Two Truths, since you are pure from [all] impurity [and every abomination. "Rock of Truth" is your name.]

Paragraph III

[hy] Wsḥr Ḥr m³-ḥrw ^cq[•]k⁶⁴ (III/10) r dw³.t⁶⁵ [m] ^cbw wr sw^cb tw[•]k [M³.ty] m wsh.t⁶⁶ [³.t ir.tw n[•]k ^cbw m wsh.t Gb sw^cb ḥ^c].w[•][k] m wsh.t⁶⁷ (III/11) Šw iw[•]k⁶⁸ [ḥ]r m³ R^c m ḥtp[•]f 1[tm m mšrw 1mn (i)rm[•]k ḥr dī.t n[•]k t³w Pḥ ḥr nb]i [ḥ]^c.w[•]k⁶⁹ ^cq[•]k r ḥḥ.[t] ḥn[^c] R^c [šsp[•]w b³•k r nšm.t ḥn^c Wsḥr] (IV/1) [ntr]i[•]w b]ḥ[•]k [m pr Gb iw[•]k n m³-ḥrw r nḥḥ d.t]

[Hail,] Osiris Hor, the justified! May you enter (III/10) into the Underworld [in] a state of great purity. [The Two Truths] have purified you in the [Great] Hall. [Purification is made for you in the Hall of Geb. Your

1992, 105 and 108, where it is said to be Hor's father's(!) name. The article and error were brought to my attention by Coenen 1997, 1104. For the abbreviated spelling, see the introductory discussion before the translation.

60. The final words sw^cb tw[•]k W³dy.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/5.

61. Other versions have the eighth (P. Louvre 3284, Louvre 3291 and British Museum 9995) or the ninth hour of day and night (P. Berlin 3135).

62. The final words [T³y-ḥby].t m³.(t)-ḥrw ^cq[•]k r wsh.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/6.

63. The lower portion of the words M³.ty iw[•]k appears on Fragment P JS IV D/1, wrongly pasted below the ba-bird vignette in column 2 of P. JS IV.

64. The final words Wsḥr Ḥr m³-ḥrw ^cq[•]k appear inverted on P JS IVA/7.

65. The words r dw³.t appear on Fragment P JS IV D/2.

66. The words m wsh.t are said to appear on a misplaced fragment pasted on P JS VI, upper left corner. See the hand-copy in Nibley, 28, top left.

67. The final words [ḥ^c].w[•][k] m wsh.t appear inverted on P JS IVA/8.

68. The words Šw iw[•]k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/3.

69. The words [nb]i [ḥ]^c.w[•]k appear on Fragment P JS IV D/4.

limb]s [have been purified] in the Hall of (III/11) Shu. You see Re at his setting, A[tum at twilight.⁷⁰ Amon is with you, giving you breath. Ptah fashion]s your limbs. May you enter into the horizon with Re. [May your ba-spirit be received into the sacred Neshmet bark with Osiris.] (IV/1) [May] your ba-spirit [be deified in the Estate of Geb, since you are justified forever and ever.]

Paragraph IV

[Wsir] Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T^{3y}-[hy-by.t⁷¹ m^{3c}.(t)-hrw m]n rn•k d[d] h³.t•k rwd s^{3h}•k⁷² [nn šn^c.tw•k] (IV/2) [m p.t t³ shd hr•k hr R^c] ‘nh b³•k hr 1mn rn[p⁷³ h³].t•k hr Wsir sns•k r nh[h d].t

[Osiris] Hor, the justified, born of Tai[khibit, the justified! May your name [end]ure, may your corpse abide, and may your mummy thrive. [You shall not be turned away] (IV/2) [in heaven or on earth. May your face be illuminated⁷⁴ in the presence of Re.] May your ba-spirit live in the presence of Amon. May your [cor]pse be rejuvenated in the presence of Osiris. May you breathe forever [and ev]er.

Paragraph V

(IV/3) [ir n•k b³•k pr.t-hrw m t hnq.(t) k³.w 3pd.w m qbhw sn{]r m hr.t hrw⁷⁵ [n.t r^c nb h^c.w•k hr] qs.w•k ml q1•k hr-tp t³ isw[r]•k⁷⁶ m š[n]b•k (IV/4) [wnm•k m r³•k šsp•k] snw hn^{c77} [b³.w ntr.w h]w tw•k 1npw lr•f s³w•k nn šn[^c.t]w•k⁷⁸ m r³.w (IV/5) [n.w dw³.t ly n•k Dhwty⁷³] sp-2 wr nb Hmnw s[š]•f⁷⁹ n•k š^c.(t) (n) sns•k m db^c.w•f ds•f [s]nsn (IV/6) [b³•k

70. Atum is part of the solar trinity, the form of Re at evening.

71. The words Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T^{3y}-[hy-by.t] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/1, mounted upside down in the middle of the plate, between the center vignettes.

72. Written with only the seal logogram; see Möller 1912, 40, no. 422. Nibley, 30, misread the detached elements as r^c nb or hr, though he read the sign correctly in col. V/12 (44).

73. The words ‘nh b³•k hr 1mn rn[p] appear on Fragment P JS IV C/2.

74. Literal illumination by the sun-god is intended, with the added nuance of “gladden” (shd-hr).

75. The words [sn{]r m hr.t hrw appear on Fragment P JS IV C/3.

76. Metathesis for slw[r]•k.

77. The words snw hn^c appear in P JS IV C/4.

78. Misread as hsf [twk] by Nibley, 32.

79. The words sp-2 wr nb Hmnw s[š] appear on P JS IV C/5. For the evolution of the epithet of Thoth the Thrice Greatest (“Trismegistos”) in this and other texts, see Ritner 1981a and 1981b. My citation of the available image of PJS IV should not be construed as an endorsement of Nibley’s scholarship, contra the implications of Gee 1992, 98n6.

**r nhh wḥm•k q]l•k ḥr-tp t̄ m-m⁸⁰ ḥnh.w l[w]•k ntr̄i ḥn̄ḥ b̄.w ntr̄.w lb•k
lb n R̄ iw̄f•k⁸¹ (IV/7) [iw̄f n ntr̄ ʿ3]**

(IV/3) [May your ba-spirit make for you an invocation-offering consisting of bread, beer, beef and fowl, and of cool water and incen]se in the course of [every] day. [Your flesh is on] your bones in accordance with the form that you had on earth. May you drink with your throat. (IV/4) [May you eat with your mouth. May you receive] offering bread together with [the ba-spirits of the gods.] Anubis [gua]rds you. He has made your protection. You shall not be turned [away] from the doors (IV/5) [of the Underworld. Thoth], the Thrice [Great]est, Lord of Hermopolis, [has come to you.] He has writ[ten] for you a Breathing Document with his own fingers, so that (IV/6) [your ba-spirit] may breathe [forever, and that you might regain the fo]rm that you had on earth among the living, since you are divine together with the ba-spirits of the gods. Your heat is the heart of Re; your flesh (IV/7) [is the flesh of the great god.]

Paragraph VI

**[hy Ws]lr Ḥr m̄ḥ-ḥrw ḥmn (l)rm•k⁸² r̄ nb m pr R̄⁸³ wḥm•k ḥnh wp
n•k Wp-w̄.wt w̄ḥ.t (IV/8) nfr[.t⁸⁴ m̄ḥ•k m ir.ty•k sdm•k m] ḥnh.
wy•k mdw•k m r̄ḥ•k ḥm•k m rd•k⁸⁵ lw b̄ḥ•k ntr̄i m dw̄ḥ.t [r i]r (IV/9)
ḥpr.[w nb r mr̄f ir•k n̄ḥ ḥr.w⁸⁶ n p(ḥ) (l)ḥd ḥps [...]⁸⁷ m ḥwnw nhs•k**

80. The top half of the words [q]l•k ḥr-tp t̄ m-m appears in P JS IV C/6.

81. The scribe employs the variant found in P. Louvre 3291, l. 16. Nibley, 33, wrongly read ḥḥt.k, following P. Louvre 3284, 2/11.

82. For the common late conjunction, misunderstood by Nibley as a confusion of r̄ḥ and m̄ḥ, see Erman and Grapow 1971, I, 115/17-20.

83. All other versions have r̄ nb ḥr wḥm•k, omitting the phrase "in the estate of Re." Baer, 122n60, was unable to read the traces between r̄ḥ "day" and m pr R̄ "in the estate/temple of Re." This is simply the expected modifier nb "every" placed to the right of r̄ḥ, not below it as restored by Nibley, 34, who ignores the following sign. The damaged suffix •k fills the space where Nibley restored nb.

84. A small misplaced fragment used to patch lines 9-10 of this column contains the words nfr and ḥpr, which properly begin lines 8 and 9. See Baer, 122n62, and Nibley, 35-36, who did not place the fragment and misread nfr.

85. Only one leg is written, contra Nibley, 34. The same writing is found in P. Berlin 3135.

86. Louvre 3284 indicates a vocalization ḥlḥl.w, corresponding to Coptic ωⲟⲗωⲗ "shaking" (Crum 1939, 561b).

87. A gap at this spot was later filled with a fragment torn from the beginnings of ll. 8-9, probably covering a hole already present when the papyrus was written; see Baer, 122n62. Nothing is expected between ḥps and m ḥwnw. Baer considered the trace of m following the hole to be the conclusion of second writing of ḥps (dittography), and his remarks were misinterpreted by Nibley, 35, who transcribed the final determinatives of (l)ḥd as another writing of ḥps. Had such dittography existed, it would have been in the hole.

tw⁸⁸ r^c nb m³³·k n³ sty(IV/10)[.wt n P³-R^c ly n·k ʿmn hr t³].w n ^cnḥ di·f
 ir·k sn[sn m]⁸⁹ ḏb³.t·k pr·k r t³ r^c nb ir·w⁹⁰ n·k š^c(IV/11)[y.t n sns]n [n
 Dḥwty m] s³w·k⁹¹ snsn·k im·s ml R^c m³³ ir.t·k sty.(wt) ltn ḏd·w m³·t
 r·k⁹² (IV/12) [m-b³ḥ Wsir] ir·w m[k.t·k(?)]⁹³ Hr Bḥd.t ḥw·f⁹⁴ ḏ.t·k
 nṯrī·f⁹⁵ b³·k ml ir⁹⁶ nṯr.w nb.w b³ n R^c hr s^cnḥ [b³·]k (IV/13) [b³ n Šw hr
 ḥnm ms]ty·k

[Hail, Os]iris Hor, the justified! Amon is with you every day in the Estate of Re, so that you might live again. Wepwawet has opened for you the good way, (IV/8) [so that you might see with your eyes, that you might hear with] your ears, that you might speak with your mouth, and that you might walk with your feet, while your ba-spirit is deified in the Underworld [in order to] make [any] transformation[s according to its will. May you cause the [rust]lings of the noble perseia tree [...] in Heliopolis.⁹⁷ May you awake every day so that you might see the ray[s (IV/10) of the sun. Amon has come to you bearing the brea]th of life. He has caused that you brea[the in] your sarcophagus so that you might go forth to the earth every day. (IV/11) The Breath]ing Docu[ment of Thoth] has been made for you [as] your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it like Re, so that your eyes might see the rays of the sun disk, and so that you might be called “justified” (IV/12) [in the presence of Osiris.] [Your] pro[tection(?)] has been made. Horus the Behdedite⁹⁸ has guarded your body and has deified your ba-spirit as do all the gods. The ba-spirit of Re revivifies your [ba-spirit]. (IV/3) [The ba-spirit of the air-god Shu unites with] your [nos]trils.

88. Misread by Nibley, 35, as *nhs twk*.

89. The hole the papyrus is here patched with *ḥpr* from line 9. The lost text of *sn[sn m]* is too small for the current gap, supporting Baer’s suggestion of ancient damage. Slight traces of *m* or the determinative of *ḥw* are preserved on tatters to the right of *ḏb³.t*.

90. Not attested in other variants and misread by Nibley, 36, as *rdl.tw*. Other texts read: “The Document of Breathing of Thoth is your protection, so that you might breathe by means of it every day.”

91. Misread by Nibley, 36, as *(nḏ)w.k*.

92. Misread by Nibley, 37, as *rn·k*. Nibley’s *n* is the lower stroke of the ovoid *r*.

93. P JS X has a broken, shorter variant than standard texts. The word *m[k.t]* “protection” is restored following col. V/5, where it also precedes mention of Horus of Behdet. This restoration was first suggested by Baer in unpublished notes. Nibley, 37, misread the traces as *lt.f*. Other texts have *šl.w m³-ḥrw hr ḏ.t·k* “They have written ‘justified’ on your body.”

94. Misread by Nibley, 37, as *ḥnm.n.f*.

95. Misread by Nibley, 37, as a *sdm.ty.fy*-form *nṯr.ty.fy*.

96. Other versions read: “Horus, the protector of his father, . . . has deified your ba-spirit like all the gods.”

97. For the mythological associations, see Baer, 123n63.

98. Horus of Edfu.

Paragraph VII

h[3]y Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-(by.t)⁹⁹ m^{3c}.(t)-hrw sns n b3.k lw (= r) [bw] mr.k¹⁰⁰ (V/1) [l]w.k m [Wsir Wsir Hnty-Imnty.w rn.k H^cpy wr lw n.k m 3bw mh.f htp.k m df3](V/2).w

Hail, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified! May your ba-spirit breathe wherever it likes, (V/1) since you exist as [Osiris. Osiris Foremost of the Westerners is your name. Hapy the great (the Nile Inundation) has come to you from Elephantine, so that he might fill your altar with (V/2) food offering]s.

Paragraph VIII

Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n¹⁰¹ [T3y-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw lw n.k ntr.w n.w Šm^cw sšm.w tw.k r 'rq-hh¹⁰² 'nh b3.k šm](V/3)s.k Wsir sns n.k (m)-hnt¹⁰³ R3-S3w [mk tw.k H3p-nb.s hn^c ntr 3 h3.t.k 'nh m] (V/4) Ddw T3w-wr b3.k 'nh m p.t [r^c] nb

Osiris Hor, the justified, born of [Taikhibit, the justified! The gods of Upper Egypt have come to you so that they might guide you to Alkhah. May your ba-spirit live, may you] (V/3) serve Osiris, may you breathe within Rostau. ["She-who-hides-her-Lord"¹⁰⁴ and the great god have protected you. Your corpse lives in] (V/4) Busiris and the Thinite nome. Your ba-spirit lives in heaven every [day].

Paragraph IX

[Wsir Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw s3m S3m.t m w3w.w im.k Hr] (V/5) 3 lb hr ir mk.t.(k) Hr Bhd.t [hr ir lb.k Hr-Mr.ty hr s3w d.t.k dd.k m] (V/6) 'nh wd3 snb iw.k mn.tw hr ns.t.k m t3 dsr [m]y [r.k

99. Nibley, 38, mistranscribed the final signs, substituting a "t" for the human figure after **hb**. Contra Nibley, this is not the "only occurrence of the complete name," nor is its meaning "unknown." Nibley himself noted the full writing in col. II/2 (20). Other unbroken writings of the mother's name appear in cols. I/3 and III/7. Nibley's treatment skipped col. I and misread III/7 (26).

100. Signs ignored by Nibley, and **mr** wrongly included in the photograph of the end of l. 12.

101. Lines 1-2 were dismissed as illegible by Nibley, 39.

102. Baer, 123, failed to recognize the name of this cult site of Osiris and adopted the copying error of P. Louvre 3284 for the following word (**hn^c** for **'nh**). For **'rq-hh**, see Erichsen 1954, 68.

103. Nibley, 39, read "**m** or **khnti**."

104. Alkhah is the specific burial site of Osiris at Abydos, Rostau is a generic term for burial ground (originally just for Saqqara), and "She-who-hides-her-Lord" is the name of the necropolis at Abydos.

Wsr Hr m^{3c}-hrw ms.n T3y-hy-by.t m^{3c}.(t)-hrw iw.k] (V/7) h^c.tw m qd.k¹⁰⁵ twt m hkr.w.k sdr.k¹⁰⁶ m 'nh [wrš.k m snb šm.k snsn.k r] (V/8) bw nb wbn R^c hr tph.t.k¹⁰⁷ ml Wsir snsn.k ['n]h[.k m sty.w.f Imn-R^c s'nh.f] (V/9) k3.k sw3d.f tw.k¹⁰⁸ m š3.t¹⁰⁹ snsn šms.k Wsir [Hr nb hnw iw.k m ntr 3 hnty] (V/10) ntr.w 'nh hr.k nfr ms.w.k rn.k rwd r^c nb [m]y [']q.k r [sh]-ntr¹¹⁰ [wr sp-2] (V/11) m Ddw m33.k Hnty-Imnty.w m hb Wg[3] ndm sty.k m hwn¹¹¹ [3 rn.k m] (V/12) s3h šps

[Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified! Sakhmet has overpowered those who would conspire against you. Horus] (V/5) the steadfast makes (your) protection. Horus the Behdedite [performs your wishes. Hormerty guards your body, so that you are permanently in] (V/6) life, prosperity and health, enduring upon your throne in the sacred land. Come, [then, Osiris Hor, the justified, born of Taikhibit, the justified, (V/7) appearing gloriously in your proper form, complete in your ornaments! May you spend the night in life; [may you spend the day in health. May you travel and may you breathe in] (V/8) any place. May Re shine upon your cavern like that of Osiris, so that you might breathe and [live by means of his rays. Amon-Re has revived] (V/9) your ka-spirit and has made you flourish by means of the Breathing Document. May you serve Osiris [and Horus, Lord of the sacred Henu bark, since you exist as the Great God, Foremost] (V/10) of the gods. May your face live; may your forms be perfect. Your name thrives every day. [Come,] may you enter into the very great embalming [booth] in Busiris. May you see the Foremost of the Westerners in the Wag-Festival. May your scent be sweet as a youth. [May your name be great as] (V/12) an august noble.¹¹²

105. Nibley, 41, misread tyt.k.

106. Nibley's insistence, 41, that "the sign. . . is *not* sdr but grg" shows ignorance of late hieratic and Demotic forms. See Möller 1912, 37, no. 384B, and Erichsen 1954, 480 (bottom).

107. Nibley, 41, mistranscribed the h as a stroke to read tp.t. "Cavern" signifies "tomb." Other versions have hw.t "mansion" with the same nuance.

108. Nibley, 42, garbled this passage, misreading sw3d.f tw.k as "'nkh nd (wda?)-snb or m swda.tw.k." Nibley's "transliteration" does not follow standard conventions.

109. The scribe has written š3.t in error for š^c.t.

110. The words [']q.k r [sh]-ntr appear on Fragment P JS IV, B/1, inserted upside down at the upper left of the ba-bird vignette. All extant versions have sh-ntr, but Nibley, 43, restored [hr.t]-ntr. Baer translated "Great Divine Council," but the term refers specifically to the embalming booth of Anubis.

111. The words .k m hwn appear in Fragment P JS IV, B/2. The final sign is the child determinative, not plural strokes as transcribed by Nibley, 43. All other versions have ndm sty.k ml lm3h.w "May your scent be sweet like the revered ones."

112. The term "noble" also indicates "mummy." P. JS V is paralleled by P. Louvre 3291, l. 29. Other versions have "be great among the nobles/mummies."

Paragraph X

h3y Wsir Hr m3c-ḥrw ḥḥ b3k m š'y.t snsn [hnm.k m mlt.t] (V/13) b3¹¹³
 ḥq.k r dw3.t nn wn ḥfty.w.k iw.k m 3ḥ¹¹⁴ ntrl [m Ddw lb.k n.k nn ḥrl.f
 r.k ir.ty.k n.k wn r' nb]

Hail, Osiris Hor, the justified! May your ba-spirit live by means of the Breathing Document, [and may you be united by the same manner with] (V/13) the ba-spirit. May you enter into the Underworld. There are no enemies of yours, for you exist as a divine, effective spirit [in Busiris. Your heart belongs to you; it will not be far from you. Your eyes belong to you, being open every day."]

This marks the end of the preserved text. Paragraphs XI-XIV are lost, approximately 2 columns [Col. VI-VII].

The papyrus concludes with a vignette preserved only in a poorly rendered engraving at the end of The Book of Abraham. Baer conservatively chose to translate only the most obvious of these passages,¹¹⁵ but additional readings are possible and have been attempted here, with uncertainties noted. The scene, as already recognized by Baer, is the well attested conclusion of the older judgment scene associated with Book of the Dead 125.¹¹⁶ Having attained justification, the deified Hor is brought by Maat and Anubis before the altar of the enthroned Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. Comparable scenes open Papyrus Hague 42/88 (Denon) and Tübingen 2016.¹¹⁷ The origin of these vignettes in the classic judgment scene is shown conclusively by the final vignette of the comparable Breathing Document Florence 3666 + Vienna 3850, in

113. Texts differ considerably here. P. Louvre 3284 has *hnm.k m mlt.t* "may you be joined likewise," while Louvre 3291 has *hnm.k m š'.t n snsn* "may you be joined by means of the Breathing Document." Goyon, (1972), 222, notes examples of "you are united with Shu, son of Re."

114. Other versions have *b3 ntrl* "divine ba," and Nibley, 45, wrongly followed that reading, ignoring the remarks of Baer, 124n85. For the hieratic sign, see Möller 1912, 19, no. 204 (with back tick), clearly distinct from no. 208 (*b3*) and the writing of *b3* found at the beginning of this line and throughout the text.

115. Baer, 127, and n110.

116. Baer, 126-27. Baer's statement that it is "similar to but not identical with scenes showing judgment of the deceased before Osiris" (126) and "is not a judgment scene" (his quoted letter to Nibley in Gee 2000, 100) means only that the actual process of judgment is not shown. This image *does*, however, form part of standard judgment scenes, see the following notes.

117. Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, figs. 3-5, and Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, plate 12-13. These and other examples eliminate the doubt once expressed by Baer that "parallels may be hard to find" (quoted letter to Nibley in Gee 2000, 100). Gee fails to quote

which Maat and Anubis escort the deceased to the scales, enthroned Osiris and Isis.¹¹⁸ The iconography of Facsimile 3 has been discussed most reasonably by Stephen E. Thompson.¹¹⁹ This scene depicts events in the underworld court of Osiris, not a funeral re-inactment with human actors.¹²⁰

Concluding Vignette, Col. VIII (= Facsimile 3 of The Book of Abraham)
Label for Osiris (Fig. 1 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/1) **dd-mdw l(n) Wsr Hnty-Imnty.w** (VIII/2) **nb(?) 3bdw(?) p3 ntr 3**
(VIII/3) **r d.t nhh(?)**

Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos(?), the great god forever and ever(?).

Label for Isis (Fig. 2 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/4) **3s.t wr.(t) mw.t ntr**

Isis the great, the god's mother.¹²¹

Label for Maat (Fig. 4 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/5) **M3'.t hnw.t ntr.w**

Maat, mistress of the gods.

Label for Hor (Fig. 5 of Facsimile 3)

the remainder of Baer's assessment: "But one must not exaggerate in the other direction. I doubt that one could find many instances of exactly identical scenes in Egyptian art" (Baer files, quoted by permission, unlike the unauthorized use by Gee 2000, 98n15 and 100n22). The inclusion of Thoth recording the judgment and the Swallowing Monster Amyt further stress the derivation of this scene from Book of the Dead 125 vignettes, as in the Papyrus of Hunefer illustrated in Faulkner 1985, 34-35.

118. Coenen 1999b, plate XXI.

119. Thompson 1995, 145-48. Gee's brief rebuttal (2000, 40 and 67n17) is unacceptable. Reference to a costumed private individual in the Roman procession of Isis *is not evidence* that the figure of Isis here (no. 2) is "King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head," as published by Joseph Smith. Smith misunderstood "Pharaoh" as a personal name (cf. Abraham 1:25), and the name above figure 2 is unquestionably that of the female Isis. Osiris (fig. 1) is certainly not "Abraham," nor is it possible that the altar of Osiris (fig. 3) "signifies Abraham." Maat (fig. 4) is not a male "prince," Hor (fig. 5) is not a "waiter," nor is Anubis (fig. 6) a "slave" (because of his dark skin). Such interpretations are uninspired fantasies and are defended only with the forfeiture of scholarly judgment and credibility.

120. Gee 2000, 66, wrongly conflates this Anubis with masked Anubis-priests at funerals. Actors did not, however, impersonate Maat, Osiris, and Isis at funerals.

121. The same (common) label appears in P. Tübingen 2016 for the figure of Isis. She is not "Pharaoh" there either.

(VIII/6) **Wsr Hr** (VIII/7) **m^{3c}-hrw r d.t**
 The Osiris Hor, justified forever.

Label for Anubis (Fig. 6 of Facsimile 3)

(VIII/8) **dd-mdw l(n) Inpw ir s3(?)**¹²² (VIII/9) **hnty sh-ntr** (VIII/10) ...¹²³
 Recitation by Anubis, who makes protection(?), foremost of the embalming booth,

Invocation

(VIII/11) **l n(3) ntr.w hr.t-ntr ntr.w qrr.wt ntr.w rsy mht imnt.t Bb.t swd3**
Wsr Hr m^{3c}-hrw ir.n T3y-hy-by.t¹²⁴

O gods of the necropolis, gods of the caverns, gods of the south, north, west and east, grant salvation to the Osiris Hor, the justified, born by Taikhibit.

Here the papyrus ended. As the reader can verify by comparison, the basic understanding of the papyrus remains unchanged from Baer's interpretation of thirty-four years ago. The text is a formal document or "permit" created by Isis and copied by Thoth to assure that the deified Hor regains the ability to breathe and function after death, with full mobility, access to offerings and all other privileges of the immortal gods. The implications, basic symbolism and intent of the text are certain.¹²⁵

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122. Or **nb dw3.t** "Lord of the Underworld." The epithet **ir s3** appears in a comparable scene in the unpublished Papyrus McClung Museum: 98.11.1.

123. Possibilities include **imy-wt** "who is in the mummy bandages," **p3 ntr 3** "the great god" or **s3 Wsr** "son of Osiris."

124. Unread by Baer, 127, the signs **ir.n T3y-hy-by.t** can be recognized, including the figure with upraised arms (**hy**), shifted to the end as in Col. I/2. See also P. Louvre 3207 for the use of **ir.n ... T3y-h(b1.t)** "born by. . .Taikhi(bit)."

125. Contra Nibley's nihilistic quibbling on translation, 47ff. Where precisely the great pool of Khonsu was located does not change the meaning, significance or use of the text, none of which is in doubt.

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Maps of Time

Ken Raines

We inch forward on hearsay,
rumors, and puffs of wind,
working the ancient arts
of dead reckoning, stars,
and the angle of the sun.

We pencil in appointments,
number our books and charts.
And fear to sail the unfilled gaps
that look, to us, like the voids
the old cartographers
festooned with lurking beasts.

Joseph Smith's Identification of "Abraham" in Papyrus JS 1, the "Breathing Permit of Hôr"

Edward H. Ashment

There, . . . that is the signature of the patriarch Abraham.
—Joseph Smith, in *The Quincy Whig*, 17 Oct 1840

IN THE "EGYPTIAN ALPHABET" MANUSCRIPT that he himself wrote,¹ Joseph Smith transcribed Egyptian characters from the text of Papyrus JS 1, the

1. Four "Egyptian Alphabet" manuscripts survive:

- EA JS, written by Joseph Smith, with additions by Oliver Cowdery and Warren Parrish;
- EA OC, written by Oliver Cowdery, with an entry by Warren Parrish;
- EA WWP, written by W. W. Phelps, with an entry by Warren Parrish; and
- GAEL ("Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language"), written by W. W. Phelps, with additions by Warren Parrish.






EA JS, EA OC, and EA WWP appear to have been written at the same time. All the manuscripts contain slight differences, indicating how they relate to each other. For example EA JS originally lacks "Zub-sool-oan" (in addition to lexemes for four other characters), unlike EA OC and EA WWP. (Cowdery added those lexemes to Smith's manuscript, and Phelps's entry was the corrected, final version.) Likewise, EA JS lacks an interpretation for the penultimate character in the manuscript while both of the other manuscripts have it. Conversely, EA OC lacks an interpretation for the last character transcribed into all three EA manuscripts, *ʃ*, while EA JS and EA WWP both include it although largely crossed out with Cowdery entering a more elaborate interpretation on the back of the last page of EA JS.

Thus, evidence indicates that Smith's EA was the original, which means that it was Smith who established the methodology for decipherment in the Egyptian Alphabet documents. Cowdery added final touches to Smith's manuscript while not finishing his own. Phelps's manuscript did not include the more elaborate interpretation of the last character. Except for the entry by Parrish, Cowdery apparently was the last to write on the EA manuscripts.

Among other things, the GAEL incorporated the more elaborate interpretation of *ʃ* as part of its original text, indicating that it was written later than the EA manuscripts. As is the case with the EA manuscripts, Parrish's entries in the GAEL were added later. See

Breathing Permit of Hôr,² and recorded his transliterations and interpretations for many of them. In the course of his efforts, he connected disparate hieroglyphic and hieratic characters with Abraham.

PAPYRUS JS 1.1

From line 2 of pJS 1.1 Smith transcribed two hieroglyphic characters, , into his "Egyptian Alphabet" manuscript as . He identified the left-hand character as "Ah broam—ah-brah oam Ki Abrah oam."³ Following Smith's original identifications,  was transcribed as  and divided into constituent elements in the Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language (GAEL 3); and the  element from Smith's original was represented as the lexeme "Kiahbroam." In its various "degrees,"⁴ its purported interpretations were:


[Fifth Degree] Kiahbrahoam. Coming down from the beginning—right by birth—and also by blessing, and by promise—promises made; a father of many nations; a prince of peace; one who keeps the commandment of God; a patriarch; a rightful heir; a high priest (GAEL 3).

[Fourth Degree] Kiahbroam. Change from the first; by coming from the beginning by right of birth or lineage (GAEL 9).

Edward H. Ashment, "Reducing Dissonance: The Book of Abraham as a Case Study," *The Word of God*, ed. Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 232-23.



2. Nibley's fragments I, XI, and X. Instead of Nibley's arbitrary enumeration of the various papyrus fragments (see *Improvement Era* [February 1968]: 40-40i), a more accurate system has been adopted here:

- Papyrus JS 1, *Breathing Permit of Hôr*
- Papyrus JS 2, *Book of the Dead of Ta-sherit-Min*, comprised of Nibley's originally-designated fragments IX (now pJS 2.1), VII (now pJS 2.2), VIII (now pJS 2.3), V (now pJS 2.4), VI (now pJS 2.5), IV (now pJS 2.6), and II (now pJS 2.7);
- Papyrus JS 3, *Book of the Dead* 125 vignette of Nefer-ir-nebu, comprised of Nibley's originally-designated fragment III;
- Papyrus JS 4, fragments of the *Book of the Dead of Amunhotep, son of Nai-neb*, now lost, with only 19th-Century facsimiles remaining; and
- Hypocephalus JS, a hypocephalus for Shishak, now lost, with only a 19th-Century facsimile remaining.



3. Smith's "Ah broam—ah-brah oam Ki Abrah oam" were crossed out and, in Oliver Cowdery's handwriting, were replaced by "Ki-Ah-bram, Ki-ah-bra-oam—Zub-sool-oan." (In EA WWP, Phelps spelled the last word as "Zub zool oan.") GAEL 3 indicates that the right-hand character, , was left untransliterated.

4. Joseph Smith himself introduced the "degree" system of interpretation in his own

- ʃ [Third Degree] Kiahbroam. First reckoned in chronology = coming down from the beginning First born right or blessings (GAEL 13).
- ʃ [Second Degree] Kiahbroam. = Coming down from the beginning. To some place or fixed period, the first in lineage, or right in lineage (GAEL16).
- ʃ [First Degree] KiAhbroam. That which goes before, until another time, or a change by appointment, The first, faithful, or father, or fathers. (GAEL 20)

An obvious question is whether or not Smith's identifications and interpretations are unique to him; i.e., whether or not they can be corroborated egyptologically. Unfortunately, they cannot.  (more clearly ) simply is a man's name, <zir-wr,⁵ and means "Osiris is great."⁶ The characters have no phonetic or semantic connection to Smith's "Ki Abrah oam" or to "Zub-sool-oan."

PAPYRUS JS 1.2

From the beginning of column 1, line 1 of pJS 1.2, Smith transcribed the (now badly damaged) hieratic characters, , as in EA JS, which he then crossed out, . Directly underneath, he again wrote the first

"Egyptian Alphabet" manuscript (EA JS) by dividing the characters into groups, which he called "parts" of the "first degree." This system was followed in the other EA manuscripts.

The "degree" system enabled Smith to interpret "verbs, participles-prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs" into a given character in one level or "degree" and then do it all over again in another "degree" until "the full sense of the writer is...conveyed." Thus, up to "625" possible "significations" per character could be created (GAEL 1f).

5. Klaus Baer, "The Breathing Permit of Hôr: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1968): 117. See Marc Coenen, "The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X, and XI [i.e., pJS 1; see note 2 above] and Min Who Massacres His Enemies," *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years, Part II, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1998), 1103-1115. Coenen notes that "The latest possible dating for P. Joseph Smith I, X and XI [i.e., pJS 1; see note 2 above] is in our opinion the first half of the second century BC. Therefore, this text is the oldest Book of Breathing that can be dated" (1111). See also M. Coenen and J. Quaegebeur, *Het Boek van het Ademen van Isis of De Papyrus Denon in het Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, Den Haag*, Monografieën van het Boek 5 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1995), 36-44.

6. See Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt: Verlag von J. J. Augustin, 1935), 84.23; Erich Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* 1, fasc. 2 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1981), 124; and W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 100.

character, *ʃ*, and under that the second, *ʃ*. Smith identified *ʃ* as “Ah-bra-oam.” He crossed that out and replaced it with the caretted “Ah-broam.” Smith wrote that the sign “Signifies father of the faithful The first right—The elder.” All but “The elder” was crossed out, and on the back of the page the sign and a more elaborate explanation (according to the “degree” system⁷) was recorded in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery:

In the first degree Ah-broam—signifies The father of the faithful, the first right, the elder—second degree—same sound—A follower of ~~sig~~ righteousness—Third degree—same sound—one who possesses great knowledge—Fourth degree—same sound—A follower of righteousness, a possessor of greater knowledge. Fifth degree—Ah-bra-oam. The father of many nations, a prince of peace, one who keeps the command=ments of God, a patriarch, a rightful heir, a high priest.

Conformably, the Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language, organized into sections by “degree,” and beginning with the “Fifth Degree,” interprets as:

[Fifth Degree] Ah brah-oam: a father of many nations a prince of peace, One who keeps the commandments of God. A patriarch a rightful heir, a highpriest (GAEL 2)

[Fourth Degree] Ahbroam: a follower of righteousness a possessor of greater knowledge—(GAEL 9)

[Third Degree] Ah-broam: one who possesses great knowl[e]dge (GAEL 13)

[Second Degree] ~~Ah=brah hoam~~—Ah broam: a follower of righteousness (GAEL 16)

[First Degree] Ah=brah hoam: the Father of the faithful. The first right—the elder (GAEL 20)




The connection of *ʃ* with Abraham persisted in Book of Abraham Manuscript 2,⁸ where it refers specifically to Abraham. Moreover, there




7. See note 4.

8. The relative chronology of the Book of Abraham manuscripts has been established:

- BAb Ms 1a, in the handwriting of Frederick G. Williams, BAb Folder 2;
- BAb Ms 1b, in the handwriting of Warren Parrish, BAb Folder 3;
- BAb Ms 2, begun by W. W. Phelps and completed (incorporating the corrections from mss. 1a and 1b) by Warren Parrish, BAb Folder 1; and

are many reports of Smith pointing out the “handwriting” and “signature” of Abraham to people to whom he showed the papyrus.⁹

As is the case with , an obvious question is whether or not Smith's identification of  is unique; i.e., whether or not it can be corroborated Egyptologically. Unfortunately, as with , it cannot.

A parallel Breathing Permit reveals that the characters  originally were part of a three-character group: .¹⁰ Unfortunately, the third sign in the first line of the first column of pJS 1.2 already was missing in a lacuna when Smith worked on his “Egyptian Alphabet”¹¹ although, near the end of line three of the papyrus, the same sign group appears in its entirety: .¹²

Restored Egyptologically,¹³ line 1 reads as follows:




In BAbR Ms 2 this line (albeit with Smith's hypothetically “restored” characters for what is missing in the lacuna) was “translated” into more

- BAbR Ms 3, the printer's manuscript in the handwriting of Willard Richards, BAbR Folder 4.

⁹ “In Reducing Dissonance: The Book of Abraham as a Case Study” (in *The Word of God*, ed. Dan Vogel [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990], 221-235) I had accepted Dean C. Jessee's identification of W. W. Phelps as the scribe for BAbR Ms 1a. However, see now the forthcoming revision of Edward H. Ashment, *The Papyrus Which Has Lived*, chap. 2, “Some Ancient Records That Have Fallen into Our Hands” (1986).

⁹ See Ashment, *Some Ancient Records That Have Fallen into Our Hands*, s.v. “Interim” and “Nauvoo Period.”

¹⁰ P.-J. de Horrack, “Le livre de respirations [pLouvre 3284],” *Bibliothèque Égyptologique* 17 (1907): plate 11, §14b, line 1.

¹¹ Hypothetical characters were supplied for the lacuna in the BAbR manuscripts. See Edward H. Ashment, “A Record in the Language of My Father: Evidence of Ancient Egyptian and Hebrew in the Book of Mormon,” *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology*, ed. Brent Lee Metcalfe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 335f. The first character (i.e., on the right-hand side) of Figure 4 in that essay is Smith's “Ki Abrah oam” () from pJS 1:1, line 2. It was used—out of context—in BAbR Ms 2 as a “restored” character to help fill the lacuna in pJS 1:2, column 1, line 1. “Translated,” it became part of Smith's Book of Abraham as chapter 1, verses 2-3. Note that the “translation” closely resembles the interpretations in EA JS and GAEL, provided above.

¹² Baer, *The Breathing Permit of Hôr*, 129.

¹³ See de Horrack, plate 11, §14b, lines 1-2.

than 870 words, as Book of Abraham 1:1-19. Egyptologically, however, the line is transliterated as *iw.[w st³ Wsir r-hn]w p³¹⁴ š wr¹⁵ Hnsw* and translated into a mere 10 words: “Osiris shall be hauled into this great pool of Khonsu.”¹⁶

Worse, the sign that Smith identified with Abraham, *ʃ*, is nothing more than the hieratic version of *ṣ*—a “w” in Egyptian.¹⁷ It has no phonetic or semantic relationship to his “Ah-broam.”

It is therefore no wonder that apologists for Joseph Smith as a translator are so anxious to divorce him from

- 1) the “Egyptian Alphabet” manuscripts—a futile attempt, since one was in his own handwriting and the remainder followed his lead; and
- 2) Book of Abraham manuscripts 1a, 1b, and 2, which were simply scribal copies of his dictated “translation.”¹⁸

14. Following pLouvre 3284. In personal correspondence, Robert K. Ritner notes that he reads the dot after r-Xnw in pJS 1.2 line 1 as an n, “following contemporary Demotic paleography,” which results in the compound preposition: r-Xnw n, “into”; for which see r-Xnw (n) in Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), 202, s.v. Xnw. See also Wb 3:370.15, and r-Xn(n) in Janet H. Johnson, ed., *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001), s.v. Xn.

15. Written as py. The second character (Gardiner Sign List, Z4) is a write-over in darker ink, as is the case with other characters on pJS 1, and only traces of the original sign remain. It appears unlikely that the original was an A; although, in pLouvre 3284 the word is written as pA. In personal correspondence, Robert K. Ritner observes that py is a rather common Ptolemaic variant of pAy; hence, he understands py as p(A)y, “this”—an emendation that preserves the y.

16. Literally, “They shall haul Osiris. . . .” See Baer, *The Breathing Permit of Hôr*, 119. See also Ashment, *Reducing Dissonance*. For discussions of the Third Future, see Friedrich Junge, *Neuägyptisch: Einführung in die Grammatik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 131; Jaroslav Cerny and Sarah Israelit Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 4th ed., *Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 4 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1993), 248-264. For *⊗* as wr, see Gardiner’s Sign List, Z9 (6); Wb 1:326; François Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque Gréco-Romaine* 4 (Montpellier: Publications de la recherche—Université de Montpellier, 1995), 829.

17. See Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 3 (1936; reprint, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965), 18.200b.

18. See Ashment, *Reducing Dissonance*.

The *Book of Abraham* and the Islamic *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Tales of the Prophets) Extant Literature

Bradley J. Cook

INTRODUCTION

PERHAPS THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL and intensely contested revelatory claim of Joseph Smith Jr. is his translation of ancient papyri ostensibly written by the hand of Abraham. The *Book of Abraham*,¹ as the record is called, purports to be an autobiographical account of the ancient patriarch illuminating many specifics of his early life and ministry on which the Bible is mute. Bold though this assertion might be, recent scholarship into apocalyptic and pseudepigraphal sources provides compelling textual parallels to the *Book of Abraham*.² While considerable analysis of the *Book of Abraham* has been done in light of ancient Egyptian and Jewish extra-Biblical sources, little scholarly exploration has occurred in medieval and classical Islamic texts. This deficit is largely due to the relative

1. *The Pearl of Great Price*, (Salt Lake City, UT: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 1:16-17, hereafter referred to as *Abraham*.

2. See M. D. Rhodes, "A Translation and Commentary of the Joseph Smith Hypocephalus," *BYU Studies*, (Spring, 1977): 350-399; Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 2000); Hugh Nibley, "The Facsimiles of the *Book of Abraham*," *Sunstone* (December 1979): 49-51; John Gee, "A History of the Joseph Smith Papyri and the *Book of Abraham*," transcript of a lecture presented on 3 March 1999 as part of the FARMS *Book of Abraham* Lecture Series; M. D. Rhodes, "The Joseph Smith Hypocephalus. . . Seventeen Years Later," FARMS Publications, 1994; and Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Prophet Joseph Smith Papyri, An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1975).

linguistic inaccessibility of many of these sources, and Mormon scholarship on the *Book of Abraham* has tended to evaluate primary texts in languages other than Arabic—the dominant language of Islam. The intention of this essay is to explore one particular genre of classical Islamic literature that has had virtually no analysis in Mormon scholarship: the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Tales of the Prophets, or *Qiṣaṣ* in abbreviation). After placing the *Qiṣaṣ* in its proper historical and cultural context, an attempt will be made to analyze a particular period of the life of Abraham through the *Qiṣaṣ* accounts while noting various convergences and similarities to the first chapter of the *Book of Abraham*. Following an outline of various parallels to consider, the reader is challenged to decide what these parallels might mean, how they might be explained, and what significance should be attributed to them. Are they due to textual borrowing by Joseph Smith of manuscripts possibly available to him during the mid-nineteenth century? Can they be explained as a mere matter of coincidence or peculiar accident? Perhaps these parallels are explained by some sort of collective unconscious that connects and converges nearly all human modes of religious expression. Or, do these parallels indeed illustrate Joseph Smith's prophetic calling in bringing the *Book of Abraham* to light?³

One thing is certain. These parallels, and others like them, are truly amazing and difficult to dismiss easily by rational or scholarly means. And, given the various Islamic exegetical genres embodied in *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Tarīkh*, *Ādab*, as well as the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* literature, Islam is capable of providing its own shaft of light by which to evaluate not only the *Book of Abraham*, but also other various aspects of the restored Gospel.⁴ Considerable room is left for LDS scholarship to explore the enormous wealth inherent in the Islamic tradition.

3. For a thorough summary of perils and possibilities of this kind of study, see Douglas F. Salmon "Parallelomania and the Study of Latter-day Scripture: Confirmation, Coincidence, or the Collective Subconscious?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 2 (Summer, 2000): 129-156.

4. *Tafsīr* can be translated as "exegesis" or "commentary" particularly as it relates to the Qur'an, examining expressions and the meaning of words and phrases philologically. An extensive *Tafsīr* literature base has developed during the post-Quranic period with the intention of trying to better understand and explain the essence and meaning of the Qur'an. *Hadīth* means a story in oral tradition as well as any narrative bearing on the prophet Muḥammad's acts, sayings, customs, habits, beliefs, and doctrine. The most famous and authoritative *Hadīth* collections, namely the two *ṣaḥīḥs* of Bukhārī (d. 870 AD) and Muslim (d. 874) are replete with Jewish and Christian materials. *Tarīkh* translates as era, chronology, or historical work. In this context, it more specifically refers to the history compendia of the development of Islam. Much of the Muslim historical compendia and historiography infuses a sizeable mass of myths, legends and folklore, usually presented in Talmudic-Midrashic garb. *Ādab* is a general descriptor for a wide range of Arabic literature—fictional, poetical, artistic prose, or other types of creative Arab *humanitas*.

THE QIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ' GENRE

Anyone who probes into the highly oracular Qur'an, the primary sacred scripture of all Muslims, will immediately detect that its main narrative fibre is interwoven with numerous but sporadic extra-Biblical narratives, allusions, legends, myths, parables and proverbs. The Qur'an (Recitation) is a series of divine revelations given to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah over a period of 22 years (610-632 AD). The Qur'an exercises a profound influence on Muslims as it is to them the eternal, immutable Word of God and the definitive source for direction in all areas of human endeavor. Every *sūra* (chapter), *āyah* (verse), *kalima* (word) and even *shakla* (vowel marking) has been fervently studied and interpreted. In the years following Muḥammad's death, and with the rapid expansion of the Islamic empire, Muslims felt the understandable need for explanation and elaboration on the many passages within the Qur'an. Little wonder that a vast exegetical base comprised of different genres arose in the post-Qur'anic period since the transcendent revelations enshrined in the Qur'an envelope not only the spiritual dimensions of faith and the religious obligations of the faithful, but also instructions on the political, social, and economic requirements of the Islamic community.

In response to a desire on the part of the illiterate masses who had no access to the erudite literature of the '*ulamā'* (religious scholars), there arose a tradition of folk narratives elaborating on the exemplary lives of the prophets and saints recounted in the Qur'an. The popular tradition of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Tales of the Prophets) served a dual purpose of satisfying, first, a pious wish to be edified by the moral lessons intrinsic in the stories, and second, a simple desire to be amused and entertained. Fertile sources of legendary materials for these tales were the Talmudic-Midrashic folklore legends⁵ and also the scattered writings of the Patristic Fathers since Jewish and Christian communities existed within Dār al-Islām (the sphere of Islam).⁶ The *qāṣṣ* (pl. *quṣṣāṣ*, "narrator") not only recited the Qur'an and expounded on its contents, but also at times performed the duties of the *imam* (religious leader) in leading the congregational prayer. The primary charge of the *qāṣṣ*, however, was to deliver homiletic sermons drawing on interpretative readings of the Qur'an and

5. The man who is reputed to have introduced into Islam numerous Judaic legends and narrative motifs derived from aggatic and midrashic folklore is the famous *Ka'b al-Aḥbār* (d. ca 652), originally a Yemenite Jew converted to Islam in the early days of the caliphate, and a teacher of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbas (d. 687) known as the father of Quranic exegesis, see "*Ka'b al-Aḥbār*" *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 317.

6. For early Christian apocryphal material refer to E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. L. McWilson, 2 vols. (Cambridge: J. Clarke & Co., n.d.).

Ḥadīth (oral traditions of the prophet Muḥammad). These sermons appealed to all social strata from the uneducated populace on the street to the elites in the great mosques of the empire.⁷ Ideally, the *qāṣṣ* would be thoroughly grounded in *kalām* (the religious sciences) and augment his narratives with sound traditions and extensive *isnād* (chain of transmitters).⁸

The first literary collection of the traditions of the pre-Islamic prophets was in the form of Qur'anic commentary (*tafṣīr*). Muslim scholars developed a sophisticated system of evaluating the reliability of the chain of transmitters from whom these stories originated. A distinctive sub-discipline known as *ʿilm al-rijāl* (the science of men) developed, which accumulated all obtainable information pertaining to every individual referred to in the *isnāds* of the growing *Ḥadīth* and *Qīṣaṣ* traditions. To prevent the possible fabrication of plausible-sounding *Qīṣaṣ*, the *isnād* evaluation process became a crucial gauge of authenticity. Thus, the *quṣṣāṣ*, particularly of the first generation, provided reliable and authentic lines of transmission categorized as *maḥmūd* (good, sound).

It was not until the tenth century that the various and disparate materials on prophetic legends were collected into an independent literary work. The oldest extant work systematically chronicling the creation story and the lives of important Islamic figures is *Mubtada' al-Dunyā wa-Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (The Beginning of the World and the Stories of the Prophets) by Ishāq ibn Bishr (d. 821). The *Mubtada'* was extremely influential in the compilations of more recognized works such as *Tarīkh al-Rusul wa' al-Mulūk* [Chronicle of Apostles and Kings], by Muḥammad ibn Jafar Al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), and the *ʿArā'is al-Majālis: Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* [Brides of the Sessions: Tales of the Prophets] by the Qur'anic exegete Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Al-Tha'labī (d. 1036). From these works, the genre proliferated in all parts of the Muslim world—Persia, Central Asia, Eastern Anatolia, and even the Indian subcontinent. Versions of these stories abound, forming a fascinating corpus that is remarkably consistent given the vast number of cultural contexts from which the stories were sifted.⁹

7. J. Pederson, "The Islamic Preacher: *wā'iz, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ*," *Ignace Goldhizer Memorial Volume*, ed. S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi (Budapest: n.p., 1948), 226-251.

8. *Isnād* is the chain of ascriptions by which a report is authenticated. A *sanad* (pl. *asnād*) is a "prop" or "backing," in the sense of a person who has transmitted a report. The *isnād* typically relates to the connection of the chain of transmitters of a given *Ḥadīth* or *Qīṣaṣ*.

9. Some of the available printed versions of the *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* are: Al-ʿĀmilī, 'Abd al-Ṣāhib al-Ḥasanī, *al-Anbiyā' : Ḥayātuhum, qīṣaṣuhum* (Beirut: al-A'lami, 1391/1971); Ibn Bishr, Ishāq, *Mubtada' al-Dunyā wa-Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Bodleian Library, Oxford: Huntington 388, fols. 106B-170B); Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub

THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM AND THE QIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ'

Although permeated with Islamic Qur'anic symbolic interpretation, the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* literature is markedly similar in specific points to the *Book of Abraham* as revealed to Joseph Smith. Of particular note are the similar chronology of events in the pre-migration period of Abraham's early life and the details and sequence of certain episodes which are not found in the biblical record of Genesis. An invective against the *Book of Abraham* leveled from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, primarily by evangelical anti-Mormons, was that Joseph Smith had imitated existing Jewish apocryphal writings available in his day which touch upon Abraham's pre-migration period. Since, as some argue, the *Qiṣaṣ* literature has its roots in the Talmudic-Midrashic and later Rabbinic traditions,¹⁰ an argument can be made that the *Book of Abraham* and the *Qiṣaṣ* are similar only because they are derived from similar Jewish sources—sources that may have been available to Joseph Smith to plagiarize circa 1835 when the *Book of Abraham* was allegedly translated. However, the only two known pseudepigraphal sources to which Joseph Smith could have remotely had access were the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Book of Jasher*, translated from the original languages into English in 1602 AD and 1751 AD respectively. While some parallels do exist between these two works and the *Book of Abraham*, there are sufficient differences to dismiss the argument. Details in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, which parallel the *Book of Abraham*, are limited to Abrahamic astronomy.¹¹ *The Book of Jasher* parallels the *Book of Abraham* in various points (i.e. the idolatry of his father, Abraham condemned to die, spared by the Lord, etc.).¹² However,

al- *Hadītha*, 1968); Ibn Khalaf al-Nīsābūrī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Maṣṣūr, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Teheran: Majmū'ai Mutūni, 1340/1961); Al-Jazā'iri, al-Sayyid Ni'mat Āllāh, *al-Nūr al-Mubīn fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' wa' l-Mursalīn*, 2 vols. (Najaf, 1374); Juwayrī, Muḥammad *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Hajj Sayyid Aḥmad Kitābchī (Teheran, n.d.); Al-Kisa'i, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, trans. Thackston Wheeler, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997); Majlisī, Muḥammad-Bāqir, *Hayāt al-Qulūb Dār Qiṣaṣ wa-Aḥwālāt-i Payghambarān-i 'Izām wa-Awṣiyā-i 'Ishān*, 3 vols. (Teheran: Chāpkhāna-i Islāmiyya, 1373); Al-Najjār, 'Abd al-Wahāb, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.); Al-Rabghūzi, Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Dīn, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā': An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, *'Ismat al-Anbiya'* (Cairo: Silsilat al-Thāqafa al-Islāmiyya, 1383/1964); Al-Tha'labī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *'Arā'is al-Majālis: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Rakhiyya al-Kutub al-'Arabīyya, n.d.); Al-Rāwandī, Sa'īd ibn Hibat Āllāh, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Beirut: n. p., 1968).

10. David Sidersky, *Les Origines des Legendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophetes* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1933).

11. "[Abraham] communicated to them [the Egyptians] arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy," see Josephus F. "Antiquities of the Jews," *The Complete Works of Josephus*, trans. Whiston George (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1981), 8:2, 33.

12. See chapters 9-12 of *Sefer ha-yasher [The Book of Jasher]* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Artisan Sales, 1988).

other details found in the *Book of Abraham* are not found in the *Book of Jasher* (i.e., other non-idolators executed for their beliefs, the sacrifice of children including a daughter of royal decent, Abraham praying to God at the moment of his imminent demise, an angel of the Lord appearing and ministering to Abraham, etc.), but are in agreement with some of the *Qışaş* literature. It is equally important to note that no English translation of the *Talmud* was in existence before 1876, or that the first and unabridged English translation of the *Midrash* was not available until 1939.¹³ Parts of the *Mishnah* were available in English after 1843, whereas prior to that year it was accessible only in classical Hebrew, Latin, and German.¹⁴ Even the more widely known, yet comprehensive, *Legends of the Bible* was not compiled, translated, and made available to English reading audiences until 1909.¹⁵ While the *Book of Abraham* account does indeed share common elements found in aggadic Jewish sources, it, in reality, aligns more closely in detail and symmetry with the Islamic tradition.¹⁶

However, the only Islamic source known to be available in English in Joseph Smith's day was the Qur'an, there having been at least one translation, produced in 1734 by George Sale. The Qur'an, however, omits important points in the Abraham pre-migration narrative that are found in both the *Qışaş* genre and the *Book of Abraham*. In addition, numerous allusions in the Qur'an to the prophets of Israel are not presented in a running narrative, but rather are sporadic and non-linear. Readers of the Qur'an not reared in the Islamic tradition would find it difficult to synthesize a sustained, coherent narrative on the life of Abraham, let alone plagiarize its contents. It is difficult to demonstrate in any authoritative fashion that Joseph Smith knew much of anything about Islam beyond the name of Muḥammad.¹⁷

The biblical account gives few details of Abraham's early life. The biblical story of Abraham begins with a reference in Genesis to his birth to his father Terah and then proceeds directly to the time when Abraham

13. See H. Polano, *Selections from the Talmud* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Hafelfinger, 1876), i; and H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah* (London: Soncino Press, 1939).

14. See Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), v-vi.

15. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909).

16. An argument can be made that the Islamic *Qışaş* pendant and the *Book of Abraham* were, in fact, *not* derived from similar Jewish sources. There is evidence that certain elements of the Islamic narratives of Abraham were actually accepted later into post-Quranic Judaism, making the transfer of affect from Islam to Judaism, not vice versa. See Shari Lowin, "The Making of a Forefather: Abraham in Islamic and Jewish Exegetical Narratives" (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Chicago, October 2001).

17. A. H. Green, and L. Goldrup, "Joseph Smith, An American Muḥammad? An Essay on the Perils of Historical Analogy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6:1971, 48-55.

takes Sarai to wife and departs Ur of Chaldea.¹⁸ The Genesis narrative covers the first 75 years of Abraham's life in only a few sentences. Relying on the Bible alone (likely the only source on the life of Abraham available to Joseph Smith), one learns virtually nothing of Abraham's early life and cultural milieu other than an oblique reference in Joshua 24:2 to his ancestors's idolatry. Fortunately, the *Book of Abraham*, along with an abundance of other authentic Jewish, Christian, and Islamic extra-biblical sources, provides details of the early life of Abraham and elaborates his motivation for leaving the residence of his father, Terah, in Ur of Chaldea.

VARIOUS PARALLELS TO CONSIDER

Idolatry of the Fathers

While Genesis is silent on the subject, the first chapter of the *Book of Abraham* describes the pervasive idolatry of Abraham's time. Abraham laments the transgressions of his people and makes explicit reference to his ancestors or "fathers" in *Abraham* 1:5: "My fathers, having turned from their righteousness, and from the holy commandments which the Lord their God had given them, unto the worshiping of the gods of the heathen." Several Islamic sources, including Qur'an 21:51-54, reinforce the *Book of Abraham* account with passages such as: "We gave Abraham aforetime his rectitude—for We knew him—when he said to his father and his people, 'What are these statues unto which you are cleaving?' They said, 'We found our fathers serving them.' He said, 'Then assuredly you and your fathers have been in manifest error.'"¹⁹ Nasir al-Dīn ibn Burhan al-Dīn Al-Rabghūzi, a thirteenth century Turkish jurist, recounts Abraham's people as saying, "Would you turn us away from the faith of our fathers and introduce us to another religion?"²⁰ Also Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, a famous fourteenth century Syrian religious authority, identifies both *al-āba' wa al-ājdād* (fathers and ancestors) in referring to those guilty of idol worship prior and during Abraham's day.²¹

18. Genesis 11:26-31.

19. See also *Qur'an* 26:69-76, trans. Arthur Arberry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); see also Al-Kisa'i, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, trans. Wheeler Thackston (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997), 140; Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa' l-Mulūk*, vol. 2, trans. William Brinner (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), 52; Al-Tha'labī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad 'Arā'is al-Majālis: *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Rakhiyya al-Kutub al-'Arabīyya, n.d.), 65; Al-Najjār, 'Abd al-Wahab, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Beirut: Dār Iḥya' al-Turath al-'Arabī, n.d.), 79.

20. Al-Rabghūzi, Nasir al-Dīn ibn Burhan al-Dīn, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā': An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 99.

21. See also Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiya* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1968), 177.

A further detail omitted from Genesis is any comment concerning the religious convictions of Abraham's own father, Terah. As pointed out in *Abraham* 2:5, Terah (or Āzar, depending on the textual source)²² was himself a worshiper of idols: "my father turned again unto his idolatry."²³ The preponderance of Islamic *Qiṣaṣ* sources points out that Terah not only worshiped idols, but had turned idolatry into a lucrative trade: "[Abraham's] father made his living by making idols, and he gave them to his sons to sell them."²⁴

ABRAHAM'S SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE

A significant point of comparison between the *Book of Abraham* and the Islamic *Qiṣaṣ* is the specific allusion to *special knowledge* acquired by Abraham. *Abraham* 1:2 records that Abraham desired "to be a greater follower of righteousness, and to possess a greater knowledge." Why? So that he might better "keep the commandments of God." According to Islamic sources such as Qur'an 19:42-43, it is also recorded that Abraham received *special knowledge* of God and His creations that was unavailable to those who did not believe in Allāh (or *the* God). Sustained by that knowledge, Abraham tried to guide his people back to the paths of righteousness by calling them to repentance: "Oh my father! to me hath come knowledge (*al-ilm*) which hath not reached thee. So follow me: I will guide thee to a Way that is even and straight."²⁵ Al-Rabghūzi renders the event thus: "Listen to what I say; I will guide you on the right road. . . the truth has been revealed to me about *many mysteries*, therefore follow me. . . I am summoning you to the right path."²⁶

CELESTIAL MYSTERIES REVEALED

Intrinsic in those mysteries, Abraham was, according to *Abraham* 1:31, instructed and shown by the Lord "a knowledge of the beginnings of creation, and also of the planets, and of the stars."²⁷ The third chapter of the *Book of Abraham*, in particular, informs its readers of Abraham's vast revealed knowledge of the astronomical sciences. It is interesting that while the Genesis account says nothing of Abraham's celestial reve-

22. See Al-Rabghūzi, 94; Ibn Kathīr, 171; Al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis: *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 65. I.e. a pseudo-etymology based on *az* = "to go astray."

23. See also *Abraham* 1:16-17.

24. See Al-Rabghūzi, 94; Al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis: *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, 65; Al-Ṭabarī, p. 54.

25. Qur'an 19:42-43 (Ali trans.), italics mine. See also 6:80-81;

26. See Al-Rabghūzi, 97, 99, italics mine; see also Al-Najjār, 79-80; Ibn Kathīr, 171, calls this knowledge 'ilm al-nāfa' (useful knowledge).

27. See also *Abraham* 3:1-17, and Facsimiles 2 and 3.

lations, multiple Islamic texts clearly portray him as possessing divine astronomical and theological information. Qur'an 6:75 reads: "So also did We show Abraham the power and the laws of the heavens and the earth, that he might (with understanding) have certitude."²⁸ Commenting on this passage, Ibn Bishr, a ninth century Muslim historian writes, "The stars and [God's] power in them were seen by Abraham. This is before he had been shown the kingdom of the heavens."²⁹ An eleventh century collector of legends, Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Al-Tha'labī, informs his readers that even at an early age Abraham "pondered the creation of the heavens and the earth."³⁰ 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar Al-Baidawi, a thirteenth century Muslim scholar from Persia, writes that Abraham "saw wondrous things concerning the heavens [and] wondrous things concerning the earth."³¹ Al-Rabghūzi, a thirteenth century Turkish jurist, tells of a vision Abraham had in which the "Lord removed the veils from the seven spheres of heaven and earth for him. So Abraham saw everything from the dust of the earth to the high throne of heaven."³² Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Al-Ṭarafī, an eleventh century Arab chronographer writes: "[God] showed [Abraham] the signs of the heavens and the earth; indeed, the seven heavens gaped open before him even to the throne, and he contemplated them, and the seven earths were opened before him and he contemplated them. . . and he saw the grandeur of God in them. He saw his place in Paradise." The experience described in Al-Ṭarafī is very reminiscent of Abraham 3:10-11 where Abraham "came near unto the throne of God. . . [and] talked with the Lord face to face." It is also interesting to note that the Arabic word used in Qur'an 6:76 for *star* is pronounced *kawkab*, a strikingly close equivalent to the word used for *star* in *Abraham* 3:13 which reads: "*Kokob*, which is star."

28. George Sale comments: "That is, we gave him a right apprehension of the government of the world, and the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by God," *The Koran*, trans. George Sale (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1836), 1:140n76.

29. Ibn Bishr, Folio 164B, trans. Brian Hauglid.

30. Al-Tha'labī, 65. See also Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa' al-Mulūk*, vol. 2, trans. William Brinner (Albany: SUNY Press, 1987), 51: "For Abraham, one day of growing up was like a month, and a month was like a year. Abraham had been in the cave for only fifteen months when he said to his mother, 'Take me out that I may look around.' So she took him out one evening and he looked about and thought about the creation of the heavens and the earth"; Al-Kisa'i, 138.

31. Al-Baidawi, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, trans. Brian Hauglid (n.p., 1902), 2:35.

32. Al-Rabghūzi, 93. See also Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jafar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Quran*, 30 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa li al-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashr, 1978), 7:160, which reads "the seven heavens were opened to Abraham, up to and including the throne [of God]"; Al-Ṭarafī, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Al-Ṭarafī: Storie dei Profeti*, (Genoa, Italy: il Nuovo Melangolo, n.d.), 72-75. See also Abraham 3:2-14 and facsimile no. 2.

A MESSAGE REJECTED

Despite Abraham's admonitions, *Abraham* 1:5 expresses that his people "utterly refused to hearken to [his] voice," or as conveyed in the Qur'an 6:80, "His people disputed (*hājja*) with him." Genesis provides no details of Abraham's relationship to the people of Ur of Chaldea. However, *Abraham* 1:7,15 describes not only how his people "turned their hearts" away from Abraham's message, but also how they "lifted up their hands upon [him], that they might offer [him] up and take away [his] life." Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah Al-Kisa'i and other medieval Islamic writers record, as does the *Book of Abraham* account, the collective contempt the people had for Abraham's blatantly sacrilegious conduct. The people appealed to the king to have Abraham destroyed, "Oh King, burn him as he has burned our hearts."³³ Al-Rabghūzi wrote, "His people joined against Abraham, saying, 'burn him and stand by your gods.'³⁴

ABRAHAM'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS FATHER

Important insights into Abraham's relationship to his father are missing in the biblical record. We learn from the *Book of Abraham* that Abraham's greatest critic and adversary was his father, Terah. In both the *Book of Abraham* and the Islamic Qisas accounts, Terah was incensed because Abraham was unwilling to pay proper deference to his father's patron gods. His anger was murderous: "My father. . .had determined. . .to take away my life."³⁵ The *Book of Abraham* is ambiguous as to how Terah intended to kill Abraham. Islamic narratives provide a more specific explanation. Several Islamic *Qiṣaṣ* sources record how Terah intended to stone him to death: "Oh Abraham, do you not acknowledge my gods? If you do not refrain from these actions I will stone you to death."³⁶ Qur'an 19:46 notes Terah as saying: "What, art thou shrinking from my gods, Abraham? Surely, if thou givest not over, I will surely stone thee."³⁷

NIMROD AS PHARAOH?

Abraham 1:6,13 records that among the pantheon of gods, Abraham's people worshiped one in particular: "the god of Pharaoh" or "a god like unto that of Pharaoh." A sub-argument leveled by critics of Joseph Smith

33. Al-Kisa'i, 147. See also Qur'an 21:68; Al-Ṭabarī, 58; Al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis, 67.

34. Al-Rabghūzi, 101.

35. *Abraham* 1:30.

36. Al-Rabghūzi, 97. See also Al-Ṭabarī, 55; Ibn Kathīr, 171; Al-Najjār, 83.

37. See also Qur'an 26:86.

and the *Book of Abraham* is the wide use of "Pharaoh" as the proper name for the ruler of Chaldea. Extant Jewish, Christian, and Islamic sources identify the ruler of Chaldea as Nimrod, not Pharaoh. Equating Nimrod and Pharaoh does not necessarily discredit the text, particularly with a careful alternate reading of *Abraham* 1:20 which reads that the title of "Pharaoh signifies king by royal birth." Thus, the term Pharaoh could be used to designate any ruler or king regardless of geographical location and may simply have been a euphemism Abraham purposefully harnessed to illustrate the might and power of the ruler of the Chaldea to his intended audience, the Egyptians.³⁸ Certainly Nimrod's power as a ruler is described in the Islamic texts as being extremely great. Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, a fourteenth century historian and traditionist, characterizes Nimrod's immense influence and power by characterizing him as "*malik al-dunyā*" (king of the world). Hugh Nibley addresses this apparent discrepancy in detail.³⁹ In various Jewish legends, particularly in the older Hassidic versions, Nimrod carries the title of Pharaoh.⁴⁰ Another plausible reading of *Abraham* 1:23 is: "Egyptus, which in Chaldean signifies Egypt, which signifies that which is forbidden." Therefore, the appellation "Pharaoh of Egypt" could possibly be interpreted essentially as "king of that which is forbidden." What is it that is forbidden? *Abraham* 1:27 makes it clear that that which is forbidden is to imitate the patriarchal government of the Priesthood of God without proper authorization and divine sanction. Nimrod, then, could certainly qualify for the title of Pharaoh, since he himself was of the lineage of Ham acting in the name of God (also claiming the divine dominion of God) and was disqualified from the rights of the priesthood (see Genesis 10: 6, 8). *Abraham* 1:27 reads: "Pharaoh being of that lineage by which he could not have the right of Priesthood, notwithstanding the Pharaohs would fain claim it from Noah, through Ham, therefore my father was led away by their idolatry." In various Islamic sources "king worship" has been portrayed as common practice among the people of Abraham. Al-Kisa'i quotes Terah as saying, "My son, have you a lord other than Nimrod, who possesses the kingdom of the earth in its breadth and length. . . do not speak evil of our king and god."⁴¹ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Al-Tha'labī calls

38. *Abraham*, 29.

39. Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 2000), 227-231.

40. Bernard Chapira, "Légendes Bibliques Attribués à Ka'b al-Abar," *Revue des Études Juives* 69 (1919), 101 as cited in Nibley, 227. Evidence also exists illustrating the social, cultural, and religious influence of Egypt in the area of upper Mesopotamia (where recent research points to a northern, rather than a southern Ur), see Cyrus Gordon, "Where is Abraham's Ur," *Biblical Archeology Review* (June, 1977): 52. Also see Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt*, 234-247.

41. Al-Kisa'i, 139.

attention to an interchange between Abraham and Terah thus: "Abraham asked his father, 'Who is your god?' And his father replied, 'Nimrod.' And then Abraham asked him 'Who is Nimrod's god?' And Nimrod responded, 'silence!' (*āskut!*)."⁴² Al-Rabghūzi reiterates, "Abraham asked: 'who is my father's god?' [His mother] said: 'Nimrod. . . Nimrod is the god of us all.'" ⁴²

HUMAN SACRIFICE IN ABRAHAM'S DAY

There is a clear indication in *Abraham* 1:8 (and not in the Biblical record) that human sacrifice accompanied the pagan ritual worship of Abraham's day. Abraham relates that there were ritual "offering[s] unto these strange gods, men, women, and children." Indeed, an incident is related in *Abraham* 1:11 of the offering of "three virgins at one time." Few Islamic accounts speak of human sacrifice, but Al-Kisa'i records several incidents of men, women, and children being killed or maimed because of their choice to follow Allāh. The first is an incident where an "old woman. . . believed in Abraham's God. . . . When news reached Nimrod, he ordered her hands and feet to be cut off."⁴³ In another instance, it is recorded that, "more than a thousand of the people of Cuthah-rabba believed in Abraham. Nimrod ordered them to be rounded up and thrown to the lions."⁴⁴ *Abraham* 1:11 also describes how a daughter of "royal descent directly from the loins of Ham" was sacrificed on an altar because she "would not bow down to worship gods of wood or of stone." *Abraham* 1:7 also describes the sacrifice of children to idols. Al-Kisa'i relates a remarkable story of a small girl being executed because she would not surrender to idol worship: "Abraham turned and saw a slave-girl in the palace. She was nursing Nimrod's small daughter. Suddenly the girl leapt from her mother's lap, faced Nimrod and said, 'Father, this is God's prophet Abraham. And Nimrod ordered her cut to pieces.'⁴⁵ This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that Nimrod, according to Genesis 10:6,8, is a direct descendent of Ham, thus making Nimrod's daughter a *royal descendent* from the loins of Ham.

SENTENCED TO DIE

As related above, Abraham himself was condemned to die. The mode of Abraham's execution portrayed in the *Book of Abraham* differs

42. Al-Tha'labī, 65. See also Al-Rabghūzi, 94.

43. Al-Kisa'i, 141.

44. Ibid. See also Al-Ṭabarī, 4.

45. Al-Kisa'i, 142. See also Knappert, Jan, *Islamic Legends: Histories of the Heros, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 75-78, where Nimrod orders his own daughter to be tortured by his executioner.

from the Islamic accounts. *Abraham* 1:7,12 notes that Abraham was condemned to die at the hands of a wicked priest upon a sacrificial altar: "And it came to pass that the priests laid violence upon me, that they might slay me also, as they did those virgins upon this altar." By contrast, multiple Islamic sources report that Abraham was condemned to die by fire.⁴⁶ Certain Islamic writers, however, have questioned whether Abraham was in fact actually thrown into the fire or whether the incident was merely allegorical.⁴⁷ Many accounts speak of a building, catapult, or other structure in which Abraham was bound and shackled for execution. In any case, it is recorded in the *Book of Abraham* and in various Islamic sources that Abraham called out to God as he was about to die. *Abraham* 1:15 recounts: "And as they lifted their hands upon me, that they might offer me up and take away my life, behold, I lifted up my voice unto the Lord my God." Muḥammad ibn Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, a tenth century historian, relates, "They brought Abraham and set him on top of the pyre. . . [he] raised his head to heaven. . . [and] said 'O God! You are alone in heaven and I am alone on earth.'"⁴⁸ Al-Kisa'i, Al-Rabghūzi, and Al-Tha'labī all have similar accounts.

DELIVERANCE BY ANGELS

In response to Abraham's plea, an angel appeared to offer comfort and release to Abraham. The *Book of Abraham* identifies the angel only as the "angel of his presence."⁴⁹ In most Islamic accounts it was the angel Gabriel who appeared to Abraham: "Gabriel met him. . . [and] brought a golden throne and clothed Abraham and clothed him with garments from Paradise."⁵⁰ This account has conspicuous similarities to other aspects of the *Book of Abraham*, such as Facsimile 3 no.1, in which Abraham is depicted as sitting on a throne.⁵¹ Al-Rabghūzi describes an encounter Abraham has with the King Dhū al-'Arsh: "and the king seated Abraham on a throne."⁵² Other Islamic *Qiṣaṣ* texts, such as Ibn Kathīr, Al-Ṭabarī, and Al-Tha'labī, mention Gabriel as well as other angels identified as

46. Quran 21:68; Al-Rabghūzi, 101; Al-Kisa'i, 147; Al-Ṭabarī, 58; Ibn Kathīr, 181-182; al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis, 67; al-Najjār, 80. Many accounts speak of a building, catapult, or other structure in which Abraham was bound and shackled for execution.

47. See 'Abdullah Yusef 'Ali, *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran* (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 1409/1986), 809; Maulana Muḥammad 'Ali, *The Holy Quran: Arabic Text, Translation and Commentary* (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islām, 1951).

48. Al-Ṭabarī, 59. See also Al-Kisa'i, 147; Al-Rabghūzi, 103; Al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis, 67.

49. *Abraham* 1:15; Facs. 1, no. 1.

50. Al-Kisa'i, 147-148. See also Al-Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis, 67.

51. *Abraham*, 41, Facs. 3, no. 1.

52. Al-Rabghūzi, 112.

Malak al-Matr (Angel of Rain) and/or *Malak al-Zill* (Angel of Shade) who offer Abraham comfort and assistance by offering either to put out the fire by water or to shade him from the intense heat.⁵³ By all accounts, the angel is specifically sent to deliver Abraham from danger.

Another noteworthy aspect of this particular incident is that once the angel or angels appeared, *Abraham* 1:15 records that “the angel of his presence stood by [Abraham] and immediately unloosed [his] bands.” Intriguingly, Islamic *Qiṣaṣ* support this image, for example Al-Rabghūzi’s account: “Gabriel arrived bearing a prayer-rug from Paradise and spread it out in the middle of the fire. Abraham sat down on that rug, and the fire burned away Abraham’s fetters.”⁵⁴ Similarly, as Al-Ṭabarī’s version depicts: “Gabriel came to Abraham while he was being tied up and shackled. . . the fire burned nothing on Abraham except his fetters.”⁵⁵ Al-Tha’labī makes an explicit point that it was indeed the *angel* who played an active role in Abraham’s delivery and not God alone.⁵⁶ The only Biblical allusion to Abraham’s deliverance from death is an ambiguous reference in Isaiah 29:22 about “the Lord, who redeemed Abraham.”

GODS AND PRIESTS DESTROYED

Abraham 1:20 also tells of the destruction of various idolatrous gods after the attempted sacrifice of young Abraham: “And the Lord broke. . . the gods of the land, and utterly destroyed them.” The Islamic accounts of the story of Abraham, without exception, also record the destruction of the idols. The difference in the Islamic renderings is that the idols were destroyed directly by the hand of Abraham. Abraham, disgusted by the evils of idolatry, Al-Kisa’i records, entered “the idol-temple, where the people had put tables of food before the idols. . . breaking the arm of one, the leg of another, the head of yet another—until he had shattered them into pieces.”⁵⁷

A further point of resemblance between the *Book of Abraham* account and those of the ancient *Qiṣaṣ* literature is that once Abraham was delivered from death, the Lord “smote the priest that he died.”⁵⁸ We learn from some of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’* literature that the name of the person, or official, who was the architect of Abraham’s execution was “Hayzan,”

53. Ibn Kathīr, 183; Al-Ṭabarī, 60; Al-Tha’labī, ‘*Arā’is al-Majālis*, 68.

54. Al-Rabghūzi, 104.

55. Al-Ṭabarī, 61. See also Ibn Kathīr, 183; Al-Tha’labī, ‘*Arā’is al-Majālis*, 68.

56. Al-Tha’labī, ‘*Arā’is al-Majālis*, 68.

57. Al-Kisa’i, 146. See also Qur’an 21:57-58; Al-Rabghūzi, 98; Al-Ṭabarī, 56; Ibn Kathīr, 179; Al-Tha’labī, ‘*Arā’is al-Majālis*, 66.

58. *Abraham* 1:20.

of Kurdish origin. Al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, and Al-Tha'labī all report that Hayzan was immediately destroyed when "God caused the earth to swallow him up."⁵⁹ Al-Rabghūzi renders the name of the antagonist as Hārān and upon building the fire to burn Abraham "that very instant he burned to ashes." While there are slight discrepancies in the details of some events in the *Qiṣaṣ* and the *Book of Abraham*, these variations seem quite natural and even reasonable to anyone with a general acquaintance with the basic laws of oral storytelling. Stories recorded only in human memory are doubtlessly more fluid than accounts that are textually fixed. Islamic narrators did not firmly adhere to any fixed, transcribed, literary text. Rather they told their tales in a free, extemporaneous manner. This helps explain the differences not only between the *Book of Abraham* and the *Qiṣaṣ*, but also between the various *Qiṣaṣ* works themselves.

OTHER ANCIENT RECORDS

Finally, *Abraham* 1:28, 31 refers to certain "records of the fathers" that came into Abraham's "hands" and were "preserved." The Old Testament makes no mention of Abraham possessing any such records or writings. However, according to Muḥammad ibn Jarīr Al-Ṭabarī, God revealed many written records, or "*ṣuḥuf*," to Abraham and the other prophets. Al-Ṭabarī writes: "'How many books did God reveal?' He said, 'One hundred and four books. To Adam He revealed ten leaves (*ṣuḥuf*), to Seth fifty leaves, and to Enoch thirty leaves. To Abraham he revealed ten leaves.'⁶⁰ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥussayn al-Mas'ūdī supports this claim in his tenth century work entitled *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems): "Ibrahim died in Syria, one hundred and seventy years of age: God revealed to him ten sacred books."⁶¹

Other events could certainly be cited from additional Islamic sources that provide impressive and curious parallels to the arcane details of Joseph Smith's Abrahamic text. This paper purposely confines itself to the first chapter of Abraham and to a single category of Islamic literature, that of the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* pendant. Other *Qiṣaṣ* sources offer remarkable parallels to other episodes in the *Book of Abraham* about which the Biblical record says little or nothing: Abraham's missionary labors in Haran and subsequent conversion of many "souls," related in *Abraham*

59. Al-Ṭabarī, 58; Al-Rabghūzi, 106. See also Ibn Kathīr, 182. Al-Tha'labī provides a slight variation on the name of the Kurd to be "Haynūn," *'Arā'is al-Majālis*, 67.

60. Al-Ṭabarī, 130.

61. Al-Mas'ūdī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥussayn, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, trans. Aloys Sprenger, *El Mas'udi's Historical Encyclopaedia, Entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems."* (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1841), 1:86.

chapter 2; a further elaboration of his special astronomical interests and knowledge, portrayed in *Abraham* chapter 3; his vision of creation, described in *Abraham* chapter 4; and many other comparable details of Abraham's life and ministry.

CONCLUSION

So, what is to be made of these remarkable yet puzzling parallels that seem to be uniquely shared between latter-day scripture and the Islamic tradition? Might the existence of the parallels only confirm that Joseph Smith was eclectically brilliant and resourceful enough to gain access to or had knowledge of the texts in question, and that he merely borrowed from existing sources? As noted earlier, Joseph Smith could not have known about these parallel Islamic texts, at least so far as can be determined by scholarly means. The relevant *Qiṣaṣ* sources, or even their Jewish and Patristic literary counterparts, were linguistically unavailable to Smith in the mid-nineteenth century. These sources were unavailable even to the best scholars of that period.

Perhaps the existence of these parallels is simply a matter of coincidence. However, the striking *number* of details finding convergence between the *Book of Abraham* and the *Qiṣaṣ* make a "coincidence" argument highly unlikely. If what was under question were a *single* phrase, idea, or term that matched another text separated by time and place, perhaps then a coincidence might logically occur. But what do we make of over a dozen unique and distinct parallels taken from a single genre of ancient literature? If the parallels were a single isolated idea gathered from a variety of cultures and sources, removed from their own historical and theological milieu, and then artificially synthesized to the point of being effectively unrecognizable to the original authors, then one might argue that virtually every concept or idea can be paralleled somewhere else. However, in the case of this essay, the task has been limited to a single category of self-referenced literature, from a single religious tradition, and from a distinctive period of Abraham's history. Each parallel illustrated considered here can in most cases be triangulated to multiple sources within a finite body of Islamic literature thus minimizing possible over-selectivity.

Then, if Joseph Smith's Abrahamic parallels cannot be explained rationally or by scholarly means, perhaps they can be explained by some sort of preternatural phenomena. Some observers of human spirituality suggest that parallels between different religious communities might be due to an "essential unity of all religious experience," or the "collective unconscious."⁶² That is, there exists a certain continuity in the religious

62. Salmon, 130.

nature of all humanity, and Joseph Smith, when writing on the life of Abraham, was drawing on some sort of Jungian trans-conscious logic for his images and ideas. While this might be helpful in explaining various abstract convergences of rituals, archetypes, myths, religious symbols, and general ideological themes separated temporally and culturally, it is not very useful (or convincing) in explaining shared, but circumscribed details of a person's (Abraham's in this case) individual history found in multiple textual contexts.

A final possibility that must be allowed is that the above parallels might just indeed reveal Joseph Smith's prophetic insights. The *Book of Abraham* has undergone intense and sometimes hostile scrutiny since the 1840's. Had the book been merely a fabrication of an unlettered young man from upstate New York, it should have collapsed decades ago as a transparent scam. The preface of the *Book of Abraham* asserts that it is a revelation "of some ancient records, that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt—the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt."⁶³ For Joseph Smith—a man of only a few years of formal general education, and even less philological and linguistic training—this would be a bold and even reckless claim unless he indeed had a prophetic calling. However, as scholars delve into ancient extant texts that have been uncovered since the death of Joseph Smith, the *Book of Abraham* receives fascinating and compelling support. Recent analysis of the *Book of Abraham* has shown that the text resonates with other authentic sources from antiquity to which Joseph Smith could not have had access. Even the scant extra-biblical sources possibly available to Joseph Smith contain important deviations from the details found in both the *Qışaş* and the *Book of Abraham*.

Qur'an 87:18-19 affirms, "All this is written in earlier scriptures; the leaves (*şuhuf*) of Abraham and Moses." While the *şuhuf* of Moses are generally recognized by most Muslims as the Pentateuch, certain Islamic exegetes assert that "no book of Abraham has come down to us."⁶⁴ Is it possible that the *şuhuf*, or leaves of holy writ, referred to in the Qur'an are some of the papyri "of Abraham while he was in Egypt," and revealed to Joseph Smith in 1835? Given the preponderance of scholarly discoveries from non-scriptural sources, it is an assertion that is becoming demonstrably more defensible and certainly more faith affirming.

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Gramma, What's a Bastard?

Bessie Soderborg Clark

I WAS SCRUNCHED BEHIND THE BIG over-stuffed sofa, reading the forbidden works of Mark Twain. Oh horrors, I was reading the most forbidden book of all, *Roughing It*. I was tittering over what he said about the Mormon women. He said he had to come to Salt Lake to set the Mormons straight about polygamy, but when he saw how homely the women were, his heart went out to any man who would marry even one of them, let alone several.

When I asked my mother why Grandpa wouldn't allow any of Twain's books in his house, she said it was because Twain told so many lies about the Mormons and it outraged my grandparents. Well, I durst not let anyone catch me reading such lies, but while I couldn't keep from tittering, I did manage to keep from guffawing, and luckily too, because Mamma and Aunt Libby came and sat down on the sofa.

I was getting ready to make my presence known, when my Mamma's words stopped me. "Lib," she said, "why do you always lie about your age?"

"Oh, don't be silly, Matty, I never lie about such things."

Now, Mamma was only five feet tall, but she had been a guard on the first women's all-state basketball team and was a real scrapper, especially where Aunt Lib was concerned.

"Oh, yes you do." Although I couldn't see their faces, I knew that Mamma was probably opening her eyes in mock surprise. Mamma's voice was stern. "I happened to hear what you told Liz Smurtz about your age, and it was a lie. I know exactly how old you are!"

Aunt Lib sputtered for a few seconds and then said, "I can't tell my true age because I'm a bastard."

What's a bastard? I puzzled. I could just barely contain myself from asking, "What's a bastard?"

Then Aunt Libby went on, "I was born after the Manifesto, so that makes me a bastard."

Mamma said, "My father never indulged in such a vulgar practice; he believed in quality, not quantity."

Aunt Lib sounded very irritated. She got up and went to the door, and I heard her say, "My mother was only sixteen when. . . ." Then I couldn't hear the rest as she went out the door.

I was twelve then, and my fertile mind asked what horrible thing had happened to Aunt Libby's mother at sixteen. Why, I would be sixteen in three and a half years. What happens to girls at that age?

The next day my short little, potato-shaped, soft-spoken Grandma, who swirled her hair on top of her head like a pancake, dropped in on one of her frequent visits. I greeted her with a cheery "Hi, Grandma," and invited her to sit while I poured her a glass of cold lemonade. As she sipped I waited for just the right moment, then as innocently as I knew how, I asked her, "Gramma, what's a bastard?"

A tinge of pink spread over her face. She gave me a very odd look, glanced out of the window, and said she didn't know. Grandma seemed to be dense about a lot of things because her answers about many things were, "I don't know."

Just about then my mother came in and told me I'd better go clean up the mess in my room. Well, I felt they wanted to talk about something that I shouldn't hear. I headed for my room, then softly tiptoed back and leaned against the wall nearest to the overstuffed set. I heard them mention Mable, which kind of threw me because I didn't know anyone by that name, but then they mentioned Aunt Libby, and from what they were saying I figured Mable was Libby's mother.

Well, I had met Libby's mother a time or two. She had about the most sour face I'd ever seen on an old woman, seemed almost as if she'd been suckled on lemon juice instead of milk. She was a short fat little woman. She wasn't jolly like fat people were supposed to be. In fact, I don't ever remember seeing her smile. Then I remembered that something awful must have happened to her when she was sixteen. I figured it must have been bad enough to make her sorrow for nearly fifty years.

I pressed my ear against the wall, and I could hear my mother telling her mother that Libby had confessed to being a bastard. Now I knew that Grandma didn't know what a bastard was because she had just said so. I waited anxiously to hear my mother tell her.

"Well," Grandma said, "considering what kind of life she's had, I guess you could say she is one."

If you looked close at Mable, you could imagine that she had been a pretty girl at sixteen with golden blonde hair and violet blue eyes like Aunt Libby, and Libby wasn't too bad looking for having such a sour-looking mother.

I heard Grandma telling Mamma what Mable had told her. Mable had been in love with Willy and wanted to marry him when he returned from his mission. Now Willy came from a very humble home. His mother had been a widow for several years. With three children to pro-

vide for, she did washing and made clothes for more fortunate women. She had a few chickens. She called them missionary hens because the money she got for their eggs was put into a missionary fund for her sons. Mable visited her often to buy eggs and ask about Willy.

Well, it seems that a suave, middle-aged stake president had taken a fancy to Mable. He was tall and handsome and had dark wavy hair with a hint of silver in it. His eyes gleamed when he looked at an attractive young woman. Everybody looked up to him. It seemed half of her friends had a crush on him. He called on her parents and asked if he could have her in marriage. Now, who could refuse a good-looking man like this? It appeared he had mountains of money and would be a swell catch for any eligible girl in the valley. He already had three wives, but I guess he could never get enough of a good thing.

Mable's parents felt honored that such a fine, upright man wanted their daughter even though they knew she loved Willy. They promised her that love would ripen for the stake president and insisted on a temple marriage. This marriage brought many children into the church, but Mable never seemed to get much joy from them.

Years later I went to a family gathering. I saw a lone little figure, sitting at the far end of the room. I was puzzled for a moment, wondering who that could be. Could that possibly be Mable? Could she still be alive? I had to look closely to make sure it was her. She was a shriveled little prune by then, watery gray eyes, few teeth, and well into her nineties. I was surprised to see her still alive. It seemed she was loath to die. I said to her, "Mable, you're probably going to live forever."

She replied in a little, thin, cracked voice, "I hope so. I never want to die and meet that old bastard devil again that my parents married me off to—after he already had three wives."

And finally I understood.

An Act of Faith

Michael R. Collings

Flat, oval galaxies float—indeterminately
Distant yet distinct—above. . .glimmer and prepare
To fade into determinate darkness.

Hands outstretched, out-wrenched almost,
With elbows knotting against crosspieces
Feeling roughly hewn—wood-knot-grained chenille.

Warm bands connect to flesh, connect warm flesh
To colder, harder surfaces, not tight—not overtly
Binding—but solid, firm, inescapably taut.

Another band—broader, less articulate, somewhere
Between shin and ankle, perhaps, or higher yet,
Almost knee—and I lie quietly restrained

As deaf hands slip garments down, uncover
Privacies no longer private, mark with cold black
Ink and wash with bleakly orange disinfectant.

And I stare, blink once, as the curving cup
Nestles nose and throat and feeds my lungs
A sleep and dreams of painful, waking, painlessness.

The Road to Emmaus

Bryan R. Warnick

*After the torchlight on sweaty faces
After the frosty silence in the gardens
After the agony in stony places*
THE SHOUTING AND THE CRYING

*Prison and palace and reverberation
Of thunder of spring over distant mountains
He who was living is now dead
We who were living are now dying*

THESE LINES ARE FROM T. S. ELIOT'S POEM "The Waste Land."¹ In a footnote, he explains that the lines describe the situation after the last painful days of Christ's ministry, after the suffering in "frosty silence" at the Garden of Gethsemane, and after the imprisonment, trial, and crucifixion. The shouting and crying had ceased. Christ's ministry had ended, and, for many, hope itself had ended as well. What remained was a spiritual wasteland.

On the Sunday afternoon following the Crucifixion, two of Christ's disciples made their way to a place called Emmaus, a small town seven or eight miles from Jerusalem. This is a journey that began in despair and concluded in hope, and I wish to examine this transformation and apply it to the human condition. I hope to show that the road to Emmaus is a road we ourselves often travel. T. S. Eliot imagined the events that transpired on that road, and he wrote about their broader significance in section V of *The Waste Land*.

The symbolic nature of Luke's account is described by Joseph Fitzmyer in *The Anchor Bible*.² Fitzmyer argues that the Gospel of Luke

1. "The Waste Land" (5.322-29), *Modern Poems: A Norton Introduction*, eds. Richard Ellmann and Robert O'Clair (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1989), 282-294.

2. Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Anchor Bible: The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 1557-58. See also the introduction, 164-71

incorporates a “geographic perspective” by employing the physical features of Palestine as a theological teaching tool.³ If Fitzmyer is correct, Luke’s geographical references do more than locate Christ in space; they also represent ideas pregnant with spiritual meaning. In Luke’s account, the Lord “makes his way” (*poreuesthai*) through daunting opposition, across the physical features of Palestine, to his destiny in Jerusalem, the City of Promise. The road, a geographic path connecting the disparate events of Christ’s life, leads toward Gethsemane and Calvary; it is, hence, also a symbol capturing the process of his journey toward salvation.

At the end of his gospel, Luke once again uses the imagery of the road, this time in the story of the two disciples headed for Emmaus, who are also “making their way” (*poreuomenoi*) through a similar geographic setting and are also encountering opposition (Luke 24). I suspect Luke intends this as an expansive gesture, a symbolic connection between the Lord’s mission and every disciple’s personal journey. In Luke’s geographic perspective, this process—first demonstrated in Christ’s mortal journey, then expanded in the Emmaus narrative to apply to all his disciples—is represented by the road.⁴ The road to Emmaus becomes our road.

Little is known about these two disciples, except that they were not of the Twelve and that one of them was named Cleopas; nor is it known why they were going to Emmaus. No one knows the modern-day location of Emmaus itself although several possibilities have been proposed. We do, however, know the mood of the disciples as they traveled. The narrative tells us simply that they were “sad.” Their master, Jesus Christ, who they thought would bring liberation to their people, had been crucified with common criminals. Although they had seen him perform miracles, he’d seemed unable to save even himself. The miracles had ceased. Hope had ceased. Death and captivity remained. Their feelings must surely have echoed the spiritual dissolution described by Eliot: “*He who was living is now dead. We who were living are now dying*.”⁵

Similarly, James E. Talmage surmises: “There could be but one topic of conversation between them, and on this they communed as they walked, citing incidents of the Lord’s life, dwelling particularly upon the fact of His death through which their hopes of a Messianic reign had

3. A detailed investigation of Luke’s geographic perspective is found in Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 18-96.

4. Fitzmyer points out that Luke employs a double use of the term “on the road” (*en te hodo*) to emphasize the geographic location of the narrative (Luke 24:32, 35). The KJV uses the phrase “by the way,” or “in the way.” Note that “the road” is emphasized as the place of instruction.

5. The Waste Land, 5.329.

been so sadly blighted. . . .As they went they were engrossed in sorrowful and profound discourse."⁶

The reader might ask: Have I walked this road to Emmaus? Do I know what it is to be engaged in sorrowful and profound discourse? Has something I greatly desired collapsed under the stifling weight of my inadequate presumptions? Have I lost all expectation of living up to high ideals, and do I now fear to drink the bitter dregs of Isaiah's "cup of trembling?" (Isa. 51:22).

Maybe we struggle with the death of loved ones or despair at overcoming a particular sin or weakness. Perhaps we are experiencing what Eugene England calls the "Paradox of Selfhood" and agonize under what seem to be competing concepts of integrity and obedience.⁷ Hopelessness and confusion can flourish under a wide set of conditions. When such emotions plague us, I believe we walk with the disciples as they traveled the road to Emmaus. We journey through times of doubt, of discouragement, and of death. We walk on roads that Eliot envisions as having "no water, only rock,"⁸ and in this absence of water (traditional symbol of birth and life), we come to understand that "fear is a handful of dust."⁹

A connection can be made between this dry road and Plato's ancient idea of *aporia*, as set out in his *Meno*. Plato argues that true knowledge will never be ours unless we first realize what we do not know. A belief that one already possesses complete answers to all questions stifles inquiry and leads to mental stagnation. Instead, one must be motivated to search, to think, to reason, but this motivation only comes with an awareness of need. The condition in which we are painfully aware of our lack of knowledge—when we are perplexed and hopeless—is called *aporia*. False ideas have been stripped away, and the need for new understanding becomes obvious and acute.

Aporia is not a pleasant experience. Plato describes it as a feeling of paralysis, of numbness, or of being "stung by a sting-ray." Examining the etymology of the word, we find that the first Greek letter, alpha, is the "alpha privative," which denotes "lack" or "lacking." *Poros* indicates a "path" or a "way." *Aporia*, then, suggests lacking a way or direction or being lost. Thus, the two disciples on the road to Emmaus were in a state of spiritual *aporia*: Their conception of the Messiah had been proven wrong. They were now lost, and did not know what to do.

The anxiety and confusion of the road are formidable, but Plato would want us to understand that *aporia* is a necessary step on the path leading to

6. James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1973), 685.

7. Eugene England, *Dialogues with Myself* (Midvale, Utah: Orion Books, 1984), 19-36.

8. The Waste Land, 5.331.

9. *Ibid.*, 1.30.

true knowledge. Once prejudice and error have been cleared away, we can be taught to construct surer knowledge on a sturdier foundation. Applying this idea to the narrative in Luke is instructive: The events of the previous week had cleared away the disciples' false intellectual and spiritual conceptions; the construction of a more mature knowledge could now begin. This process provides one possible reason for human suffering in the wasteland: such suffering creates doubt, and doubt creates an openness to new ideas. It makes us yearn for answers to riddles which we, in pride or ignorance, may have thought were already solved.

The disciples had inherited a nearly universal misunderstanding about the nature of the Messiah. The Savior often tried to tell them that his kingdom was not of this world, that his redemption would come not in the form of military conquest or of fire from heaven, but would instead be realized within the quiet confines of the individual spirit. They did not understand. But with the disillusionment and *aporia* after the crucifixion, they could finally achieve a new and truer understanding of the nature of Christ's mission. We must die, the Savior often taught, in order to live, and so also our prejudice and error must die, in order to give our understanding new birth.

There were more lessons the disciples needed to learn on the road to Emmaus. As these two walked, someone they did not recognize drew near. This "stranger" said to them, "What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad?" (Luke 24:17). Cleopas responded, "Art thou a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days. . .concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God. . .and how the chief priests have crucified him?" (Luke 24:18-20). The disciples then told, with an air of perplexity, no doubt, the strange tale of the morning when the women had found the empty tomb and reported visions of angels (Luke 24:22-24). The stranger's identity remained continually hidden.

Similarly, T. S. Eliot writes of an unknown person walking with the inhabitants of his wasteland:

*Who is the third who walks always beside you?
When I count, there are only you and I together
BUT WHEN I LOOK AHEAD UP THE WHITE ROAD*

*There is always another one walking beside you
Gliding wrapped in a brown mantle.
I do not know whether a man or a woman
—But who is that on the other side of you?¹⁰*

10. *The Waste Land*, 5.360-66.

Eliot thus implies that sojourners in the wasteland are not alone; they have an unknown and elusive companion. In a footnote to this stanza, he points out that some early Antarctic explorers, such as Ernest Shackleton, reported in their travels that as they reached the limits of their physical strength, they experienced delusions, believing their party contained one member more than could be counted.¹¹ They sensed an ethereal companion walking with them.

In like manner, as we reach the limits of our spiritual strength, someone walks beside us. It is no delusion caused by the Antarctic sun or by sheer physical exhaustion, nor is our companion mysteriously hidden from us by Eliot's brown mantle: ". . .for I will go before your face. I will be on your right hand and on your left, and my spirit shall be in your hearts, and mine angels round about you, to bear you up" (D&C 84:88). Our companion does not necessarily promise to alleviate the tragedy of the journey; he only promises that we will not walk the wasteland alone if only we recognize his presence.

The rest of the biblical account is well known: The stranger rebuked the disciples and instructed them in the teachings of the prophets. As they drew near the village, the disciples invited the stranger to stay overnight with them, the day being far spent. As they sat down to eat, the stranger blessed bread and broke it, and gave it to them. With this, the disciples' eyes were opened to recognize this stranger as their master, Jesus Christ, now resurrected and glorified. "And they said one to another: Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?" (Luke 24:25-32). The disciples then hurried back to the City of Promise.

As we reach the limits of hope, Luke's narrative encourages us to look to our fellow sojourner. This subtle traveling companion is not lost, nor weak, but has all the strength necessary to help us walk the wasteland. Isaiah understood this:

Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord the Creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary? He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings of eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint (Isa. 40: 17, 28-29, 31).

Our own *aporias* show us the limits of our strength and reveal what we still need to learn. Through the story of Emmaus, we discover, above all, the constancy of our companion. We learn that in the emptiness of

11. *Ibid.*, 5n5.

the tomb lies the fullest answer to the world's hopelessness. The hope extends from the bloody battlefields of Fredriksburg, Normandy, or Vietnam to the lethal ovens of the Holocaust, from Haun's Mill to Mountain Meadows, from the sick child working in a third-world sweat shop to the drug addict in the streets of Salt Lake City; from sinner to sufferer to the sorrowful, and—not least of all—to you and me and our own private wastelands. The road stands before us rocky with no water, true, but there is companionship there—and education. "There is the third" who walks always beside us. Haven't our hearts burned within us?

Summer Story

Cherie Woodworth

I WAS FIFTEEN WHEN I SAW that my Mia Maid Advisor was having an affair. I'm afraid to tell you the story now, and afraid to think too hard about what I knew then, and what I didn't know. We can pretend it's fiction, if that will make you feel any better.

The prophet always told us only to date Mormon boys, and not to date until the age of sixteen, and so, officially, I didn't, though by the time I was out of Beehives, I used to stand around in the foyer between church meetings and talk with the older boys. The prize place was the orange velour armchair in the corner next to the bishop's office by the rack with the tithing slips. Dave often found me there, sat on the arm of the chair, put his arm around me, and talked about nothing. That was okay because his mother was one of our Young Women's advisors, the one who went to Girls' Camp with us every summer, the one whose kitchen was always open to girls who wanted to talk. Instead of calling her Sister Carlson, the older girls called her Aunt Margie. Dave Carlson had fair hair and washed-out blue eyes. He was a couple inches taller than me, a couple years older than me, cool and rather aloof from the other kids his age. He wasn't part of the guys' basketball group in the church gym. He didn't date any of the girls in the ward or in the high school, and he had an undertone of unhappiness and distant discontent. When he was thirteen, before I knew him, he had broken his back in a waterskiing accident. It was a dangerous injury; his mother feared for her oldest son and prayed for him, and he recovered.

When Gina came, it seemed she was perfect for Young Women's—twenty-two, married just out of high school, with a little boy at home and another baby on the way and a handsome young husband who got a job out at the plant. Her long hair was pulled back in two barrettes, just like the young woman on the cover of our class manual and on the medallion we could get if we fulfilled all our goals for six years. We heard her father was bishop somewhere, back in her hometown. In our little town, there were only two wards and not very many people to choose from for callings. Gina got called to Young Women's right away,

and became best friends with two of the girls who were graduating from high school that year. They rode around together in a jeep and played pranks on people—like the time a big yellow Century21 “For Sale” sign appeared overnight on the church lawn. I loved Gina because with her, things were fun and she made it seem like everybody fit in.

I loved my bishop too. When I was Beehive president, I called him “Bishop” and he called me “President.” He treated Beehive president as if it were a serious job. He was a quiet, dark-haired young engineer at the plant, not long out of BYU, with a young family and a perfect wife. After a while, he called me “Prez” and I called him “Bish,” and we agreed on a scripture challenge—to read the scriptures thirty minutes each night. Every Sunday after Sacrament meeting, when he passed me in the lobby on the way to his office, he asked me if I had done my reading. I always said I had though I didn’t admit to the times when I fell asleep with the book still open. He sometimes confessed to me that he hadn’t done his reading every night. The scripture challenge was our special agreement, a secret compact between colleagues.

The year when I was a Mia Maid was not an easy one. Two of the popular girls got pregnant, and Aunt Margie was worried about her son Dave, who was drinking sometimes. I started going with Scott, a boy from the other ward. Dave still found me at the orange velour armchair on Sundays and put his arm around me or held my hand, but (as I found out later) Scott warned him to keep away from me. Scott was big-shouldered and sometimes got in trouble at school for fighting. I would rather have gone with Dave, but because of Scott, Dave never asked.

We were a small ward in a small town, scratched into the edge of the desert and not another town around for miles and miles. We were close. Aunt Margie tried to counsel us through high school; we tried to comfort Aunt Margie and cheer her up. Gina had us over to her house for a slumber party; we tried to fix a fifth-anniversary dinner for Gina and her husband. And Bishop—I tried to help him out when I could, and sometimes I took my problems to him in his office with the dusty brown curtains and the olive-green vinyl chairs. Even though we didn’t talk that often, I felt like he took care of me.

Gina’s best friends graduated and went away to the state college in the city. Dave graduated too and with good grades. By special pleading Aunt Margie got him into BYU. But early in the semester he was caught drinking beer with some other guys and was reprimanded. Dave quit school rather than live under the punishments they wanted to load on him. He came home and kicked around for months, doing nothing. I didn’t see Dave at church anymore because he’d moved out of his mom’s house and quit coming.

Then summer started. Just as it always was in the desert, the sky was as clear and hot as a blue gas flame. The black tar melted soft down the

center of the streets, the white sidewalks were too bright to look at, and the days were flat and empty. One day I rode my bike over to talk to Aunt Margie and sat in her cool kitchen. Another day I rode over to Gina's. Standing in the narrow patch of shade on her concrete porch, I rang the doorbell. When Gina opened the door, the air conditioning flowed out onto me from the dark entryway. I was surprised to see Gina wearing a swimsuit.

"We're sitting in the backyard getting a tan," she said to me with her joking smile. She turned back and I followed her into the house. Through the sliding glass doors out the back I saw Dave in shorts, shirtless, lying on a plastic lounge chair. Gina stepped barefoot across the dead dry grass and sat down on her plastic lounge chair next to him.

"If you spray yourself with a squirt bottle, you can bake longer," Gina explained to me. "You get a better tan." She misted her hot arms and shoulders with the spray bottle and then her long, bare legs. She was already very tan. Dave didn't say much, but he took the spray bottle from Gina and sprayed himself all over. Then he set it down on the ground under his chair and dozed off again.

I didn't stay long. There wasn't much to say. I didn't want to sit in the backyard, even under the shade of the eaves, and facing out to them in the glare of the sunlight hurt my eyes. I went home.

A week or two later, I biked over to Gina's again. When I got inside, in the cool, we sat for a while at the kitchen table and talked. "I'm trying to help Dave out," she said. "You know, to straighten out his life, to quit doing stuff he's not supposed to do. Maybe go back to college." That would be good, I said. I had liked Dave for a long time.

Through the end of June, I thought about riding over to Gina's house, thought that I might run into Dave there, and I wanted to see him. But I didn't go. Not long after, we had a YW activity. We met at Gina's house in the evening to go up in the hills and roast s'mores over a fire. "Is it all right if Dave comes along?" Gina asked. "He was just here hanging out."

We all went out to get in Gina's car, a brown Pinto wagon, a nice family car. Dave said, "I'll drive." He already had the keys in his hand. We crowded in. Gina got in the front and then scooted over to sit on the narrow box between the driver's seat and the passenger seat, just behind the gear shift. I sat in the front passenger seat next to her. She was dressed for the heat in her shorts, and Dave had his surfer shorts on too. As we pulled out of the driveway, Dave put the car in reverse. When he took his hand off the gear shift, he laid it carelessly along the inside of Gina's bare leg.

It seemed stupid to build a fire in the summer when it was already so hot, but Gina insisted. In the dark, Gina sat next to Dave and joked with everyone as usual, or maybe more than usual. I don't really care for s'-

mores. They're too messy. I wanted Dave to pay attention to me like he used to. But he stayed on the other side of the fire with Gina, poking sticks into the flames, and so I tried not to watch them. I walked away and pretended to look at the empty desert sky instead.

When I remember Bishop, I think I was lucky to have him for my high school years. Later, after I had gone to college and lived in Utah, I heard rumors about some young bishop who had got his head messed up with polygamy. He told one of the teenage girls in the ward that he was called by the Lord to restore the Principle and swore her to secrecy. When I heard that story, I thought of my Bishop. I tried to imagine him saying something like that to me. I imagined how I would have felt special, safe in his care, chosen. I remembered my yearly "worthiness" interviews, how we sat privately in his office. How reticent his questions were, how formal. How I would have told him anything, if he had asked. I remembered how I admired him and how, unlike the other men in the ward, I never saw him sitting in church beside his wife. He was always alone up on the stand or sitting at the desk in his office. We all took care of each other, but in my mind, Bishop especially took care of me.

Bishop must have been the one who had to take care of it in the end. In August my father came home from church and told us: They announced in priesthood meeting that Gina was excommunicated for adultery. Suddenly, Gina's quiet husband decided they would move to Arizona for a year at the university. Within weeks Gina and her family were gone. Aunt Margie and her husband and the rest of the kids moved to a house in the other ward. Dave disappeared.

Just after my sixteenth birthday, I ran into Dave. We sat and talked for a while. He didn't tell me anything outright, except that Gina had thought of leaving her husband but didn't have any way to support her two little kids. Dave drove me to his apartment in the rundown part of town. He was driving a sand-eaten Cobra with a rumbling V-8 engine, and drove carelessly, one hand barely holding the bottom of the steering wheel, and coasting through stop signs. He told me he'd had a tequila sunrise for breakfast. He was a lot different from how he used to be at church, when he would stand with his arm around me or hold my hand and talk about nothing. But he was still Dave. He drove me back downtown, and when he dropped me off, we agreed to meet the next day for lunch. After he left, I thought about how I could help him get back to being the person he was.

I waited for him the next day on the corner, but he never showed up.

He called me a few days later, but not to apologize or make things up. "I got held up," he said. "You know. Stuff to do, people to see."

"Yeah, I guess I can understand that," I said. It didn't sound like much of an explanation or an excuse. "We can still meet for lunch if you want."

There was dead space on the phone. Even at the age of sixteen, I understood already in part the deadly betrayal that Dave and Gina had created, the dismembered families that were trying to heal before, spiritually, they bled to death. I understood the rift that now cut him off from all ties to the ward except the safest, most formal ones. From what Dave had done, there was no other way to judge him but as selfish, corrupted, and predatory. I knew my dad would tell me to keep away from Dave if he found out.

But I offered to meet him. Selfish, corrupted, and predatory, Dave should have said yes.

Finally he said, "No. I don't want to meet you for lunch. I didn't come the other day on purpose. I've got a lot of stuff to deal with right now, and I just don't want to get you involved in it. It's not the sort of stuff you want to get messed up in. It'll be better for you that way."

Sensing Spirits

Linda Sillitoe

We had to fly to her brother's wedding.
But she lay prone on a heating pad,
the room spinning above, and her
weight and blood pressure each
below one hundred. I prepared to carve
her pink bridesmaid's dress to fit,
then sew it smooth and smaller.

I hoped music from a native flute might ease
the unforgiving fabric and erase
my fear of a misshapen dress walking
her down the aisle—if she *could* walk.
One seam sewn, I took a breath
and went to check the patient.
I'm fine, she chirped, don't worry.

Pilgrim is here, circled on my chest.
Aunt Fern is helping you fix my dress.
I gasped and said, *that's good.* Fern died
when I was twelve. This daughter ate
my memories more than food, which turned
her inside out. Pilgrim, her feline nursemaid,
had been put to sleep. And our new cat,

young and lioness, skirted the sickroom.
That day, the tension I tried to hide haloed
me like burrs, too thick for sensing spirits.
But I was glad for her—unless it meant. . . .
Oh, let me edit that aching day with vision:
not homecoming, her knees sharp through denim
as a wheelchair bore her through the airport;

not the months and pounds and pressure points
yet to fall like long brown hair before her bones
finally turned on a solid diagnosis. Let me glimpse
her kicking off white shoes—as she did—to dance
with her new nephew, so suave in his small tux.
Let me know I'll pump the camera to invest
her macarena whirl against whatever comes.

Hebraicisms, Chiasmus, and Other Internal Evidence for Ancient Authorship in *Green Eggs and Ham*

*Robert Patterson*¹

THEODOR GEISEL WAS BORN IN 1904 in Springfield, Massachusetts. After an unremarkable adolescence, he attended Dartmouth College and later Oxford University in England where he studied literature. He then embarked on a career in writing and published numerous articles and cartoons in various magazines. During World War II he worked for Frank Capra's Signal Corps Unit and earned the Legion of Merit. In 1954 Geisel's publisher was struck by an article entitled *Why Johnny Can't Read*, concerning childhood illiteracy. In order to promote academic interest in the very young, the publisher asked Geisel to write a children's book, limiting the vocabulary to the level of a first grade student. The result was *The Cat in the Hat*, a short story that used only 220 different words. Acclamation and preeminent professional success followed, and Geisel went on under the *nom de plume* Dr. Seuss (his mother's maiden name) to author many more books, richly illustrated with his distinctive and quirky drawings. He eventually published 44 books, earning three Academy Awards and a Pulitzer Prize in the process. Geisel passed away in 1991, but over a decade after his death, he remains a top-selling author.

According to popular legend, circa 1960 an editor bet Geisel \$50 that he couldn't write an entire book with a lexicon of only 50 words. Dr.

1. The author wishes to thank Dr. Salvatore Federico, a friend and Linguist, teaching in Phoenix, who reviewed the manuscript and provided invaluable assistance in preparing this article.

Seuss accepted the challenge, and the result was the now classic *Green Eggs and Ham*.²

Upon an initial and cursory reading, the book appears to be a simple morality play. A zealous purveyor of an unusual gustatory selection hawks his wares to an Everyman, whose initial biases preclude his acceptance of the unfamiliar. By the end of the story, the Everyman has overcome his baseless prejudices and rejoices in his newfound knowledge. The book made perfect bedtime reading for the generation of youth later known as the baby boomers.

Deeper analysis, however, reveals that the book has complex subtexts comprehensible only when the factual nature of its real authorship is known. Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence that the manuscript did not originate with Geisel, who likely fallaciously claimed credit for an archaic work that he or someone else surreptitiously translated from an ancient language into modern English. In the absence of uncontested external proof, the true origins of *Green Eggs and Ham* only become clear with an analysis of the text itself, i.e., through internal evidences present in the body of the work. When preconceptions are cast aside, a strong case can be made for the antiquity of this fascinating and complex work. In particular, the narrative is rich in Hebraicisms, chiasmus, biblical themes, and cultural references familiar to the pre-Common Era Israelites.

Hebraicisms may be defined as writings that reflect a Semitic influence in cognates, syntax, or grammatical accent. Chiasmus, also known as inverted parallelism, is an ancient poetic method that states a series of ideas (ABC. . .) and then repeats them in reverse order (. . .CBA). *Green Eggs and Ham* may read awkwardly in English, but its inelegant articulation is immediately pardonable when it is properly understood to be the translation of an ancient Asian text.

The first six words of the manuscript send a chill of recognition through the spine of any scholar familiar with Near Eastern religious documents:

I am Sam.
Sam I am.³

This opening couplet immediately demonstrates a simple chiasmus, a hallmark of biblical Hebrew stylistics. Of significance also is the meaning behind the words. "I am" is the classic Old Testament tetragrammaton. "Sam" is English for the Hebrew word "Shem," meaning name. The

2. Dr. Seuss, *Green Eggs and Ham* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1960).

3. *Ibid.*, 5, 7.

word Shem itself is one of the Hebrew names for deity. Thus, the informed reader will immediately recognize that this is a work of divine importance, commencing with two names of deity, each presented twice in an inverted parallel fashion.

The next few verses demonstrate another literary device from antiquity. Echolalia is the instantaneous repetition of a phrase; examples are found in both the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. Inclusion of echolalic phrasing early in the text again reflects its ancient roots.

That Sam-I-Am.
 That Sam-I-Am.
 I do not like
 That Sam-I-Am.⁴

Numerous other Hebraicisms are found throughout the text. One striking example is the commencement of a sentence with a negative conjunction or negating adverb. In English, it is grammatically improper to start a phrase with “No” or “Not,” such as “Not in my backyard.” The omniscient word processor will immediately highlight such a phrase as a sentence fragment. However, in Hebrew it is common to start a sentence with the word “lo” (meaning “no” or “not”); seven of the Ten Commandments begin in this way. It is, therefore, of significance to note the multiple, sequential sentences initiated in the negative, as in this passage:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|---|--------|
| Not | in | a | box. |
| Not | with | a | fox. |
| Not | in | a | house. |
| Not with a mouse. ⁵ | | | |

Although this phrasing would be crossed out in red ink by any vigilant high school English teacher, the citation makes perfect grammatical sense in Hebrew.

An uninformed skeptic could argue that interpretation of segments of the text as Hebraicisms is a subjective and inexact science. However, the definitive presence of chiasmic phrasing is not so easily dismissed, and numerous examples are found scattered through the body of the manuscript. Some are straightforward and easy to recognize, as in this excerpt:

4. *Ibid.*, 9.
 5. *Ibid.*, 24.

I do not like them, S a m-I-a m.
 I do not like green eggs and ham.
 Would you like them here or there?
 I would not like them here or there.
 I would not like them any where.
 I do not like green eggs and ham.
 I do not like them, Sam-I-am.⁶

Other chiasmi are more complex and woven cunningly into the narrative. For example, Sam-I-Am poses a number of non-rhetorical questions to the anonymous other character in the narration in a lengthy passage similar in construct to the interrogation of Job by his three friends. From the depths of despair, the unnamed protagonist summarizes his stance on the relevant culinary issues with a forceful, yet eloquent plea. A careful reading of his declaration reveals that his poetic soliloquy is a twelve part (twelve is a sacred number to the Hebrews) perfect inverse parallelism reflecting the preceding protracted dialogue from Sam-I-Am, in which he is queried concerning preferential selections of transportation, ungulates, meteorology, diurnal rhythms, habitat, and small furry rodents.

I could not, would not, on a boat.
 I will not, will not, with a goat.
 I will not eat them in the rain.
 I will not eat them on a train.
 Not in the dark! Not in a tree!
 Not in a car! You let me be!
 I do not like them in a box.
 I do not like them with a fox.
 I will not eat them in a house.
 I do not like them with a mouse.
 I do not like them here or there.
 I do not like them anywhere!⁷

A plethora of Semitic cultural references is also found in the text. For example, the goat and the fox are both Old Testament animals. Also, the “green eggs” referred to repeatedly can be understood in the light of the times. Without modern-day refrigeration techniques, putrefaction would quickly have commenced in unconsumed food, resulting in moldy (green) eggs. In the worldview of the ancient Israelites, one can, therefore, certainly understand the reluctance of the unnamed central character to consume a meal that is potentially pathogenic and also non-kosher.

6. *Ibid.*, 12-16.

7. *Ibid.*, 46.

Finally, multiple traditional Old Testament themes flow through *Green Eggs and Ham*, including the chronicle of the flood. According to the book of Genesis, Noah had three sons—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. As already discussed above, Shem is the Hebrew equivalent of the English name Sam, which appears in the text a total of 19 times. The word “ham” appears 10 times. Japheth is never mentioned specifically but may be the enigmatic unnamed character in the story. Also of significance, the word “rain” appears four times while the word “boat” (a synonym for “ark”) is mentioned three times. And although not part of the written text, an illustration near the end of the manuscript shows a bleak image of apparently endless water, on which there floats a solitary vessel filled with animals. Taken all together, this cumulative evidence must be accepted as being far more than merely coincidental.

To summarize to this point, the rich presence of complex chiasmi, multiple Hebraicisms, Israelite cultural references, and Old Testament themes supports the theory that *Green Eggs and Ham* is, in fact, an ancient text of Semitic origin. Theodor Geisel, though a clever and charismatic man, was not a student of Near Eastern history or languages and would not be familiar with these writing techniques. He simply did not have the knowledge or resources to produce such a work and clearly is not the author of the book.

Part of the solution to the mystery as to the true source of the manuscript may lie hidden within the text itself. In 1997, a former *Wall Street Journal* reporter named Michael Drosnin published an astounding book entitled *The Bible Code*, in which he examined equidistance letter sequences in the Bible.⁸ Using the original Hebrew characters, every fifth letter was placed into a matrix, which was then analyzed for meaning. The resulting revelations have shed new light on the scriptures. A similar study was carried out on the text from *Green Eggs and Ham*, employing standard Word Search Puzzle techniques. Up/down, backwards/forwards and diagonals were all permitted. The study is ongoing, but preliminary results have yielded tantalizing clue words and phrases such as STATS, NINNY, and the cryptic message IDONOTOUX (possibly “I do not owe you anything”).

In conclusion, this paper is the first to reveal the true origins of an ancient complex manuscript that for too long has been cavalierly dismissed as a mere twentieth century work of fiction. Although we have arrived at a better understanding of the roots of this crucial work, many critical questions remain unanswered. If Geisel was not the author, as he claimed, then who was? Is the book entirely allegorical, or was the shadowy Sam-I-Am an actual historic personage? What geographic hints in

8. Michael Drosnin, *The Bible Code* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).

the text allude to the location of the physical setting for the events described? What possible anomaly in the arcane process of translation would account for the apparent anachronistic mention of cars and trains? And what moral and spiritual lessons does *Green Eggs and Ham* hold for us today in our lives? No doubt, inspired scholars will soon research and discover the answers to these and many other questions as this complicated but vital narrative finally receives the serious academic scrutiny it so richly merits.

The Life of an LDS Apostle

Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle. By Richard D. Poll. Edited by Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), xx + 240 pp., \$29.95

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, Woods Cross, Utah.

HENRY DINWOODEY MOYLE (1889-1963) lived a full life that has been well recounted by the late historian Richard D. Poll. Professor Poll achieved a solid reputation as a Mormon historian. He taught several years at BYU, leaving that institution in 1970 to assume the position of vice president for administration at Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois. Poll published a scholarly biography of Hugh B. Brown (with Eugene F. Campbell) in 1975 and was a coeditor of the popular *Utah's History* (1978). Perhaps his best remembered contribution to Mormon studies was a 1967 sermon he delivered at the Palo Alto, California, Ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints entitled "What the Church Means to People Like Me." The text of this famous speech was later published in *Dialogue* 2, no. 4 (winter, 1967).

With the backing of Leonard J. Arrington, Poll had completed his biography of Henry D. Moyle under the financial sponsorship of the Moyle family by 1982. Tragically, however, the family found his study to be insufficiently "faith-promoting." Poll was

"extremely disappointed," so the biography was not published at that time (xiii). Like many professionally-trained historians, Poll believed that history was best told "warts and all," and he has portrayed Moyle in such a manner (xv).

As Poll writes, "Helping people cope with economic adversity was Henry D. Moyle's calling for the last half of his life" (82). Asked to help shape the church's response to the Great Depression of the 1930s, Moyle served as chairman of the General Church Welfare Committee during those trying times. Reportedly, all he wanted inscribed on his gravestone was "A Welfare Worker," a clear indication of the importance he ascribed to this undertaking (82).

Always a "builder," according to his biographer, Moyle felt a "particular" challenge to acquire and develop properties that might aid the cause of the church's welfare program (91). While maintaining a successful law practice, Moyle also acted as president of the Cottonwood Stake of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Along with his religious and humanitarian activities, Moyle also had a talent for making money. "Money interested Henry Moyle," Poll observes. However, it was the challenge of acquiring and using wealth, rather than money itself, that brought him pleasure. "[H]e delighted equally in investing it, spending it, and giving it away" (97).

In June 1959, a few months after his seventieth birthday, Moyle was called to serve in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' presiding First Presidency as second counselor to David O. McKay where one of his chief assignments would be the church missionary program. Several factors had influenced President McKay's selection of Moyle as a counselor, including his proven business acumen and, surprisingly, his politics: Moyle was a Democrat. This was a "minor but not inconsequential factor" "for a church striving to present a bipartisan image to the world" (187).

His successes in this calling, however, appear to have led eventually to his fall from grace among some of his peers within the church hierarchy. Indeed, Poll compares this portion of his subject's life to a Greek tragedy (210).

The accelerating missionary program of the church demanded vigorous, enthusiastic leadership—qualities Moyle possessed in abundance. His self-confidence and his fervent belief that he was right did not always help him, however, in working among older, more conservative brethren. Many in church leadership came to see problems with the missionary program as Moyle's new quotas for missionary work led to so-called "baseball baptisms." These baptisms added

scores of unconverted youngsters to ward membership rolls, much to the chagrin of local and general authorities. Moyle himself saw this problem as "exceptional" and often preached against the practice (211). As he saw it, the real issue was member retention through active fellowshipping, not simply the increase in baptisms.

At first, President McKay approved most of the initiatives put forth by his second counselor, giving Moyle "considerable latitude" (215). Within a few years, however, and in response to concerns among the hierarchy, McKay decided to assume greater oversight for church missionary efforts since these were its most "visible" and "vulnerable" public activities (215).

Following a life marked by personal, financial, and religious successes, Moyle died quietly in his sleep on 18 September 1963. Considering that life, Poll writes, "Henry D. Moyle had more impact upon the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the current century than any other man who did not hold the office of president" (224). Some may disagree with this claim, but after reading *Working the Divine Miracle*, it would be difficult to refute it. Author Poll and editor Larson have provided a solid biography of an important figure in the twentieth-century church hierarchy.

Protocols of the (Other) Elders of Zion

The History of the Saints, 3d edition, by John C. Bennett, ed. Andrew F. Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 341pp., \$34.95

Reviewed by Terryl Givens, Associate Professor of English, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia.

ONE MAY IMPUTE two possible rationales to the decision by the University of Illinois Press to reprint an 1842 exposé of Joseph Smith and Mormonism. Its re-publication may represent an appreciation for its value as a window on anti-Mormon hysteria and hate-mongering in an era when the

paranoid imagination and the literature of reprisal wrought much tragedy in Missouri and Illinois. One could also value it as an historically plausible account of early Mormon duplicity and infamy. Discounting its excesses, one might consider the book revealing and credible enough to contribute meaningfully to a fuller understanding of how Mormonism invited its own tragic chapters in American history. (The jacket offers a third rationale, one we are reluctant to take seriously. Even if Bennett is unreliable, we are told, "wherever the truth lies, *The History of the Saints* is a titillating concoction of indignation, revelation, and vituperation." That it may be, but one hopes that a press of this stature does not seriously consider that a sound basis for publication.)

Andrew F. Smith, the editor, makes a case for the book's documentary value in his lengthy introduction, but he is not very convincing. Smith reminds us that Bennett cannibalized almost four-fifths of the material from other hostile accounts. Bennett provides affidavits of Danite activity, evidence of Joseph's "amours and attempted seductions" and his theocratic aspirations, and a "mass of evidence" alleging various criminal activities (the catalogue ranges from arson and bestiality to rape and treason [257]). There is nothing new—obviously—in these charges. What is new is their presentation by a scholarly press in the context of an historical introduction that attempts to rehabilitate Bennett's book as good institutional, rather than cultural, history. Smith writes that Bennett has been wrongly "dismissed" by Mormon historians as either "a true believer who sadly went astray, or as an opportunist masquerading as a devout religious convert" (viii). This is curious criticism since the editor explicitly em-

braces the second option himself. Bennett was a "Barnumesque" character, he writes, who always "pursued secular, not religious goals" (viii, xvii). His biography of Bennett doesn't hedge either, as its title makes evident: *The Saintly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John Cook Bennett* (University of Illinois Press, 1997). Smith's real complaint is that Mormon scholars have not taken this opportunist seriously as a chronicler of the prophet and church that publicly exposed and humiliated him. Smith asserts the familiar mantra that leaders of institutions generally conceal from others (and from themselves) the "real rules that govern an institution" and "the true institutional norms and ways of operating" (viii). In light of this premise, Smith apparently considers Bennett's book valuable as primary source material for documenting—at worst—the conspiratorial machinations in early Mormon history, and—at best—the false consciousness or self-deluded motivations behind Joseph's elaboration of early Mormon practice and belief. But with an author as prejudiced and unreliable as Bennett, who "left no infamy unclaimed in his attack on Mormonism" (xxxix), how are we to find illumination into "true institutional norms" and the "real rules" of Mormonism?

It may be merely idiosyncratic that Andrew F. Smith insists—against a tide of scholarship now decades old—that the theory that Solomon Spaulding authored the Book of Mormon is entirely plausible. In the section on the Missouri persecutions, his bias becomes more disturbing. Smith refers to Joseph's creation of the Danites "to enforce his will" and "suppress dissent" though the extent of his control over this mysterious band remains open to debate (xv). He then refers to Sidney Ridgon's inflammatory 4th of

July speech that aroused “non-Mormon” (never “anti-Mormon”) ire, and—in what many readers may at first think a misprint—writes that the “Mormon militia plundered non-Mormon settlements” (xv). Factually correct, perhaps, but what does such a fact mean when the author neglects to mention the slaughter of Mormons at Haun’s Mill and never even hints that attacks, house burnings, mobbings, and murder took place against Mormons? Even the riot to prevent Mormons from voting at Gallatin is sanitized here as an “electoral altercation” (xv), thus preserving the editor’s narrative agenda: Mormons were the only real instigators and perpetrators of violence in Missouri. This is “history” in the same sense that Bennett’s book is a “History,” and the lack of objectivity is

as transparent as it is bewildering in a university press publication.

Even accepting the legitimacy of some of Bennett’s charges about the beginnings of secret polygamy in Nauvoo and Joseph’s theocratic designs, his sheer rhetorical and sensationalistic excess led the editor James Gordon Bennett to conclude in 1842 that the book’s publication “utterly disgraces its publisher” (xxxii). Perhaps the same can’t be said of its re-publication. But justifying the decision by appealing to “titillation” will not do. And promising, in a uni-dimensional introduction, that the book will reveal Mormonism’s “real ways of operating” does not remove us as far from 19th century sensationalism as we could wish.

Henry William Bigler: Mormon Chronicler of Great Events

Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815-1900, by M. Guy Bishop. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998). 208 pp., \$36.95.

Reviewed by Violet T. Kimball, Writer and Photographer, Glen Carbon, Illinois

M. GUY BISHOP HAS MOVED AWAY from famous Mormon church leaders to delve into the life of a minor member who had a major appointment with American history. Henry William Bigler’s life is one that has both historical and religious significance. He left “thirteen day books and journals and an autobiography/journal telling much about mid-nineteenth century California” (xiii). One of his most im-

portant entries was made January 24, 1848 at Sutter’s Creek: “This day some kind of mettle was found. . .that. . . looks like goald.” (59). Bishop’s purpose is to present “Bigler’s written record [which] offers an unsophisticated mirror of his activities and thoughts, convincingly sincere in intent and formidable in sheer volume” (xii). By all standards, Bigler was a common man who did not know he had a date with destiny when he marched out of Iowa with the Mormon Battalion on July 21, 1846, to the strains of “The Girl I Left Behind Me.” Bigler, however, did not leave a girl behind.

Henry William Bigler was born in Pennsylvania in 1815 and joined the Mormon church with most of his immediate family in 1837. They migrated

to Missouri soon afterwards where they were among the beleaguered Mormons who saw and participated in the conflicts with Missourians in 1838 before fleeing to Illinois in 1839. These trials cemented his allegiance to the church, and his faith and loyalty never faltered thereafter. In 1846 in Iowa, he was asked to join the Mormon Battalion to help fight the war with Mexico, a request he hesitated to accept until his leaders pressured him to obey counsel.

Bigler wrote in his journal that he was "willing to obey counsel believing all things would work for the best in the end" (31). As he began the march, he carried some of the curse of the Midwest with him—the ague (malaria)—but he was never too sick or weary to record his thoughts. We have a greater appreciation and knowledge of the journey of the Mormon Battalion because of Bigler's detailed account. Bigler's willingness to obey counsel ushered in a year of much hardship and trials, followed by a year of relative ease and historical significance.

After much suffering and near starvation, about 400 of the original 500 battalion members and a few women reached San Diego in January of 1847. A year later Bigler was still in California, better fed and farther north at Sutter's Creek. He was at the American River the day that James Marshall discovered gold. This incident gave Bigler a front row seat for one of the major events in American history. His diary entry is the only contemporary record to mention the discovery on the day it occurred. Fifty years later Bigler was among the celebrities invited to commemorate California's Golden Jubilee.

Bigler's devotion to the church is obvious, and while Bishop makes this

observation, he does not minimize the problems nor downplay the real church history. That Mormon Battalion Saints gambled, drank, and bought tobacco is not general knowledge. Bishop also mentions that whiskey was delivered to Bigler's group at Sutter's Creek in 1848. He lets the record speak for itself.

Bigler's devotion to the Mormon church was typical and puzzling. Admittedly a devoted family man, he nonetheless accepted from Brigham Young a third mission call to work in the St. George Temple in 1877, a year after his first wife Jane Whipple died. To do this, he left his three young motherless sons with others: "I bid my children good by praying in my heart for God to bless them and all who may befriend them" (129). In a modern, family-friendly church, this kind of obedience stings. Bigler saw these sons occasionally, but he lived out his life in St. George with a new family.

The volume includes 24 illustrations, but I found it disappointing that none were of any of the women in Bigler's life. Surely some images exist of his children, especially of his youngest daughters, Maud and Eleanor, from his second wife, Eleanor Emett.

I would also have liked more details about the battalion funds sent back to relatives in Winter Quarters, much of which ended up in the general church fund administered by Brigham Young. This did not please the relatives in Winter Quarters, who nearly starved to death. More details about conditions in Utah when Bigler arrived in 1848 would have been helpful while I think less might have been written on Bigler's two missions to Hawaii. Bigler's California trail diary also sheds interesting light on interactions with Native Americans and offers

chilling accounts of dead bodies from the Donner party:

Passing down the mountain to the head of Truckee River. . .we came to a shanty built last winter, and about this cabin we found the skeletons of several human beings. I discovered a hand. It was nearly entire. It had been partly burned to a crisp. The little finger was not burnt. . . I judged it to be the hand of a woman. . . .

Bigler reports that his group found a cabin of bodies—some with limbs, ribs, or brains removed—and was told later at Sutter's Fort that "children were saved but not till after they had eaten of their dead parents."¹

Bishop's book is an easy, interesting, read. It is seldom that one finds such a rich source of American, Western, Utah, and church history in 160 pages (followed by an extensive bibliography). I finished reading wanting

more than Bishop had included. There are many fascinating tidbits such as the following:

"Because public polygamy could no longer be a demonstration of loyalty, the new agenda for the devout became an increased emphasis upon tithing [and] stricter observance of the. . .health code known as the Word of Wisdom" (144).

We also learn that men who practiced plural marriage prospered more than those living in monogamy (142). Bigler earned less than \$900 a year.

I heartily recommend Bishop's biography of Henry Bigler. Much research and work went into this book, and if it is true that "good things come in small packages," this certainly qualifies.

"A Happy, Go-Ahead People"

Mormon America: The Power and the Promise, by Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 454 pp., \$17.00.

Reviewed by R. Jonathan Moore, Ph.D. candidate in American religious history, University of Chicago Divinity School.

THE GENERAL PUBLIC'S KNOWLEDGE of Mormonism tends to be thinly mediated through certain stereotypical images: the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, well-scrubbed young missionaries, polygamy, large families, genealogy, sacred underwear, sentimental television commercials, upright (if not prudish) living. Thus *The Onion*, a satirical

magazine, can still count on laughs from the headline "Mormon Teen Loses Inhibitions after Third Benadryl." In a new book, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise*, the husband-and-wife team of Richard N. and Joan K. Ostling explore and explain the reality behind these images. Their lively and judicious account ensures that Americans will no longer have any excuse to be shallowly informed about the country's most successful homegrown religious tradition.

The authors are outsiders: Richard, one of America's most capable religion reporters and currently the Associated Press religion writer, and Joan, a freelancer, describe themselves as "conventional" Protestants. Building upon the interest generated by

Richard's *Time* cover story "Mormons, Inc." in 1997, the Ostlings have sought to deliver a "candid but nonpolemical overview written for non-Mormons and Mormons alike, focusing on what is distinctive and culturally significant about this growing American movement" (xi). They know their task is a tall one, for "no religion in American history has aroused so much fear and hatred, nor been the object of so much persecution and so much misinformation" (xvi).

Fortunately, their strategy throughout the book is to be forthright about any obstacles to writing a "nonpolemical" account. Any treatment of Mormonism presents several particular quandaries, and how authors resolve them usually provides a good index of fairness. For instance: what terminology will be used for the church? The official hierarchy prefers the whole name, the Church of Jesus Christ, or "the Church," disdaining other descriptions as erroneous and misleading, while outsiders comfortably refer to "Mormons" or "the Mormon Church." Though sensitive to the church's concerns, the Ostlings conclude that "the church is attempting to make water run uphill, so ingrained are these terms in modern usage" (xii). So despite the church's wishes, shorthand like "Mormon" and "LDS" appear throughout. Outsiders 1, Mormons 0.

The score evens quickly, however, as the Ostlings confront a different quandary: Are Mormons Christians? Many outsiders don't think so, and even estimable scholars like Jan Shipps argue that Mormonism is best understood as a separate religious tradition. But the authors explain rightly that "To the Saints the very question is offensive. The Mormons themselves. . . believe that they are not only Chris-

tians but the only *true* Christians" (xxv). This combination of candor and sensitivity characterize the entire book.

These qualities are on full display as the Ostlings spend the first six chapters on Mormon history. This is no small accomplishment: excavating Mormon roots presents another formidable narrative challenge. Just how will the faith's early history be told? Accounts of seer stones, visions, treasure hunting, and plural marriage sometimes seduce storytellers away from equally important tales of industry, self-sacrifice, and religious devotion. As well, Mormonism, secretive and controversial from its genesis, has always attracted more than its share of internal dissent and external criticism. What prominence and credence will these voices be given? When these questions become particularly thorny, the authors, always seeking fairness and comprehensiveness, rely heavily upon respected scholars—both insiders and outsiders—to thrust the narrative forward. The result is a lively and colorful but well-balanced account of the Mormon tradition.

Mormon America is not simply a history, to be sure. The Ostlings map an enormous amount of contemporary territory with substantial depth and clarity. In chapters on such complex and contentious subjects as race relations, family structure, institutional hierarchy, missionaries, dissenters and academic freedom, rituals, and scriptures, the authors clearly describe the issues at hand and the key players involved. A model of clarity is "How God Came to Be God," a chapter that avoids descending into the murk of abstract theological discourse while offering a clear sense of how Mormonism's distinctive doctrine of the divine relates to other Christian theol-

ogy. The section on "Faithful History" is particularly adept at offering insight into just why Mormon history provides fertile ground for controversy, both within the church and without. "There is a very real sense," the Ostlings explain, "in which the church's history is its theology" (245). No wonder, then, that the official church strives so mightily to maintain control over its own religious tradition.

Mormon America is not without flaws. A chapter on Mormon celebrities ("Some Latter-day Stars") feels superfluously fluffy. Occasional rhetorical questions masquerade as transitions and give the story a jerky, overly didactic feel (for example, 32, 41). Transitions continue to be a problem: though most chapters flow well internally, they are not always artfully integrated into the larger narrative. More editorial attention to that larger story might also have prevented noticeable repetitions: readers really do not need to be told more than once that the word Deseret refers to the honeybee (46, 114) or that sociologist Rodney Stark thinks Mormonism is the most important new world religion to arise since Islam (xvi-xvii, 217, 262, 375). As a result, readers may find the book more satisfying when digested in discrete, chapter-size chunks.

The Ostlings have supplemented their tale with a map of Mormon temples, a graph (strangely buried at the book's end), and eight pages of photographs. Joseph Smith's "King Follett Discourse," an important source for Mormon theology, appears in an appendix, and a second appendix explains how the authors estimated the church's finances. A brief but helpfully annotated list of resources for further reading completes the volume.

As visitors and reporters descend upon Salt Lake City for the 2002 Winter Olympics, Mormonism will have the public spotlight cast upon it as at no time since the nineteenth century. For this reason, *Mormon America* could not have arrived at a better time. Though breaking no new scholarly ground, the authors have proffered a responsible, accessible, and engaging account of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Ostlings succeed admirably in their aim of providing a frank but fair account of this dynamic American tradition. Their book, the best contemporary introduction to those whom President Gordon B. Hinckley calls "a happy, go-ahead people" (375), deserves a wide audience among church members and gentiles alike.

An Excellent Survey of the Headlines, But Not of the Heart

Mormon America: The Power and the Promise. By Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling (New York, Harper-Collins, 1999), 454 pp., \$17.00.

Reviewed by Bryan Stout, a freelance writer and programmer who lives in Virginia with his daughters and wife

Margaret, a physicist and program manager with the Navy.

MORMON AMERICA IS A comprehensive and instructive overview of Mormonism "for non-Mormons and Mormons alike" (xi). Its scope, tone and readability reveal the best of Richard

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MORMON AMERICA IS A comprehensive and instructive overview of Mormonism "for non-Mormons and Mormons alike" (xi). Its scope, tone and readability reveal the best of Richard

and Joan Ostling's background in journalism. They cover most major topics in Mormon history, teachings, and culture, drawing from a large, well-selected array of scholarly studies and interviews with a variety of church members. They have an objective and fair-minded stance and often provide contextual understanding for issues they discuss. And each chapter is like a separate article, with an engaging beginning, readable middle, and summary statement at the end, usually positive but sometimes cautionary. For these and other reasons, this book deserves reading by all Mormon watchers in and out of the church.

However, it also has some key weaknesses. Principally, the book fails to cover topics that would help readers understand what has motivated the saints. The major methodological weaknesses tend to be the flip side of the strengths. The emphasis on controversy—the downside of a journalistic approach—tends to crowd out other important issues. The acknowledged reliance on secondary material (xiii) leads to omissions and debatable claims that could have been avoided with more interaction with practicing Mormons. And the deliberate focus on “what is distinctive” in the Mormon world (xi) downplays important similarities to other religious groups.

The book's strengths and weaknesses play out differently in its different parts. The chapters on church his-

tory are informative and interesting and include numerous details most members won't know. However, they do not offer a balanced diet: there is too much of controversy and not enough of Mormonism as a faith. For example, the discussion of polygamy (56-80, 84-90) focuses on its practice in secret (1840s Nauvoo and post-Manifesto), the government anti-polygamy crusade, and issues with modern fundamentalists—while only a couple of paragraphs discuss how polygamy was lived from the 1850s through the 1880s, or what it meant to its practitioners (69-70, 86). The most crucial absence is in the coverage of Joseph Smith: one gets little feeling for why the saints followed him then or honor him today. It's as if one were to teach American history by exploring the founding fathers' public and private lives without explaining the political ideas they espoused or the Constitution they wrote.²

The chapters on LDS scripture and doctrine are well organized and cover several important topics. Though not bad, these are the weakest chapters, due to numerous small errors and a few major ones that could have been corrected with more feedback from knowledgeable members. The biggest misperception concerns the LDS view of the atonement: the Ostlings perpetuate the error of *Newsweek's* Kenneth Woodward, describing it as an act of “empathy” and “example” (328), but

1. Edwin G. Budde, *Bigler's Chronicle of the West: The Conquest of California, Discovery of Gold, and Mormon Settlement as Reflected in Henry William Bigler's Diaries* (Berkeley, 1962), 79.

2. By comparison, Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience* has two chapters on Smith and two thematic chapters discussing both early persecutions and the appeal of early Mormonism. In *Mormon America*, the two chapters on Smith discuss persecutions (33-36) but not why people were attracted to the movement.

not a literal expiation for sins.³ The biggest omission is all that Mormonism shares with mainstream Christianity: the reader is not told where the similarities lie, much less their relation to the differences or their relative importance. When even mentioned, similarities are described as boring.⁴

There are other problems, such as a tendency to detail criticisms of doctrine and scripture while at best summarizing defenses. The Book of Mormon's teachings are never explained: quoted passages are nearly all about controversial topics, not passages the members cherish; the chapter on the Book of Mormon focuses entirely on its historicity. This is no more helpful than explaining the Bible to non-Christians by discussing only higher criticism and Biblical archeology. Also, some crucial definitions are omitted. The chapter on the LDS beliefs about God uses the terms "finite," "limited," and "contingent," which have precise theological definitions that many readers will not know. The discussion of

whether Mormons are Christian is flawed from the lack of a definition of "Christian."⁵

The chapters on Mormon culture are the strongest part of the book. All major aspects of the culture are covered, from church governance to personal lifestyle, missions and temples to celebrities and dissidents. These descriptions are the most accurate, perhaps because the journalist's tools are better suited to current events than to history or doctrine. The balance here is the best, too, covering strengths as well as concerns. (For example: "Anyone who notices the regimentation at the MTC and omits the palpable excitement of the students misses the story" [214].) While some members may feel uncomfortable with discussions of church finances or the temple endowment,⁶ my own concern is that there is little mention of spiritual life: experiences of comfort, healing, guidance, and witness. A few short testimonies are quoted, but the role of testimony is not understood.⁷ The Ostlings refer to the belief in mod-

3. The authors cite several mainstream Mormon works that embrace a literal view of the atonement, so this claim is baffling.

4. For example, much of the Book of Mormon "seems tedious" (27); the early missionary discussions (which discuss God and Christ) are "bland" (213); General Conference talks are "routine, even banal" (202).

5. Mormons tend to use the term more broadly than do Evangelical Protestants, to mean a belief in Jesus Christ as the savior rather than an embrace of a traditional creed. The charge that they are not Christian, thus, sounds to Mormons like a denial of their belief in Christ though Mormons claim to have the only true church, the authors, thus, err in saying they claim to be the only true Christians (316).

6. While detailing an extensive estimate of church holdings (by methods explained in an appendix), the authors note that the LDS church runs its finances with "scrupulous integrity as well as business acumen" (120). The description of the endowment is drawn partly from church sources (though which sources is not clear since the book has topical reference notes rather than detailed citations). The rest comes from comparison with the Masonic ceremony, an issue they acknowledge to be sensitive. (193-195).

7. Descriptions of the missionary discussions and temple recommend interviews fail to mention the emphasis on having a testimony (213, 187-8). The authors apparently equate

ern prophecy and quote President Hinckley about receiving revelation at the highest levels (149); unfortunately they miss the equally important belief in personal revelation at the lowest levels and the part it plays in members' commitment, optimism, and support of church leaders.

Notwithstanding my reservations, I greatly enjoyed *Mormon America* and cared deeply about it, writing many reflections in the margins (as well as corrections). There is much to think about here, and even the mistakes reveal opportunities for better communication. I especially liked the occasional comparisons to other churches and wished for more detail. The Ostlings are candid in their praise of the church's strengths: committed living of beliefs, virtuous individuals, strong communities and families, a unique welfare program, high standards for youth and opportunities for their service.⁸ They are also candid in their assessment of its weaknesses: struggles to adapt church programs in foreign cultures, lack of a contemplative side or intellectual tradition, absence of training for clergy, a defensive posture towards criticism and dissidents. The final chapter looks to the next century, with such notable comments as: "Mormon administrative style is inspired by corporate America, not democratic America" (374); "Mor-

monism may appeal precisely because of its authoritarianism" (383).

Because of the book's weaknesses, I worry about its reception among the stated target audiences. On one hand, many non-Mormons may be content, thinking they understand more than they actually do. This can be helped by further reading, as the authors hope (xi) –Jan Shipps' recent *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (University of Illinois Press, 2000) would make a good companion. On the other hand, many Mormons may be overly upset or dismissive. This can be helped by a realization that as the church grows, it will get more attention, so we should welcome all fair-minded approaches. The book ends with this gracious tribute: "The Mormon people encircle each other in a loving community, seeking to make sure that everyone has a divinely appointed task and that no one's needs are overlooked. In modern, fractionated American society, those are accomplishments as impressive as building a city-state on the Mississippi, hauling handcarts across the prairies, or making the arid Salt Lake Basin bloom" (385). Only an atmosphere of mutual respect will enable the dialogue that furthers understanding, which in turn helps the church fulfill its mission to serve the world.

"testimony" to the verbal expression rather than the spiritual experience: "like the Mormons, Evangelicals uphold traditional morals and encourage personalized testimonials" (384).

8. The high praise of the character of the LDS people, though gratifying, is rather two-dimensional. Some discussion of the struggles of individuals and congregations would give a fuller picture and added credibility to the obviously sincere praise. See "Those Amazing Mormons: The Media's Construction of Latter-day Saints as a Model Minority" (*Dialogue* 32, no. 2 [Summer 1999]: 107-128) about the problems with the "model minority" label, which *Mormon America* uses (xxiv).

Another Perspective

Mormonen—die Heiligen der letzten Zeit? [*Mormons—Saints of the Latter Times?*] by David Trobisch (D-Neukirchen-Vluyn: Friedrich Bahn Verlag, Reihe Apologetische Themen 11, 1998), 121 pp. DM 24,80.

Reviewed by Marc A. Schindler, a marketing consultant specialized in high-technology export. Married with four children, he manages a modest website, "Atlas of LDS (Mormon) Temples, Missions and Stakes" <<http://members.theglobe.com/mschind>>. He lives in Spruce Grove, Alberta, Canada, and welcomes e-mail at mschind@connect.ab.ca

WHEN ONE REVIEWS A BOOK on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in a language other than English—regardless of the content of the book—the question of the significance of non-English books about Mormonism becomes an issue. How accessible is such a book to most scholars or even casual readers about Mormonism? This is particularly acute in the case of a book in German. There are, after all, only a few tens of thousands of German-speaking LDS who might be interested in the book and far fewer who might be guided to it by an English language review, whereas for a book like *Mormon America*, there are millions of potential readers.

This particular and somewhat older book, however, is of importance to Mormon scholarship over and above the issue of language access, for a couple of reasons:

1. German is an important world language, particularly in the field of religious studies (Schol-

ars from Hugh Nibley to Daniel Peterson would have found themselves very limited in ancient religious research without the ability to read German.), and Germans have had a fascination with Mormonism ever since sociologist Max Weber mentioned it at the turn of the century. We should know what is being written about us in the German language.

2. The most important reason, however, is that as the church continues to expand internationally (proportionally speaking more growth is occurring off-continent now than within the USA and Canada) scholarship by Mormon scholars or on the topic of Mormonism will become increasingly non-English. Non-English scholarship will likely never predominate, given English's status as an international language, but this doesn't negate the growing importance of non-English resources and perceptions.

The history of books about Mormonism in the German language is not a pretty one. Sensationalism and astounding levels of misinformation and fear have long relegated Mormonism to the status of a "Sekte" (literally "sect", but emotionally the equivalent of a "cult" in English), part of "those crazy Americans," and the polygamous wasteland of Utah takes its place along with cowboys and Indians, cop shows, Hollywood sitcoms, and Senate hearings in the kalaidascope of what Germans envision as American pop-culture. With the appearance of David Trobisch's study, however, there ap-

pears to be a break with this traditional tabloid outlook on Mormonism.

Although he is native German, Trobisch is currently Professor of New Testament at Bangor Theological Seminary in Bangor, Maine. His unique position, geographically in the US but culturally with a foot in two worlds, has prepared him to write a book about Mormonism based on considerable primary research in Salt Lake City and Independence (among other places), but refreshingly, his credits also include names which will be immediately familiar to any German Latter-day Saint who is active on the Internet; names like René Krywult of Vienna, Markus Gappmaier, another Austrian member, Gunar Werner, an ex-LDS from Leipzig, and so on.

That brings up another intriguing development represented by this book: its partial integration into the internet. Not only was much of the research for this book done on the Internet (I personally saw many of the questions Prof. Trobisch posted on HLT-Liste, an email discussion group, or "listserve" for German-speakers interested in Mormonism), but many Internet resources are given in the book—or were meant to be. Alas, my one major complaint about the physical book itself is that an intended exhaustive appendix on LDS resources, a sort of German equivalent of LauraMaery Gold's *Mormons on the Internet* was inadvertently left out by the publisher.

Interestingly, a search on Amazon.com's German site, Amazon.de, for books about "Mormonen" turned up three books², Trobisch's and two others. One can imagine the approach taken by the author of one of these volumes, Rüdiger Hauth, from the titles of his other books on religion: *Witches, Gurus and Soul-snatchers: A Small Cate-*

chism of Cults, Compact Lexikon of Religions, and Besides the Churches [these and all other translations by the reviewer]—all too typical of the traditionally sensationalist approach referred to already. Of the three books, only Trobisch's book has any "on-line" readers' reviews. At this writing there are two, and both are positive, evidently written by LDS who are pleased and relieved that someone is finally taking Mormonism seriously.

Trobisch's commitment to rigorous research, as well as his sense of fairness, comes through from beginning to end. The book covers the history of Mormonism, including a brief overview of the church (LDS and RLDS) in German-speaking lands, but has a very good short review of other Restorationist organizations as well (better, in fact, than I've seen in any English book of its size). He also gives a brief history of the printing of the Book of Mormon which is, again, better than anything I've ever read in English. He addresses controversial issues like archaeological support for the Book of Mormon (Trobisch isn't particularly impressed by the apologetics done to date by FARMS and similar organizations) and temple work. He approaches the latter topic objectively but sympathetically:

"For members of the LDS church, visiting the temple and participating in certain temple rituals have great importance. Whereas the weekly Sunday services are held in public, outsiders are not permitted entry to the temple or to the activities therein. The rituals themselves are kept secret. Even members of the organization only experience the details once they have set foot in the temple; there are no printed instructions for

this. These rituals are essentially sacred [‘heilsnotwendig’] and can also be performed on behalf of others....These doctrines proceed from the assumption that every person can spiritually develop him or herself, even up to achieving the status of a divine creator.”

After mentioning that the RLDS do not treat the temple in the same way, he points out that the temple ceremonies are secret. (He explains that unauthorized transcripts are readily available, but the internet reference he intended to provide for this was, as mentioned, omitted through a publisher’s error.) Specifically regarding the Endowment, for which he uses the borrowed English word “das Endowment” rather than the orthodox German LDS word “die Begabung,” he writes:

“At the first visit to the temple, the member receives a ceremonial, spiritual blessing. This ceremony is referred to as ‘Endowment’ and is repeated during ongoing visits. There is little concrete about this practice in the Book of Mormon or other revealed scriptures about this blessing. Details are always changed and advantage has been taken of the potential offered by new audiovisual media.”

Whereas many reviewers tend to become bogged down in the detail of the ritual itself, Trobisch, gives a brief description and resists the temptation to speculate too much on cultic aspects, other than mentioning possible links to Masonic ritual. Then he goes on to explain the meaning of the endowment to Latter-day Saints:

“...candidates are taught ethical principles which arise out of the ordinances of the gospel and the belief in a

divine creation, as this has been given expression in the inspired translation of passages from Genesis, by Joseph Smith. . . . [Role playing and symbolic rites] serve as practice and preparation for the divine Final Judgement, when, according to the beliefs of the LDS, this ritual will be repeated.

Other topics which are well-handled, in the same remarkably spare but thorough manner, are the “Book of Abraham” (where he discusses what it means to be a “translator”), the Kinderhook plates, and the Joseph Smith translation, all within the context of one of the most singular LDS beliefs: that of an open canon. The author’s approach to Mormonism in this book is historically and doctrinally accurate, but also fair—even sympathetic. He rounds out the book with interviews with “real Mormons”, or “Begegnungen” as he calls these interactions in German. These are personal experiences in places sacred to the restored church and with church members he’s met, both in person and on the Internet. In the conclusion, we get as close a personal insight into Mormonism as a sympathetic Protestant seminarian could possibly be expected to give:

“We have arrived at the end of a journey. What impressions remain. . . ? Joseph Smith himself remains a puzzle. The literary representations all too often just reflect back the personality and convictions of whoever wrote the descriptions of him. He appears variously as a charlatan, heretic, womanizer, puritan, Free Mason, reformer, or saint. I have become firmly convinced that one can best interpret Joseph Smith’s revelations—independent of their meaning—as subjective experiencings of God [*Gottesehrfahrungen*], which

are really not unusual in the context of religious phenomena. When Joseph Smith speaks of appearances or voices, he has, in fact, seen and heard that which he reports. How it all fit together, even he didn't always understand. In the year of his death, Joseph

Smith wrote the following about himself: 'I make no demands of anyone who does not believe my history. If I hadn't experienced myself what I have experienced, I wouldn't believe it myself.'"

Learning to Disappear

Anita Tanner

They say there is a Buddha
In each grain of sand

We begin huge and rigid. Life grinds
away at us. We grind against one another.
Lichen acids eat our flesh, crack and split
our surfaces. We tumble downstream
to the sea that spits us back
onto shore. We want to be big
and beautiful, forming deltas,
alluvial fans. Even in sleep
we create delta waves and
rhythms in our brains.
But life has other plans.
Our destiny, so small
the wind can lift us,
drift us back into
cracks in drains,
seams in sidewalks,
so small we end
in crescent
corners of
each
other's
eyes.

CONTRIBUTORS

EDWARD H. ASHMENT earned a B.A. in History and Anthropology from Brigham Young University where subsequently he began graduate work in Ancient Studies and was for two years a religion instructor, teaching Book of Abraham, Book of Mormon, and Old Testament. He transferred to a Ph.D. program in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, majoring in Egyptian philology with a minor in Hebrew and was admitted to candidacy in 1978. While at the University of Chicago, he developed the Scripture Translation Research program for the Translation Division of the LDS Church and thereafter worked as the Supervisor of Scripture Translation Research. He has developed exegeses (translator's guides) and a lexicon for the LDS Scriptures. Presently he is reviving his dissertation, a study of ancient Egyptian underworld books from the New Kingdom. Mr. Ashment has also authored several articles analyzing the historicity of Mormon scriptures.

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BESSIE SODERBORG CLARK began writing stories 25 years ago to entertain her grandchildren. Recollections of her life provide the basis for her essay. She has personally known seven generations of her family, beginning with her Mormon pioneer great-grandfather. Bessie graduated with her B. A. degree on the same day her daughter Sherri, the third child of six, graduated from high school. She earned an M. Ed. in educational psychology several years later. Wanderlust has taken her and her husband of 60 years, Marden Clark, to every continent except Antarctica, including the world's northernmost city, Hammerfest, Norway, and southernmost city, Ushuia, Chile. They lived a year in Finland, and both taught a year at Qingdao University in the People's Republic of China.

REBECCA DE SCHWEINITZ is a Ph.D. candidate in U.S. History at the University of Virginia. She has taught courses at Brigham Young University on U.S. Women's History, the Civil Rights Movement, and Childhood in American History. She currently lives in Eagle Lake, Maine, with her husband Peter and son Benjamin

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ROBERT PATTERSON first developed an interest in Near East history in 1978 when he participated in the BYU Study Abroad program in Jerusalem. After serving a two-year mission in France, he returned to Israel and spent six months on a kibbutz, studying modern Hebrew. He holds a Masters degree from the University of Utah in medical informatics. His diverse publications include articles on Esperanto, chocolate addiction, and an analysis of medical care provided to the family of Homer J. Simpson. Currently he works as a general surgeon in Roosevelt, Utah.

DENNIS POTTER teaches philosophy and is Program Coordinator for Religious Studies in The Center for the Study of Ethics at Utah Valley State College. He recently organized the Mormon Philosophy Conference to be held at UVSC on March 25th. He is also the editor of *element: an e-journal of Mormon philosophy and theology*.

GREGORY A. PRINCE is President and CEO of Virion Systems, Inc., a Maryland biotechnology company. His first book, *Power From on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Signature Books), was published in 1995. The current article is part of his forthcoming biography of David O. McKay.

ROBERT K. RITNER is currently Associate Professor of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and was from 1991-1996 the first Marilyn M. Simpson Assistant Professor of Egyptology at Yale University. Dr. Ritner is the author of the book "The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice" and of over 100 publications on Egyptian religion, magic, medicine, language, and literature as well as social and political history. He has lectured extensively on each of these topics throughout the United States, Europe, and Egypt. A specialist in Egypt's Ptolemaic Period, Dr. Ritner is the sole academic advisor for the American installation of the British Museum exhibit "Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth."

BRYAN R. WARNICK is a doctoral student in Philosophy of Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

CHERIE WOODWORTH has a PhD in Russian and Medieval history from Yale University, and currently teaches as a lecturer in the Yale History Department. Previous stories and essays have appeared in *Sunstone*, *Dialogue*, and *Exponent II*. This memoir was given as part of a talk in the New Haven 2nd Ward.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Brad Teare was raised in Manhattan, Kansas. After graduation from high school, he built a log cabin in the foothills of Moscow Mountain. He stayed there a year, sketching and painting in watercolors. In 1977, he went on a mission to Argentina.

Returning to the United States, he enrolled at the University of Idaho in Moscow, Idaho, to study fine art. After two years he transferred to Utah State University in Logan where he studied illustration for three years. His studies completed, Teare moved to New York to pursue a career in illustration. His clients include the New York Times, Fortune magazine, and Random House where he completed book cover illustrations for authors such as James Michener, Ann Tyler, and Rafael Yglesias. In 1997 Teare published his graphic novel *Cypher* with Peregrine Smith Books. He has also illustrated six children's books, two with Deseret Books, *Dance Pioneer Dance* and *Will You Still Love Me* (both by Rick Walton).

Teare's paintings and prints are on display at The Southam Gallery in Salt Lake City and at Visions of the West Gallery in Logan, Utah. Teare currently lives in Providence, Utah, with his wife and daughter.

PRINTS

Cover: "Totem," lino-cut, 8.5" x 11.5"

Back: "Man," lino-cut, 5" x 5"

Inside Back Cover: "Ox Team," wood engraving, 9" x 7"



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