DIALOGUE

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

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 15, no. 4, Winter, 1982

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A Nice House to Visit

Volume 15, no. 1 was excellent. I especially liked the continuing discussion of the Roberts/Smith/Talmage debate over evolution and pre-Adamites.

A special touch in this issue was Jan Shipps's "An Inside-Outsider in Zion." As a non-Mormon with an eager interest in Mormon history and doctrine, I found her description of almost "stumbling upon" Mormonism and its magnetic attraction analogous to my own experience. But what I most identified with was her frequent experience of Mormons who could not understand how she could have studied so much about their religion and yet had not been baptized.

The only explanation I have for Mormons who ask this question is in the form of a rather plain analogy: Sometimes when I am invited to another person's home, I feel very comfortable with the warm hospitality, the surroundings, and may even be interested in the contents of the house, the bookshelves, what is on the wall, the history of the house, how it was built, and so on. Nevertheless, it might not be a house I would want to live in. I think this is the same with Jan Shipps's or my interest in Mormonism — it is a very interesting "house" with a long and interesting history, and it is very comfortable and enjoyable to visit and be welcomed in; but neither of us has any intention of moving in, because we already have comfortable homes which fit our particular needs.

I hope that in future issues you will ask other non-Mormons (awful term!) to express some of their impressions of their experiences with Mormons. I hope that any others will be as eloquent as Jan Shipps.

William P. Collins
Haifa, Israel

Stirrings from Mormon in Motion

On general principle I do not approve of authors who reply to critics who review their books. As a sometime reviewer, I respect the necessity of the reviewer for the greatest freedom. In the case of the review of my book, *Mormon in Motion* by William G. Hartley in the Spring 1982 issue of DIALOGUE, I am doubly hesitant because of the overall quality of the review and because I do not wish to appear unappreciative or insensible of the many compliments given me by the reviewer. On the other hand, I feel that I owe it to all the readers of *Mormon in Motion* to clear up several misapprehensions left by the review and trust that the readers of DIALOGUE will see my remarks in the broad context I have outlined.

One of the shortcomings with which I am charged by the reviewer is that I did not refer to the French Mission Manuscript History in the LDS Archives, "including such items not mentioned in *Mormon in Motion* as the fact that James was an ex-policeman. . . ." First of all, the value of the Manuscript History diminishes when one recognizes that for the years concerned, 1851–1854, it has been put together mostly of snippets from the journal of Curtis E. Bolton, interspersed with a few letters and news clippings. The fact is, of course, that I wrote that section of *Mormon in Motion* with Bolton's complete journal at my elbow and with a great deal more ample collection of news references and letters than are offered by the Manuscript History. The result is that there is in *Mormon in Motion* a more complete and accurate picture of the French Mission for the years that James H. Hart was there than in any other source.

The charge that I did not mention that James H. Hart was "an ex-policeman" is inexplicable; the fact is mentioned twice in

Mormon in Motion. Furthermore, the implication of "ex-policeman" is incorrect. On p. xvi of the Introduction, the second page of the book, is this statement: "When the Chartist uprisings took place, he [JHH] was recruited into the special constabulary raised in London to deal with them." On pp. 38–39 is an elaboration that I inserted from a piece of writing JHH published in the Idaho *Statesman*, later copied in the *Deseret Evening News* for 23 December 1876: "During the Chartist riots in London, Louis Napoleon served in the Metropolitan Police Force with myself, in defense of Constitutional Monarchy." Another source quoted immediately following the above states that 150,000 special constables were enrolled during that period of crisis. A careful check of London Metropolitan Police files reveals that the name of JHH is not on the lists. The 150,000 special constables recruited at the time of the Chartist riots were never considered full-fledged policemen; JHH's term of service was restricted to a few days during the riots and threats of riot; and therefore to let stand a reference to him as "an ex-policeman" is a thoroughgoing misrepresentation of the facts which could have been avoided by even a hasty perusal of the book.

The "ex-policemen" bit has another serious angle to it also, since it suggests that the reviewer paid little attention to evaluating the source. The reference comes from a long letter inserted in the French Mission Manuscript History. The letter was written by Eugene A. Henriod in 1914, eight years after the death of JHH and over sixty years after the events being described in the letter. Henriod says at the beginning of the letter that he is writing "from recollection only, as my diary of early incidents was lost soon after coming to Utah." Henriod and JHH were close friends in the French Mission, and undoubtedly the latter said something about his constabulary service that stuck in his friend's mind. But the great lapse of time and Henriod's warning that he was writing "from recollection only" should have alerted the historian to the necessity of relying on the careful analysis found in *Mormon in Motion* rather than taking an inaccurate reminiscence at face value.

Two other defects are charged to my failure to refer to the French Mission Manuscript History. The first is that I did not record that a fellow missionary talked to Victor Hugo. This seems too frivolous to need comment. The second is that there is no reference to the fact that "the mission presidency including James issued a lengthy letter to French saints which summarized mission history for 1853 — the period skipped by James' diary." Two points of comment on this: the first is that the letter referred to is made up largely of self-congratulation and general admonition and does not have the historical worth to justify the space it would take to reproduce it — and boredom was not the author's intention. Secondly, though actual diary entries for 1853 are scarce in JHH's diary, the information in his biography is by no means sparse but is integrated with his life story.

This leads me to my conclusion. I am sympathetic with and understand a historian's impatience, if not frustration, at not finding in a book the things he is avid about: a bibliography, "a solid summary of the French mission," footnotes that look scholarly in place of interpolated references intended to make the going easier for the average reader, and nicely tabulated lists of immigrants and their places of origin. Were I a historian, I should also lament that the book "disappoints a little." I can only offer as a defense that *Mormon in Motion* should not be read for what it is not; it is not a history of the French Mission, it is not a history of the immigration policies and practices of the Church, and it is not a history of how Church wards and stakes functioned in pioneer Idaho. It is a biography of a man who became remarkable to me in the process of discovering him — as full and complete as I could make it on the basis of accessible facts and without resort to that kind of fiction known as psychological reconstruction.

Edward L. Hart
Provo, Utah

Father's Testimony

I received the Spring 1982 DIALOGUE yesterday, and read with great interest the history of the Adam-God Doctrine by David John Buerger.

I was born November 1915 so this doctrine has been part of the mainstream of my life. I had a father who studied scriptures and shared them with his family. I was his youngest living child and did much writing for him of his compilations of references in support of this concept — Michael, Jehovah, and Eloheim, representing the Father, Son, and Spirit.

For me, it is unthinkable to depart from or forsake so many evidences of eternal truth which these references contain.

In addition to my father's testimony, I have found many Christian evidences — before Mormonism, of the Eloheim (in Hebrew) being the divine Spirit that directed the work of Creation. Jehovah is the Redeemer and Beloved Son Jesus Christ. The Ancient of Days is the Father and God of the human family!

In an age when leaders are exempt from making mistakes, I believe it is important to rely on the evidence of truth, more than what a few leaders approve, because their denouncements do not give intelligent answers to anyone's positive questions. As members of the Church we are required to sit and listen, and respond with undoubting and unquestioning trust in *whoever* is chosen to lead us. With no voice and no choice, is this being true to one's self? I do not believe it is!

Rhoda Thurston
Hyde Park, Utah

Pro-Choice House of Cards

Though I am a bit tardy in doing so I must make some reply to the paeon to pro-choice on abortion offered in your women's issue by Judith Rasmussen Dushku. I begin by presuming that rational thought is the only acceptable basis for civilized communication on any issue. Deny this and we deny the very thing that separates man from the animals and makes human choice possible at all. Animals emote and feel; human beings reason and can thus put their "feelings" under scrutiny. If we do not agree with this then there is nothing to discuss because discussion is impossible. But then no one has any obligation to take seriously or even listen to a voice that refuses the demands of coherent rational thought.

Pushed by rational thought, however, the pro-choice position proves itself as slighter than a house of cards very rapidly. Take any of the tearful situations which Mrs. Dushku says she heard at the conference. For example, suppose a fetus/child with some sort of mental handicap. Does Mrs. Dushku suppose that the parents of a five-year-old child are free to decide to kill it if it has handicaps? That is preposterous and she knows it. Why kill the fetus then? Because you can't see it? I cannot believe anyone would really make such a claim. You can go down the list of her cases for yourself. In every one the proposition that the parents should be permitted to kill a living human being to relieve their own burdens is morally ridiculous. This is especially true as a matter of law and public policy, which the pro-choice position pretends to be. We make choices as a society about who counts and who doesn't. And we do not let parents, teachers, or caretakers decide these matters for themselves. The analogy to slavery in the South fits nicely at this point. Either the slave was a human being in legal and policy terms or he/she wasn't. If the slave was a human being, then the beliefs or feelings of the white southerners were irrelevant and impermissible as the basis of acceptable law, regardless of how religiously based those beliefs appeared to be.

The nub of the question is thus not feelings of choice but the fetus. Is it or isn't it a human being? I cannot answer that question here. But at this point the cogency of the pro-choice position evaporates. If the fetus is a human being, then the mother has no right to choose to kill it regardless

of her personal beliefs or feelings. But if the fetus is not a human being for purposes of law and policy, as the Supreme Court maintains, then it would seem to be a high point of moral irresponsibility to inflict an existence of squalor and deprivation on such a being. If it is not a human being then abortion is no more than another form of contraception; and just as we would charge a poor unwed mother with being irresponsible for not practicing adequate contraception so we should charge her with being irresponsible for not aborting her pregnancy. All of this, of course, presupposes that we believe that the fetus is not a human being.

The pro-choice position is nothing but a massive obfuscation of the central issues involved. Once looked at rationally it falls apart rapidly. Hopefully Mrs. Dushku has not mired herself in this nonsensical position and is ready to move to a consideration of the real issues at stake.

Richard Sherlock
Memphis, Tennessee

Third Wave Feminists

If Laurel Ulrich wants to propose her "old house at 380 Dedham Street in Newton" for "historic recognition," I wish her well. Women do not celebrate themselves enough. I am in favor of all the plaques, monuments, and medals we can muster.

But let us be fair while we celebrate. For her inscription, Ulrich proposes these words: "Here, in this ordinary-looking, gambrel-roofed house, the second generation of Mormon feminists was born." Let us pass by for the moment the question of whether, in 1970, there might just possibly have been *other* groups of Mormon women, meeting elsewhere than in Laurel Ulrich's house, to discuss the meaning of the women's movement for Mormons. Let us instead simply give one reminder. The *second* generation of Mormon feminists were born in the early years of the century. These were the women that, among other things, got us the vote. These women worked, fought, crusaded, and endured in the cause for more than fifty years before the gathering in Newton took place. Great Mormon women carried the banner for half a century without wearying. Some precious few of them still march in the front ranks despite their advanced years. In the smallish community of Provo alone, certain names are legend: Algie Ballif, Thelma Weight, Helen Stark, Fern and Anna Taylor — these and other women whose perseverance, courage, devotion, and wisdom inspire those of us in the *third* wave of Mormon feminism.

No, Laurel. The second generation of Mormon feminism was not born in your Newton home. Not even the third generation. But what happened in your home *was* important, as were the awakenings going on all over the Church at that time and since, quietly and unnoticed. You are right to celebrate the event. May we all have many more such occasions to commemorate as the years pass.

Elouise M. Bell
Orem, Utah

Leonard Arrington

N. Eldon Tanner, Man of Integrity

He was tall, thin, and taciturn; but he had a clear head and a big heart. He played many roles in the First Presidency and played them all dependably, admirably.

He was a builder. Without him, Salt Lake City might very likely have not had the Salt Palace, Symphony Hall, Fine Arts Center, restored Capitol Theater, ZCMI Center, Crossroads Mall, Beneficial Life Tower, Kennecott Building, J. C. Penney Building, Deseret Book Building, Utah Power & Light Building, Deseret Gymnasium, Church Office Building, second Visitors' Center on Temple Square, and Management Systems Building.

He was community-minded. He helped establish the support for the Promised Valley Playhouse, Pioneer Memorial Theatre, Salt Lake Golden Eagles hockey team, LDS Museum and Genealogical Building, University of Utah College of Medicine, Westminster College, Boy Scouts of America, Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and the Utah Opera Company.

He was a public servant — a high school principal, town councilman, Alberta legislator, Minister of Lands and Mines, Minister of Lands and Forests, Board of Governors of the University of Alberta, and on the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University.

He was a business genius. President of Merrill Petroleum, he subsequently became president of the Trans-Canada Pipeline Ltd, which in four years, under his direction built a $350 million, 2,000-mile-long pipeline through five Canadian provinces. He was chairman of the board of sugar company U & I Inc., and ZCMI, and a director of the Toronto Dominion Bank of Canada, First Security Corporation, Mountain Fuel Supply Company, Bonneville International Corporation, and Deseret Management Corporation.

He was a devoted Latter-day Saint. He was bishop of Cardston First Ward, president of the Edmonton Branch, president of Calgary Stake, president of the West European Mission, president of the LDS Genealogical Society, Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, member of the Quorum of Twelve, and member of the First Presidency of the Church under Presidents David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, and Spencer W. Kimball.

He was genuinely interested in the loyalty of the Church's intellectuals — and this I know from personal knowledge. I first met President Tanner in the

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spring of 1966 when I was invited, as a USU professor of economics, to attend one meeting of a series President Tanner had been holding with Dr. Lyman Tyler, director of libraries at Brigham Young University, about matters affecting books, education, and writing. President Tanner quizzed me at length on history, intellectuals, and the faith. We talked about DIALOGUE, then in the process of being founded. As counselor to the president of the Utah State University Stake, I asked, would it be proper for me to be associated with an independent journal? President Tanner thought it would be desirable "so long as they pay good attention to your advice." With this counsel, later confirmed by President Hugh B. Brown, I was glad to serve as an advisory editor of DIALOGUE from its founding until my appointment as Church Historian in 1972.

My second contact with President Tanner came early the next year, when I was serving as a visiting professor of Western History at UCLA. I had been invited by Alfred Knopf to write a history of the Mormons, thus seeking to "fill the biggest gap in Western history." Knowing that an honest history could not be written without unrestricted access to the materials in the Church Archives in Salt Lake City, I wrote President Tanner to see if the First Presidency would grant such access. Within a week President Tanner telephoned that the First Presidency had approved my request and wished me well in the project. Because of the mass of materials previously restricted and other delays caused by my responsibilities at Utah State University, the book was not submitted for publication until 1978, with my colleague from the University of Utah, Davis Bitton, as collaborator. The work was published in 1979 as *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints.*

In the meantime, President Tanner had represented the First Presidency in calling me to be Church Historian — the first time a non-General Authority had been appointed to serve in that capacity since the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Serious about his responsibilities, President Tanner did not take himself too seriously. Just a few weeks before his death, he visited with my son James, who was working on a one-man show on J. Golden Kimball. When told of James's interest in J. Golden, President Tanner, sat straight up in his chair, got a quizzical look on his face, and asked, "What do you get when you cross a Spencer W. Kimball with a J. Golden Kimball?"

"I couldn't guess, President Tanner," replied James. "What *do* you get when you cross a Spencer W. Kimball with a J. Golden Kimball?"

"Do it, dammit," said the First Counselor in the First Presidency with a mischievous twinkle.

He was a man who listened; he was a man who didn't judge people; he was faithful to our highest Latter-day Saint ideals. And people knew it. During his last years, many honors came his way. He received honorary degrees from several universities. The N. Eldon Tanner Chair of Business Administration at the University of Utah was named for him. So was the new School of Management Building at Brigham Young University. In a rare undertaking, the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce held a "Giant in Our City" program in his honor. At this program President Kimball said that President

Tanner was "as approachable as a child, as wise as a father, and as loving as a gentle brother."

But perhaps the greatest tribute came from LaRue Sneff, his secretary of many years: "One could not find a more considerate, thoughtful, and appreciative person than President Tanner. He was kind and generous in his support of worthy causes. In his modesty he was genuinely surprised at the honors which came his way. He truly lived by the words of his favorite scripture, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' as he gave the last measure of his strength in that service in the position to which he had been called."

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

The Uncommon Touch: Brief Moments with N. Eldon Tanner

I was a sophomore at BYU in 1953 when my parents called one Sunday from Calgary to tell me what we had already anticipated: that a new stake had been formed there. My father had been "Mr. Mormon" in Calgary, and my facile assumption that he would be the stake's first president was shattered when mom said, with warm pride, that dad was first counselor. Family loyalty bristled as I asked, "Well, who's the president?" "N. Eldon Tanner," dad replied. Though in my eyes there could be none more worthy than my father for the task, I learned from his reply that he saw in his president one vastly more qualified. Dad's few words let me know that my father, who had been my mentor and director would now sit as disciple at the feet of his acknowledged superior. I took notice of President Tanner from that time onward.

I was never close enough to President Tanner to be a Boswell to his Johnson. The public greatness of the man reflected by his biographers and eulogists I know only as legend. What is writ large in my memory of that leader are the smaller qualities of character which I saw as he dealt with concern and caring for me and those I love.

To him I was not merely Charles's youngest daughter, to be called to do the stake jobs no one wanted, to keep track of at BYU while ideological wars waged in her mind, to interview for a mission when she didn't manage to marry that nice young gentile. I'm aware that churchmen perform those offices of friendship for each other's children. But President Tanner devoted as much thought and attention to my closest friend whose family, she often reminded me, "were nobodies in the Church." He stood by her, concerned, as she worked her way through instruction from a Catholic priest to acceptance of a call to the LDS Swiss Mission. One Christmas Jo and I were both in Europe, where he presided as European Mission president. He and Sister Tanner — I'm not sure at whose initiation — salvaged us from a lonely celebration, Jo in Paris, I in London, to join them at Leatherhead, their home in England. I wonder now if our calm quiet talk around their fireplace in any way compensated for the invitation to Majorca which they had declined. Jo might have stayed longer with Mormonism had she continued to have President Tanner's

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wisdom to match her own wide-ranging mind. I remember his unthreatened response to my own inquisitive wandering: "It's not that other philosophies are evil. They seek the same good we do. It is simply that Mormonism has gone further toward the goal." To souls sick of "straight and narrow" platitudes, his "anything virtuous and lovely" breadth was ambrosial.

President Tanner's political and ecclesiastical loyalty transcended the "my-country-right-or-wrong" mentality. Though he always sat on the Government side of the House, he assumed the integrity and acknowledged the value of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition. After the destruction of the Coalville Tabernacle, I went with a group of preservation-minded Latter-day Saints to visit him in his office as counselor to President Lee. His warmth osmosed through his Canadian reserve, and I felt comfortable, even knowing that we were coming as critics of the Church to one of its chief officers. "Sit here, Maureen," he invited. He gestured to the red leather-covered chair, newly upholstered at obvious cost, and treasured because it had been in the Council Room of the Temple. President Tanner listened attentively to our pleas. He refrained from faulting our establishment of Cornerstone, an organization with the avowed purpose of lobbying Church administrators for the preservation of historic Mormon buildings. Then, business over, he patted the red leather chair. "I think I'm a preservationist at heart, myself." It does not surprise me that he had part in the very expensive restorations of the Promised Valley Playhouse and the Capitol Theater, or that the Alberta Temple is still untouched despite the recent wave of temple remodelings.

Questions of Church policy might well have been routine for President Tanner — matters to be resolved in his pattern of, as he told me long ago, gathering the data available, considering all sides, and then deciding. "But President Tanner," I protested, "what if, after you've decided, some more evidence comes to bear?" "The decision still stands, Maureen," he replied firmly. "I don't have time to make decisions twice." Only as I grow in perspective do I see the greater value of the process over the product.

But one question once proved too difficult, and President Tanner had the humility to acknowledge the paradoxical in what seems a straightforward faith. While he was serving the Calgary Stake as its president, he was also serving Canada as president of Trans-Canada Pipeline. That service required him to be away much of the time, and the administrative responsibility for the stake, then in process of building its stake center, fell to my father. Dad's hours were long as he kept up with the stake work, at the same time establishing himself in his own new real estate and development business. The cost to him was heavy, both in health and money. Weighted with heavy debt, but even more with the concommitant question, Dad let slip his worry: "Eldon, I've done what I should. I've sought the kingdom of heaven first. And 'all these things' have not been added. I am deeper in debt than I think I can handle. Why has the Lord not come through?" No sermon, no cheap optimism from his president. Just the compassion of a friend, acknowledging the unknowable: "I know, Charles, I know. And I don't know why."

When last I saw President Tanner and Sister Tanner, it was at a luncheon a month before his death. Despite long acquaintance I was hesitant to approach. "How are you, President Tanner?" "Well enough for an old man," he responded. I wanted to shout my fury at a human fate which so cripples the housing of a still productive mind, to proclaim my anger that he should have to endure his body's burden. Instead I turned to Sister Tanner with the little visitings women do and left President Tanner in his quiet stoicism to teach me one last lesson in greatness.

David J. Whittaker

An Introduction to Mormon Administrative History

Institutional vitality has characterized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its organization with six members in 1830 to over five million by 1982. Its capacity to govern and manage an ever-enlarging membership has helped assure its survival yet its administrative structure, flexible enough to provide for growth and tight enough to ensure control, has received little attention. The essays that follow should help meet this need.

Before April 1830, Joseph Smith, with help from Oliver Cowdery, had outlined key doctrines and church organization, a document now known as Doctrine and Covenants, section 20. Having earlier received the necessary priesthood authority from heavenly messengers, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery officially organized the church according to laws of the state of New York on 6 April 1830.

The first months' government for the infant organization was informal. Joseph Smith was recognized as the prophet and leader; Oliver Cowdery was his assistant and spokesman. The first years of Mormon history are the story of the growth from this informal government to an "oligarchy of leading elders." By 1835 the basic contours of the Church's administrative structure — the presiding quorums — were in place.

The Church began with five priesthood offices in 1830: apostle, elder, priest, teacher, deacon. The offices of bishop and high priest were added in 1831. But all of these early positions were local, held by lay members with no presiding authority. By 1831 Joseph Smith's ecclesiastical position had been more clearly defined, but it was not until January 1832 that he was formally sustained by a conference vote as president of the high priesthood. Two weeks later he officially chose and ordained Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon as counselors. With these 8 March 1832 calls the Mormon hierarchy officially began. Early revelations and instructions from Joseph Smith established this First Presidency as the supreme authority on all matters relating to the Church.

The next major development was the organization of a Quorum of Twelve Apostles on 14 February 1835. While men had been earlier ordained as apostles, this act established a special unit of church government. Although their responsibilities were limited during the next six years, in time this Quorum stood next to the First Presidency, and its senior member has become, upon the

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DAVID J. WHITTAKER, who served as guest editor for this issue, is University Archivist, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

death of every president beginning with Joseph Smith, the new leader of the Church.

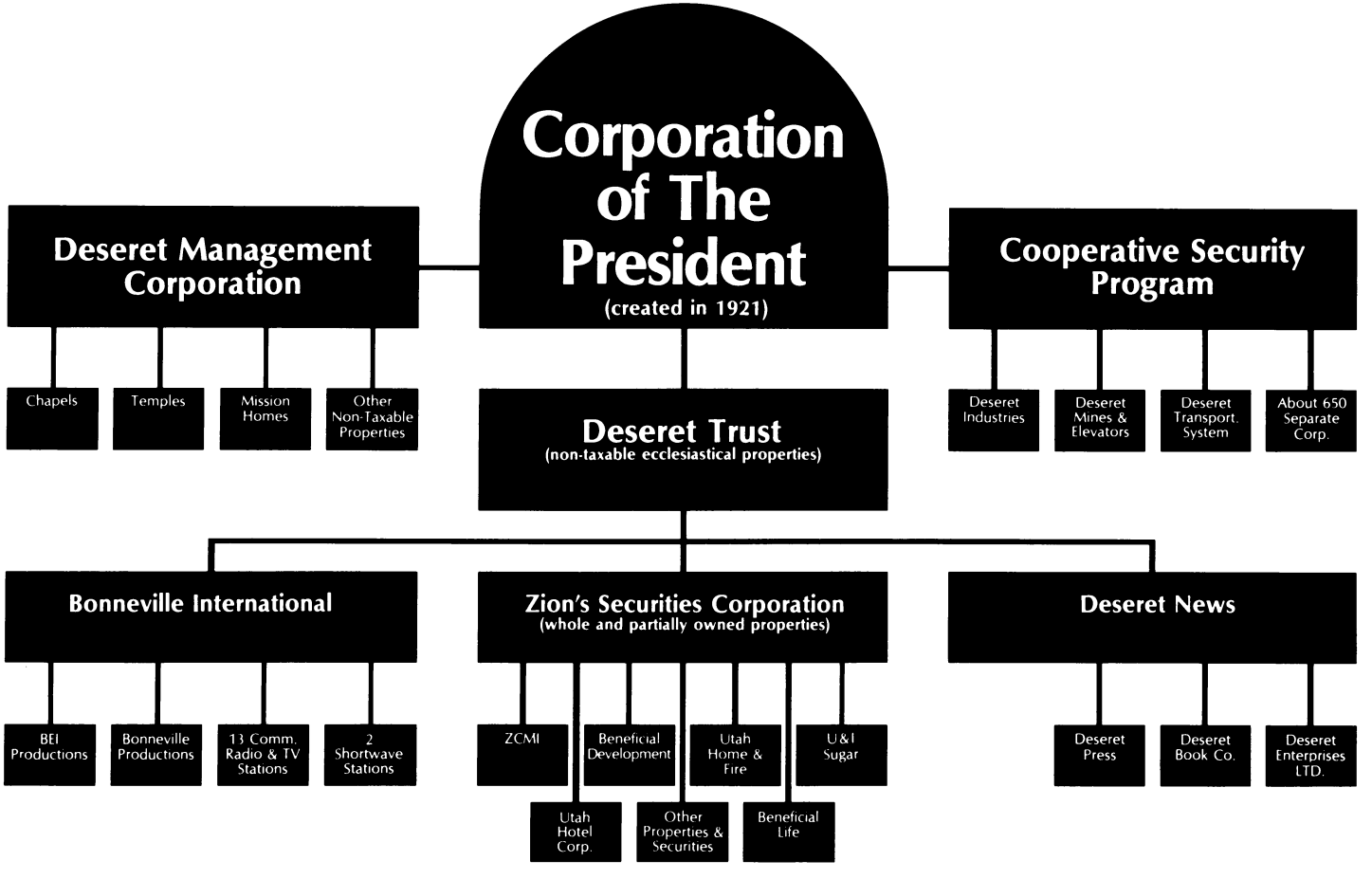
The third presiding quorum in the Mormon hierarchy, the Seventies, was organized in 1835, two weeks after the organization of apostles into a Quorum, when Joseph Smith began ordaining men to the office of Seventy. Their task was missionary work. They were organized into quorums of seventy men, with the First Quorum as the presiding quorum and its first seven members as presidents of all the seventies in the Church. From the beginning, they were to receive instructions and directions from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, but were to "form a quorum equal in authority" to them (D&C 107:25–26). During the nineteenth century, most of the Church's proselyting missionaries were seventies, yet with the exception of the Patriarch, the office of the Seventy in Church history is least understood.

The fourth presiding unit in the LDS hierarchy is the Presiding Bishopric. Edward Partridge, called on 4 February 1831, was the first bishop in the Church. He was joined in December 1831 by Newel K. Whitney. Only gradually did their responsibilities become known either to themselves or to the Church. Very early they were assigned to "watch over the Church" and to take an interest in the poor with the special assignment of administering donations received for the needy. By 1835, Joseph Smith had revealed that the bishops should also be judges in the Church and were to be responsible to the First Presidency. They were to preside over the lesser priesthood offices of deacon, teacher, and priest, and were to be increasingly concerned with the "temporal" or economic affairs of the Church (D&C 107:15–17, 68–76, 88; Joseph Smith later added vs. 76–93 to this section). By 1839, two more bishops were called, but each had geographical responsibility (Missouri and Ohio) for a loose group of members. Presiding authority remained undefined.

It was during the Nauvoo period (1839–46) that, originally for voting purposes, wards were first organized. In time these political subdivisions became useful ecclesiastical units over which a bishop took responsibility. The office of Presiding Bishop was first designated in 1840, but no Presiding Bishop *functioned* until about 1847. Dale Beecher's essay in this issue provides a convenient summary of his lengthier studies on the history and functions of the office of bishop.

The crisis that occurred at the death of Joseph Smith is in large measure explained by the evolutionary nature of church government before 1844. Joseph Smith had thought of at least eight different ways or modes of succession. While recent study suggests that the most immediately viable leadership mode was the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, their position was not publicly obvious. This administrative uncertainty helps explain the growth of schismatic groups after 1844.

From the Church's beginning, its leaders have interpreted their missions as both spiritual and temporal. Thus, administrative studies must consider such religious elements as priesthood quorums, the Relief Society, and the various auxiliary programs (Sunday School, Mutual, and the Primary) which are primarily spiritual in their purposes, as well as the more temporal dimensions of


Corporation of The President
(created in 1921)
Deseret Management Corporation
Chapels
Temples
Mission Homes
Other Non-Taxable Properties
Cooperative Security Program
Deseret Industries
Deseret Mines & Elevators
Deseret Transport. System
About 650 Separate Corp.
Deseret Trust
(non-taxable ecclesiastical properties)
Bonneville International
BEI Productions
Bonneville Productions
13 Comm. Radio & TV Stations
2 Shortwave Stations
Zion's Securities Corporation
(whole and partially owned properties)
ZCMI
Beneficial Development
Utah Home & Fire
U&I Sugar
Utah Hotel Corp.
Other Properties & Securities
Beneficial Life
Deseret News
Deseret Press
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LDS administration. Though subsumed in the goals and purposes of Mormonism's religious functions, they must be seen as part of the larger bureaucracy. For example, the Trustee-in-trust and Corporation of the President have immense power within Mormonism as well as in the larger culture. Very often, management problems and attitudes which surface in temporal business affairs of the Church affect its more spiritual matters. Jessie Embry's examination of the Relief Society's grain storage program documents precisely such an administrative situation.

Furthermore, administrative history can tell us not only how the individual relates to the corporate system but also how our history as a people is manifest in the organizational structure. Once the student realizes that corporate Mormonism was only outlined by 1844, much of Mormon history since Joseph Smith's death takes on a fuller meaning. The changes of administrative structure document efforts of Latter-day Saints to become the Saints they were commanded to be. In the organizational charts the theology of Mormonism is put into action; here the goals of the gospel are given institutional embodiment. In a fundamental way, the essence of Mormonism is found less in the scriptures or conference reports than in manuals and guides. The flowcharts reveal the framework of an institution whose lifeblood circulates through meetings, committees, quorums, classes, and councils.

This condition in itself is a marked change from the pragmatic and generally informal nineteenth-century Church. The key to Mormon solidarity during those years was not bureaucratic structure even though the quorum structures came west. Rather, sealings and adoptions cemented authority and loyalty within the Church.

With stability came a more formal administrative structure. Because economic prosperity was vital, the organizational devices for managing economic programs were often incorporated into the ecclesiastical structure. Leonard Arrington has identified six such devices: the office of Trustee-in-trust; the department of public works; the tithing office (later the Presiding Bishop's Office); the Perpetual Emigration Fund; the Relief Society; and the office of Brigham Young, who, as both president of the Church and as a private entrepreneur, sought to apply correct spiritual principles to all areas of life. Each of these institutions needs further study.

When Brigham Young died in 1877, Church membership numbered about 150,000, newly organized into 20 stakes and 240 wards. Change did not stop with Brigham Young. Less visible changes were occurring on the highest levels at the turn of the century as Church leaders came to terms with Utah statehood while seeking greater unity among themselves. Thomas Alexander's essay in this issue details and analyzes these unpublicized but momentous shifts of policy and administrative style.

In large measure, most of the administrative changes in the Church in the twentieth century have been modifications of programs already established; thus many of the changes were not so much to the Church as an ecclesiastical structure as to the Church as a corporate entity. For example, some of the more important include acquiring the *Deseret News* in 1900; purchasing his-

toric sites beginning in 1903 and the gradual establishment of Bureaus of Information; the Second Manifesto (1904); opening the LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City (1905); the first seminary class (1912); regular Family Home Evenings encouraged by the First Presidency (1915); creation of the Corporation of the President (1921); Zion's Security Corporation (1922); Priesthood-Auxiliary movement (1928); the Church Security Program or Welfare Plan (1936); assistants to the Twelve first called in 1941; the Indian Placement Program in 1947, the same year Church membership passed one million; Priesthood Correlation Program (1961); Regional Representatives (1967); the unification of Church Social Services programs (1969); the first training course for bishops (1970); consolidation of Church magazines (1971); new Church Office Building opened (1972); fifteen Church Hospitals turned over to Intermountain Health Care, Inc. (1972); reorganization of the Historical Department of the Church (1972); expansion of the First Quorum of the Seventy (1976); and the Official Declaration of the First Presidency extending the priesthood to all worthy males of the Church in 1978. In addition, many changes have come to corporate Mormonism. Table 1 provides a simplified view of the corporate structure of the Church. These dimensions of Church administration have received very little serious attention so far.

Three essays in this issue address contemporary topics relating to Church administration. Garth Jones takes an international perspective of Church administration, using Indonesia as a case study. He raises serious questions about the future of the Church in Third World nations — questions especially centered in the manner the gospel is presented for non-Western cultures.

Brooke and Jill Derr probe how power is manifested and influence felt outside the formal, hierarchal structure of the Church. Their essay is particularly important for its examination of the informal power women have exercised in Mormon history and the contribution this analysis makes to women's studies.

Dennis Lythgoe, in a carefully documented personal essay, records his frustrations caused by one of the largest departments in the Church bureaucracy— the Building Committee —while Frances Whitney Richardson describes some of the social implications of Church change and Richard Cummings identifies literalmindedness as both a strength and a weakness of Mormon group life.

Needless to say, these essays do not approach a complete examination of Church administration. There are literally hundreds of untouched topics. Thanks to the work of Michael Quinn and William Hartley, a foundation for the study of the Church's priesthood quorums has been laid. Conspicuous gaps are histories of the office of Patriarch, the history of the seventies, the Presiding Bishop's office, most of the general Church committees including the Finance Committee, those dealing with education, building, missionary work, genealogy, finances, welfare, and the Lamanites. Almost nothing has been done on the Church judicial system, the growth of such powerful but essentially anonymous bodies as the Correlation Committee, the Public Relations Department, the separately owned corporations, and the Curriculum Department which prepares the official manuals. In addition to the history and functioning

of these groups on the general level, the question still remains unanswered of how the Church operates at the ward and stake levels at different times and in different regions. Much academic work on organizational theory and behavior would provide valuable insights into Church organization when scholars prepared to make the connections turn to this fruitful field.

Ideally, an organization should be an instrument of community and communion; all too often organization hampers such experiences. Yet such experiences, paradoxically, cannot take place without an organization as the Lord has outlined his will for his Church. These essays are offered in the hope that a proper balance can be found between administrative efficiencies and personal and eternal relationships.

NOTES ON FURTHER READINGS

For a comprehensive guide to the literature on this topic as well as suggestions for further research, see David J. Whittaker, "Mormon Administrative History: A Source Essay," in Leonard J. Arrington and William G. Hartley, eds., *For the Perfecting of the Saints: Essays in the History of LDS Organization and Administration* (forthcoming).

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Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 473–88; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976); and Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). Leonard J. Arrington describes economic devices of socialization in "The Six Pillars of Utah's Pioneer Economy," *Encyclia: The Journal of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 54, pt. 1 (1977): 9–24.

Information on twentieth-century administrative changes and adjustments can be found in Richard O. Cowan and Wilson K. Anderson, *The Living Church* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974); Richard O. Cowan, *The Kingdom Is Rolling Forth: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Twentieth Century* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1971); Cowan, "The Priesthood-Auxiliary Movement, 1928–1938," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 106–20; Thomas G. Alexander, "Between Revivalism and the Social Gospel: The Social Advisory Committee, 1916–1922," *BYU Studies* 22 (Fall 1982); and Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of the Pharaoh's Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban Against Blacks in the Mormon Church," DIALOGUE 14 (Autumn 1981): 10–43. Examinations of contemporary organizational issues include Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980), ch. 14; Bill Beechan and David Briscoe, "Mormon Money and How It's Made," *Utah Holiday* (22 March 1976): 4–11; "Change Comes to Zion's Empire," *Business Week* (23 November 1957): 108–16; Jeffrey Kaye, "An Invisible Empire: Mormon Money in California," *New West* (8 May 1978): 36–41; Randall Hatch, "The Mormon Church: Managing the Lord's Work," MBA (June 1977): 33–37; Fred C. Esplin, "The Saints Go Marching On: Learning to Live with Success," *Utah Holiday*, June 1982, pp. 33–48; and J. Bonner Ritchie, "The Institutional Church and the Individual: How Strait the Gate, How Narrow the Way?" *Sunstone* 6 (May–June 1981): 28–35.

Jill Mulvay Derr and C. Brooklyn Derr

Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power

By 1900, the general leadership of the Relief Society, the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, and the Primary Association had together made plans for a woman's building for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. "We want to have a house and we want land to build it on and it should be in the shadow of the temple," Sarah M. Kimball, a vice-president in the Relief Society corporation, had told the sisters at a conference a few years earlier.[1] The women's organizations had originally considered buying land, but the Church's First Presidency decided to make them a gift of land immediately east of Temple Square in Salt Lake City. They had to raise some $20,000 before they could commence building. Church president Lorenzo Snow had told them that "when we had that amount on hand he would give the deed of the land, and we could be as sure of it as you will be of happiness when you get to heaven." [2]

Some $14,000 into the fund-raising (sisters all over the Church contributed one dollar each), women leaders were disturbed by rumors that plans for a separate woman's building had been shelved and that the women's organizations would be officed in a Presiding Bishop's building to be built on the same property.[3] The rumors were true. The Bishop's Building was dedicated in 1909 with a few offices designated for the women's organizations. An associate reported that the Relief Society president Bathsheba W. Smith "was almost overcome with grief"; and a decade later, feelings over the matter had not faded. As Relief Society general president Emmeline B. Wells told the board in 1920, "The land upon which the Bishop's building is built is owned by the Relief Society." [4]

Does this incident simply verify Marilyn Warenski's assertion that Mormon women have no real power and their institutional privileges are therefore "always in jeopardy"? [5] What is power within the Mormon Church? How have its forms evolved? Does it affect men and women differently?

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To answer these questions we must understand something of the complexity of power in large institutions. Modern scholars consider organizational power to have at least three facets: formal authority, informal influence, and autonomy. Formal authority is the power derived from one's position in a pyramidal hierarchy of officers. It is the authority flowing from rules that define duties and responsibilities for each office. One obeys the office or position, not the person. Informal influence operates outside formal bureaucratic prescription. Informal coalitions, charismatic personalities, friends and relatives, and those to whom favors are given are all power centers but not necessarily with the title and trappings of formal authority. Personal power, or autonomy, is the ability to advance self-interests without being unduly constrained by those possessing either formal or informal power. Autonomy is the power to exercise creativity, expertise, or interests outside the organization.

Although one power culture will dominate in an organization, the other two modes will usually also be present. For example, members of professional organizations generally exercise autonomous power, but authority and informal influence certainly affect the total dynamic. Informal influence is the main way power is exercised in most government and business enterprises, but formal authority and autonomous units are also at play there. The military is an authority-based power system, and it usually struggles to accommodate informal influence and autonomy.

Formal Authority

The systematic study of organizational power began at the beginning of the twentieth century with the writings of Max Weber, whose studies focused on formal authority. Acknowledging that formal power was often derived from charisma, family, or a claim of divine right, Weber favored a bureaucratic organization which emphasized a legal-rational approach to formal authority.[6]

Scholars have been aware that formal authority pervades Mormon doctrine and organization.[7] Joseph Smith declared that God had chosen him to speak and act in God's name; Joseph's many revelations elaborating that calling show an authority based on both charisma and divine right. However, "charismatic authority," as Weber observed, "cannot remain stable but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized or a combination of both." [8]

The Prophet expanded the legal and rational elements of organizational authority as he developed a presiding hierarchy of the First Presidency, Presiding Patriarch, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Quorum of Seventy, and Presiding Bishopric.

This hierarchy also represented a strong kinship network. In the succession crisis that followed the 1844 death of the Prophet, authority was the central issue. The charisma of James Strang, as well as his claims of special appointment from Joseph, won Strang a significant following. The group which later became the Reorganization believed that authority should become more traditional and opted to keep it in the Smith family. The largest faction, those who followed Brigham Young and the Twelve, chose the legal-rational form of authority vested in the office and not in the person.[9]

Central to Weberian theory is the hierarchy of authority: in a pyramidal structure, the higher the office, the greater the authority. Positions are defined by formal and legal rules and procedures which make possible a systematic division of labor within the bureaucratic organization. Specific duties, in turn, are administered and coordinated through the authorities' chain of command. During Brigham Young's tenure, the Church grew considerably in size and complexity. Accordingly, in 1877 he further systematized formal authority in a massive "priesthood reorganization" which extended the hierarchy (line authority) to stake and ward levels.[10] The Twelve were relieved of local obligations and given an "increase of responsibility and jurisdiction." In addition to organizing more uniform stakes and wards throughout Utah, Church authorities issued a general epistle which codified duties and procedures for stake presidencies and ward bishoprics, required new record-keeping practices, and organized Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthood quorums.[11]

During the short presidency of Lorenzo Snow from 1898 to 1901, local priesthood leaders became the key links in the jurisdictional chain between members and authorities. They were instructed to arbitrate conflicts between members and serve as local administrators, further freeing the Twelve for travel and general Church responsibilities.

The priesthood reform movement of 1908–1922 also strengthened the hierarchal line of authority. Each office within that line was assigned specific duties, with particular emphasis on local Melchizedek and Aaronic priesthood quorums.[12] About 70,000 of a total Church membership of 400,000 were members of these quorums, but they had no standard procedures, lessons, duties, or meeting schedules. To inaugurate a more ordered priesthood program, President Joseph F. Smith established a General Priesthood Committee on Outlines which selected, wrote, published, and distributed standard theology manuals to quorums, and (1) initiated regular weekly meetings of quorums (eliminating summer recesses), (2) suggested specific ages at which deacons, teachers, and priests should be ordained and outlined specific duties for Aaronic priesthood offices, (3) introduced systematic ward and quorum records, (4) instructed bishops to assume presidency over lesser priesthood in their wards as well as to preside over all ward priesthood work, and (5) further defined stake and ward priesthood relationships.

The structure of the "line" organizations was only one aspect of the 1908–1922 reform movement. By the start of the twentieth century, the Church had many leaders and administrators other than General Authorities, stake presidencies, bishoprics, and quorum leaders. Through the 1870s, diverse auxiliary or staff organizations had, with official sanction, geared new programs and meetings to specific Church populations.

The organizations for children, youth, and women had begun as "unions," loose federations of local units. The Sunday School sustained a general superintendency in 1872. In 1880, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, the Relief Society, Young Ladies' MIA, and Primary Association followed suit.[13] By the turn of the century, these auxiliaries were calling missionaries to recruit more activity among the Saints and holding their own annual con-

ferences. The Sunday School held its own stake conferences. In the years to follow, Primaries and MIAs graded their classwork, trained their teachers, provided handbooks, and wrote uniform, centrally prepared lessons. The Relief Society introduced mothers' classes; the Sunday School began a regular program for adults. All the auxiliaries increasingly relied on centralized planning as their general presidencies or superintendencies and boards grew stronger.

Proud of the provision made by these auxiliaries "for the salvation and care of the members of society of all ages," the Quorum of the Twelve proclaimed in an 1887 epistle: "By means of these organizations, which are of vast interest to us as a people, everyone from early childhood to maturity, can be led forward step by step, from one degree of knowledge to another until fully qualified to discharge all the duties of perfected and honorable manhood and womanhood." [14] As other manifestations of the Church's temporal influence diminished (economic cooperation, political control, and practice of polygamy), these auxiliaries were a means of keeping the Church prominent in the lives of its members.

The priesthood reform movement of 1908 was partially spurred by the discomfort of some General Authorities who compared the impact of the auxiliaries with the impact of Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthood quorums, which lacked similar central direction. In a 1906 general conference address, J. Golden Kimball declared:

> The auxiliaries have been urged forward with great enthusiasm, everywhere, from Canada to Mexico, these organizations are to the front. The Priesthood quorums are apparently weary in well doing, and the officers and members seem to think that their organizations can run themselves. They have become lax in their work and let loose their hold. While the auxiliary organizations have taken the right of way, the Priesthood quorums stand by looking on awe struck. . . . the auxiliary organizations are going away up the hill and we, the Priesthood quorums, stand down in the valley and look on. Perhaps you don't like that picture, you men of the Priesthood quorums, but I tell you there is a lot of truth in it. . . . I am in favor of the Priesthood quorums taking their proper places, and if they do not do it, they ought to be ashamed of themselves, for they have the power and intelligence, and they hold the authority.[15]

Authority was the central question in the subsequent push for reform. Men and women had been assuming leadership positions in the auxiliaries for more than thirty years — positions that carried some formal authority. This authority had to be defined in relation to priesthood authority. As early as 1880 John Taylor made it clear that women "ordained" to positions in the Relief Society were not being ordained to the priesthood. Tensions around formal authority paralleled the line-staff conflicts of other bureaucratic organizations, and by the end of the priesthood reform movement, the resolution of those tensions could be stated in secular terms: while the staff (auxiliaries) were critical to the institution's purposes, only the line (priesthood officers) held the power to determine what the central purposes were and how they would be implemented throughout the institution.

The impact of the reform movement is best expressed by a 1914 article in the *Improvement Era*, then the official organ of the priesthood quorums. The article praised the movement for producing churchwide "realization of the im-

portance of the priesthood quorums as compared with auxiliary organizations." [16] President Joseph F. Smith himself foresaw the day when there would "not be so much necessity for work that is now being done by the auxiliary organizations, because it will be done by the regular quorums of the Priesthood." [17]

Given this approach, it was inevitable that priesthood quorums and officers would begin to acquire auxiliary territory. For example, the Young Men's MIA had provided theological instruction to its members for many years, but when standard yearly priesthood manuals were published and distributed, the YMMIA officers shifted into nontheological territory — music, drama, Scouting, athletics.

As a result of the reform movement, the Relief Society forfeited actual real estate. In 1908, it was suggested that "the title of all real estate owned by the Relief Society" be changed "to the name of the bishop of the ward in which such property is located." [18] This move was not entirely successful, but the mood was set. In 1921, the Church Presiding Bishopric, the triumvirate primarily responsible for Church property, strongly discouraged the building of separate Relief Society halls, "recommending that all auxiliary organizations instead give some assistance to the ward bishops in building a ward house, with the understanding that each auxiliary will have headquarters in this house." [19]

Certainly the housing of the women's organizations within the Bishop's Building rather than in a separate woman's building indicated that the relationship between priesthood and auxiliaries was increasingly superior-subordinate, with the priesthood hierarchy supervising the women's auxiliaries more closely. Some organizational theorists would argue that such action illustrates the ability of bureaucracy to achieve efficiency. Such efficiency must not be achieved at the cost of unity, a check of the exercise of bureaucratic power.

In 1914, in the first issue of the new *Relief Society Bulletin*, Susa Young Gates emphasized the coming order of things. She advised Relief Society sisters who found "a question arising in your minds or between the members of your board, go to your bishop, or to the [priesthood] president of your stake and ask him or them for counsel. Then accept it. . . . This is the order of the Priesthood and this should be understood by all members. Men, as well as women, are subject to this law of the Church." [20] This contrasted sharply with Eliza R. Snow's counsel twenty-six years earlier, when she had suggested that women work out conflicts in their organizations through the female leadership.[21]

Managing the auxiliaries became a major task of priesthood officers. General Authorities, officially appointed as auxiliary advisors, served as arbitrators, settling conflicts within the increasingly complex institution. As auxiliaries expanded, they overlapped in curriculum, activities, and assignments and vied in claiming and maintaining institutional territory. By 1919, girls twelve to fourteen years of age were receiving weekday religious instruction through both Primary classes and religion classes. That year Joseph F. Merrill, commissioner of LDS education, proposed that the overlap in course work could be avoided if the Primary would teach only those of elementary school age and allow junior seminaries, under the direction of the Church Department of Education, to instruct students of junior high school age. Primary general president May

Relief Society President, ninety-year-old Emmeline B. Wells (second from right) is escorted from Relief Society offices in the Bishop's Building by counselors Clarissa S. Williams (left) and Julina Lambson Smith (right). Emma A. Empey, general treasurer, is behind the Presidency with Amy Brown Lyman, general secretary, to their left, followed by other members of the General Board. Note plaque (upper right) designating offices of "L.D.S. Women's Organization." 2 Oct. 1918. Photo courtesy of LDS Church Archives.

Anderson resisted, feeling that the Primary was "well equipped" to provide the young girls with both religious instruction and social activities. However, the junior seminaries emerged from arbitration with full responsibility for the girls' religious instruction. Then in 1934, the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association took over the remaining responsibilities the Primary had for these girls. May Anderson first objected but then supported the decision of the presiding priesthood authorities.[22]

Gospel instruction was originally the Sunday School's exclusive jurisdiction, but by 1908 nearly every Church program was geared toward gospel teaching. Increasing concern about coordinating this curriculum led to a 1907 committee of auxiliary representatives and a 1912 Correlation Committee chaired by David O. McKay. Later, combined with the Social Advisory Committee, the Correlation Commitee worked for over a decade to define the functions of auxiliary and priesthood curriculum and activities. The First Presidency rejected the restructuring recommended by this joint committee, but concern with coordination continued in a "priesthood-auxiliary movement" in the 1920s and 1930s.[23] A string of commitees looked at the problem through the

President Belle S. Spafford (second from left) and counselor, Marianne C. Sharp, clasp hands in anticipation as President David O. McKay, flanked by counselors Steven L Richards (left) and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., breaks ground for the Relief Society Building on Main and North Temple Streets, Salt Lake City. Remarked Sister Spafford, "I think this is the happiest day of my life." 1 Oct. 1953. Photo courtesy of LDS Church Archives.

1940s, including the Committee of Correlation and Coordination, the Union Board of the Auxiliaries, and a Publications Committee.

The Correlation Executive Committee, formed in March 1960, distinguished itself from preceding committees by its sweeping changes, a church-wide restructuring that has come to be known in the last twenty years as "correlation." Like most of its predecessors, the 1960 Correlation Committee began by attempting to coordinate the curriculum of the Church's teaching arms: priesthood quorums, Relief Society, Sunday School, MIAs, and Primaries. But it was readily apparent, as its chairman, Harold B. Lee of the Quorum of the Twelve, remarked, that "consolidation and simplification of church curricula, church publications, church buildings, church meetings" would include "many other important aspects of the Lord's work." [24]

The growth of Church membership from 1920 (526,000) to 1960 (1,693,000) was only prelude to the 1970 total (2,931,000). Not only did auxiliary publications and programs proliferate during the 1960s, but other large Church staffs developed, including the genealogy, missionary, and church education departments. Some auxiliaries were managing large, specialized

staffs, such as the Primary Children's Hospital and the Relief Society Social Services. Remarked Lee, "As the Church grows so rapidly and everyone is pushing their own program, you can see how essential (correlation) is." [25]

Like the priesthood reform movement of 1908–1922, the correlation movement clarified the duties of those in line-authority positions and stressed line over staff. "We must wake the priesthood up to assume their responsibility and we must place greater emphasis on leadership at all levels," Lee said.[26] In fact, "priesthood correlation" was the official designation for the movement. Stake presidents were told that they, working with their high councils, were responsible for the total program of their stakes. Bishops, with ward councils and priesthood executive committees, were to preside over the entire ward program. This meant, for example, that ward auxiliary leaders who had forwarded their reports to stake auxiliary leaders and thence to general auxiliary heads would instead submit them to bishops, then stake presidents, and then to the Presiding Bishopric's Office. Furthermore, auxiliaries which had raised and managed their own funds were now placed on the Church budget at general, stake, and ward levels.

While bishops and stake presidents assumed greater administrative responsibilities, ward priesthood quorums took charge of four major programs — home teaching, missionary work, genealogy, and welfare. All of these line officers were to support "the family," which began to receive unprecedented attention as "the basic unit of the Church." The husband or father was this unit's presiding priesthood officer; his roles included spiritual leader, liaison between family and bishop (often via a hometeacher), presiding officer at a weekly family home evening (for which the Church provided manuals, starting in 1970), conductor of regular priesthood interviews with family members, and source of priesthood blessings. While the chain of command or hierarchical line of priesthood authority had always extended from the prophet and First Presidency to the individual father, certain parts of that line had received special emphasis during different reform movements. Now the chain of command and duties was complete, and the whole priesthood line was clear.

"The Priesthood is the very life of the Church," Apostle Melvin J. Ballard had said in the midst of the priesthood-auxiliary movement of 1928. "The auxiliary organizations are but helps in government to the Priesthood." [27] When the all-Church Coordinating Council divided up Church membership according to age groups — children, youth, adults — auxiliaries helped with, rather than initiated, programs for those age groups. In 1971, the Primary's *Children's Friend*, the Sunday School's *Instructor*, the *Relief Society Magazine*, and the *Improvement Era*, which had served the MIAs, were consolidated into three official Church magazines, one for each age group; none was auxiliary-sponsored. Auxiliaries which had written their own lessons for decades began submitting them to a central correlation committee for approval, and later a separate department of instructional development began writing all lessons. Here, too, the auxiliaries retreated to a helping role.

The size of general boards shrank and their communication with local units substantially decreased. Annual general board visits to stake auxiliary con-

ventions declined to annual stake conference visits, then declined further to annual visits to a handful of regional conferences. Auxiliary instructions to the field reached local leaders only via an official clearing and correlation procedure. For a while, the route included stake presidents and bishops, who received auxiliary information through the *Priesthood Bulletin*.[28]

The Quorum of Twelve Apostles actively supervised this correlation effort, and with the First Presidency made the final decisions. Specified members of the quorum advised all the auxiliaries, and the quorum began to preside over its own increasingly complex staff, which included regional representatives and Assistants to the Twelve (later, members of the First Quorum of Seventy). Many of the latter managed the growing number of Church departments, consisting largely of professional staffs hired by the Corporation of the President to provide expertise in publishing, translation, education, public relations, building and construction, management, finance, history, and law. Some of these departments had existed for years along with the auxiliaries, but to some of these paid professionals fell work previously done by auxiliaries. Relief Society Social Services and the Primary Children's Hospital were both relinquished to male-run Church departments under the direction of the Twelve and their assistants. (All Church hospitals were later sold to a private corporation.)

The correlation movement emphasized not only authority but highly centralized authority. Much of the staff authority held by auxiliaries reverted to the line — men in hierarchical priesthood positions not only made policy, managed, and planned, but developed centralized programs as well. The result was a streamlined worldwide distribution of materials, better translation services, coordinated lessons, standardized meetinghouse libraries, and more uniform local budgets. Correlation addressed members like singles, who had been outside the purview of auxiliaries, upgraded some of the Church's professional services, and provided for continued coordination through a new Department of Internal Communications (1972). It also meant that the auxiliaries taught lessons they did not write and carried out programs they did not plan through teachers they did not train and funds that were not theirs. "We don't have as much responsibility," said LaVern Watts Parmley in 1974 at the close of her twenty-three-year tenure of general Primary president. "We don't have the *Children's Friend*. We don't have the Primary Children's Hospital. We don't write our own lessons. We don't sell — we used to sell our own supplies. We used to do everything. We used to do all our editing and do all our printing. We did everything. . . . I have at times just jokingly said, 'I don't know why they need a president now. We're just told what to do and when to do it and how to do it!' "[29]

In some ways the "correlated Church" became the essence of Weber's bureaucracy, with its pyramidal hierarchy of authority, clear-cut chain of command, specialized division of labor, and supremacy of line over staff. But the Church took on other characteristics as its international organization evolved in the 1960s and 1970s, further paralleling developments in secular organizations. It began to resemble multinational corporations, which have a high-

status class of specialized administrators or experts to cope with new cultures, new technology, new legal regulations, and the complex coordination problems that come with increased size.[30] In 1972, the Corporation of the President moved its growing staff of experts into a new twenty-six story office building where members of the First Quorum of Seventy (reconstituted in 1976 to include the former Assistants to the Twelve) managed specialized departments, under the direction of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. Two new administrative layers were added churchwide — regions and areas, overseen by regional representatives and the First Quorum of Seventy, both again under First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve direction. Although plagued by the problems of centralization common to all multinational corporations, the Church effectively used the First Quorum of Seventy to help the Twelve maintain highly centralized control through the hierarchy of line authority, both at headquarters and within the body of the Church.

Of course, this secular framework of analysis emphasizes the similarities between the Church and other organizations. There are differences as well. First, Church leaders can claim a divine-right authority, not simply power derived from management rules. Second, the leadership is collective. While the prophet and president is clearly in charge, the three members of the First Presidency share their leadership with the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, an oligarchy more than a hierarchy, with a continuously shifting coalition of actors who periodically change their formal responsibilities, their degree of activity, or their positions on certain issues. Third, several nonbureaucratic safeguards are part of Church government. Considerable freedom of action or administrative discretion exists at the ward and stake levels. Outside the General Authority network, it is customary to periodically release persons from their formal hierarchical positions without necessarily advancing them. Thus, the lower bureaucracy is usually temporary. Also counter-bureaucratic is the Church teaching that seeking after power is wrong and that a formal position is an opportunity for service rather than a means to status and reward.

Informal Influence

Much concern with formal authority pervades Mormon history, but formal authority has never been the only source of power. D. Michael Quinn has shown that intricate kinship and marriage connections existed among both nineteenth- and twentieth-century General Authorities, and suggested that these "interrelationships may have had the purpose of providing additional unity, stability and loyalty." [31]

These relationships also legitimatized certain behavioral norms — or aspects of internal culture that were not based on rules and procedures. The norms were less formal, less tangible, and less predictable than a doctrinal rule or management procedure. They could not be systematically traced through Church history because they were not systematic. Yet because the Church acknowledged personal relationships and made them an integral part of its organizational structure, the influence of informal coalitions is unmistakable. General Authorities not only used these informal norms in relating to each

other but deliberately institutionalized them in organizational positions outside the General Authority hierarchy.

A remarkable example of this circumstance is Brigham Young's appointment of Eliza R. Snow, one of his plural wives, to organize local Relief Societies and YLMIAs in Utah in the late 1860s. At the time, her calling was not formally defined; rather she and Young consulted frequently about various aspects of the work. In fact, extant sources suggest that it was through casual conversations that this husband-and-wife team initiated a new era for Mormon women — a quarter-century of collective and personal achievement whose economic, political, social, and spiritual highlights have been well chronicled and much celebrated in recent years.[32] Snow once said that as soon as she heard Young express disappointment that no women were studying printing and typesetting, she made up her mind "to go from house to house if required to procure young ladies to learn." [33] Figuratively speaking she did just that, stumping every ward and stake in the territory to preach printing, or grain saving, midwifery, the silk industry — whatever new task her conversations with Young suggested. She, in turn, advised him on women and women's enterprises such as the Relief Society's Woman's Commission Store. As the store's proprietor, she wrote to Young while he was away in St. George in February 1877:

> One evening, in the parlor, (but, sick as you were then and with so much crowding in your mind, it is not at all strange that you do not recollect it) without my mentioning the subject, you proposed allowing 20 percent com. on your goods, and again, when you were reclining in your chair in your room, I went in to see you on some business concerning the Store, you sent for br. John Haslem, and while giving him instructions about sending the goods down, you repeated the same to him. Another consideration — we never should allow him or any other clerk to dictate terms of commission on your goods. Although we are novices in the mercantile business, we are not green enough for that kind of management.[34]

Although Brigham Young gave no formal title to Eliza Snow's calling, within a few years Mormon sisters throughout the Church heralded her as "the president of the entire Female Relief Societies" or the "head of the women's organizations of the Church." One group she visited greeted her expansively as "the president of the female portion of the human race." Years after her death Primary teachers were admonished to teach Mormon children a "reverence for the Prophet Joseph, Sister Eliza R. Snow and the Holy Priesthood." [35] The powerful stature of "Aunt Eliza" was in part due to marriage connections, since she was a plural wife of both Brigham Young and Joseph Smith. Hers was the traditional authority still held in high esteem in Deseret's family community, and she was quick to distinguish it from line or ecclesiastical priesthood authority. By making that distinction, Snow built a female hierarchy whose form and jurisdiction (from general to stake to ward level) paralleled the male priesthood hierarchy, though clearly subordinate to it. The Relief Society nurtured the YLMIA and Primary, and these three together were a union of the women of the Church, a Mormon sisterhood presided over by the prophet's wife, the Relief Society "presidentess" — a poetess, priestess, and prophetess with charismatic authority of her own.[36]

Eliza R. Snow's charisma and relationships gave women in the Church an authoritative beginning. By Eliza's death in 1887, the Relief Society, YLMIA, and Primary were all strong enough to withstand the tumultuous and fragmenting decade to come, though not as a union. Harsh federal legislation against the Mormons essentially ended plural marriage, forced the old theocratic combination of Church and state to give way to political parties, and replaced cooperative orders with corporate enterprises. Added to these sweeping changes were a rapid succession of Church presidents and an extensive turnover in the Quorum of the Twelve. Given the times, it is not surprising that the Mormon sisterhood did not survive intact. By 1902, the women's organizations were no longer a union. The attempt to collaborate on the woman's building was in fact the last manifestation of their former commonality — perhaps an effort to rebuild it. The organizations held separate conferences, published their own periodicals, and looked to their individual presidencies rather than to a central female leader.

The relation of the women's organizations to one another and their individual and collective relation to the priesthood hierarchy never had been formally defined, and thus they were organizationally vulnerable. The 1908–22 priesthood reform movement began to define these relationships, in part by terming the women's organizations "auxiliaries" and clarifying their positions as staff, in contrast to the line authority position of the priesthood. Joseph F. Smith did not disregard the older forms of authority. The majority of men called to the hierarchy during his tenure were related to other General Authorities by kinship or marriage.[37] His wife's aunt, Bathsheba W. Smith (whose husband, George A. Smith, was Joseph F. Smith's own first cousin once removed) was called as general president of the Relief Society shortly after he was sustained as president, but there is little indication that the personal relationship paved the way for the Relief Society as it had in the Snow-Young partnership.

During the reform movement advisors from among the General Authorities were appointed to work with the women's organizations, providing them certain but formal access to those in the Church hierarchy. (Male-run auxiliaries — Sunday School and YMMIA — were already headed by members of the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve.) Bathsheba Smith and her successor as Relief Society president, Emmeline B. Wells, both used formal communications to express surprise and dismay over decisions affecting the women's organizations. An example is the letter from Bathsheba and others to the First Presidency, inquiring about the fate of the proposed woman's building. The vehicle itself suggests that their *informal* access to the First Presidency was limited, perhaps because of the personality of Joseph F. Smith or because of his desire to formalize the Church organization.

Joseph F. Smith's successor, Heber J. Grant, appointed friends and family to both the hierarchy and the auxiliaries, and, in contrast to Smith, seems to have carried out Church business informally through these relationships. An interesting example of this informal system is the presidency of Adele Cannon Howells, successor to May Green Hinckley (another friend-appointee of

Grant's) in the Primary Association. Adele Howells had known President Grant since childhood, and she and her husband regularly welcomed him and other visiting General Authorities to their elegant Los Angeles home. "Very generous, and very gracious," is the way one of her cohorts described Sister Howells, who, now in Utah, entertained the Primary's priesthood advisors at her mountain ranch. Her continued close relationship with President Grant was punctuated by frequent hand-delivered gifts of homemade bread. LaVern Parmley, a counselor to Sister Howells with Dessie Grant Boyle, remembered that President Grant took the entire Primary presidency on long drives.[38]

This ready access to the Church president and other authorities perhaps made possible some creative projects during Howells's presidency, including murals in the Idaho Falls Temple baptismal room, painted by prominent artist Lee Greene Richards and paid for with Primary children's nickels. Howells herself commissioned Arnold Frieberg's renowned Book of Mormon scenes which appeared in the *Children's Friend* in 1952. By contributing dimes to "buy a brick," Primary children raised nearly $20,000 toward a new Primary Children's Hospital. Another $12,000 was raised when the Primary board sold one thousand silver dollars contributed by President Grant in 1938 to enthusiastic donors. Most of Howells's innovations were short-term projects whose effects were not so much upon the Primary program as upon the children themselves. The impact of the new hospital, however, was long-lasting; it was dedicated in April 1952, a year after Howells's death. The network Howells established with local Primary officers and leaders also endured. She sponsored luncheon meetings for Primary stake presidents and their boards and she and the Primary general board traveled widely. As a result, the leaders of the Primary continued to have access to those within the hierarchy as well as to their own constituency. In oral history interviews, LaVern W. Parmley, Howells's successor, talked at length about personal relationships with Presidents George Albert Smith and David O. McKay and recalled when she had personal contact with all the Church stake Primary presidents.[39]

Parmley was neither a close friend nor a relation of General Authorities when she was called as general Primary president, but her twenty-three-year term placed time on her side. She took office at the end of Heber J. Grant's twenty-seven-year tenure, continued through George Albert Smith's seven-year administration, and completed her service shortly after the close of David O. McKay's nineteen-year presidency. These long periods of stable personnel and minimal pressure for organizational change were an ideal setting for establishing and maintaining informal networks.

Belle S. Spafford, Relief Society general president, was in a similar situation. Her tenure as president spanned twenty-nine years, following a full decade of general board and presidency service under Louise Y. Robison and Amy Brown Lyman. Spafford later recalled the time, just after she had been sustained in office, when President George Albert Smith "called me to his home one Sunday morning." He asked her to tour the missions along the Atlantic seaboard and bring back a detailed report. She was to start her visit with a personal reception by Bess Truman at the White House and then proceed to

the National Council of Women meeting in New York. He told her, "It will give you prestige to go to the Council having come from the White House." In addition, she was to look up his Smith family relations on the trip, many of whom were members of the Reorganized Church. "He said he would like us to stay in their homes," remembered Sister Spafford.[40]

The Church profited from this wholesome exchange of favors, as did President Smith, Spafford, and the Relief Society. Through this rebuilding of the informal influence, the plans for a women's building came to partial fruition in the Relief Society Building, dedicated in 1952. "I recall one day looking out of my little, crowded office window, which was in the north corner of the Bishop's Building facing Main Street, and I saw President Smith with his long legs stepping off the land," said Sister Spafford. "In a few minutes he came in. I said, 'I saw you out the window. What were you doing?' 'Stepping off the land.' He said, 'I was trying to determine whether it was adequate for your building.' "

Even though, as Sister Spafford contended, "the Brethren don't call you every day and ask what you want," the First Presidency took the matter under advisement ("We want you happy," President McKay kept telling her), and the Relief Society was eventually given its first choice for a building site, which incidentally was, as had been promised, in the shadow of the temple.[41]

Informal organization is a correlate of formal bureaucracy, brought about in large measure by the human needs formalized efficiency often ignores. Informality avoids excessive red tape and encumbering regulations, and responds quickly and creatively to a range of uncertainties. It also addresses such unintended consequences of formal bureaucracy as overzealousness, stifling prescriptions, or uniformity at the expense of creative performance. Many managers recognize the informal organization as a companion to the formal hierarchy.[42] Brigham Young, Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, and David O. McKay seem to have relied on it, as can be seen in their relationships with the women leaders.

But informal networks based on personal relationships are vulnerable to change. The informal support given to nineteenth-century women's organizations faded in the wake of Eliza R. Snow's death and prolonged political and economic upheaval. The death of President McKay, coinciding with the sweeping changes of the correlation movement, obscured the networks built up by Spafford, Parmley, and others. Like the priesthood reform movement, correlation has emphasized the formal relationships of organizational charts. Auxiliary heads and department heads have been distanced from the men at the top as well as from their constituencies below.

Informal influence is critical, but tentative and erratic. It depends on the tenure, openness, and good will of those within the ruling oligarchy and the dynamics of organizational growth and change. General Authorities and other officers in the hierarchical line, as well as staff officers (auxiliary and department heads), wield informal power within these limitations. All are individually capable of gaining or losing influence, and all but General Authorities may gain or lose line or staff positions because of it. Programs therefore rise and fall, and emphases change.

Women's influence on the structure is even more tentative. Because women do not hold ecclesiastical priesthood offices, they are excluded from the ruling oligarchy, not only of General Authorities, but also on local levels. Women comprise a full half (or more) of the membership of the Church, but they can speak for and act in behalf of women only insofar as they can wield informal influence. Of course, women are only one of many constituencies who lack representation in the hierarchy, but they are the largest group and the only group for whom formal representation is not just unlikely but impossible.

Autonomy

The Church established by Joseph Smith was in part a reaction against the excesses of individualism and pluralism that plagued antebellum America. Those who joined with the Prophet voluntarily yielded some of their independence to a controlled community organized according to revelation and governed by godly men. From the outset this theocracy was highly authoritarian. At times those in the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy directed not only the community's religious life, but its economic, political, and social life as well. Many members sought or willingly received counsel on such personal matters as place of residence, occupation, or even marriage partners. Nevertheless, Mormons have always been able to exercise their personal freedom by rejecting Church directives in whole or in part. The power of an individual to decide which organizational rules he or she will embrace and which he or she will resist is the power of personal autonomy,[43] a force which can counter some of the organization's own autonomy.

The Church is a voluntary organization. Members not only choose to belong but determine the extent of their personal involvement by giving or withholding commitment or compliance. Organizationally the Church succeeds only insofar as it gains compliance from its members. Through formal and informal norms, it consequently pressures members to comply. In the twentieth century, the Church has quantified tithe paying, welfare work, and sacrament meeting and temple attendance, measures which would seem to increase the price of noncompliance.

Exercising autonomy in any organization requires a certain amount of gamesmanship to stay within the organization but not be bound by it. Those who do not store food can remain in the LDS community, but those who do not remain chaste are excommunicated when their deviance is known. Many members who privately supported the ERA remained members; Sonia Johnson, who organized national opposition to the Church's stand, did not. Within an authority-based system, active resistance is not likely to be tolerated since it directly challenges those in authority. Those who actively resist must ultimately comply (or prove their loyalty on equally critical or more critical issues), retreat to inactivity, or leave the organization. Recently K-Lynn Paul showed that even those who actively participate may show some resistance through "passive aggression" — that is obstructionism, intentional inefficiency or stubbornness "to reflect the disagreement or hostility one dares not express openly." [44]

The United States is currently seeing a pervasive movement among younger workers towards achieving personal autonomy.[45] While more traditional workers adhere closely to the dictates of formal and informal power systems — deferring gratification to obtain organizational rewards (position, status, and economic opportunities) — this new group of workers seeks to maximize lifestyle opportunities and is willing to give up some of the organizational rewards to get it. This change in national values and attitudes may have had an impact on Latter-day Saints, many of whom are loyal to the Church community without being attracted to positions within its organizational structure.

Organizational experts disagree about the effect of increased organizational complexity on personal autonomy. Increasing coordination and more formal organization can be seen as "clamping down" on individualism. A highly differentiated division of labor, carefully prescribed duties, and close supervision may inhibit deviations from official procedures. On the other hand, Michel Crozier has pointed out that in France, a country whose national culture places high value on personal freedom, employees prefer large, formal organizations to small ones. A large organization cannot define rules so tightly or supervise behavior so closely that one cannot maneuver to get free time, to subvert undesirable assignments, and to ignore paper work. The French traditionally have resisted participative management, Crozier points out, because such methods require face-to-face commitments that bind them to the formal and informal norms of the work group.[46]

As the Church grows in size there is more opportunity for diverse groups with similar opinions and interests to cluster together. Some members find that their needs and questions are not addressed by Church programs or that their feelings and expertise go unheeded by Church officials at various levels. In fact they may best be heard by one another in informal study groups, through journals such as DIALOGUE, *Sunstone*, and *Exponent II*, and professional organizations such as the Mormon History Association, the Association for Mormon Letters, the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists, and the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life. They may feel more welcome in these parallel organizations than within the Church's formal structure.

However, the Church itself also makes some provision for personal initiative. All things are to be done "by common consent." Ecclesiastical authority is filtered to the memberships through line priesthood offices available to every worthy male. These positions and the staff or auxiliary positions are considered "stewardships" where assigned members are to be "wise servants" who, without being commanded or "compelled in all things" do "many things of their own free will and bring to pass much righteousness."

Personal initiative may be acceptable but not autonomy from the organization. An individual who uses his or her stewardships to become independent of the norms of the greater hierarchical system is seldom tolerated, let alone rewarded. Emma Smith became the first president of the Relief Society in Nauvoo just as the practice of plural marriage (which she opposed) was being introduced by her husband, the Prophet Joseph Smith. Society meetings were terminated after two years, with John Taylor later observing that "Sister

Emma made use of the position she held to try to pervert the minds of the sisters in relation to that doctrine.[47]

In some instances, unrestricted assignments have been functional for the institution, particularly when there has been a need to break new ground, generate new ideas, or change direction. Early missionaries wrote, published, and distributed their own tracts. During the Depression in the 1930s many stakes experimented with different plans for taking care of their poor and unemployed, with Pioneer Stake, headed by Harold B. Lee (who later helped establish the Church welfare plan), showing remarkable success. Church curriculum was developed by teachers in wards before it was taken over by stakes, and later auxiliary general boards. Ward and stake leaders exercise autonomy as they adapt official programs or develop new ones to meet local needs.

However, the institutional hierarchy has always retained the option of releasing members from assignments or of co-opting whole programs, sometimes with little regard for stewardship. In 1935, Ephraim E. Ericksen, professor of philosophy at the University of Utah, was among those released after more than a decade of service on the YMMIA general board when the liberal socio-recreational program he had helped establish conflicted with the conservative views of John A. Widtsoe, apostle and new Church Commissioner of Education. Eriksen worked on the committee Widtsoe appointed to review the auxiliary's goals and programs but submitted a dissenting memo when Widtsoe presented the final decision, feeling the committee had had too little input. Told that "the church is run by inspiration, not by committee," Eriksen went away asking: "Why should I continue to serve in an organization that does not really want what I have to give? . . . Does an authoritative Church really believe in the cooperative effort of its members?" [48]

Relief Society sisters took pride in independently buying and storing hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain in their own granaries for some forty-two years. But in 1918, the Presiding Bishopric sold the grain to the U.S. government, only afterwards apologizing to the women for their "oversight" in not asking for permission to strike the bargain.[49] This incident is not simply a naked power play but, as documented by Jessie Embry, reveals shifting organizational needs. The function of storing grain was no longer critical to the Church as self-sufficiency was no longer a prime goal. Better agricultural methods had also outdated the Relief Society's project.

It is a fact of organizational life that those who perform a critical function and who possess expertise vital to the organization gain discretionary power or personal autonomy within the organization. The Relief Society assumed it still held discretionary power in the matter of grain storage. The organizational hierarchy, knowing the grain storage function was no longer critical, did not recognize — did in fact "overlook" — the women's power. As another variation on this theme, the function itself may remain critical but if the expert loses the cutting edge of expertise, organizational autonomy wanes.

For example, in 1932 general Primary president May Anderson persuaded the Presiding Bishopric that the Primary Children's Convalescent Hospital could handle minor surgery for children more economically than the LDS Hos-

pital. Furthermore, "In our Children's Hospital there is opportunity for Sunday School, Primary, Day School, moving pictures, play and play things, pets, outdoor [recreation] where there is plenty of freedom for games, noise, etc.," Anderson wrote, and the Presiding Bishopric agreed.[50] When LDS Hospital later rearranged its surgery fee schedule, it received young surgical patients while the Primary built a new children's hospital, completed in 1952. Eventually, however, the argument of expertise was used against the Primary and its hospital was integrated into the Church's correlated Health Services Corporation, then sold to private interests.

The flourishing Corporation of the President has introduced professionals into the Church's organization. General Authorities have become increasingly dependent upon this core of salaried, full-time experts (few of whom are women) in building, finances, public relations, production and distribution, information, social work, and education. These experts have in most instances replaced the auxiliaries as functional specialists. Added to these are academic professionals at BYU, which has to some extent, come to be regarded as the Church's research and development center. The bureaucracy's officials include highly trained personnel who can exercise expertise, control scarce information, allocate resources, and control access to the General Authorities. While the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve scrutinize and to some extent control the efforts of these employees (as evidenced by the appointment of a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy as managing director of each major function), the expertise of the specialists may make it difficult for authorities at any level to overrule them.

The Church organizationally thus exercises considerable energy in gaining conformity from its subunits and members, but individuals and groups within the organization have also found a variety of appropriate ways to exercise autonomy. The exercise of this autonomy creates considerable and welcome diversity among Mormons and is a fruitful source of organizational energy, but larger questions remain to be addressed. What, for instance, are the effects on the Zion community of moving most of that diversity outside the bounds of the organization have also found a variety of appropriate ways to exercise result in a trade-off between conformity and pluralism in which unity is impossible? Although this issue of authority and autonomy has waxed and waned in importance over the years, it seems to be a critical one now.

Conclusion

The importance of authority in the Mormon Church is buttressed by LDS doctrine. Historically the Church has embraced available bureaucratic organizational forms. Its hierarchy of formal positions and duties has grown out of increasing, successive emphases on formal authority. True, informal influence existed from the Church's beginning when personal as well as formal relationships bound together the highest ecclesiastical officials and has flourished during periods of administrative stability. As in any bureaucracy, however, informal networks have shifted or dissolved with changes in formal leadership

and direction. Autonomy, probably most critical to individual members' lives, has played a less important role in the Church power structure than authority or informal influence.

To some degree Church bureaucracy manifests problems common to every bureaucracy. As an efficient mechanism for organizing, planning, and implementing work, it has increased missionary and temple work, expanded Church production, building, and distribution, and generally coordinated rising complexity. But bureaucracy is not often an effective means for enhancing human potential. If the mission of the Church is directly concerned with human potential, is bureaucracy its best organizational option?

While the organizational structure of the Mormon Church may have been rooted in the "primitive church," its 150-year history has reflected if not borrowed secular forms of organization. Because current General Authorities include many men from large corporate settings, we may expect that secular organizational thinking will continue to have some influence. It may be useful, therefore, to consider some secular solutions to the built-in conflict between the Church's form and its mission.

Scholarly organizational models that view institutions as growing from infancy to maturity provide conceptual predictions of responses to forces pushing for change through periods of stability or tension. By Larry E. Greiner's model, for example, the Church is currently in the fourth phase of a five-phase developmental process (creativity, direction, delegation, coordination, collaboration).[51] In the coordination phase, an organization uses complex formal mechanisms to achieve greater coordination and efficiency. Top executives directly initiate and administer these new systems. A numerous staff at headquarters concentrates on control and review. Such bureaucratic formalization and elaboration, says Greiner, will lead to a "red tape crisis" as the proliferation of systems and programs begins to hinder problem-solving and innovation. Phase Five, says Greiner, simplifies formal mechanisms. Teams collaborate to form critical task forces. New channels of information are opened up to decision-makers. Experimentation and innovation are encouraged. Social control and self-discipline replace bureaucratic controls. Could such a developmental scheme help us project positive ways for change in the Church organization? Is the simplified consolidated meeting schedule, emphasizing greater individual and family initiative, an example of movement toward a new phase?

An evolution from correlation to collaboration would diminish bureaucratic emphasis on formal authority, an unlikely development as long as Latter-day Saints equate priesthood with formal authority. Yet a broader definition of priesthood, implied by Gib Kocherhans in the *Ensign*, would hasten the move toward collaboration. For Kocherhans, "the key to priesthood leadership is relationship," a willingness "to invest love, concern, and interest in others," so the leader "can become a positive and powerful influence in their lives without the need to resort to coercive means." Kocherhans's emphasis on personal relationship rather than hierarchical office reflects the most essential teachings of Jesus Christ, which obscure rather than highlight divisions based on rank, gender, experience, or wealth.[52]

Other useful redefinitions would reduce LDS preoccupation with the male priesthood hierarchy. Could the gospel's confirmation of the essential partnership of man and woman be made manifest at every level of Church government? Could further understanding of the law of consecration and stewardship create a greater sense of personal responsibility and ownership in the community? If the organization placed greater emphasis on love and free agency, would collaboration play a larger role, as the principle of common consent suggests it should?

This essay has chronicled the role of formal authority through Mormon history, but centralized control obviously has not created an ongoing crisis for the organization. In fact, it has helped resolve other crises — the leadership crisis at Joseph Smith's death or the identity crisis of priesthood quorums that led to Joseph F. Smith's priesthood reforms. The twentieth-century expansion of Church auxiliaries and departments (a flowering of informal influence and autonomy) led to a control crisis which highly centralized coordination resolved. In Greiner's five-phase model "*each phase is both an effect of the previous phase and a cause for the next phase.*" [53] Thus coordination responding to the control crisis has itself caused a red tape crisis which demands a new response — collaboration.

Whether the Church in the 1980s will approximate Greiner's model with its evolving configurations of power remains to be seen. But evolution is inevitable. "To say that there will be a stated time, in the history of this Church, during its imperfections and weaknesses, when the organization will be perfect, and that there will be no further extension or addition to the organization, would be a mistake," declared Apostle Orson Pratt in 1877. Recognizing that a prophet's voice could be heard and followed in a variety of situations, he predicted that "organization is to go on, step after step, from one degree to another, just as the people increase and grow in the knowledge of the principles and laws of the Kingdom of God, and as their borders shall extend." [54]

NOTES

1. Minutes of the Relief Society General Board, 3 Oct. 1896, microfilm of typescript, Historical Department Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

2. Minutes of the Relief Society General Board, 26 Mar. 1901.

3. Bathsheba W. Smith, Martha S. Tingey, and Louie B. Felt to the Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 23 Jan. 1907, First Presidency, Incoming Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

4. Minutes of the Relief Society General Board, 19 Feb. 1920. The $8,000 contributed by the Relief Society to the Bishop's Building was returned to them in 1952 for their own building.

5. Marilyn Warenski, *Patriarchs and Politics: The Plight of the Mormon Woman* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1978), pp. 3, 18.

6. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Max Weber, "The Presuppositions and Causes of Bureaucracy," in Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds.,

From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946). See especially "The Types of Authority and Imperative Co-Ordination," pp. 324–86.

7. Mario S. DePillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 1 (Spring 1966): 88; D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), pp. 162–63.

8. Weber, "The Types of Authority," p. 364.

9. D. Michael Quinn, "The Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187–233; see also Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite," pp. 33–80, exploring kinship relations in the early hierarchy.

10. The most comprehensive study of the topic is William Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 3–36.

11. "Epistle of The Twelve Apostles and Counselors to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in all the World," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (1 Oct. 1877): 65.

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Thomas G. Alexander

"To Maintain Harmony": Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930

In his landmark organizational study, Max Weber outlined three forms of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal. Originally charismatic under Joseph Smith and to some extent under Brigham Young, by the late nineteenth century, leadership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had become traditional. Leaders no longer functioned outside acknowledged lines of authority but operated with clearly established relationships to one another and to Church membership. The presidency of the Church automatically passed to the president of the Council of the Twelve. Being called to the First Presidency or the Twelve immediately vested Church leaders with authority both in the priesthood sense and in the sense of personal prestige, more the original meaning of the Latin *auctoritas*.[1]

Just as the leadership of the Church was not entirely or perhaps even basically charismatic by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, neither was it legal. It was not governed by the "rule of law and not of men." Church leaders had not yet separated Church money and equipment from their private property. In fact, as late as Lorenzo Snow's death in October 1901, the question arose whether his property and Church property were one and the same, and the separation was not completely solidified until 1922 and 1923 in Heber J. Grant's administration. Furthermore, well into the twentieth century and to a lesser extent today, most General Authorities did not depend completely on their positions for a living. Since a bureaucracy requires a money economy, a true bureaucracy within the Church could not be organized before 1908 when the Church shifted to a money system by abolishing payments in scrip and kind.[2]

Administratively, the system of Church government that we know today was largely set in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when leadership was traditional and its structure was shifting from charismatic to more bureaucratic forms of leadership. Under Joseph Smith, administration centered in the prophet, who generally made final decisions and exercised personal authority. Although the current prophet still has the power of making final decisions on all questions, a Church bureaucracy operating under fixed rules

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handles most administrative matters. The Church Office Building housing the bureaucracy at 50 East North Temple rather than the Church Administration Building housing most General Authorities at 47 East South Temple, operates the Church's day-to-day affairs, knows the files and rules, and provides continuity of administration. In the administrations of Joseph F. Smith (1901–1918) and Heber J. Grant (1918–1945), reading committees drawn from the First Presidency and the Twelve approved texts for Church use, and the First Presidency considered and appropriated the exact sum of the Church's share for the construction of a new chapel. Today, the bureaucracy handles both matters, though ultimate approval still rests with the First Presidency and Twelve as it would with administrative officers in any bureaucratic system.[3]

If the Church organization in the late nineteenth century was postcharismatic and prebureaucratic, it was also unlike classical prebureaucratic forms of organization which, typically, are avocational and directed by persons of independent means. An example would be a medieval fiefdom ruled by a vassal of a king. The situation of the General Authorities was much different. In virtually every case, a large part of their outside incomes were linked to Church-controlled businesses like ZCMI, Consolidated Wagon and Machine, or Hotel Utah, or they were beholden to the Church for outstanding loans. In some cases, as with James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe, Church stipends provided their entire or principal income.[4] Thus, financially the Church's hierarchy had some characteristics of a bureaucracy though Church funds were not the only source of income for its organizational leaders.

Yet the form of organization was collegial, essentially a prebureaucratic form. Many commentators on Church government have missed this point. Frank Cannon's *Under the Prophet in Utah* pictures the Church as an autocracy run by Joseph F. Smith; Samuel W. Taylor's recent study differs little from Cannon's.[5]

Both doctrinally and historically, the Church leadership thus exhibited both hierarchical and collegial elements. Both are built into the scriptural injunctions about Church government. Doctrine and Covenants 107 declares that "the Presidency of the High Priesthood . . . has a right to officiate in all offices in the church" (v. 9), indicating a hierarchical superiority to other quorums in the Church. At the same time, the Twelve, "special witnesses of the name of Christ," are said to "form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three presidents previously mentioned" (vs. 23–24) — a collegial element. In addition, the Seventy "form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or Apostles" (vs. 25–26).

In light of these dual characteristics, crises — often those associated with succession in the First Presidency — made the conflict between hierarchy and collegiality more conspicuous than did operational problems. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization.[6] In most cases, however, Timothy Ware's generalization made about conciliarism in the Greek Orthodox Church holds for the LDS Church as well: "In the Church, there is neither dictatorship nor individualism, but harmony and unanimity; men remain free but not isolated, for they are united in love, in faith, and in sacramental communion.

In a council, this idea of harmony and free unanimity can be seen worked out in practice. In a true council no single member arbitrarily imposes his will upon the rest, but each consults with the others, and in this way all freely achieve a 'common end.' " [7]

When schismatic tendencies and disharmony have developed in the LDS Church, in a number of cases the Twelve resolved them by collegial action of the Twelve. An instructive parallel is the operation of the cardinals during medieval schisms in the Roman Catholic Church.[8] Like the succession dispute between Urban VI and Clement VII, the crisis at the death of Joseph Smith not only posed the question of succession but also that of a unified Church's continued existence.

At the death of Joseph Smith, the Twelve acted on behalf of God and of the general Church as a council to preserve the body of the Saints from dissolution and the Church from destruction. In practice, of course, schism did develop, but in general, the largest portion of the Church membership recognized the collegial authority of the Twelve and followed them from Nauvoo to the West.

Crises also developed as Mormonism made the transition from nineteenth- to twentieth-century conditions. In these cases, the sources of strain came in the attempt to define the political, social, economic, and doctrinal position of the Church and its leadership as the Church moved from a highly unitary, internally rigid body to the more pluralistic organization known today. Under those conditions, the standard of conduct of Church members and the limits of conformity for members and leaders alike changed very rapidly, straining the internal harmony of the General Authorities and leading to the removal of some.

Although Church leadership is partly hierarchical and partly collegial, the model for deliberations of the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve is collegial. As each General Authority is inducted into the Council of the Twelve, he is apparently so instructed. Perhaps the best example of that instruction is found in the journal of James E. Talmage. Francis M. Lyman, then president of the Council of the Twelve, told Talmage, after having him set apart, that during the deliberations of the Twelve and the First Presidency he must feel free to present his views as vigorously as he chose. After the body made a decision, however, he must leave the meeting supporting the decisions, duty-bound not to discuss the deliberations or any disagreements which might have developed in the Council. Because of a curious interpretation of that charge, Talmage's journal changed radically. Before his apostleship, he wrote fully and freely about the operation of the Church. Afterward, it was virtually silent on matters of Church organization and policy. Yet Anthon H. Lund, Reed Smoot, George F. Richards, and Heber J. Grant understood the charge differently.[9]

The collegial principle under which the First Presidency and Twelve operated was, as they called it, "harmony." In general, it worked very well for day-to-day operations and in developing internal programs such as the priesthood reform movement, temple ceremony revisions, and alterations of temple garment styles.[10]

Perhaps the best example of this ability to reach harmony on matters not involving larger issues is found in the codification of doctrine undertaken during the 1890s and culminating in the publication in 1899 of James E. Talmage's *A Study of the Articles of Faith*. In 1894, the First Presidency asked Talmage, then a lay member, to give a series of lectures on the doctrines of the Church. Four years later, he was asked to rewrite the lectures and present them to a committee for consideration as an exposition of Church doctrine.[11]

In the process, Talmage reconsidered and clarified some doctrines which had been poorly defined before. For example, during the 1894 lectures, George Q. Cannon, First Counselor in the First Presidency, "expressed his opinion that the Holy Ghost was in reality, in the image of the other members of the Godhead — a man in form and figure; and that what we often speak of as the Holy Ghost is in reality but the power or influence of the spirit." The First Presidency, however, "deemed it wise to say as little as possible on this as on other disputed subjects," perhaps since the nature of the Holy Ghost was somewhat equivocal in the writings of Joseph Smith.[12]

After the 1894 discussion, Talmage published an article in the *Juvenile Instructor* incorporating Cannon's views and also reproduced the position in the *Articles of Faith* manuscript. He was somewhat surprised when the First Presidency approved that section practically without revision. The rather controversial opinion of 1894 had by 1899 become the published doctrine of the Church.[13]

Harmony foundered, however, on the shoals of larger traditional interests — changes which seemed alterations in basic principles (plural marriage or organic evolution) or which involved larger political interests (dietary rules, member involvement in politics), or a combination (the League of Nations controversy).

It is, I believe, at these stress points which challenged collegiality and traditional authority that we best see the operation of harmony. This is partly true because "the Brethren" often did not comment on discussions when harmony easily prevailed. Essentially, the Council of the Twelve and First Presidency faced, from the 1890s through the early 1930s, the difficulties of any traditional society under the stress of acculturation, attempting the task of, in Peter Berger's phrase, "world maintenance" while trying to define a new twentieth-century Mormonism within an increasingly pluralistic society. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that traditional leadership was strained by both measures which broke with previous tradition and those that continued it.[14]

Perhaps the most difficult problem Church leadership faced was determining the role of the General Authorities in national political society. In the nineteenth century, the Church had been politically unitary rather than pluralistic. Local and general authorities decided political questions in the Church's interest, as they perceived it. In territorial Utah, the Church-operated People's Party held virtually all political offices until conditions in 1889 and 1890 contributed to several anti-Mormon Liberal Party victories. In 1891, Church

leadership formally disbanded the People's Party and urged members to divide into the two major parties. Since the Republican Party had been most vigorous in its anti-Mormon activities, leaders feared that most members would become Democrats, essentially remaining unitary. Their solution was to have Republican General Authorities actively solicit membership while Democratic General Authorities remained relatively silent.[15]

Some Democratic General Authorities, like Moses Thatcher of the Council of the Twelve and B. H. Roberts of the First Council of the Seventy, objected. Thatcher, who had been in and out of difficulty for opposing his colleagues on expenditures for economic development, for supporting a strong millennialist position, and for differences with fellow apostle Marriner W. Merrill, declined to obey and was threatened with exclusion from the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893 until he recanted.[16]

In late 1893, the anti-Mormon Liberal Party disbanded, and its members joined the two major parties. Most became Republicans, tipping the scale enough to elect Frank J. Cannon, son of George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency, as territorial delegate and a GOP majority to the Constitutional convention of 1895. In 1895, Utahns elected a Republican majority to the legislature and the state offices.[17]

Thatcher and Roberts, together with Presiding Bishop William B. Preston and Apostle John Henry Smith, served in the state constitutional convention, and Thatcher and Roberts intended to run as Democratic candidates for the Senate and Congress in 1895. Thatcher and Roberts thought that since Church members were now politically divided and the Church had given up its political dictation, the American tradition of liberty required no prior restraint and hence no permission to run for office.[18]

On the eve of the election in the priesthood meeting of the October 1895 General Conference, Joseph F. Smith, second counslor in the First Presidency, attacked Roberts and Thatcher, charging they were out of harmony since they had not sought permission to run. Smith seems to have had three motives in mind. He was concerned about balance between the two political parties; he was an extremely partisan Republican of long standing; and he was concerned about the need of the General Authorities to act in harmony. He insisted that all Church officials secure permission from their quorum to run for office to determine whether they could be spared from their ecclesiastical duties.[19]

Discussed by the First Presidency and Twelve, largely in Thatcher's absence since he was ill during much of the next six months, Smith's views were codified in the so-called Political Manifesto and approved by the First Presidency and Twelve shortly before the April 1896 Conference. Thatcher refused to sign. Late in the year, after various efforts by his colleagues had failed, he was dropped from the Quorum and ordered not to exercise his priesthood. He forestalled excommunication the next year only by recanting.[20]

The Thatcher case posed the classic conflict of traditional leadership — personal liberty and collegial authority. The goals of the First Presidency and Twelve included balancing the Church membership between the two parties and safeguarding the internal harmony necessary to lead the Church. In this

case, the Council faced a combination of external and internal stress. The external stress came both from demands that the Church cease political dictation and from Republican Party officials. If the Church had indeed given up political dictation, however, could the Quorum in good conscience demand control over its members' political activities?

The Council resolved the issue by insisting that the Church had no desire to control politics but that it had a right to control the actions of Quorum members. In the interest of harmony, each member had to receive approval to participate in outside political activities that might compete with ecclesiastical duties. Thatcher, believing that this solution infringed upon his personal liberty — which indeed it did — refused to subordinate his own interests to the Council's need for harmony, and was expelled.

The incident reveals another feature of the Council's operation — unequal authority between hierarchy and collegium. Though permision to run for political office had been necessary before 1891, it was apparently not necessary again until Joseph F. Smith opened his attack on Roberts and Thatcher in October 1895. Smith was fourth in line for the presidency and a counselor in the First Presidency. As such, his public statements on serious questions were weighty, particularly since he claimed to represent the Church's interest and the opposing view, in this case Thatcher's, seemed to represent a breach of harmony. Even today, a preemptive public statement or leak of a public position by a senior General Authority may, in the interest of harmony, dictate the public position of the Council on a particular question.[21]

An even more complex case is that of the Word of Wisdom. The current interpretation of abstention from alcohol, tea, coffee, and tobacco, had been enunciated by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and Brigham Young but was not codified until 1898–1905. As the General Authorities reached consensus, the First Presidency sent circular letters to stake presidents and bishops outlining the policy, and members of the Council began catechising local officials about adherence to the rules.[22]

After 1905, Council disagreement left the meaning of the Word of Wisdom to focus on public policy. Some apostles like Heber J. Grant, then a senior member of the Twelve, believed that adherence to the Word of Wisdom required members to promote Prohibition. Grant, an active Democrat, could insist on that position since the Democratic Party was largely Mormon. Republicans Reed Smoot and Joseph F. Smith saw the situation more from the perspective of Republican gentile businessmen, many of whom opposed Prohibition. The situation was further complicated by evangelical Protestants who initiated the Prohibition movement in Utah and chided Church leaders for moral sloth.[23]

Even for Mormon Republicans, the situation was not simple. President Smith and Elder Smoot feared dividing the Republican Party and strengthening the anti-Mormon American Party which controlled Salt Lake City government from 1905 through 1911. After 1911, they were apprehensive about the possibility of reviving an anti-Mormon coalition against ecclesiastical influence in the Prohibition question. On the other hand, a number of prominent Mor-

mon Republicans, led at first somewhat reluctantly by Nephi L. Morris, president of the Salt Lake Stake, favored Prohibition and fought Smoot and his Federal Bunch political machine on this and other issues. This breach widened into a full rupture after the Republican Party refused to support statewide Prohibition in 1912 and a group of so-called "Prohibition Republicans" reconstituted themselves as the Progressive Party, supporting Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency and Morris for governor.[24]

Breaches of harmony were virtually unavoidable under these circumstances. Joseph F. Smith and Reed Smoot preached abstinence and at times even Prohibition from the pulpit. In private, they counseled political moderation, though at times favoring local option. This visible contradiction between official and unofficial signals confused the general Church membership. The penultimate conflict took place in 1915 when William Spry, Utah governor and Federal Bunch regular, in part with President Smith's support, pocket-vetoed a bipartisan Prohibition bill, divided the Republican Party, and thus committed political suicide. Republican Nephi L. Morris lost a bid for governor in 1916, while the Democratic Party behind German-Jewish businessman Simon Bamberger carried the governorship and the legislature.[25]

Heber J. Grant's pro-Prohibition stand also challenged harmony. A member of the national board of the Anti-Saloon League, Grant championed Prohibition from the pulpit and platform. Joseph F. Smith resignedly said that he had "frequently tried to modify his zeal," but Grant did "as he wishes." The legislature had passed a 1909 local option bill which Spry had, to a furor among Prohibition supporters, pocket-vetoed. Grant, who believed the liquor interests had bought the governor and Smoot's political machine with Republican support, planned a strong Prohibition speech for the April 1909 conference. Francis M. Lyman, president of the Council of the Twelve, however, apparently sensing a breach of harmony, asked his colleague to speak on the "peaceable things of the Kingdom." Annoyed (Prohibition was the "all absorbing topic of the day"), Grant nevertheless decided obedience was better than sacrifice and followed Lyman's counsel.[26]

In this case, the strain on harmony was external. Harmony was achieved first on local option as a compromise and later on statewide prohibition. Breaches in that harmony came because of extracollegial stress caused when members worked publicly for positions generally opposed by the Council's consensus. Late in 1915 when the overwhelming majority in Utah clearly favored statewide Prohibition, Smoot and Smith came out publicly and privately in favor of Prohibition, thus reuniting the Council and reestablishing harmony. By that time, however, irreparable damage had been inflicted on the Republican Federal Bunch machine Smoot had so carefully organized and President Smith had so fully supported. In this case, stress had little inside effect but resulted in tremendous external repercussions as members of the Church, looking for signals to reinforce the harmony they expected, were understandably confused by the conflicting rumors.

A third breach of harmony was created by the problem of new plural marriages. Between the Manifesto of October 1890, ostensibly ending new plural

marriages, and the Second Manifesto of April 1904 when President Joseph F. Smith strongly interdicted the practice, members of the Twelve and First Presidency sanctioned and performed various marriages both in the United States and abroad.[27]

When the election of Reed Smoot as senator from Utah and the resultant investigations brought some of these marriages to light, General Authorities reexamined their policy of approving new plural marriages. Obviously it was a costly one. Church leaders had agreed to end plural marriage in exchange for statehood; now their good faith was suspect. The extent to which all members of the First Presidency and Twelve participated in these decisions is not yet determined, nevertheless, the revelation of new marriages caused serious external and internal stress.

The First Presidency and Twelve did not arrive at a consensus on a course of action until after 1904 and their new policy was as difficult to implement as it had been to reach. Plural marriage had been so thoroughly ingrained in the Latter-day Saint community that neither a public pronouncement nor a hierarchical decision could easily eliminate it. Members reading section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants understood "plural marriage" for "new and everlasting covenant" or, in common parlance, "celestial marriage." Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, for instance, insisted in one discussion that no year would go by without some children being born to plural marriages and that the Manifesto of 1890 was not a revelation from God.[28]

Some of the most politically minded, including Reed Smoot, Francis M. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith, feared adverse public opinion, pressed most vigorously to stop the new marriages. In 1906, the Twelve dropped Matthias F. Cowley and John W. Taylor from their ranks for open advocacy of continued plural marriage and Marriner W. Merrill, another advocate, died. George F. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, and David O. McKay, none of whom was a polygamist or attached to the principle of plural marriage, replaced them.[29]

Even then, not until 1911 could the First Presidency and Twelve reach a consensus sufficient to try Taylor and Cowley for their membership in spite of the two apostles' continued effort to influence others to enter new plural marriages. It was privately whispered that Smoot and Lyman were out of harmony for pressing so hard to end new plural marriages while public pronouncements stressed that Church leadership had resolved the question and that offenders would be tried. As in the case of Prohibition, contradictory public and private signals left many members unable to perceive a consensus within the First Presidency and Twelve.

The hardening resolution, however, became apparent in 1909, two years before the Cowley and Taylor trials, when a special committee of the Council of the Twelve was formed under Francis M. Lyman to prosecute new polygamists despite resistance to the prosecutions both from the membership and from local leaders.[30]

In an apparent attempt to reeducate the general membership and public, the leaders reinterpreted "celestial marriage" and "new and everlasting cove-

nant" to mean temple marriage and conducted the trials in public view. In various places, including testimony before the Senate committee investigating Reed Smoot, James E. Talmage emphasized that the terms referred to sealing for time and eternity in the temple. Results of the trials were publicized through Church periodicals. Gradually members became convinced of the new consensus, and those who refused to change were disciplined or forced underground.[31]

In this case, the sources of strain on harmony were extremely complex. Like the cases of political involvement and the Word of Wisdom, continued plural marriages created outside political pressure, but of a different sort, since there was no incentive outside the Church to maintain the plural marriage system. Internally, however, the stress was enormous since an extremely high percentage of general and local church leaders either were or had been polygamists. In addition, opposition from within the Twelve stemmed from members like Abraham O. Woodruff, George Teasdale, Marriner W. Merrill, and Matthias F. Cowley, normally the most loyal of members. It was only as they died or were expelled that a new consensus formed. By the time the Lyman committee was appointed in 1909, only seven of the fifteen members of the First Presidency and Twelve had been in the leadership when Reed Smoot was elected to the senate in 1903.

Conflicting interests also appeared in the League of Nations controversy following World War I. Here, a majority of the Twelve and all of the First Presidency publicly supported the League and adopted a resolution that members would not oppose the League. Because of his opposition to the League Covenant as drafted, Reed Smoot ran into considerable difficulty, though his support of Henry Cabot Lodge's reservations rather than William Borah and the irreconcilables, left him a loophole.[32]

However, Smoot opposed the League and attacked those who supported it by working through James Casey, editor of the *Herald-Republican*, a Church-sponsored Republican Party newspaper. Its attacks on B. H. Roberts, Richard W. Young, president of the Ensign Stake and close friend of President Heber J. Grant, and Anthony W. Ivins, a member of the Twelve and Grant's cousin, angered members of the Twelve and led eventually to the newspaper's sale.[33]

As in the case of new plural marriages, leaks from the Council meetings left the public impression that the Council had changed its position to support Smoot. This led, in turn, to a confrontation between Smoot and several other Council members. He promised to make the matter clear in a public speech but feared losing the 1920 senatorial election, a fear which Heber J. Grant, though a Democrat, shared. Recognizing the important role a member of the Twelve could play in Congress, Grant allowed Smoot to turn his denial into a somewhat equivocal statement. The dispute was never resolved, but died with the League of Nations itself in 1921. Its principal results were contributing to the demise of the *Herald-Republican*, strengthening the position of Democratic apostles like Anthony W. Ivins,[34] and polarizing millenniarian sentiment within the Church. Some members believed like Smoot that neither the League nor any other earthly power could prevent war and pestilence on

earth until Christ's second advent. Others, like George F. Richards, saw the League as an agency for promoting world peace which would allow the gospel to spread in preparation for the Second Coming.[35]

A fourth major breach in harmony came from the conflict between a literal interpretation of the Bible on the one hand and the theory of evolution through natural selection and higher criticism of biblical texts on the other.

Since the late nineteenth century, speeches and articles in the *Improvement Era* and other Church magazines generally allowed rather wide latitude, all the way from Joseph Fielding Smith's biblical literalism to John A. Widtsoe's belief that evolution may take place within "orders." On the authenticity of the Bible, the *Improvement Era* had published the views of University of Utah professor Frederick J. Pack and others indicating that the earth was millions of years old and that events like Noah's flood could not possibly have taken place literally since there was not enough water, time, or heat to accomplish the indicated flooding and evaporation. In 1921, Anthony W. Ivins and Charles W. Penrose of the First Presidency instructed Joseph W. McMurrin against strict biblical literalism on some issues: stories like Jonah and Job might not be literally true but taught particular principles.[36]

The crisis, however, centered on the question of man's age on the earth. Joseph Fielding Smith simply rejected any scientific evidence which did not agree with his "Adam was the first man" interpretation of the scriptures. B. H. Roberts's manuscript "The Truth, The Way, The Life," dealt with biblical literalism and organic evolution by including pre-Adamic man. After a long discussion, the Twelve refused to approve the publication of both Roberts's and Smith's views. Smith disobeyed, however, preaching and publishing on the topic. This publication and the ensuing controversy which surrounded it disturbed President Grant, not because he agreed with one position but because he feared the disharmony. James E. Talmage attempted to smooth over the disharmony in a speech denying organic evolution while allowing a scientific view of the earth's age.[37]

The Political Manifesto, the Word of Wisdom, new plural marriages, and the League of Nations had each been tied to a political or social concern. In this case, the problem was doctrinal: what was the nature of creation, the development of beings, the nature of biblical texts, and the relationship of mankind to God? Though evolution and related questions required a re-examination of basic doctrinal positions, they were perhaps least disruptive, partly because they did not involve practical concerns and partly because the Church had a long tradition of discussion on the nature of man and creation. Brigham Young, for instance, had speculated that Adam had been brought to the earth rather than having been created or born here.

From these five issues during a period of rapid change and adjustment, the historian can make some generalizations about stress within the Mormon ecclesiastical polity. In each case, the First Presidency and Twelve related basic problems to the need for maintaining harmony in the face of disruptive internal and external influences. In virtually every case, if they could not achieve actual consensus, they thought it important to maintain the appearance

of harmony in order to maintain morale and promote brotherhood. The common contemporary tactic of lay members opposing one another by citing a favorite General Authority or scripture to support their position can be extremely disruptive. Such controversy is even more divisive in a collegial situation.

Thus, disruptions of collegial harmony could, in extreme cases, lead to discipline and severance from the Quorum, as with Moses Thatcher and Matthias F. Cowley, or excommunication, as with John W. Taylor. In other instances, official displeasure rested upon Reed Smoot, Joseph Fielding Smith, and B. H. Roberts. Issues of basic doctrines, as with new plural marriages or of doctrine combined with public policy, as with the Word of Wisdom, caused the most difficulty over the longest period of time.

Since Church leadership had already shifted from charismatic to traditional authority, the stress resulting from these challenges reveals much about how a traditional organization maintains consensus while simultaneously legitimizing change. In some cases, leaked reports of Quorum debates allowed Church members the comfort of recognizing that they were not alone — either in clinging to tradition or in favoring change. Dissension could be allowed over conflicting goals, as in the apparent either-or choice between supporting the League of Nations and reelecting Smoot, or in the conflict between supporting Prohibition and keeping the Republican Party unified. On some issues, dissent could not be tolerated. Moses Thatcher, Matthias F. Cowley, and John W. Taylor were unwilling to maintain harmony at the cost of personal convictions and found, ultimately, that their collegium could not allow this deviance.

The main tasks of charismatic leadership are rallying converts and true believers; traditional leadership must concern itself with both internal harmony and outside pressures. Between 1890 and 1930, the Church accepted, for the first time, the necessity of finding a way for God's kingdom to coexist with Caesar's. At least four of the five issues discussed were directly related to external pressures imposed by the need for accommodation. The Political Manifesto required division into political parties because of outside pressure. Prohibition was in part the result of pressure from evangelical Protestant denominations who thought that professed Mormon beliefs in abstinence should require Mormon opposition to all alcoholic use in the community. Various groups with Victorian moral standards feared and hated plural marriage. The League of Nations controversy pressured the Church leadership to take an interest in national politics. Only in the evolution controversy was there little compelling outside pressure, and perhaps for that reason, it was the easiest to resolve or ignore.

In retrospect, Church leadership's efforts to maintain legitimacy during a rapid transition from being a religious monopoly to being a competing religious movement strained its internal structure. As long as the Latter-day Saints monopolized secular and religious interests in Utah Territory, they could "utilize the entire society" as their "plausibility structure" in world maintenance. After the monopoly was broken, they used "social engineering" to maintain the

structure, and an important feature of that engineering was the principle of "harmony." [38]

The disruption of collegial harmony is probably not out of proportion to the stress. If the removal of three members from the Quorum is used as a measure of stress, the only period which exceeds this one came in the wake of the Missouri persecutions when seven were dropped, though two of them, Orson Hyde and William Smith, returned to the Quorum. Even after the murder of Joseph Smith, the succession crisis, and the exodus from Illinois, only three were dropped from the Twelve, indicating that perhaps the stress associated with the problems in Illinois may not have been greater than those associated with accommodating to the norms of Victorian America.

NOTES

1. Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and eds., H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 196–252; Peter M. Blau, *On the Nature of Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1974), pp. 42–43; on the history of the LDS Church see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976); and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

2. Weber, *From Max Weber*, p. 197; Anthon H. Lund, Journal, 5, 6, 21, and 24 Nov. 1901 and 6 March 1902, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City; Marriner W. Merrill, Journal, 27 Feb. 1902; ibid.; Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 26 Nov. 1923, ibid., hereafter cited as JH, with date); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 409.

3. Weber, *From Max Weber*, p. 214. Fifty East North Temple, the Church Office Building, houses mostly middle- and lower echelon officers, while the Church Administration Building at 47 East South Temple is the office building in which the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve are located.

4. Weber, *From Max Weber*, pp. 207, 214. On business interests, salaries, and other connections among the Church's hierarchy see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), especially 127–30; John A. Widtsoe, *In A Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), p. 161; George F. Richards, Journal, 30 Jan. 1925, LDS Church Archives; Heber J. Grant, Diary, 12 June 1928, ibid.

5. Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing Co., 1911); Samuel W. Taylor, *Rocky Mountain Empire: The Latter-day Saints Today* (New York: MacMillan, 1978); Jan Shipps, "Writing about Modern Mormonism," *Sunstone* 4 (March–April, 1979): 43–48; Journal of James E. Talmage, 10 Nov. 1901, Manuscripts Department, Brigham Young University Library. On 23 Nov. 1918, as the Council of the Twelve considered the reorganization of the First Presidency upon the death of Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund wrote in his diary: "As a people we have learned the meaning of Section 107 in Doctrine and Covenants which tells us that the Twelve form a quorum equal in authority with the First Presidency, and they have also learned that Seniority in quorums means authority. (This may be called an unwritten law of the Church, but we have seen how it tends to harmony)."

6. See D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *Journal of the John Whitmer Historical Association* 1 (1981): 12–27, and DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 15 (Summer 1982); Gary James Bergera, "The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict Within the Quorums, 1853–1868," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 13 (Summer 1980): 7–49; and Reed C. Durham, Jr. and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970).

7. Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 23.

8. See Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 2–23.

9. James E. Talmage, Journal, 8 Dec. 1911. For similar comments see Grant, Diary, 5 April 1900; John Henry Smith, Journal, 4 Oct. 1903, Western Americana Collection, University of Utah Library; and George Albert Smith, Journal, 6 Oct. 1903, ibid.

10. William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reform Movement, 1903–1922," *BYU Studies* 13 (Winter 1973): 137–56; George F. Richards, Journal, 15 Nov., 10, 27, 28 Dec. 1921, 7, 13 July, 3 June, 31 Aug. 1922, 9 Dec. 1926, and 25 Jan. 1927.

11. U.S. Senate, *Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, A Senator from the State of Utah to Hold His Seat*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1904–1906), 3:4 (hereafter cited as Smoot Proceedings); Lund, Journal, 5 Jan. 1899; Talmage, Journal, 27 Dec. 1898; see also Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 5 (July–Aug. 1980): 28.

12. Talmage, Journal, 5 Jan. 1899; Doctrine and Covenants (1883 ed.), pp. 54–55.

13. Talmage, Journal, 9, 16 Jan. 1899; Lund, Journal, 13 Jan. 1899.

14. In a sense, the LDS Church was facing a challenge to legitimacy not unlike the model with which Peter L. Berger deals in *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967). This was a period in which the LDS leadership faced an almost classical problem of "world maintenance." As Berger pointed out, "when a challenge appears . . . [the old verities] can no longer be taken for granted. The validity of the social order must then be explicated both for the sake of the challengers and of those meeting the challenge. The children must be convinced, but so must their teachers" (p. 31); see also Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 44–75.

15. Gustive O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971), pp. 284–90; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Was There More to the Moses Thatcher Case Than Politics?" (paper presented to a joint Mormon History Association / Utah Endowment for the Humanities session 1, 3 Nov. 1979), pp. 21–22. For a thorough treatment see Edward Leo Lyman, "The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1981).

16. Godfrey, "Moses Thatcher," pp. 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29, 31.

17. Ibid., pp. 25–26; Larson, *Americanization of Utah*, pp. 296–97.

18. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6: 330–331; Marriner W. Merrill, *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family*, ed. Melvin Clarence Merrill (n. p., 1937), p. 192.

19. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:330–31.

20. Merrill, *Utah Pioneer and Apostle*, pp. 198–99, 205, 207, 209; Smoot Proceedings, 1:170, 563; Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1950), p. 4; Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:335–36.

21. A recent example of this same phenomenon is the controversy over the volume by Allen and Leonard cited above. At present, Deseret Book Company has not republished the book, although an unusually large edition sold out rapidly, reportedly because a senior General Authority dislikes it. Allen and Leonard have reportedly been told by other members of the Council of the Twelve, however, that they like the volume and consider it an important contribution to Mormon history.

22. For a general discussion of the development of the Word of Wisdom see Paul H. Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972); George D. Watt, et al., eds. *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. & S. W. Richards, 1855–1885), 12:27–32; Grant, Diary, 5 May, 30 June 1898; Lund, Journal, 31 Aug., 2 Sept., 9 Jan. 1900, 26 June 1902; Emmeline B. Wells, Journal, 8 Sept. 1900, BYU Library; John Henry Smith, Journal, 5 July 1906; First Presdiency to C. R.

Hakes, 1 Aug. 1902, to John W. Hess, 31 Oct. 1902, and to H. S. Allen, 1 Nov. 1902, First Presidency, letters sent, LDS Church Archives; George Albert Smith, Journal, 5 Aug., 2 Sept. 1905, 27 May, 2 June, 16 June 1906.

23. For a general discussion of these interests see Bruce T. Dyer, "A Study of the Forces Leading to the Adoption of Prohibition in Utah in 1917" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958); Grant, Diary, 15 March, 12, 16 Nov. 1908; Lund, Journal, 2 Oct. 1908; JH 4, 6 Oct. 1908. For a discussion of the national prohibition movement, see Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963). Gusfield's thesis that the middle class tried to regain its status by imposing Prohibition on the lower classes seems not to apply to Utah since the main support for Prohibition came from a group already holding high status, and the opposition came from a similar group in the Republican party. The only exception might be found in the Prohibition Republicans who were trying to wrest power from the Federal Bunch. See also James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963) who sees the Prohibition crusade as part of the movement for progressive reform; and Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: Norton, 1976) both of whom see Prohibition as part of the American reform movement.

24. Lund, Journal, 23, 26, 27 Jan., 3 Feb., 15, 17 March, 17 Nov. 1909; John Henry Smith, Journal, 26 Jan. 1909, 4 Oct. 1911, Dyer "Prohibition in Utah," pp. 29–31, 43–44, 55; Grant, Diary, 23 March 1909, Reed Smoot, Diary, 9 Oct., 11, 17 Nov. 1909, 4 Oct. 1911, Manuscripts Department, Brigham Young University Library; Reuben Joseph Snow, "The American Party in Utah: A Study of Political Party Struggle During the Early Years of Statehood" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1964), p. 224.

25. Joseph F. Smith, "Editor's Table: Temperance and Prohibition," *Improvement Era* 12 (Aug. 1909): 830–33; Lund, Journal, 5 March 1915; Jan Shipps, "Utah Comes of Age Politically: A Study of the State's Politics in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 109–11.

26. Lund, Journal, 2 Oct. 1908, 15, 17 March 1909; JH, 14 Oct. 1908, 20 March 1909; Grant, Diary, 12, 16 Nov. 1908, 23 March, 6 April 1909; Joseph F. Smith to Reed Smoot, 15 Feb. 1909 in Joseph F. Smith Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives; Dyer, "Prohibition in Utah," pp. 43–44.

27. Lund, Journal, 9 Jan. 1900, 28 Sept. 1906, John Henry Smith, Journal, 9, 10 Jan. 1900; Smoot Proceedings, 1:110–11, 389–90, 406, 422, 487–88, 2:68, 141–43, 295–96; Joseph F. Smith to Reed Smoot, 9 April 1904, Joseph F. Smith Letterbooks; Cannon and O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet*, p. 177; Grant, Diary, 9 Oct. 1898; George Q. Cannon to Anthony W. Ivins, 27 Dec. 1897, Ivins Family Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Anthony W. Ivins, excerpts from the A. W. Ivins Recordbook of Marriages, ibid.; and H. Grant Ivins, "Polygamy in Mexico," typescript, ibid.; B. Carmon Hardy and Victor W. Jorgensen, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah History Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4–36.

28. Matthias F. Cowley, *Cowley's Talks on Doctrine* (Chattanooga, Tenn.: Ben E. Rich, 1902), pp. 180–82; Joseph Eckersley, Journal, 26 Dec. 1904, LDS Church Archives; Lund, Journal, 9 Jan. 1900, 18 Nov. 1903, JH, 19 Nov. 1903; John Henry Smith, Journal, 9, 10 Jan. 1900, 19 Nov. 1903; Joseph F. Smith to Samuel L. Adams, 24 Dec. 1903, Joseph F. Smith Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives; Talmage, Journal, 14 Oct. 1904; Merrill, *Utah Pioneer and Apostle*, p. 147; Smoot Proceedings, 1:408–10.

29. Lund, Journal, 5 April 1906; First Presidency to Heber J. Grant, 12 April 1906, First Presidency, letters sent.

30. George F. Richards, Journal, 14 July 1909 and passim. Richards's journal provides excellent documentation for the various trials.

31. James E. Talmage, "The Story of Mormonism," *Improvement Era* 4 (Oct. 1901): 909; Smoot Hearings, 3:42–45.

32. James B. Allen, "Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah," *BYU Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 77–98; Smoot, Diary, 22 Sept., 12 Oct. 1919, 29, 30 July, 5 Aug. 1920; Lund, Journal, 5 Aug. 1920.

33. Lund, Journal, 30 Jan., 3 Feb. 1919; Grant, Diary, 30 Jan., 31 July 1919, 17 July 1920; Smoot, Diary, 20 Aug., 12 Oct. 1919.

34. James H. Moyle to Heber J. Grant, 29 April 1920; Grant to Moyle, 13 May 1920, cited in James Henry Moyle, *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle*, ed. Gene A. Sessions (Salt Lake City: Historical Dept. of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1975), pp. 258–65; Grant, Diary, 23 Oct. 1920; Smoot Diary, 23, 24 Oct. 1920; Lund, Journal, 21 Oct. 1920.

35. Lund, Journal, 28 July 1920; George F. Richards, Journal, 3 Oct. 1919, 4 Nov. 1919. On the nature of Mormon millennialism see Grant Underwood, "Seminal Versus Sesquicentennial Saints: A Look at Millennialism," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 14 (Spring 1981): 32–44.

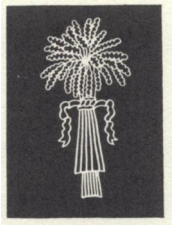
36. John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as Scientist: A Contribution to Mormon Philosophy* (Salt Lake City: General Board, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations, 1908), pp. 109–13; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man, His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954); Charles W. Penrose and Anthony W. Ivins to Joseph W. McMurrin, 31 Oct. 1921, First Presidency, letters sent; Frederick W. Pack, *Science and Belief in God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1924).

37. Grant, Diary, 8 April 1927, 22 May 1930; 16, 25 Jan. 1931; Truman G. Madsen, "The Meaning of Christ — The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Analysis of B. H. Roberts' Unpublished Masterwork," *BYU Studies* 15 (Spring 1975): 260 and passim; Duane E. Jeffrey, "Seers, Savants, and Evolutions: The Uncomfortable Interface," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 8 (Autumn–Winter 1973): 63–65. On 25 Jan. 1931, Heber J. Grant wrote in his diary, "After reading the articles by Brothers Roberts and Smith, I feel that sermons such as Brother Joseph preached and criticisms such as Brother Roberts makes of the sermon are the finest kind of things to be let alone entirely, I think no good can be accomplished by dealing in mysteries, and that is what I feel in my heart of hearts these brethren are both doing." See also James E. Talmage, "The Earth and Man" (1931; reprt. ed., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1976). On Brigham Young University's vault copy of the published version of this speech is a notation "False doctrine," in Joseph Fielding Smith's hand.

38. See Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, pp. 49–50.

Jessie L. Embry

Grain Storage: The Balance of Power Between Priesthood Authority and Relief Society Autonomy



The developmental history of the Church shows most conspicuously, perhaps, not in purposes and theology but in details. A twentieth-century visitor to the nineteenth-century might be most struck not by the pioneer conditions as by the general attitudes. A Relief Society might be discussing the need to support home industry and the United Order, ways of caring for silkworms, and the growth of the grain storage program. Priesthood meeting would be held only once a month on Wednesday night, and the brethren might be deciding whose turn it was to water and whether young boys should be allowed to care for the town cow herd. Missionaries would preach to convert the Church membership to MIA or Relief Societies. And each auxiliary, with breathtaking independence, would plan its own programs and curriculum locally.

The history of changes in the Church tracks shifts of philosophy that only gradually appeared in programs. Just as the correlation program of the 1960s has gradually affected the members' view of the Church, earlier reforms slowly altered the nineteenth-century Saints' perception of their religion. And just as some members today respond negatively to changes in the Church, the earlier modifications were not always completely smooth.

One of these difficult transfers of power came as the priesthood line of authority took over areas formerly managed by the auxiliaries. During the 1870s, the auxiliaries received sanction from the Church leaders to plan their own programs. They each had a central board, and the ward organizations turned to it, rather than to the bishops and stake presidents, for advice and programs. During this same period of time, the local priesthood quorums were loosely organized, met irregularly, and determined their own course of study.[1]

During general conference in April 1906, Joseph F. Smith, then president of the Church, and J. Golden Kimball, a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, spoke on the need to strengthen the priesthood as the governing body of the Church, and President Smith promptly launched a reform movement

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to organize the priesthood quorums and to correlate activities.[2] At the same time, he centralized the activities of the Church auxiliaries under the priesthood authority in preparation for a day when there would "not be so much necessity for work that is now being done by the auxiliary organizations because it will be done by the regular quorum of the Priesthood." [3]

The reorganization of the priesthood and the auxiliaries that President Smith initiated continued from 1908 to 1922. By 1922, the auxiliaries had become advisory boards to the priesthood line of authority. As the priesthood quorums and officers moved into areas once controlled by the auxiliaries, occasional misunderstandings of purpose created conflict and tension. The Relief Society grain storage program is an example of this not-always-easy centralization and its difficult implementation. Although this example is a conspicuous one and has the unique element of restricting women's activities in favor of men's, it is helpful to realize that the women's organization was not being singled out for exceptional treatment except, possibly, for the question of whether the Relief Society had viewed itself, founded by Joseph Smith, as a true "auxiliary."

When the Mormons arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847, they hoped to establish an economic and spiritual kingdom of God on earth. The Church leaders asked the members to separate themselves from the world and "to be self-sustaining; to produce all that is possible . . . at home." [4] The leaders also encouraged the Saints to store grain and other necessities in preparation for pre-Millennial famines and destruction. The harsh winters that followed within a few years and the destruction of crops strengthened the Saints' belief that they needed to "lay up stores of grain against the time of need." [5] At first the men were called to direct the storage program. When the men failed to conserve their wheat because "their wives and daughters want[ed] the proceeds . . . to buy hats and bonnets," [6] Brigham Young called Emmeline B. Wells and the women to store grain. Sister Wells, editor of the *Woman's Exponent* and later president of the Relief Society, was also the seventh wife of Daniel H. Wells, then a counselor to Brigham Young.

Sister Wells, though overwhelmed by the size of the grain storage project, saw herself as "a modern Joseph" in Egypt and asked for the support of the Relief Societies. In October 1876, she published an editorial in the *Woman's Exponent* calling upon the "Sisters [to] Be in Earnest" and to collect funds to buy wheat and to build granaries.[7] A month later the leaders of the Relief Society met, and President Eliza R. Snow appointed a Central Grain Committee with Sister Wells as chairman to organize the program and to coordinate the activities to the local societies.[8] The ward and stake Relief Societies then set up committees to plan ways of gathering wheat and constructing storage bins.

As the grain program was being organized through the Church, Sister Wells encouraged the women to report their storage successes and questions to the *Exponent*. During the years that followed, the newspaper carried articles about women donating Sunday eggs, gleaning the harvested fields, and contributing money and wheat. It also proferred advice on how to build granaries and how to store wheat.

Although the Relief Societies were successful in gathering grain, from the outset the sisters had problems maintaining control of the program. Before some of the wards built their own granaries, the wheat was often stored in a local member's or the bishop's bins. Sometimes the Relief Society grain was not separated, and the granary's owner sold it without permission. Later when the sisters built their own granaries to forestall such incidents, local ecclesiastical leaders asked to borrow the wheat to distribute to the poor or to loan to a farmer for seed. As a rule the Relief Society General Board advised the women to keep the wheat in storage.[9] However, for special celebrations like the Year of Jubilee in 1880, the sisters responded to President John Taylor's request in general conference that they loan their wheat, without interest, to the poor to be used as seed. In a letter "to the President of the Central Grain Committee and Presidents of the various branches of the Relief Societies," President Taylor cited the recent "unanimous vote of the sisters present at our late General Conference" that Relief Societies "loan" the local bishop the wheat he wanted for "the deserving poor." He also recommended that the bishop give the sisters a receipt so that the exact amount of grain borrowed could be returned. He added that once the grain was paid back the bishops should not borrow it again.[10]

Many bishops ignored this counsel. They felt that once the granaries had been opened for their use, they should continue to be allowed to use the contents to help the poor and support the Church. Local Relief Society presidents appealed to the general board for guidance. The general board asked them to remind the bishops of the importance of grain storage and to inform them that the grain was the Relief Society's, not ward property. When consultation and reminders failed to stop the grain requests, the general board protested to the First Presidency. In 1883 the Church leaders wrote the bishops: "The wheat has been collected by members of the Society in the various wards at considerable trouble and they are the proper custodians thereof and responsible therefore to the parties from whom it has been obtained. No bishop has any right because of authority as a presiding officer in the ward, to take possession of the grain." [11] This was still the Church policy in 1896 when Wilford Woodruff told Zina D. Huntington Young, Eliza R. Snow's successor as head of the Relief Society, that even the president of the Church "had no right to take a handful of wheat and dispose of it." [12]

Despite such warnings to the bishops, the Relief Society still received requests to donate the grain to build temples and chapels, to contribute to the poor and to meet the community's needs. Usually the local Relief Societies refused such requests, but the general board and the local Relief Societies were willing to modify the policy if the project was worthwhile and the borrower offered security.[13]

Despite repeated encroachments, however, the Relief Society still controlled the grain storage program. Requests to use the grain were directed to the ward Relief Society president; questions on how to handle the grain were sent to the Relief Society General Board. But as the storage program grew at the turn of the century, local situations sometimes made it impractical to store wheat, and

the general board's advice could not always account for unique conditions. At the same time, President Joseph F. Smith started his program to centralize the Church's organizations through priesthood lines and augment the importance of priesthood leaders' roles. During the first decade of the twentieth century, priesthood leaders began to ask President Smith grain storage questions. For example, by 1911 the granaries in the Salt Lake Stake that had been the pride of the Relief Society were inadequate, and grain in the area was expensive. Harriet B. Harker, president of the Salt Lake Stake Relief Society, asked her stake president, N. L. Mann, if the sisters should continue to store grain. Because he was not sure, President Mann wrote to the First Presidency who replied that the Relief Societies in Salt Lake Stake should not store grain but should continue to collect money for a wheat fund.[14]

Although this policy was meant only for urban Saints, some of the women in outlying areas who were having difficulty storing wheat decided to sell theirs. In 1911 the Oneida (Idaho) Stake Relief Society president proposed selling the grain and saving the money because it would be better to have money earning interest in a bank than grain rotting in a storehouse. Five years later when Emmeline B. Wells, then president of the Relief Society, visited the stake, she disagreed with the policy and told the sisters, "Money will not feed us if the grain is not in the granary." [15]

Problems like those in the Salt Lake and the Oneida stakes continued. In desperation the Relief Society General Board once again looked to the First Presidency and to the Presiding Bishopric for guidance. The priesthood leaders concluded that the program was sound but that storage methods were the basic problem. Arrangements were made to put grain in commercial elevators or in modern storage facilities. Where there was not a safe place to keep the wheat, the Relief Societies were allowed to sell the grain and send the money to the Presiding Bishopric's office where it was maintained in a separate account.[16]

Just as the general Relief Society now turned to the Presiding Bishopric and the First Presidency for counsel on grain storage, local Relief Society executives were encouraged to turn to their local priesthood leaders. The general board minutes record a list of commonly asked questions and the standard replies:

"Would you advise the sale of wheat when there are no elevators but good granaries?"

"If the priesthood advises it."

"If the granaries are being built, should the money given for wheat be used in building the granaries?"

"According to the advice of the priesthood."

"Is it advisable to take the money donated for wheat to buy portable steel granaries?"

"Follow the advice of the priesthood." [17]

However, shifting direction of the details of the program from the general Relief Society to the local priesthood executives did not give control of the program to the local ecclesiastical leaders or to the Presiding Bishopric. The Relief Society was still in charge of the wheat and expected matters of general policy to be cleared through them. They were willing to accept the advice and aid of the priesthood brethren, but they were not willing to turn the entire program over to the men.

World War I, however, strained this division of labor. During the worldwide grain shortage, members of the Church were encouraged to plant more wheat, and Relief Societies without granaries were asked to have wheat and flour on hand even if it had to be kept in the members' homes. Prudently, the Relief Society guarded its wheat by removing it from commercial elevators to Church-owned facilities.[18]

As the Church stepped up its grain programs, the United States government in the spring of 1918 asked that all surplus wheat be sent to Europe to feed allied and American soldiers. Federal food administrators in Utah and Idaho approached ward Relief Societies and asked them to sell their grain. Local organizations requested advice from the Relief Society General Board and the Presiding Bishopric. Bishop Charles Nibley said on May 2 that the grain was not to be sold and that when the government understood the program they would not demand the sale.[19]

However, within two weeks, the food controller for Utah told Bishop Nibley's counselors, Orrin P. Miller and David A. Smith, that the grain was needed immediately. The women could refill their granaries with the fall's bumper harvest. As a final ounce of pressure, he called the sale a "matter of loyalty of the Relief Society to the government." [20] Bishop Nibley, out of town, returned to find a letter from the federal food administrators asking once again for the grain. Because of this pressure, the Presiding Bishopric asked the First Presidency how they should handle the request. Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose, President Joseph F. Smith's counselors, told them to comply.[21]

With this direction, Bishop Nibley sent a letter on 16 May 1918 to the "bishops of wards where grain is stored." He asked them to discuss the grain situation with the Relief Society presidents, determine how much grain was on hand, and send the information to him. Then the local priesthood leaders would be told where to ship the grain. The money for the grain was to be deposited in a bank until the Presiding Bishopric or the First Presidency advised the wards to buy wheat. Nibley signed the letter and added the name of Emmeline B. Wells, Relief Society General President.[22]

In his haste to fulfill the government's request, Bishop Nibley neglected to notify Sister Wells of the change in policy; she did not learn of the sale until a week later. Recognizing that the sisters might not understand the sudden shift in policy, President Joseph F. Smith asked Bishop Nibley to discuss the sale with the Relief Society General Board. On 23 May 1918, Bishop Nibley attended the board's meeting, apologized for his actions, and explained why the wheat had to be shipped before the board met. President Wells accepted the new policy and conceded that, given the circumstances, she was not op-

posed to the sale of the wheat. She added, however, that she was hurt that Bishop Nibley had not consulted her before mailing the letter. Furthermore, she emphasized that although the Relief Society had asked the Presiding Bishopric to aid in making decisions about the program, the wheat was the sisters' responsibility and they should judge how the wheat was distributed. Bishop Nibley agreed to consult with the general board before making any further decisions on the storage program.[23]

Despite this promise, the Relief Society fought a losing battle to retain the last vestiges of control. In June the general board asked the Presiding Bishopric not to answer questions about the sale of the grain without consulting them, then, when this appeal did not solve the problem, asked the First Presidency to clarify the role of the Presiding Bishopric in the grain program. Cooperatively, the Presiding Bishopric agreed to discuss all policies with the sisters, but it soon became apparent that the men planned to make the final decisions. In August 1918, David A. Smith, counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, told the Relief Society not to buy grain while the price was so high. Later when the food controllers complained about the poor quality of wheat, the Presiding Bishopric asked that the money from wheat sales be sent to their office where it would be put in a special trust fund. The grain storage program came to a halt and was not begun again until the 1940s as part of the Welfare Plan.[24]

Between 1876 when Emmeline B. Wells started the grain storage program and 1918 when she saw all the wheat sold without her permission, she saw a number of changes in her commission from Brigham Young. These changes included a shift in decision-making from the Relief Society General Board to the Presiding Bishopric and from the local Relief Societies to the bishops and stake presidents. The transfer of power was gradual and not completely smooth, as might be expected in any organization redistributing authority.

Similarly, corporations constantly face "the pressure for centralization of authority to assure corporate integrity and the countering pressure for decentralization in administration to secure efficiency through ready response to diverse conditions." [25] The LDS Church faced this same dilemma, which spurred Joseph F. Smith's reforms in the 1900s and 1910s to centralize Church organization through priesthood channels. At the same time the Church was growing so rapidly that the organization needed to be decentralized to hold the members together and meet local needs. The Church was able to accomplish both goals by strengthening the priesthood line of authority so that the general priesthood leaders made decisions but the local bishops could adapt them to their needs. The auxiliaries, however, lost control of their own programs. Since conflicting instructions would confuse local organizations, all auxiliaries were directed to consult the Church priesthood leaders for general policies and local priesthood authorities for specific instructions.

Questions and tension arose during this period of reform because the pre-1906 auxiliaries were essentially independent "companies," free to direct their own policies. President Smith's changes merged these small companies with the main corporation, not as equals but as advisors. Part of the difficulty between the Relief Society and the general priesthood leadership emerged be-

cause the Relief Society was not informed how the change would affect their programs.[26] Furthermore, the Relief Society was rather suddenly deprived of access to the "top management" and instead was subordinated to the mid-level Presiding Bishopric, another blow to its autonomy. The sisters were shocked and hurt when the Presiding Bishopric started to direct the grain storage program so authoritatively. Although the women appreciated the men's advice, they wanted to determine the destination of the program.

Yet the merger of the Relief Society and the priesthood organization was smoother in other areas than it was in grain storage, and the transfer of the grain program might have been easier if the Presiding Bishopric had not felt compelled to sell the grain during World War I. Questions before the war about the control of the wheat had been successfully handled by both the Relief Society and priesthood leaders. The dispute occurred when an outside force, the United States government, forced a decision on control of the grain. The disturbance broke the balance between the Relief Society and Presiding Bishopric and precipitated a shift in control that might have occurred more easily given time. After the grain was sold, the Presiding Bishopric continued to make decisions concerning the grain storage program with the advice of the Relief Society.

Business analysts have found that when a struggle for equilibrium occurs in a corporation, one party gives in or the company collapses.[28] In this case the Relief Society yielded. The sisters, though disappointed, accepted the decision because they accepted priesthood authority as divine in origin. At a general board meeting, Clarissa Smith Williams, Sister Wells's first counselor, explained, "The Priesthood had instituted the grain storage movement; they had closed the work. . . . As the Relief Society operates under the direction of the Priesthood, it was simply in conformity with them that the grain saving had been discontinued." [29] Furthermore, although the grain storage program ended and the funds were held by the Presiding Bishopric, the sisters used their influence to convince the Presiding Bishopric that the interest from the grain money should be used to build maternity hospitals and to provide layettes for expectant mothers.[30] Thus, Relief Society activities moved to a more restricted but still valuable sphere.

NOTES

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21. Relief Society General Board, General Board Meeting Minutes, 23 May 1918, 9:140–41, 144–45.

22. "Letter to Bishops of Wards Where Grain is Stored," from the Presiding Bishop and General Relief Society President, Susa Young Gates Papers; *Deseret News*, 20 May 1918, p. 1.

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Linda Sillitoe

Home from the North

only from the nesting hollow
    of our bed
will I say how cold it's been
    so cold
deer feed in backyards along
    the foothills
like dark, small-hooved cattle.

the bus winds through a canyon
    of snow
cattails spring from white banks
    in tandem
far dusky trees align their tips
    in a long brush
five black and white crows pulse
    into white sky.

the close crooked branches interweave
    cross and weave
again outside my window love
    cross and weave
a basket in the making, an intricate
    slow enfolding.

LINDA SILLITOE, a Salt Lake City writer and journalist, has also published poetry, fiction, and critical essays.

Dennis L. Lythgoe

Battling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel

Excessive multiplication of bureaus results in a bureaucracy, which we may define as any administration in which the need to follow complex procedures impedes effective action. A bureaucrat usually works by fixed routine without exercising intelligent judgment and insists on rigid adherence to rules. The implication drawn from the word *bureaucrat* or the word *bureaucracy* is almost always derogatory.

Max Weber saw bureaucratization of society as both undesirable and inevitable. As society grows and production increases, increased efficiency requires specialization, resulting in assembly-line techniques. Bureaucracy is efficient because it dehumanizes production, eliminating human error.[1] But in an organization dedicated to human needs, the growth of bureaucracy can only be unfortunate because those needs may be disregarded in the scramble to turn out a product.

A study of Mormon history supports the view that bureaucracy was practically nonexistent in the early church, which was much less centralized. By contrast, in the twentieth century, bureaucracy has become the norm for church government. One clue is the gradual replacement of the word *doctrine* by the word *program*. At least one observer has argued that bureaucracy was not intrinsic to Mormonism and that the use of bureaucratic models for church organization was arbitrary.[2]

The constraints governing the building of a chapel symbolize the disadvantages of the church bureaucracy. Such construction today must be done under the supervision of the Building Division, which is housed, along with numerous other divisions, in a $31.5 million, twenty-eight-story structure in Salt Lake City with 566,000 square feet of office space and three levels of underground parking for 1,400 cars. The Church has approximately 6,700 buildings throughout the world, including meetinghouses, temples, mission homes, visitors centers, welfare facilities, and seminary and institute buildings. In 1979, more than 660 building projects were reported in process in various parts of the world.[3]

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When I was called to be bishop of the Hingham, Massachusetts, Ward in 1977, I did not envision a tenure devoted to bricks and mortar. Yet ours was a growing ward with a two-phase building consisting of a chapel, offices, and classrooms, and we were overcrowded on Sunday mornings. By the end of the year, we were convinced that we needed a third phase, consisting of a classroom wing and a cultural hall. The Building Division projected the cost between $350,000 and $400,000. Our ward was responsible for 30 percent, while the remainder would be paid from general Church funds in Salt Lake City. I purposely over-estimated our share at $120,000, fully expecting it to be influenced by inflation. That would soon turn out to be a naive estimate.

I proposed to the membership that we raise $60,000 in one "year of sacrifice," with most of the money emanating from our own pockets. We would all agree to forego material pleasures so that we could acquire the first fifteen percent. The Building Division would then allow us to begin construction, and we would have three additional years to raise the second fifteen percent.[4]

Two months later, we received our first financial scare when the Building Division announced that the estimated cost had risen from $400,000 to $436,802, meaning that our starting fund would have to reach $65,520.[5] In April when the cost rose to $521,426 and the starting fund to $78,213, we were instructed to "readjust" our fund-raising activities.[6] By the time we accepted bids on the building in September, inflation had ballooned the cost to $648,546, and the starting fund to $94,292.[7] In the end, the actual funds disbursed for the project were $657,221.[8]

We hoped for a groundbreaking in May 1979, to allow the summer months for construction. The local architect was formally appointed 7 June 1978,[9] yet it was thirteen months before the plans were approved in Salt Lake City, and three months after that before construction formally began. The division seemed insensitve to our desire to expedite the matter — the local architect would send papers to Salt Lake City for approval; the Building Division would delay response for several weeks; then the architect would indulge in delay of his own before resuming productive work. It was a discouraging time, and it proved the difficulty of working with a bureaucracy. Each step of the project involved a different department and supervisor, each of whom lacked knowledge of what had previously transpired.[10]

A key to a bureaucracy's competence is its compartmentalization. Each compartment is competent only for its particular expertise, and thus people are often referred from one compartment to another to seek resolution to their problems. Above all, bureaucrats insist on proper procedure.[11] I quickly learned that the Building Division operated according to that mode, i.e., with a "cookie cutter" mentality. All requests were considered unacceptable unless unusual reasons were expertly combined with sound public relations principles.

For instance, our original building had been designed according to the specifications of a Kent plan, whereas the plan currently in use by the Church was called a Beaumont. For that reason, some changes were unavoidable. At our first planning conference with the architect, we suggested changes designed

to produce a better, more functional building. We proposed trading locations for the Relief Society and the Aaronic Priesthood rooms, adding a shower in the women's room, using a seamless resilient flooring instead of wood flooring in the cultural hall, and substituting folding wall panels for accordion-type folding doors. We believed that the wall panels were more attractive, more durable, more versatile, and sound-proof. Besides, a teacher could put charts and pictures on them with magnets.[12]

The Building Division approved relocating the Relief Society and Aaronic Priesthood rooms but scuttled the rest. When I asked why it was impossible to include a women's shower, the area architectural coordinator pontifically announced that "the Brethren prefer it that way." [13] Throughout the building process, I noted this tendency to invoke the hierarchy to support arbitrary bureaucratic decisions. Moreover, this issue was potentially explosive in this case since it could be inferred that the "Brethren" were consciously discriminating against women. Of course, it was ridiculous to assume that the General Authorities were personally involved in every detail of the Beaumont plan in the approximately 660 building projects throughout the Church. When I insisted on a logical explanation of the policy, the coordinator asserted, "Women usually go home to shower." I suggested that such a statement was discriminatory and that showering at home was an impractical alternative because most of our members lived from twenty to forty minutes from the building. Grudgingly, he replied, "All right, bishop. We'll give it to you if you *really* want it, but I don't think it's wise."

That small battle won, I progressed to the cultural hall floor. We requested Tarkett, a remarkably durable material we had observed in two schools. The coordinator was unimpressed and said that the only alternative to wood flooring was an indoor-out door carpet called PRO-VO which was guaranteed for ten years. Although our members considered a carpeted gym floor undesirable, the coordinator assured me that the "basketball bounced just as high" and that the floor produced "a more reverent atmosphere." It was difficult for me to imagine a "reverent" basketball game, but I suspected he was right about the bounce. When I inquired about ballroom dancing, he seemed surprised and proclaimed that "no one does ballroom dancing any more." I contended that New Englanders in fact did and that a floor that failed to allow for both dancing *and* basketball would be unacceptable. Although somewhat agitated, he agreed to consider the proposal.[14]

The following month when I visited Salt Lake City, he informed me that the committee had rejected the floor, because they "had no experience with it." Then he tried to persuade me to visit a carpeted cultural hall in Bountiful, Utah, and bounce a ball. Recognizing that the bureaucracy had won this round, I told him we would take the wood flooring. Even though he conceded some advantages in movable walls, he rejected them also on grounds of excessive cost but agreed to replace all our current folding doors, which were in serious disrepair.[15]

Since the Church does not routinely air-condition new buildings, I made a special request for air-conditioning in the new Relief Society room and in the

multi-purpose room in the existing building. The chapel was already air-conditioned because it was classified as an assembly room. I argued that the Relief Society and multi-purpose rooms were also assembly rooms, where relatively large groups gathered and that the heat was oppressive in summer.[16] I was informed that the Church's mechanical engineering department had determined that "climate conditions in the Hingham, Massachusetts area are condusive [sic] to not require air conditioning." [17]

Expressed more succinctly, the Church had placed Hingham, Massachusetts, in a red zone, meaning that it was not hot enough to require air conditioning. Refusing to give in that easily, I sent a record of typical temperatures and humidity for the summer months, arguing that Massachusetts was more oppressive in the summer than Utah. I recommended that the zone be reclassified and invited "the entire building division to pay us a visit in the month of July." [18]

There was no reply to my letter, but I decided to reissue the request at our bid opening in August. For that event, we were assigned a new member of the bureaucracy, the "construction supervisor, area five." When I explained my position to him, the supervisor instructed the architect to "give the bishop the air conditioning"; then he carefully outlined to me how difficult other changes would be to make.[19]

Ironically, the heating contractor made an error and installed air-conditioning in the Relief Society room and every room in the old wing *except* the multi-purpose room. The possibility of removing the system from those rooms and putting it in the multi-purpose room instead was discussed. Fortunately, logic prevailed, and the mistake was left intact while an additional unit was installed for the multi-purpose room. Miraculously, we ended up with the entire old wing air-conditioned, a minor concession turning into a coup. Applying unremitting pressure, I convinced the Building Division that new carpet should be installed throughout the existing building and the addition, something the coordinator had been initially hesitant to do.

The most important decision for us was the choice of a building contractor. We researched eleven contractors and waited for a pre-bid conference on August 8, when preliminary information would be given to each contractor to help him decide whether to bid. The Building Division considered it necessary for the construction supervisor to travel the 2,500 miles from Salt Lake City to conduct the short session.[20]

It was disappointing that three weeks later only three of the eleven placed bids. The contract was eventually awarded to Pasqualucci and Son, a local contractor from Quincy, Massachusetts, whose low bid was $611,918.[21] Shocked at the high figure, the construction supervisor and the architect speculated about possible collusion among bidders. The architect expressed the thought that many invited parties had stayed away because they had predetermined that it was Pacqualucci's turn, which, if true, would have explained the inflated cost. Projecting an aura of wisdom, the construction supervisor disagreed but worried that the Church's committee on expenditures might still reject the bid. In any case, I signed an agreement, pledging to provide a start-

ing fund of $94,292, and to pay off the remaining 15 percent within two years of the start of construction. I had originally been told that the ward could have three years to pay its share but Church money had since become "tight."[22]

To my surprise a few months later, I received what purported to be a copy of that agreement with my signature typed in and a major discrepancy in the terms — that we would pay off the balance in eighteen months instead of twenty-four. The note at the bottom said, "Bishop's signature on file." I immediately called the division, disowned the document, and reasserted my intention to pay in the originally agreed two years.[23]

Early in the project the bishopric and ward building committee had rejected the concept of "donated labor." The construction crews had special expertise and to delay or jeopardize the job because of unskilled donated labor to enable church members to show devotion to the work ethic seemed unwise. I explained that rationale to the construction supervisor and he agreed, much to my surprise, claiming that the savings were miniscule and the headaches enormous.[24]

While I never regretted this decision, I had to explain it frequently to Mormons who had been taught from childhood that donated labor was a principle of the gospel. ("My father laid all the brick on the Ensign Ward chapel," "My uncle painted the entire interior of the Grandview Ward chapel," etc.) Only later did I realize that a bureaucracy would predictably shun donated labor because it would produce exceptions and additional contracts interfering with the assembly line.

Again we faced delay while the Building Division evaluated the expensive bid. The stake president agreed with me that the bid should be accepted because seeking additional contractors might only delay long enough to boost the price higher. Accordingly, he persuaded the committee on expenditures to approve the project; one of his arguments was that the Building Division should share the blame for the inflated price because they had caused many of the delays.[25]

The contractor began construction on 8 October 1979, with the promise that he would complete it in 300 days. Even though construction had already begun, a pre-construction conference was held October 26, with the Field Representative of the Church, Area Five, conducting. He announced that a job meeting would be regularly held each month with the contractor, subcontractors, architect, and bishop to chart progress and correct problems.[26] The job meeting was potentially the most useful tool of the bureaucratic process to keep the Hingham Ward informed. Unhappily, it was held sporadically or not at all and almost never with my consultation.

Fortunately, the contractor was very experienced in church construction, although not in Mormon buildings. He had built some elaborate Catholic structures (and had been rewarded by an audience with the Pope during his Boston visit), and he was interested in maintaining smooth relations with us too. The fact that one overzealous member of our congregation regularly visited the site with refreshments and church tracts for the workers seemed not to deter the crew. Work progressed quickly and evenly from the start until the magic finish date of 4 August 1980, 300 days.

At the bid opening, it was casually mentioned that our monthly bills would total $4,000 per month once construction started. I argued that it was unrealistic to assume that a ward could make such high payments at monthly intervals; fund raising, after all, was unpredictable.[27]

To aid in our fund raising, we negotiated several six-month money market certificates, which offered very high interest on sums of money over $10,000. When the starting fund became due, some of our money was tied up in these accounts. I explained this to the Building Division and they supported the efficacy of the action, assuring me that we could pay the remainder of the starting fund when the certificates reached maturity. However, the Financial Department on one floor and the Building Division on another failed to communicate. The Financial Department began sending financial statements with alarming regularity. I explained the procedure to them as well and even offered to withdraw the money before maturity if they insisted, but they preferred that I leave it in the account. Still the bills kept coming, as well as urgent notes saying, "We need to see some money! You were short to begin with!" [28]

As certificates matured, we completed the starting fund, and the bills began appearing less frequently, minus the notes of warning. Almost as if in answer to the bureaucracy's problems with our ward, the Church announced late in 1980 that its savings accounts would compete in interest with that offered by commercial banks. I soon surmised that the Church, much like a business, determined to send monthly bills, whether or not payment was forthcoming. It was the psychology of the bureaucracy at work. The construction supervisor admitted when I signed the agreement that it was virtually impossible to equate it with other contractual agreements, because a bishop might be released soon after affixing his signature.[29]

Perhaps the biggest surprise was the plethora of phone calls announcing delivery of major items of furniture for the new building. Since the building remained unfinished, none of the items could be stored there. One day I received a call from a freighter informing me of the imminent delivery of several thousand pounds of tables and chairs for the cultural hall. They could not be stored on trays under the stage until the hall was completed. Yet they were to be delivered, and it was left to me to plan how to unload them and where to put them. The driver did not assist and he would not estimate a time of arrival, except to say between 2 and 5 p.m. The only alternative was to refuse delivery.

I complained to the Building Division, but the construction supervisor only chuckled. He conceded that they had purposely ordered the furniture far ahead to make sure that delays would not prevent their delivery by the time of completion. His rejoinder to me was, "Just be thankful, bishop, that it isn't a piano!" A few days later, two pianos arrived. We scheduled crews of church members to unload them on three different days only to have the delivery truck fail to arrive on each occasion. On the fourth day, they finally arrived. We had the smallest crew of all — and a drenching rainstorm. We were plagued with numerous other freighters saying they would either deliver the same day or the following day. All deliveries came well before the completion of the

building. The never-ending pressure to arrange impromptu work parties and temporary storehouses seemed a clear example of bureaucracy out of control.

Among the many items delivered were two couches and four overstuffed chairs for the foyer. When we opened the packages, we found that every piece of furniture was seriously damaged in shipment, with holes, rips, and scuff marks. In one sense, I was relieved, because I hated the color and style, even though I had selected it myself from a chart sent by the Furnishings Department. These items had been purchased at a cost of $1,266.50 and then shipped from Salt Lake City to Boston with a shipping cost of $272.66, when they could have been purchased locally with much less chance of damage.[30]

Verification of damage was made after extensive correspondence and numerous telephone conversations from trucker to Furnishings Department to Traffic Department. Then I had a sudden inspiration. I proposed to the Traffic Department that we offer the furniture for sale at our annual ward auction, at a reduced rate for partial recovery. They accepted my proposal and we garnered $265.00 for the lot, approximately 20 percent of its value.[31]

In the meantime, the Church recovered $513.05 from the trucking firm and reimbursed us in the amount of $196.75, which, coupled with the money we received at the auction, represented our share of the merchandise. We were authorized by the Traffic Department to purchase additional couches and chairs locally at a cost not to exceed the original price.[32] In spite of the inconvenience and time lag, we considered this decision a major victory over the arbitrary procedures and taste of the bureaucracy.

The sound system was installed by a Salt Lake City-based company which sent its representatives to Massachusetts several times at considerable expense. During the initial installation, I received a call from a technician who was frustrated because United Parcel Service had failed to deliver a crucial piece of equipment. He was anxious to finish the work on time to catch a plane home and asked me to drive twenty-five miles to Boston to pick up the equipment from another firm. Although he was unfamiliar with Boston, his request was clearly prompted by the delay such a trip would cost him if he went himself. In an effort to salvage the sound system, I went, and he made a small contribution to the building fund on behalf of his company.[33] Moral of the story: if the local representative of a Boston firm had installed the system, he would have done so without these pressures, resulting in superior quality, not to mention considerable convenience and service to the local unit of the Church.

A long-range problem in the finished building was the sophisticated new alarm system whose buzzer blew at the slightest provocation. By the time the manufacturer finally determined how to quiet it, the members had become numbed to its possibly disastrous message. The most shocking discovery was that the system, even with its extensive control board, had not been connected to the city's system. If there were a fire or other danger in the electrical or mechanical systems, the city of Hingham would not receive an automatic call. Clearly, the expensive system was virtually worthless.

The architectural coordinator maintained that the Church actually preferred no connection. "If something goes wrong, we just want to get the

people out. That's all that matters." [34] After the sacrifice required to construct the building and with the building empty for several hours each day, this bureaucratic decision seemed out of touch with the people it was serving. The Church would not pay for such a connection. I asked the electrician to investigate the cost of furnishing a fire alarm master box and making the connection to the city. When I discovered that the cost would be $1,786, paid completely by our ward, I lost interest.[35]

The tendency of bureaucratic procedures is to exclude those served by the bureaucracy from decision making.[36] Thus, all procedures become standard and human needs become less important. Because of persistence, we won a few important battles with the bureaucracy, but the cost in economic terms was staggering. Unnecessary delays imposed by bureaucratic procedures helped to balloon the cost of the building, affecting every tithe payer in the Church. Battling the bureaucracy was arduous, time-consuming, and frustrating, yet necessary to protect human needs. Although the people of Hingham, Massachusetts, were willing to sacrifice materially for this building, they were unfairly inconvenienced. When a battle was lost, I felt that quality workmanship often went with it.

It is unlikely that the bureaucracy will be dismantled soon, but some modest measures should be taken. Some of the departments in that twenty-eight-story edifice should be dispersed throughout the world where people could bring personal interest and knowledge to the work of construction. New approaches and new materials conforming to the needs of local areas should be used and the cookie cutter abandoned. A detailed evaluation of the actual advantages and costs of the standard plan is long overdue. Local people should be appointed, local services employed, and local purchases made, increasing the likelihood that a project will be completed within a reasonable time.

The bureaucratic elements of the Church, at least from my experience with its Building Department, suggest a misplaced pride and a mistaken definition of progress. Ironically the bureaucratic emphasis means that the Church has kept itself from enjoying some of the advantages of growth. Those advantages will become apparent only when it reaches out to the hinterlands and leaves parochialism behind. A church that long ago gave up gathering to Zion should be willing to tailor its buildings to the needs of real people scattered throughout the world.

NOTES

1. Tony Kimball, "How to Try Without Really Succeeding," 26 Nov. 1978, typescript, pp. 3–4. Kimball is especially concerned about the adverse affects of a bureaucracy on missionary work, temple work, and home teaching.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

3. "Highlights of the Mormon Church Building Program," information sheet distributed to potential bidders at Pre-Bid Conference by Construction Supervisor. Sheet prepared by the Church Building Division.

4. My personal notes of meeting with the membership of the Hingham Ward, 379 Gardner Street, Hingham, Massachusetts, 15 Jan. 1978.

5. Arza Welch, project development coordinator, Building Division, eleventh floor, Church Office Building, 50 East North Temple St., Salt Lake City, Utah, to Lythgoe, 22 March 1978.

6. Joseph Wright, architectural coordinator, area five, Building Division, to Lythgoe, 13 April 1979.

7. John S. Sloan, acting secretary, committee on expenditures of LDS Church, Financial Department, to Brent W. Lambert, President, Providence, Rhode Island, Stake, 11 Sept. 1979. Copy to bishop.

8. Local Share Payment Request, 31 Dec. 1980, Financial Department, signed by Christine Taylor.

9. Arza Welch to Coletti Brothers Architectural Firm, 10 Industrial Park Road, Hingham, Massachusetts, 7 June 1978.

10. At one point, I became so exasperated that I suggested to the architectural coordinator that the local architect, George Haight be allowed to travel to Salt Lake City when the plans were completed. Hopefully, he and the architectural department could come to a meeting of the minds which would speed up the work. Although the division would agree only to pay the cost of his plane fare, not food or lodging, we arranged for him to go on 6 July 1979. (Haight to Joseph Wright, 7 May 1979; Haight to Wright, 18 June 1979.)
Although the review went surprisingly smoothly, there was a six weeks delay until the bid opening. Only one specified person from Salt Lake, the area construction supervisor, could conduct the bid opening, and he was unable to come until August 29. (Bid Opening, 29 Aug. 1979, Hingham Ward Chapel).

11. Kimball, "How to Try," p. 5.

12. Conference Memorandum, prepared by George Haight, architect, Coletti Brothers, 13 Dec. 1978.

13. Telephone conversation with Joseph Wright, 17 Jan. 1979, also the date of the conversations on the women's shower and flooring proposals.

14. Ibid., 2 Feb. 1979.

15. Personal conversation with Wright in Salt Lake City, 16 March 1979.

16. Lythgoe to Wright, 9 June 1979.

17. Wright to Lythgoe, 6 July 1979.

18. Lythgoe to Wright, 16 July 1979; 9 Aug. 1979.

19. Bid-Opening, Hingham, Massachusetts Chapel, 29 Aug. 1979. Robert L. Eardley, construction supervisor, area five, conducted the meeting.

20. Haight to Eardley, listing the contractors, 25 July 1979; Barry Coletti, Coletti Brothers, announcing the Pre-Bid Conference, to contractors, 1 Aug. 1979.

21. Minutes of Bid Opening, 29 Aug. 1979. Other bids were $612,504 by Delfour, Inc., Hingham, Massachusetts; and $635,000 by James Welch and Company, Salem, Massachusetts.

22. Ibid., Agreement, project #500-2214, form 0278, signed by bishop and construction supervisor.

23. Telephone conversation with Eardley, Nov. 1979.

24. Eardley's instructions, Bid Opening.

25. Sloan, Committee on Expenditures, to Lambert, 11 Sept. 1979.

26. Pre-Construction Conference Memorandum, 26 Oct. 1979, Hingham Chapel; prepared by Haight.

27. Bid Opening.

28. Local Share Payment Request, 11 March 1980, from Financial Department, signed by Doug Rossborough. Another payment request (17 Dec. 1980) included a note that seemed to be in code: "Please make Semi-Haices you have 050-9175. Stk sugs 4837.61 Can we use it?" We requested an interpretation on 4 Jan. 1981 but received no reply.

29. Bid Opening.

30. Claim for loss or damage, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Traffic Department, Salt Lake City, Utah, submitted to Consolidated Freightways, 2325 South 3200 West, Salt Lake City, Utah, 21 May 1980. Total claim: $1,539.16. Furniture itemized plus freight charges listed. Furniture manufactured by Imperial Upholstering Co., 1739 Industrial Rd., Salt Lake City. Signed by J. Wesley McNight, traffic analyst.

31. John Geigle, Traffic Department, to Lythgoe, 5 Aug. 1980.

32. Richard McGurk, traffic manager, Traffic Department, to Lythgoe, 1 Sept. 1980.

33. Sound installer was Russel A. Cahoon, representing General Communications, Inc., 612 East 3900 South, Salt Lake City, Utah. Installation date was July 3, 1980.

34. Joseph Wright as quoted by George Haight, based on his personal meeting with the Architectural Department in Salt Lake City.

35. Edward T. Clark, president, E. T. Clark Electrical Contractors, Whitman, Massachusetts, to Lythgoe, 29 Aug. 1980.

36. Kimball, "How to Try" p. 16.

Garth N. Jones

Spreading the Gospel in Indonesia: Organizational Obstacles and Opportunities

On 26 October 1969, Indonesia was "dedicated for the preaching of the Gospel by Elder Ezra Taft Benson." The Church initiated its standard missionary program. Door-to-door tracting began in Jakarta on 20 January 1970.[1] Plans to send one hundred or more young full-time missionaries to the island of Java were abruptly halted on 11 April 1970, when Indonesian authorities ordered LDS meetings and door-to-door proselyting stopped until the Church was granted official recognition. Nine days later on April 20, the Central Government's Department of Religious Affairs granted the necessary clearance through the good offices of an Indonesian official, Siang Silalahi, who was a Brigham Young University graduate but not a Mormon.[2]

This government action did not remove all of the official obstacles. Only a limited number of church officials and full-time missionaries could receive passport visas. Holding church meetings and proselyting door to door required official clearance from each of the five provincial governments on the island of Java and the numerous local governments. A simultaneous complication was a wholesale government reorganization and reform, primarily spurred by an abortive coup by the Communist Party in 1965. During this transitional period, Indonesian officials were not certain of their authority and many seasoned administrators had either been killed or removed from office.[3]

Nevertheless, branches were soon established across the island of Java: Jakarta on 5 January 1970; Bandung on 23 August 1970; Bogor on 23 November 1970; Jogjakarta on 28 September 1971; Solo on 27 June 1972; Semarang on 16 October 1972; Surabaya on 8 May 1973; Malang on 30 October 1973, and Jebres on 16 April 1978. An English-speaking branch with largely an expatriate membership in Jakarta was given separate status on 1 April 1978.

About a year after the arrival of the first full-time missionaries, some Protestant churches began publishing and distributing anti-Mormon tracts. In several large cities on the island of Java and the important regional cities of Bandung, Semarang, and Surabaya meetings in Protestant churches denounced the LDS church and its missionaries. The Catholic Church in an official 1975

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history attributed part of the mounting hostility between Moslems and Christians to the "missionary activities" of "several fanatical Christian groups as Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons." [4]

In the middle 1970s the Indonesian government began to enforce its policy of replacing foreign missionaries with Indonesian nationals. On 24 October 1979, when six missionaries departed, Mission President Lester C. Hawthorne stated: "They will be the last group of missionaries to serve a full two years in the Indonesian Jakarta Mission." The next day, October 25, six missionaries were transferred back to the United States and five to the Philippines because the government refused to extend their visas. In the past, a number of missionaries had traveled periodically to Singapore to renew short-term visitor visas, a costly operation but the only alternative if the Church desired to continue its standard missionary effort. In early 1980, even this possibility was closing out. David M. Kennedy, Special Representative of the First Presidency, was finding it difficult to secure any modifications in the government's policy that foreign missionaries should be replaced.[5]

On 1 August 1978, the Minister of Religious Affairs issued Ministerial Decree No. 70 which eliminated any possibility for the LDS church to carry on its current missionary program. This decree, applying to all religious organizations to guarantee "the maintenance of national unity, security, and stability," forbids religious proselyting when it:

1. Directs its efforts towards a person or persons who already belong to another religious faith.
2. Utilizes persuasion and/or material incentives (money, clothing, food/beverages, medicines) to attract persons of other religious faiths.
3. Distributes pamphlets, bulletins, magazines, books and other materials in regions [communities] and at the homes where people with other religious faiths live.
4. Involves visiting people who already adhere to other religious faiths in their homes for whatever reasons.

On 15 August 1978, the Department of Religious Affairs issued Ministerial Decree No. 77 regulating "Foreign Aid to Religious Institutions in Indonesia" and including all forms of aid: "people, material, and financial support." It requires the Minister of Religious Affairs to approve and/or recommend the use of such aid and specifically restricts expatriate missionaries who conduct the religious training of Indonesian nationals.

Part of the reason for these two decrees grows from Indonesia's chronic religious instability. *Santri* (radical conservative Muslims) resented the recent successes of both Western and Indonesian Christian proselytizers in the Muslim communities; they believe Christians are "poaching" and have the unfair advantage of international private and government resources for establishing schools, hospitals, and welfare institutions. This resentment has periodically flared into violence. Deaths and property loss accompanied widespread rioting in 1962, 1964, and 1967. An understanding in the early 1970s between the

santri and the predominantly Javanese Officer Corps which controls the government reduced the incidence of riots and violence. Nevertheless, this alliance is uneasy. Muslim groups periodically single out small Chinese business concerns or isolated Christian sects for abuse. The Catholic and large Protestant churches have established their own political bases and are less susceptible to persecution.[6]

Fortunately, the LDS church has escaped attack; however, it is vulnerable. A large percentage of its new converts are the unpopular Chinese; the Church has made little effort to establish relationships with powerful contacts; and it is small.[7]

The institutional obstacles restraining the growth of the Church in Indonesia are comparatively well understood, but not the social obstacles. Approximately 300 missionaries have labored in Indonesia since its opening in 1969, converting about 2000 persons or three per missionary. On its rolls in late 1980 there were at the most 500 active members, an attrition rate of about 75 percent. Mission President Hawthorne told me in a personal interview in June 1980: "People are baptized but they never again appear at the church door. We take a lot of time making sure the people baptized understand the gospel. However, they do not retain their interest. I believe they fear the heavy church responsibilities."

At this juncture the missionary program in Indonesia in its present form has been a costly proposition, with few conversions to repay the investment of time and funds. Although the Church's financial records are confidential, central church funds supply at least 85 percent of the Indonesian Mission's budget. Added to this cost must be individual family and ward financial expenses for the support of full-time missionaries from abroad.

At the same time, the Church cannot easily write off proselyting in Indonesia. It is the fifth largest nation of the world after China, India, Russia, and the United States of America. It has bounteous natural resources, including high quality petroleum reserves. Its present government has managed to maintain political stability while accelerating planned correction of population imbalances. Destitute people are relocated from the densely populated islands of Java, Madura, and Bali to less-populated islands, like Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan. Family planning has been introduced to reduce an excessive rate of increase (now 140 million; 235 million by 2000).

Population pressures have created a population of twelve to seventeen million landless or near-landless peasant farmers many of whom once supported the Communist movement. Accelerated development programs for the "poorest of the poor" have temporarily defused the threats of agrarian and urban revolt.[8]

Thus, Indonesia represents both a hopeful and challenging example of the Third World. The Church's future in cultures and societies significantly different from its own history or organizational design is still not decided. How will it teach the gospel to non-Western people who are abysmally poor but have high expectations? Since World War II, the Christian population has increased at an annual rate double that of its population, now numbering over

ten million persons or eight percent of the population.[9] During the period of the LDS church's operation in Indonesia, at least three million joined a Christian church.[10] The Indonesian Council of Churches, which sponsored a 1977 study by Frank Cooley, partitions the Indonesian Christians into the following parts: Catholics 25 percent, Protestants (Council of Churches) 52 percent; the Protestant churchs and missions (not part of the council) around 10 percent, and noncouncil Pentecostal churches roughly 10 percent.[11]

The growth of the Catholic church has been spectacular. Within 75 years it has increased from a localized membership of 250,000 to a widely dispersed one of 3,000,000. In 1974, the last year for which figures are available, there were 660 parishes in thirty-three dioceses and apostolic prefectures. Sixty-one percent of its ecclesiastical personnel are Indonesians including one cardinal, four of seven archbishops, nine of thirty-one bishops, 507 of 1,557 priests, 268 of 480 brothers, and 2,801 of 3,784 nuns.[12] It has several thousand schools, owns and operates an elaborate complex of hospitals and health clinics, welfare and relief institutions, carries out a variety of economic development projects, and owns and operates a large mass media enterprise including daily newspapers and publishing houses. It seeks to provide for its members a total environment, meeting all of their socio-economic needs in a way reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Mormon Church.

To a lesser extent, other well-organized Protestant churches conduct a similar range of broad social programs, but usually within a more limited region. The Catholic-Protestant success in winning converts has sparked similar Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist efforts including daycare centers and recreation facilities, home visits, job placement, and competitive sports. Christian churches and groups no longer have a monopoly on performing "good works." For these groups, religion encompasses social, economic, and political spheres.

Clearly the LDS Church in Indonesia must reevaluate its organizational position and practices. The Indonesian government is not likely to reverse its policy of Indonesianizing foreign-based churches. Religious tensions will increase as competition for members and domains of influence increase between Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and *Kebatinan* mysticism, a belief system rooted primarily in Javanese society.[13]

According to Islamic law, Muslims cannot change their religion; strict interpretations of the law invoke the death penalty, and have within the last decade been carried out in Indonesia. Prior to Indonesia's independence in 1949, Islam was a strong political force and, since independence, has been the single most complicating factor in its political life, even overshadowing Communism.[14]

Equally interesting and complicating is the phenomenal and sustained growth of Hinduism and Buddhism since 1967. Both of these religions experienced the beginnings of revivals during the 1950s and 1960s, not unlike "pockets" of Christian communities. Like Javanese mystic groups, they regard themselves as "the living embodiment of the religion and culture of the glorious days of the Majapahit," [15] a Javanese-Hindu kingdom which reached its pinnacle in the fifteenth century and which provides much of the emotional power

behind Indonesian nationalism. Clashes between newly converted Balinese Christians and their Hindu kin have marred the new transmigration resettlements, particularly on the island of Salawesi.

Politically, mystical groups have also grown, numbering many current military and administrative leaders among their adherents and incorporated as a religious category in the 1980 census.

Because of its association with the Chinese community, Confucianism in Indonesia will continue to experience difficulties. Nevertheless, this group, now numbering some 3.5 million, is growing in influence and acquiring status.

The upsurge in Christian growth is partly traceable to the political upheavals that followed the aborted Communist coup of September-October 1965. Muslim youth groups, with the backing of the army, moved to eradicate the rebelling Communists, killing a quarter to half million supposed Communist sympathizers of the *abangan* alone (an Indonesian term for the common people, largely living on Java who embrace a Hindu-Javanese set of beliefs). Some Muslim groups were openly working for the establishment of an Islamic republic; Indonesians were forced to identify themselves with one of the legally reorganized religions, still the case under the Suharto government. However, in protest against the killings and pressure to conform to Islam, many *abangan* opted to join Protestant and Catholic churches, especially those living on Java, much to the dismay of the Islamic community.

More, however, is involved than an influx of "protest" Christians, even though this phenomental growth brings its own problems to Christian churches. Baptist scholar Dr. Avery T. Willis, Jr., an evangelical missionary and social scientist, who participated in the large-scale investigation undertaken from 1968 to 1976 by the Indonesian Council of Churches on the place of the Christian churches in Indonesia's future notes the importance of the philosophical underpinnings of the Indonesian state embodied in *pancasila*, or the five basic principles as emphasized by the post-Sukarno government. In brief, *Pancasila* emcompasses: (1) *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (the absolute unity of God, implying a belief in a supreme being of God); (2) *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil Dan Beradab* (humanitarianism based on justice and civility); (3) *Persatuan Indonesia* (national unity of Indonesia, the essentiality of nationalism); (4) *Kerakyatan* (rule by the people or democracy), and (5) *Keadilan Social* (social justice). All major religious organizations in Indonesia have prepared detailed statements/studies on how their basic principles and guidelines for social action fit within the context of *pancasila*. The Indonesian Council of Churches has made a particular effort in this regard. Willis's analysis concludes:

> (1) The guarantees of religious freedom inherent in the state ideology, *pancasila*, allowed Christianity to become a viable alternative in the Indonesian situation. The New Order's clarification of *pancasila*, thus continuing to guarantee religious freedom, opened the door even wider for Indonesians to become Christians.
>
> (2) The decree of the government that all Indonesians must embrace a religion was the primary political factor in church growth. . . .
>
> (3) The massacre of approximately 500,000 persons caused others to look for both a physical and a spiritual protector.

(4) The government did not allow Moslems to prohibit Christian missionary activity.

(5) The identification of Christians with the government enhanced their image and gave them influence. During the fight for independence, Christians had vindicated themselves on the battlefield. During the struggle of the mid-1960s, Christian students in the streets and Christian intellectuals in pivotal positions helped defeat the Old Order and establish the New Order.

(6) Nationalists, including leaders of the New Order, sought allies in the political struggle, and so looked with favor on members of their groups becoming Christian.

(7) The churches grew rapidly during times of political instability, 1945–53 and 1965–69. The conflict of ideologies and power groups produced pressures on people which aided or slowed growth. When pressures were extreme, many waited until a more advantageous time to make their decisions.

(8) The rate of growth in the churches, which had been rather stable up to 1965, fluctuated drastically after that, in direct proportion to political factors operative during the period in each particular locale.

(9) Political instability of the period caused people to look for something stable upon which to rebuild their lives.

(10) The government's emphasis on the five-year development plan and the utilization of Indonesia's resources focused public attention on modernization. The progress of Western nations was favorably contrasted with that of Islamic nations. Christianity was viewed as an ally in modernization and progress.[16]

Social conditions are favorable to LDS Church growth in Indonesia and the gospel does not conflict with *pancasila*. Many Indonesians are not content with the present state of affairs. They are seeking new meaning and purpose in life and, because of their religious groundings, will expect to find in it religion. The restored gospel will be favorably received, especially when the gospel is presented within the socio-economic context of Mormonism's past. For example, Muhammad Hatta, co-founder with Sukarno for Indonesian Proclamation of Independence and the nation's first vice president, requested from me a copy of Leonard J. Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*. He was particularly knowledgeable about Mormon cooperative propensities and felt that this kind of socio-economic behavior was badly needed in Indonesia's development efforts.

Any group which is judged as threatening the officially recognized religions or the stability of society can be prohibited and dissolved at the recommendation of the Minister of Religious Affairs, the Public Prosecutor, or the Minister of Home Affairs. The activities of Indonesian religious bodies are governmentally supervised and regulated. However, the Church has made no effort to show its relationship to *pancasila*. It has traditionally refused to become identified with other Christian churches either Catholic or Protestant. As a consequence many Protestant bodies do not regard the Mormon Church as a Christian church at all. The Church may no longer have the option of remaining aloof from classification but must decide to identify itself as Catholic, Protestant, or mystic. This last option may not be open; but if it were, it would be a bureaucratically confusing and possibly useful approach.

President Spencer W. Kimball has spelled out the context for worldwide missionary work including Indonesia: "The 'grand and glorious objective' of

the church is to assist 'to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man.' " The Church will accomplish this objective by:

* proclaiming the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people;
* perfecting the saints by preparing them to receive the ordinances of the gospel and by instruction and discipline to gain exaltation.
* redeeming the dead by performing vicarious ordinances of the gospel for those who have lived on the earth.[17]

Socially and culturally, Indonesia's diversified peoples should be receptive to this promise. However, more than faith in God's guiding hand is required to achieve it. Sizeable numbers of missionary entrepreneurs are needed who have the facility to translate the gospel message across complex cultural barriers. Indonesia's geography, geology, and history have produced several societies which developed largely in isolation for hundreds, even thousands, of years. The island nation's two or three hundred distinctive ethnic groups have their own language, social structure, customary law and folkways (*adat*), belief system, political system, and sense of identity. Since the beginning of this century and more rapidly since independence, growing nationalism has united these groups. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (diversity becoming unity) is a national motto, but is still far from being a reality. Modern Indonesia is characterized by an extraordinary emphasis on education, self-discipline, sacrifice for social progress, and respect for the living and the dead. Many Indonesians keep genealogical records and family histories. Unlike Western societies, Indonesia is almost completely untouched by secularism.

One scholar has called the Mormon community "a neo-Judaic people so separate and distinct that new converts must undergo a process of assimilation roughly comparable to that which has taken place when immigrants adopt a new and dissimilar nationality." [18] Such a process is probably not as necessary in the deeply religious culture of Indonesia. One Indonesian intellectual has designated Mormons as the "Ahmadiyah of Christianity," a persecuted Islam movement established in the Punjab, British India, in the nineteenth century.[19] Increasing secularization in the United States may handicap the propagation of the gospel; but Indonesia's diverse communities, most with patriarchal organizations that are still strong, face problems of a different nature.

What may be required to make the gospel a meaningful part of Indonesian life? The first requirement is the need to develop managed organizational imperviousness, meaning that an organization can "protect, in their existing forms, [its] values, [its] possessions, [its] beliefs, [its] people. . . . [It] is not easily shaken from its routines. It is not distracted from its objectives. . . . It does not push panic buttons." [20]

Historically, Mormonism had such "selective imperviousness." The remarkable Mormon colonization of the Rocky Mountain West is readily recognized but the specific information about the organizational skill and practices involved has been largely forgotten.

These organizational principles and practices were not unique. They can be found in the building of the Roman and British empires, the spreading of Catholic monastic orders and missionary efforts, the conducting of multinational corporate activities, the infiltration of Communism into political regimes, and the explosion of charismatic religions in Third World societies.

Each example includes achieving selective organizational imperviousness by establishing a network of self-duplicating centers, characterized by considerable self-governance, centrally established doctrine, and a centrally established method for its diffusion. Each center functions as a focus of control and diffusion while it is strongly linked to headquarters.[21]

Basic policies and goals are selected systematically through consultation. Implementation is carefully monitored, with the primary purpose of binding the network of outposts into a corporate whole. The headquarters serves primarily to train, manage, support, deploy resources, and monitor. The central message specifies both the religious content and the method for its diffusion including face to face witness by individuals and groups supplemented by the mass media. Selecting and training leaders at regional and field levels gets priority.

As part of the organizational dynamics, accommodation to (not compromise with) the host culture(s) is planned for. Adherents demonstrate a readiness to be "different people" and pay the consequences. The organization selects special growth and development activities for specific target groups at the "right time." The system includes ways of integrating new members, an internal social support, a clearly designated spiritual home (Rome, Mecca, Salt Lake City), and a positive and orderly program for winning adherents.[22]

Building selective organizational imperviousness into Church operations in Indonesia will require the Church to respond to the requirements imposed by the Indonesian environment. The Catholic church in Indonesia has been remarkably successful. Catholic women, youth, students, teachers, priests, nuns, and brothers have their own national organizations, each one designing and packaging its message to appeal to its particular audience and fit local practices while remaining culturally and organizationally Catholic. Equally impressive are recent organizational activities of the Protestant charismatic religions, particularly those from Baptist backgrounds, which have adopted organizational practices reminiscent of the earlier LDS Church.

Possibly the time has come to professionalize at least the mission-president level to get leadership supplemented by a thorough knowledge of Indonesian language(s), cultures, and histories. A Catholic priest who devotes his life to one region in Indonesia has a distinct advantage over a transitory Mormon missionary. He knows his social situation and how to capitalize on advantages of social and political change.

Indonesia also requires missionaries capable of filling several different roles — proselyter, human developer, social changer, skill transferrer. Such persons are hard to find, and even harder to develop in the contemporary church where American organizations demand intense specialization. The missionary model of the nineteenth-century Church combines the zeal and enthusiasm of youth in apprentice relations with the ability and wisdom of

age.[23] The activities of the Ezra Taft Benson Agriculture and Food Institute at Brigham Young University are a good portent of such increased Church involvement. However, it could be some time before such a program would translate into action in Indonesia.

Another useful lesson to learn from successful churches in Indonesia is their high-quality action research. Progressive Islamic groups have followed suit. The Indonesian Council of Churches not only conducts action research in Indonesia but at theological centers in the United States and Europe. The Church could profit from studying the results of completed research as well as developing its own research capacity. A center on contemporary Indonesian studies at Brigham Young University where Indonesian, American, and other scholars could work together would, if properly managed, produce a reservoir of good will within one decade to facilitate missionary efforts. Strategic planning, a recent corporate practice, has quickly been adopted by larger Christian churches to strengthen their missionary efforts. The 1968–76 Indonesian Council of Churches study provides a basis for such planning, and several of the more progressive denominations have profitably used these research findings to determine where the greatest gains may be made with the least effort. For example, the gospel has something important to offer the poor, the disadvantaged, and the illiterate but, in its present "delivery package," excludes these groups and appeals to already Christian educated elites. To participate in the Church's branches and programs demands a high level of learning, social skills, and financial resources. The expense even of attending church meetings is prohibitive for many Indonesians. Strategic planning could suggest ways to solve these and related problems. Increasingly, the missionary effort must be made by Indonesians who usually cannot bear the cost themselves. As the nation progresses economically, the Church will also become more self-sufficient; but for many years, the Church in Indonesia will require large subsidies from the central treasury. However, Indonesia will, for the foreseeable future, have a large population of expatriate Americans, an unusual source of talent that the Church should find ways to tap more effectively.

The Indonesian government, aware of its bureaucratic inadequacy to eliminate mass poverty has invited organized religions to sponsor humanitarian programs. Several Christian churches, by initiating such projects as farmers' cooperatives and low-lift primary irrigation systems, have created a fund of good will which has permitted them to expand their missionary efforts. The Mennonites, with few missionaries and limited resources, were singled out for their charity work. In the slums of Calcutta, Mother Teresa has received world acclaim. Others are making similar efforts in Indonesia. Quaker groups still exercise significant influence in meeting human needs in Vietnam and also in Indonesia.

If service to our brothers and sisters is really service to our God, Indonesia offers an arena for a genuine contribution. In addition, the Church could also profitably reexamine its refusal to cooperate with other social and religious associations and groups. In Indonesia, that means the prestigious and influential Indonesian Council of Churches.

The Church is socially and politically vulnerable despite sizeable investments of time and money. If it wishes to continue to grow in Indonesia, fresh missionary approaches and different organizational forms will be required. Success or failure here will have profound implications for further missionary activities elsewhere in Asia and other Third World countries. Furthermore, the Church has too much to offer Indonesians, spiritually and temporally. This young nation will continue to experience accelerated pressures for social change. The Church's historical legacy of emotion-laden rewards like belonging, security, awe, ecstacy, and zeal offer much to seekers.

Several million Indonesians wait to hear and accept the gospel, but the Church in Indonesia has a future only if it successfully changes the present organizational obstacles into organizational opportunities.

NOTES

1. Typescript of historical records in the Indonesian Missionary Center, Jakarta. See R. Lanier Britsch, "Mormon Missions: An Introduction to the Latter-day Saints Missionary System," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (Jan. 1977): 22–27.

2. See my "Spreading the Gospel in Indonesia: A Jonah and a Contagion," photocopy of typescript, pp. 10–11; notes prepared in Indonesia May to December 1980 and edited in Alaska in January 1981 (offset). Copies in Brigham Young University Special/Mormon collection and the Church's Historical Office, Salt Lake City.

3. The attempted take-over of the government occurred in September–October 1965. Six generals were murdered as well as the five-year-old daughter of a general's aide and the aide. In the recriminatory bloodbath that followed, approximately 500,000 died. See Arnold C. Brackman, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* (Singapore: Asia Pacific Press, 1970); John Hughes, *Indonesian Upheaval* (New York: David McKay Co., 1967), and Justus Marie Van der Kroef, *Indonesia Since Sukarno* (Singapore: Asia Pacific Press, 1971).

4. *The Catholic Church in Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Documentation/Information Department, Kantoro Waligereja Indonesia, Taman Cut, Mutiah 10, 1975), p. 92.

5. See "President Asks Catholic and Protestant Leaders foreign missionaries should be replaced," *Indonesian Times*, 10 Sept. 1979, p. 1. President Suharto stated: "Like in the business field expatriates in religious field should eventually be replaced by Indonesian nationals." In the Indonesian mission files is a letter from Vice President Adam Malik to David M. Kennedy, Special Representative, dated 27 Oct. 1979: "We have noted the number of missionaries . . . serving in Indonesia has been reduced from ninety to fifty-three. . . . We appreciate the fact that it is your intention to make . . . further reduction . . . the next year or two to about forty." A statement by the Minister of Religious Affairs, Haj Alamoyah Ratuperwiranegara, in "Indonesianisation of Foreign Missionaries Has to Go-on Minister," *Indonesian Times*, 18 Oct. 1980, p. 3: "The Indonesian Government now requires that churches which still employ expatriates draw up concrete plans related to their replacement."

6. See Nena Vreeland et al., *Area Handbook for Indonesia* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 208–11; James L. Peacock, *Indonesia: An Anthropological Perspective* (Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973), and Brian May, *The Indonesian Tragedy* (Singapore: Graham Brash Ltd., 1978).

The Catholic church under the Sukarno regime was particularly well treated. During the struggle for independence, a summary execution of Sukarno was reportedly planned soon after the Dutch captured Jogjakarta, the temporary capitol city, in December 1948. Only after strong representations by Monseigneur Sugiopranoto, the Roman Catholic bishop of Semarang, to Dutch authorities Sukarno's life was spared. "This is said to have been one of the major reasons for the close friendship between the Bishop and Sukarno and the favored view he always held [of] Indonesian Catholics." See C. S. M. Penders, *The Life and Times of Sukarno* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 132.

7. The observations of Siauw Giap, a scholar of multi-racial societies in southeast Asia, are particularly relevant in which he notes that few Chinese become Muslim, but more seriously, a breakdown in social structures fosters racial and religious quarrels. See J. A. C. Machie, "Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Indonesia 1959–1968" in his *The Chinese in Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), especially p. 81; see my "Spreading the Gospel in Indonesia," especially the appendix. For a summary account of the November / December 1980 Chinese riots, see "Indonesia in 1980: Regime Fatiqua," *Asian Survey* 21 (Feb. 1981): 242–43. The implications of such events for the LDS missionary work in Third World societies are discussed in my "Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 8 (Spring 1980): 8–22.

8. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973).

9. See Frank Cooley, "Focus on Indonesia," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 1 (Oct. 1977): 1, which summarizes a study undertaken from 1968 to 1976, when the post-Sukarno policies became evident to the Christian community. Some of those circumstances seemed threatening (resurgent, reactive Islam and Hinduism) and others challenging (the massive penetration of outside economics, political, cultural and social forces). The results of the 1980 Indonesian census are not available. The 1971 census shows a Christian population approaching ten million or 7.4 percent of the total population. The census breakdown follows: Islam 103,579,496 or 87.5 percent; Catholicism 2,692,215 or 2.3 percent; non-Catholic Christianity 6,049,491 or 5.1 percent; Hinduism 2,296,299 or 1.9 percent; Buddhism 1,092,314 or 0.9 percent; Confucianism 972,133 or 0.8 percent, and others 1,685,902 or 1.4 percent. Total population 118,367,850 or 99.9 percent. The 1980 census includes a new category for mystic religious groups which will decrease the percentage of Muslim and increase the percentage of Christian adherents.

10. See Avery T. Wells, Jr., *Indonesian Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ* (South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1977) and George W. Peters, *Indonesian Revival: Focus on Timor* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1973).

11. These percentages are approximate, totalling 97 percent; see Cooley, "Focus on Indonesia," p. 6. The study does not mention the LDS Church in Indonesia.

12. *The Catholic Church in Indonesia,* pp. 45–51.

13. See Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960).

14. See Karl D. Jackson, *Traditional Authority, Islam, Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Sidney R. Jones, "It Can't Happen Here: A Poet-Khomeini Look at Indonesian Islam," *Asian Survey,* 20 (March 1980): 311–23; and Shahrough Akhava, *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran: Clergy-State Relations in the Pahlavi Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980). Many Indonesians are frightened that this kind of behavior will encompass their country.

15. Niels Mulder, *Mysticism and Everyday Life in Contemporary Indonesia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1978), p. 7.

16. Willis, *Indonesian Revival,* p. 114–15.

17. See "Manage Resources Efficiently, Church Officers Counseled," *Ensign* 11 (May 1981): 96.

18. Jan Shipps, "The Mormons: Looking Forward and Outward," *Christian Century* 95 (Aug. 16–23, 1978): 764.

19. See "Mormon Ahmadiyah Kristen," *Tempo* 9 (27 Oct. 1979): 20, sometimes spelled Ahmadiyya or Ahmadiyah, established by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835–1908). Ahmad longed for a regeneration of Islam and spent years studying his own and other religions. He claimed to receive revelation giving him the right of homage. Jesus foretold the coming of a messenger called Ahmad and he considered himself a prophet, contradicting Islam doctrine. He upheld polygamy, banned tobacco, and fostered cooperative ventures. His members are generally prosperous. In 1953 disturbances in the Punjab focused on this "infidel" Muslim sect.

20. Harold J. Leavitt, William R. Dill, and Henry B. Eyring, *The Organizational World* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1973), p. 306.

21. Donald A. Schon, *Beyond the Stable State* (New York: W. E. Norton & Co., 1971), esp. ch. 4, "Diffusion of Innovation."

22. Specifically relating to religious activities, see David J. Hellelgrave, "Conclusions: What Causes Religious Movements to Grow?" in his *Dynamic Religious Movements, Case Studies of Rapidly Growing Religious Movements Around the World* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1978), pp. 297–326. Included in his study was the LDS Church.

23. See also, for example, Irish Catholic priest Charles Burrows, who unobtrusively walked into an abysmally poor fishing village, Calicap, on the south coast of Java, dressed like a castaway. He taught the villagers to farm, build roads, bridges, and schools, and developed art programs. Peter O'Sullivan, "Charlie Burrows into Their Hearts," *Asian Magazine* 26 (Taiwan), 1 March 1981, p. 12.

Emma Lou Thayne

Hold

Gray day with a brown leaf refusing
at the end of a wind to drop,
why is the crabbed clinging
so intricate a part of the dance?
Even cackling on the stiff stem
the flutter hints to the hint of snow:
There will be no acquiescing.
Only the sudden letting go.

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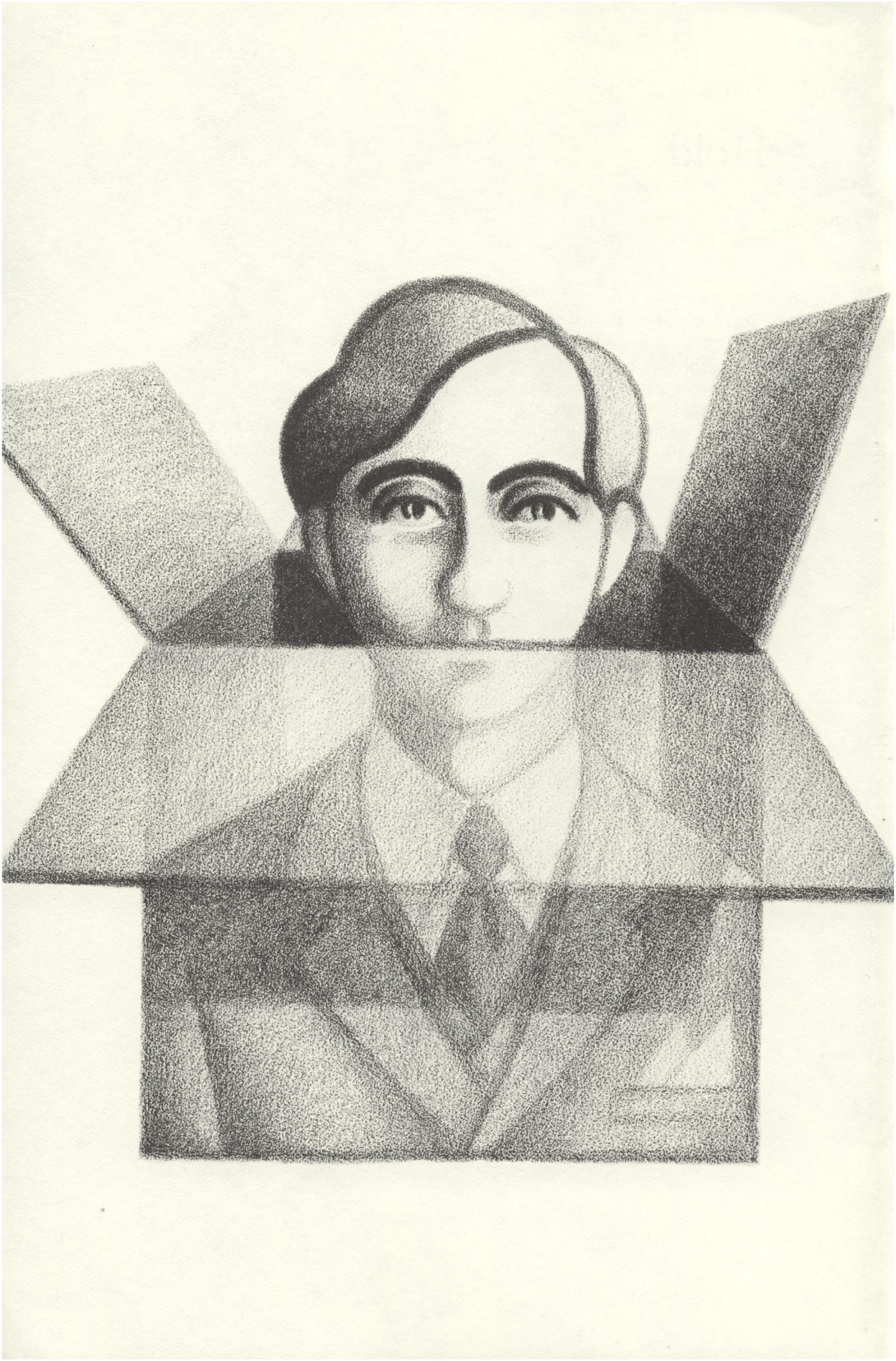

Richard J. Cummings

Quintessential Mormonism: Literal-Mindedness as a Way of Life

No single feature of Mormonism strikes many perceptive non-Mormon observers with greater force than Mormon literal-mindedness. For instance, in his monumental and largely sympathetic monograph *The Mormons* published in 1957, Thomas F. O'Dea wrote that "literalism became and largely remained characteristic of the Mormon approach to modern revelation." He also added that Mormonism is "a very literalistic kind of religion, on the whole, basing its claims to divinity and veracity upon the status of its revelations and their literal meaning." [1] Another outside commentator, Ernst W. Benz, professor emeritus of church history at the University of Marburg, observed in 1978 that "in no other Christian doctrine is the idea of man as the image of God so concretely and literally interpreted . . . as in Mormonism." [2]

Similarly, serious Mormon scholars whose secular studies enable them to see the Mormon belief system in a broader historical and ideological perspective become acutely aware of the peculiarly literalistic bent of Mormonism. Sterling M. McMurrin points out that "the intellectual foundations of Mormonism are compatible with its biblical literalism," Richard D. Poll describes the mainstream Mormon as an "Iron Rod member" who finds all the answers in the standard works because "he accepts them as God's word in a . . . literal sense," and Richard Sherlock discusses at length the considerable influence of Joseph Fielding Smith's "defense of an extreme literalism" on the Church's official doctrinal interpretations.[3]

In point of fact, no one from within the Mormon community or without can presume to fathom the peculiar world view of Mormonism without taking into account the literalism of its premises, and I shall attempt to demonstrate in specific ways how and why this is so.

Let me begin with some useful definitions. I use "literalism" and "literal-mindedness" as basically synonymous descriptions of a distinct mind-set which presumes facticity in scriptural accounts, interprets scripture at face value, and by extension, tends to favor one-to-one equivalence over ambiguous multivalence, a reductive simplicity over abstract complexity, the concrete over the

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speculative, the categorical over the tentative, and finally, the palpably material over the vaguely spiritual.

Moreover, I would like to distinguish four different kinds of literalism. First, there is doctrinal or ideological literalism, or a belief system based on a literalistic interpretation of divine revelations in ancient and modern scripture as well as recent doctrinal pronouncements by Church leaders. Its counterpart, ecclesiastical literalism, is the tendency to perceive rules of conduct and procedural directives as absolutely binding and letter-perfect in their official formulation with minimal latitude for individual interpretation. Another pair is creative literalism—an open, implemental literalism which affords new insights and challenges old ways of thinking — and defensive literalism which is, by definition, more closed and fearful of untried points of view; it cultivates literalism for its own sake.

The supreme instance of Mormon literalism which is at once the cornerstone of Mormon belief, the *sine qua non* of an orthodox testimony and the prototype if not the fountainhead of the many literal beliefs which were to follow was Joseph Smith's first vision. This experience is accepted literally by most Mormons as "the greatest event that has ever occurred in the world since the resurrection of the Son of God." [4] By his own account, as a puzzled fourteen-year-old, Joseph Smith took literally the words of James 1:5: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Again, by his own account he concluded that he must "either remain in darkness and confusion" or "do as James directs, that is, ask of God," and the response to his prayer turned out to be one of the most powerful manifestations of deity to be found anywhere. As he relates it, not only did God the Father appear to him but also Jesus Christ, both apparently in glorified physical form as distinct "Personages" (Joseph Smith — History 1:13–26).

The full doctrinal significance of this epiphany was not enunciated by Joseph Smith until the end of his career, notably in the King Follett discourse delivered in April 1844, in which he declared that God is literally an "exalted man" and that men are the literal offspring of God. Surely in the entire Judeo-Christian tradition there has been no more literal interpretation than that of the basic doctrine set forth in Genesis 2:27 that "God created man in his own image."

This initial encounter between Joseph Smith and two very concrete and discrete members of the Godhead set the stage for a series of remarkable events, each as literalistic as the first, which heralded or implemented the founding of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which Joseph Smith declared to be an actual restoration and an exact replica of the original church established by Christ during his earthly ministry. There were other significant and literal events as related by Joseph Smith: the appearance of the angel Moroni who revealed the whereabouts of engraved gold plates and the Urim and Thummim with which Joseph Smith translated them; the appearance of the resurrected John the Baptist who personally conferred the Aaronic Priesthood upon Joseph Smith and his amanuensis, Oliver Cowdery; the appearance of

the resurrected apostles Peter, James, and John who conferred upon Joseph Smith the keys of the Melchizedek Priesthood by a physical laying on of hands; finally, a steady flow of revelations which Joseph Smith received directly from on high and which were presented to the membership and received by them as the literal word of God, all the more so because the vast majority were prefaced by "thus saith the Lord" and were expressed in the deific first-person singular. This unprecedented sequence of events left in its wake a series of starkly literalistic doctrines, some positively electrifying, others mind-boggling in the way in which they seem to defy traditional theological good taste, still others merely quaint, and all logical concomitants of Joseph Smith's first vision.

Probably the most exciting of these literal theological outgrowths of Joseph Smith's seminal encounter with the divine was the doctrine of eternal progression which draws the logical conclusion that since God is an exalted man and the spirits of men were sired by God, then men and women have the potential of evolving literally into gods themselves. It also follows that salvation consists not in seeking the traditional stasis of the beatific vision but rather in achieving a dynamic transformation into divine kings and queens —literally reaching the exalted status of world-peopling gods and goddesses who will function in their celestial kingdoms just as do the divine beings who rule over the world of our experience. Carrying the implications of this doctrine of exaltation one step further along the patriarchal lines which Joseph Smith encountered in the Old Testament led to the doctrine of plural marriage, since procreation on such a cosmic scale could not be limited to a single deified couple but necessitates an array of heavenly wives for each fully evolved god. A noteworthy by-product of this line of theologizing is the belief that Jesus Christ was not begotten by the Holy Ghost as maintained by traditional Christianity, but, as Elder Bruce R. McConkie puts it, "was begotten by an Immortal Father in the same way that mortal men are begotten by mortal fathers," [5] or in other words, by the literal physical union of God and Mary.

Although I know of no more striking example of Mormon literalism than the anthropocentric sexual implications of the doctrine of eternal progression, I would like to mention two other representative instances of doctrinal literalism before turning to institutional literalism. First, let us examine briefly the tenth Article of Faith. It begins, "We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes." Although the other articles imply literal belief, this is the only one of the thirteen which explicitly includes the term *literal.* It is significant, not only because it suggests that Joseph Smith was himself aware of the extreme literalism of much of what he said, but also because it calls specific attention to the very literal importance which he attached to lineage and more specifically to patriarchal bloodlines. This in turn leads to the fascinating topic of blood literalism, only two aspects of which will be touched upon here: literal adoption into the house of Israel through the process of conversion and literalistic aspects of the doctrine of blood atonement.

Joseph Smith taught that anyone converting to Mormonism, though of completely gentile lineage, was not only adopted into the house of Israel but

also underwent a remarkable change, the effect of which was "to purge out the old blood, and make the convert actually of the seed of Abraham." [6] In other words, not only does the convert experience a spiritual transformation, but he or she also undergoes a miraculous physical change whereby his or her blood is literally transmuted from gentile blood to the blood of Israel.

The doctrine of blood atonement has had a checkered career which by itself could provide a rewarding study of the vagaries of Mormon literalism. Unfortunately, the doctrine appears to be the result of an overly literal interpretation and elaboration of certain scriptures such as Hebrews 9:22 which states that "almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission." Accordingly, the doctrine asserts that those who commit certain grievous sins such as murder and covenant-breaking place themselves beyond the atoning blood of Christ, and their only hope for salvation is to have their own blood shed as an atoning sacrifice. In his writings, Joseph Smith only hinted at the doctrine, Brigham Young successively denied and asserted it, Joseph F. Smith ardently defended it, and in more recent years, Hugh B. Brown repudiated it and Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie both have vigorously defended it in principle while staunchly denying that the Church has ever put it into actual practice, whereas most other General Authorities have prudently preferred to remain silent on the subject.[7] It should be noted that the whole notion of blood atonement is so obviously linked to the Mormon literal mind-set that it does not seem to admit of a mitigated, symbolic interpretation and is either accepted or rejected outright, depending on one's level of literalistic belief.

The main point of these allusions to the role of blood in Mormon doctrine is the total absence of any *figurative* level of meaning: blood literally changes in the veins of the truly faithful, and the blood of the despicably unfaithful must literally be shed on their own behalf.

Such instances of literal-mindedness are far from unique. Though limited in number, this range of examples does, I hope, amply demonstrate the quintessential role of literalism in Mormon thought and belief. I am convinced that the strongly literal imprint which Joseph Smith left on Mormonism was basically positive, all the more so because the facility with which it enabled him to resolve timeworn theological controversies provided welcome relief from the tired efforts of generations of contending churchmen to rationalize doctrinal inconsistencies with elaborate arguments and figures of speech. Regrettably, in religious circles there has always been a tendency to "out-pope the pope," and in the framework of Mormonism no more striking example of this can be found than the way in which so many of Joseph Smith's followers have sought to outdo the Prophet himself in the pursuit of literalism, a trend which has led to many doctrinal distortions and ecclesiastical abuses.

One of the most poignant examples of ecclesiastical literalism occurred in 1857, and because it led to one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the Church and can also be regarded as a further example of blood literalism and as a paradigmatic instance of institutional literalism, I would like to relate it in some detail. It concerns William H. Dame, a thirty-five-year-old, kindly, mild-

mannered Latter-day Saint living in southern Utah who had been appointed colonel of the Iron County militia by Brigham Young. In 1854 he had received his patriarchal blessing from Elisha Groves of Parowan, the concluding paragraph of which read as follows: "Thou shalt be called to act at the head of a portion of thy brethren and of the Lamanites in the redemption of Zion and the avenging of the blood of the prophets. . . . The Angel of Vengeance shall be with thee, shall nerve and strengthen thee. Like unto Moroni, no power shall be able to stand before thee until thou hast accomplished thy work." [8] Colonel Dame found himself in an awkward position in late August 1857 because of the strong antagonism which the Mormon community felt at the outset of the Utah war toward a group of emigrants camped thirty-five miles southwest of Cedar City on the California Trail. The party was made up of several families from Arkansas and a band of horsemen known as the "Missouri Wildcats," some of whom had boasted openly of having participated in the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage thirteen years earlier. Dame was caught in a crossfire of demands from local Indians to join in a raid on the emigrants, from local Mormon settlers who demanded revenge, and from still others who strove to keep matters from getting out of hand. Worst of all, there was not time enough to obtain guidance from secular and ecclesiastical headquarters in Salt Lake City. So, under pressure from the local ecclesiastical authority, stake president Isaac Haight, who demanded official orders, and eager to prevent any further friction between the Indians and the Mormons, Colonel Dame clearly fell back on a literal interpretation of his patriarchal blessing, especially with respect to the "avenging of the blood of the Prophets" and the assurance that the "Angel of Vengeance shall . . . nerve and strengthen thee" in issuing the order to John D. Lee which, through a chain of literal-minded obedience to literally conceived orders, led directly to the Mountain Meadows Massacre in which some 120 emigrants, including men, women, and older children, were brutally murdered by a combined force of Indians and Mormon militiamen. William Dame had ample opportunity to reap the whirlwind of his literalism. According to John D. Lee, Dame rode to the site of the massacre and contemplated with horror the contorted bodies of the dead. He then said to Isaac Haight, "I did not think there were so many of them, or I would not have had anything to do with it." Haight replied, "That makes no difference . . . , you ordered me to do it, and you have got to stand by your orders." [9]

I have deliberately chosen a rather lurid example of institutional literalism. Representative of the genre, it embodies literalism of intent and a very literal interpretation and implementation. Even more strikingly, it exemplifies the kind of extremism which so often characterizes literal-mindedness and constitutes, in my opinion, the most serious danger implicit in excessive literalism. I am concerned about this phenomenon not merely as a historical fact but as a contemporary reality. The marked swing toward political and ideological conservativism which has characterized the Church since the early seventies has created a climate which is almost as favorable to institutional literalism as was the garrison mentality of the Church during much of the latter half of the

nineteenth century when political opposition and national unpopularity justified such a mentality. Recent pronouncements by Church leaders such as Elaine Cannon's statement in 1978 that "when the prophet speaks . . . , the debate is over," and President Ezra Taft Benson's declaration in 1979 that the living prophet's utterances take precedence over those of his deceased predecessors and should be regarded by the membership as literal marching orders would indicate that institutional literalism is indeed alive and well in the Church today.[10] In this connection, it is significant that as recently as 1980, a perspicacious non-Mormon scholar, Edwin S. Gaustad, professor of religious studies at the University of California at Riverside, warned of the devastating effects on Mormon historiography if "obscurantism and mindless literalism assume control." [11]

I have already indicated that Joseph Smith realized how literal his teachings were. He also seemed to foresee the dangers inherent in the potential abuses of institutional literalism, for he made periodic statements warning against such abuses, notably when in 1834 he defended the notion that "all men have the privilege of thinking for themselves," and again in 1839 when he warned that all men are disposed "as soon as they get a little authority" to "begin to exercise unrighteous dominion." [12] Probably the greatest single benefit derived from the exercise of institutional literalism is efficiency, and even the Church's most vitriolic detractors grudgingly admit that the Church is a paragon of administrative virtue. But even in one's zeal to follow orders as literally as possible, some attention should be paid to the broader context into which literal-minded obedience fits, for nothing could have been more efficient — or more horrifying — than the Mountain Meadows Massacre in which, as Juanita Brooks relates, "everything went according to the plan, and all accounts agree that it was quickly over." [13]

Occasionally intellectuals, men of some learning like Orson Pratt, were converted to Mormonism or else, like B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and John A. Widtsoe, they developed in a Mormon setting. Such individuals seem to have caught a vision of the implications of Mormon belief beyond the limited literalism of the rank and file. These learned latitudinarians, who could see the scientific and philosophical implications of Mormon doctrine, provided a healthy counterbalance to those who, even at the highest levels of leadership, were more comfortable limiting their religious beliefs and activities to narrower, more literally oriented, and more immediately productive channels. Since the passing of John A. Widtsoe in 1952 and even more emphatically, since the demise of Hugh B. Brown in 1978, Mormon officialdom has come full circle from the naive, open literalism of the fourteen-year-old Joseph Smith to the Church's present-day homogenous and homogenizing official literal-mindedness which fosters blind obedience by discouraging independent thought and all forms of criticism, however honest or constructive.

It is significant that until his death in 1952, Elder Widtsoe, who, before being called to the Council of the Twelve had been a university president and a renowned scholar in his own right, occupied the position of *de facto* theologian for the Church because of his widely acclaimed series of articles, "Evi-

dences and Reconciliations," in which he provided balanced, carefully reasoned answers to probing queries about the gospel. It is equally significant that, whether by default or design, his successor was Joseph Fielding Smith who renamed the series "Answers to Gospel Questions" and proceeded to provide literal replies in which the citing of scriptures and categorical pronouncements took the place of the more scholarly reasoning of Dr. Widtsoe. Finally, it would appear that, more by default than by design, Elder Smith's son-in-law, Elder Bruce R. McConkie, who published in 1966 an alphabetized catalogue of doctrinal statements entitled *Mormon Doctrine*, has succeeded to the unofficial office of resident Mormon theologian.

I cite this threefold succession because it says much about the current role of literalism in the Church, as we can readily see by quoting from their positions on the theory of organic evolution. Elder Widtsoe, who was both a scientist and a General Authority, took eight pages to answer the question, "To what extent should the doctrine of evolution be accepted?" In the course of his discussion, he quotes extensively from scientists and philosophers, as well as mentioning pertinent scriptures, and he concludes as follows: "The law of evolution or change may be accepted fully. . . . It is nothing more or less than the gospel law of progress or its opposite. . . . The theory of evolution which may contain practical truth, should be looked upon as one of the changing hypotheses of science, man's explanation of a multitude of observed facts. It would be folly to make it the foundation of a life's philosophy." [14] Elder Widtsoe thus clearly saw some practical value in the theory of evolution, sought to reconcile Mormonism and science as much as possible, but ultimately made it clear that revealed truth must take precedence over the theories of men. In marked contrast, Joseph Fielding Smith, who once observed that "broad-mindedness leads to apostasy since *Satan is very broad-minded*," [15] adopted a literalistic stance in dismissing the theory of evolution: "The idea that everything commenced from a small beginning . . . and has gradually developed until all forms of life . . . have all sprung from that one source is falsehood absolutely. *There is no truth in it*, for God has given us his word by which we may know . . . the truth of these things." [16] Elsewhere he said: "Naturally, since I believe in modern revelation, I cannot accept these so-called scientific teachings, for I believe them to be in conflict with the simple and direct word of the Lord that has come to us by divine revelation." [17] Finally, Elder McConkie, in the 1979 second edition of his *Mormon Doctrine*, in a ten-page entry entitled "Evolution," uncompromisingly condemns every aspect of the theory of organic evolution, quotes extensively from his father-in-law's *Man: His Origin and Destiny*, and summarizes by stating: "How weak and puerile the intellectuality which knowing that the Lord's plan takes all forms of life from a pre-existent spirit state through mortality, and on to an ultimate resurrected state of immortality, yet finds comfort in the theoretical postulates that mortal life began in the scum of the sea, as it were, and has through eons of time evolved to its present varieties and state!" He then concludes with the italicized pronouncement that "*there is no harmony between the truths of revealed religion and the theories of organic evolution.*" [18]

This resurgence of defensive literalism clashes jarringly with the basic Mormon precept that "the glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36) and with the admonition set forth in Doctrine and Covenants 88:118 urging the faithful to seek "out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning even by study and also by faith." It puts a tremendous strain on well-educated Latter-day Saints who seek to reconcile the "words of wisdom" they have found studying "the best books" with the injunction to interpret and practice their religion as literally as possible. This strain often becomes especially intense during fast and testimony meetings when members may try to outdo each other in the degree of literalism which their powers of belief have attained.

Perhaps the greatest disservice which defensive literalism can do to the Church is to foster the illusion that the entire Mormon enterprise is a kind of divinely sanctioned seamless whole — that, for instance, the Book of Mormon was originally translated so perfectly that not one change has been made in it or that all utterances of all Church leaders are divinely inspired or that all the doctrines of the Church are perfectly understandable and consistent with each other and that there is no room for the slightest controversy. This is generally the very illusion which officially correlated materials — especially manuals of religious instruction — tend to produce, and the impact on thinking members can be devastating. Ultimately, this trend leads to a dichotomy of extremism characterized on the one hand by a kind of "neo-Tertullianism" with those remaining in the fold professing a literalistic "*credo quia absurdum est* (I believe because it is absurd)," and on the other hand, by a disillusioned form of "Tannerism" — the temptation to follow the example of Jerald and Sandra Tanner's single-minded career of systematic denunciation of alleged inconsistencies in the Church. If the breath-taking directness of certain creatively literal doctrines such as man's literal potential to become a god accounts in large measure for the dramatic proselyting successes of the Church, then, conversely, it is because of the stiflingly defensive literal-mindedness of much of the leadership that so many well-educated second- or third-generation Mormons find it difficult to remain within the fold of contemporary orthodoxy in good conscience.

I would like to emphasize that literalism of the most creative sort is an exciting and a very positive part of our Mormon heritage, especially as it relates to the mainstream of Mormon history. Here, for example, are a few of the highlights. We have already noted that Joseph Smith began his religious career as an unschooled youth in 1820 in the most naively literal-minded terms which in retrospect proved to be an incredibly creative literalism, considering the refreshing novelty of his religious views and the irresistible attraction which his message had for many converts. The basic literalism of his teachings tended to appeal in very literal terms to the relatively uneducated. Then as he studied and reflected on the implications of all that his spiritual sources revealed to him, he saw things in ever-broadening perspectives and sought to bring them into more meaningful alignment with each other through the use of increasingly figurative language and such metaphorical allusions as the image of the ladder of progression and the ring of eternal existence in the King Follett dis-

course. Those converted at any particular time tended to focus on the main points of doctrine which had been emphasized up to that point. Those who seized too readily on literal fundamentals without catching the broader vistas and higher meanings which Joseph Smith himself sought out and valued so much tended to become disaffected or break off into splinter groups.

Brigham Young took literally Joseph Smith's prediction that the Saints would relocate in the Rocky Mountains and, in bringing that prophecy to pass, became the Moses of the new world, at the head of a monumental exodus. We proudly extol its fruits, all the more so because it could not have been accomplished without the dedicated personal sacrifice of our pioneer forebears who were willing to obey their leaders to the letter. Heber J. Grant took literally Brigham Young's preaching on the need for Zion to achieve economic self-sufficiency and thereby saved the Church from financial disaster in the Panic of 1893 and, with admirable skill and dedication, continued to consolidate and augment the Church's assets during his presidency.[19] David O. McKay took literally the Savior's injunction to love our neighbor as ourselves and as president of the Church ushered in an era of unprecedented good will in promoting family love and in fostering friendly relations with other churches and with a wide range of non-members. Harold B. Lee took literally Christ's admonition to care for the needy and afflicted when he developed the Church Welfare Plan. And, more recently, President Spencer W. Kimball took literally the precept of Joseph Smith that salvation and even exaltation are ultimately available to *all* men when in 1978 he sought and received a revelation authorizing the granting of the priesthood to blacks.

However, even though the intrinsic literalism of the Mormon religion has for the most part been channeled in positive, creative ways, we have clearly seen that there are many dangers lurking in the natural inclination to exaggerate or misuse that same literalism along narrowly defensive and even manipulative lines. In the Lord's prayer we are enjoined to ask the Lord *not* to lead us into temptation. If for Catholics that temptation lies in excessive reliance on tradition and for Protestants it takes the form of overemphasizing the role of individual conscience, then for Mormons, it seems to me that the great temptation which every faithful Latter-day Saint, and especially those in positions of authority, should resist with every fiber of his or her being is to carry to absurd and damaging extremes the literalism which lies at the core of the Mormon belief system. If Mormonism is the most literal-minded of religions, then Paul's words in 2 Corinthians 3:5–6 have very special meaning and a strong note of warning for all Latter-day Saints: "Our sufficiency is of God; who also hath made us ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

NOTES

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2. Ernst W. Benz, "Imago Dei: Man in the Image of God," in *Reflections on Mormonism*, ed. by Truman G. Madsen (Provo, Ut.: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 1978), p. 215.

3. Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), p. ix; Richard D. Poll, "What the Church Means to People Like Me," DIALOGUE 2 (Winter 1967): 10; Richard Sherlock, " 'We Can See No Advantage to a Continuation of the Discussion': The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," DIALOGUE 13 (Fall 1980): 63–78.

4. Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Deseret Book Company, 1919), pp. 495–96.

5. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Bookcraft, 1979), p. 547.

6. Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1977), p. 150.

7. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Deseret News Press, n.d.), pp. 14–16, 22–25. See also McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, pp. 92–93.

8. Cited in Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot-Pioneer-Builder-Scapegoat* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1964), p. 209.

9. Ibid., p. 219.

10. Elaine Cannon, "If We Want to Go Up, We Have to Get On," *Ensign* 8 (1978): 108; Ezra Taft Benson, "Fourteen Fundamentals on Following the Prophets," Devotional Address delivered 26 Feb. 1980, Brigham Young University, Provo, Ut.

11. Edwin S. Gaustad, "History and Theology: The Mormon Connection," *Sunstone* 5 (Nov.–Dec. 1980), p. 50.

12. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings*, p. 142.

13. Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, p. 215.

14. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Bookcraft, 1943), p. 156.

15. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 3:298.

16. Ibid., 1:140.

17. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Deseret Book Company, 1979), 5:112.

18. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 256.

19. Ronald W. Walker, "Crisis in Zion: Heber J. Grant and the Panic of 1893," *Sunstone* 5 (Jan.–Feb. 1980), pp. 26–34.

Dale Beecher

The Office of Bishop

In a revelation received 4 February 1831, Edward Partridge was called to be the first bishop in the newly formed Church of Jesus Christ. Before that time, the Church's structure consisted of elders, priests, teachers, and deacons. No one, including Joseph Smith, had any prior notion that the organization would include the office of bishop. Even ten months later, when Newel K. Whitney was also called to the office, "he did not Know at the time nor Joseph either what the position of a bishop was. Thought like the Catholics and Episcopalians a Bishop was the highest office in the church." [1]

Paul's epistles to those New Testament bishops Timothy and Titus suggest some idea of what the calling entailed. Additional revelations, as recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants, gradually gave more direction, providing a guide to explain the biblical information, and describing the responsibilities in modern terms. These scriptures, however, did not provide a manual of explicit procedures nor a chart to show where the office of bishop fit into the Church structure or what its jurisdiction was to be.

Specific instructions have traditionally confined themselves to specific situations. General Authorities have constantly admonished bishops to do their duty but have been careful not to define it too closely. Brigham Young said, "It is not for me to say what the bishops do." [2] Robert T. Burton of the Presiding Bishopric told a bishops' meeting in 1882, "Nobody can point out the detailed duties of a bishop, for circumstances are constantly arising in the various wards that need the wisdom of God to fathom and correct." [3]

Scriptural instructions show the bishop's responsibilities in four general categories: presidency of the Aaronic priesthood; stewardship over the temporal affairs of the Church; pastoral care of his members; and judicial authority over those same members. Through the first century of the Church, each of these functions underwent considerable modification as conditions changed and as bishops felt their way toward the present concept of the office.

Before 1839 there were only two bishops, Edward Partridge and Newel K. Whitney. They were "general bishops" whose jurisdiction was Church-wide, although they were also assigned regional responsibilities. Their place in church or stake organization was uncertain, and as they progressed toward an under-

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standing of the office, the scope of their activities stayed safely within the limits of what was specified in the revelations.

Then an innovation in Church organization changed the status and duties of bishops. In 1839 two new stakes were created with bishops definitely assigned to them. The Zarahemla Stake, on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, had one bishop, Alanson Ripley. The Nauvoo Stake, being more populous, had three; Edward Partridge of the upper ward, Newel Whitney of the middle ward, and Vinson Knight of the lower ward. These last three men, and later George Miller, functioned as general bishops in addition to their ward responsibilities, but after that point, all but the Presiding Bishop of the Church were set apart to serve in specific geographical areas.

Nauvoo's city charter designated municipal wards; three in 1839, thirteen in 1842. A bishop presided over each to care for the incoming Saints, many of whom were sick or destitute. These wards were thought of more as divisions of the town than of the stake. Outside Nauvoo each stake or branch (the terms were used almost interchangeably) had only one bishop.

Shortly after the death of Joseph Smith, the Twelve felt the need of a more uniform organizational structure. In August 1844 they divided the Church into districts and branches: "Bishops will also be appointed in the larger branches to attend to the management of the temporal funds, such as tithings and funds for the poor, according to the revelations of God and to be judges in Israel." [4] This announcement shows no significant change in concept, but it helped establish an organizational precedent for the future.

During the exodus from Nauvoo, even this embryonic structure was put aside temporarily. Bishops had no specific responsibilities on the trek except at the more permanent settlements on the Missouri. For example, at Council Bluffs in July 1846 over eighty men, some already ordained bishops, were called as acting bishops to care for the families of Mormon Battalion volunteers.[5] A list of their names was posted and Battalion "widows" were invited to pick out the one under whose care they wished to be.

After a few days' attempt to make this work, the Twelve recommended that the Pottawattamie High Council divide the needy of the camp by areas with bishops assigned to them. A few weeks later the Municipal High Council of Winter Quarters divided the town into thirteen wards, each with an ordained bishop. By the end of the year there were twenty-two wards. All of the outlying camps had bishops or acting bishops. In 1847 the Pottawattamie High Council became a stake organization and its bishops presided over units designated as wards and branches.

Also in 1847 Newel K. Whitney was set apart as the first Presiding Bishop of the Church. Edward Partridge had been known only as "First Bishop." Vincent Knight had been called as Presiding Bishop (D&C 124:141) but was never set apart to that position. By 1847 they had died and George Miller, the only other general bishop, had apostatized, leaving Bishop Whitney with unquestioned seniority.[6]

In Utah the makeshift communalism of the trek rapidly gave way to a revived system of wards and branches. But while the Church still relied heavily

on personal direction from the First Presidency or a resident apostle, the bishop's place in a loose administrative structure was not clearly defined. In the outlying settlements there was little contact between local bishops and the presiding bishopric. There was seldom a specific mandate of authority or responsibility.

Two organizational innovations tried to bring order to this untidy system. The first was an attempt to divide responsibilities along priesthood lines. The second gamely tried to bridge the gaps in frontier communications with supernumerary bishops.

The first innovation tried to relieve one man from the responsibility for everything in a settlement/branch, which was thought to be an excessive burden as well as an imprecise use of the priesthood. Before the exodus, larger branches outside the stakes were organized with a presidency to take care of Melchizedek Priesthood functions and a bishopric to handle Aaronic duties. In the 1850s a number of Utah branches were set up this way as models.

The system did not work. Both bishop and president were to preside over the ward, each in his own sphere, but the spheres were not clearly defined, and contentions developed from the beginning. Matters of conflicting jurisdiction or prerogative would have the two officers struggling to defend their territory or to achieve a dominant position, often with branch members taking sides.

Opposition to the presidency of Joseph Heywood in Nephi is an example. A petition to replace him was circulated, and an election for president was held. Bishop Jacob Bigler won and, with the approval of higher authorities, took on both jobs. The question arose of "his requiring two counsellors extra of the two he had in the bishopric — and he gave it as his opinion that he needed them not, that the two offices were so intimately connected that except presiding at meetings his duties would be as usual. He could not see that there was one hairs difference between the offices — he would even split the hair and say there was not that much difference." [7]

The issue came to a head in the general conference of April 1862. Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, George A. Smith, and Orson Hyde all spoke forcefully on the subject.[8] They explained, exhorted, accused, and said that in failing with this system the branches were depriving themselves of an inspired organizational device and of some of the blessings of the Melchizedek Priesthood. But it was already too late. By that time the presidencies of several contentious units had been released without replacement. Little was heard of the ward president idea after that time.

The other innovation was the appointment of specialized bishops. Beginning in the early 1850s, the Presiding Bishopric sent out a handful of "travelling bishops" to counsel with the local bishops. They instructed them in accounting and record keeping, in handling tithes and in their duties generally, and reported their findings and progress to the Presiding Bishopric.[9]

This device helped, but it was sporadic at best and did not solve the problems inherent to distance and isolation. From the early 1850s regional presiding bishops were installed in the populous counties away from Salt Lake. The precedent for this position dated back to 1847 in Kanesville, Iowa, under the

Pottawattamie High Council, but now it was institutionalized. An idea of this office is found in a letter of 1870:

> Bishop Samuel F. Atwood, you are hereby appointed and assigned as Presiding Bishop to repair to, and take charge of, and preside over the settlement in Kamas Prairie and on the Weber River, as far north as Wanship, including that place, and also the settlements in Parley's Park and Silver Creek. . . . You will look after and see to the settlement and collection of tithing and taking care of the public property; counselling and guiding the local bishops; settling difficulties between brethren; seeking to inspire the people to unions of effort, interest and practice in their lives, and generally to attend to, and transact business pertaining to the temporal interests of the Church in that region of country over which you are called to preside. . . .
>
> Brigham Young, Geo. A. Smith, Daniel H. Wells.[10]

This was still patchwork organization, however, and results depended more on personality than on system. In the last year of his life, Brigham Young recognized that a large and growing church could no longer be run from one office or by force of personality. He determined to rectify the situation and regularize Church administration while he could.

An address of Orson Pratt defined the reorganization in 1877. Citing the example of men who for years had acted as bishops without ordination or counselors, he observed that circumstances had always required alterations in the system as well as adaptations within it. The renovation then in progress would bring about, "as far as we have knowledge and understanding, a more perfect organization throughout the Church." [11]

This more perfect structure divided the Utah settlements into stakes, each with several wards. Each ward was to be "thoroughly organized with a bishop and two counselors — who must be high priests and set apart to preside as the bishop and two counselors and with the priests, teachers and deacons assigned their duties by the bishops as ministers to the wards." [12] The Melchizedek Priesthood of a ward came under the direction of the bishop in all things except quorum duties. Thus he was also given the position of presiding high priest in his ward, and the idea of a separate ward president was laid to rest.

Calling special bishops also ended at that time. The circular outlining the reorganization says: "In consequence of it having been thought more convenient in some of the stakes for the tithing to be concentrated in one place, and for one bishop to receive reports from others and keep charge of the tithing, etc., the idea has grown up that such a bishop is a presiding bishop, and in many places he has been so regarded. This idea is an incorrect one." [13] Clearly, this explanation shows a change in policy, not just the correction of an erroneous idea. It abolished the local presiding bishops and established the precept that there is but one Presiding Bishop in the Church. The regional presiding bishops were retained for several years as "agents" of the Presiding Bishopric, then were finally replaced by stake tithing clerks.

Early in Mormon history there was some question whether any bishop could preside over the lesser priesthood or whether that authority were reserved for the literal descendants of Aaron himself. Scriptural references are indefinite but were evidently interpreted to mean that the calling covered anything Aaron

could do. In a meeting in Kirtland in 1836, "Bishop W[hitney] proceeded to nominate pres[iden]t[s] for the Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. He then ordained them." [14]

In Missouri two years later a "conference of teachers met by order of the high council under the direction of the Bishop, he being authorized to organize the lesser Priesthood." [15] This is the first mention of Bishop Partridge in the teachers' record, and the extent of his contact with the quorum is not known. Even at this meeting, nominally under his direction, he was not present and the quorum elected its own officers, thus setting a precedent for an informal direction of the Aaronic Priesthood by the bishops which was accepted as a de facto presidency.

In 1841 the Aaronic Priesthood of Nauvoo was placed under the leadership of Bishops Whitney, Miller, Higbee, and Knight.[16] Quorums as yet were not affiliated with wards. At the same time in Kirtland, Nehemiah Greenhalgh was elected president of the lesser priesthood of that stake rather than Bishop Thomas Burdick, although the bishop subsequently reorganized quorums of deacons and teachers, an apparently glaring error in procedure that went unquestioned.[17]

This seemingly tentative relationship continued through the pioneer era. The bishops used the teachers' quorums as their prime working arm but did not instruct them in their priesthood callings. The other quorums were set up on a stake or regional basis, if at all, and were outside the bishop's jurisdiction. The membership of the Aaronic Priesthood was almost exclusively adult, and the pioneer bishop had little to do with its supervision.

In the 1877 reorganization the "proper order" was clarified, at least in theory. In his keynote address, Orson Pratt said that President Young had received a revelation to "introduce the more perfect organization of the Aaronic Priesthood, as is revealed in the Doctrine and Covenants." [18] A few months later the Twelve sent a circular to all bishops outlining their duties to teach and actively preside. President Joseph F. Smith reinforced this instruction in a 1907 talk, in a circular letter in 1909, and in *Improvement Era* articles from 1912 to 1917.[19] By that time the modern priesthood role of the bishop was fairly well defined.

A judge of ancient Israel held a multi-faceted position, including administration, defense, and the judicial functions of a high magistrate. The latter-day bishop has been expected to carry on this one-man government in his own area of assignment, always under Melchizedek Priesthood direction.

The magisterial capacity was defined in Doctrine and Covenants, sections 58 and 102. Before the exodus there was "High Council upon High Council, Bishop's trial upon Bishop's trial," [20] using somewhat the same procedural format that has been in force ever since. However, with so few bishops covering so much territory and such a variety of disputes and offenses, it was impossible for a bishop to be present at each hearing and no permanent patterns were established.

With the repeal of the Nauvoo city charter early in 1845, civil order began to deteriorate. For the next several months the peace was kept by the "whistling and whittling brigade," composed of acting deacons led by bishops, some of whom were set apart specifically for the purpose. The assignment came

partly because the wards were the only active organizational units, but also because it was an appropriate function of the bishops' magisterial role.

At the settlements on the Missouri River, that role was further expanded. On the Iowa side, the laws of the new state had not reached the western frontier, so the high council empowered the bishops to act as civil as well as ecclesiastical judges. In 1849 Bishop Jacob Bigler "was elected justice of the peace, and the following year was elected probate judge of Pottawattamie County." [21] When a complaint arose in Winter Quarters, "Brother D. A. Miller was instructed to choose him a counsel and acting as bishop attend to the above case and all such as shall come under his notice. He was ordered to give notice to the other bishops on this side of the river to organize their courts to do business." [22] The bishops adjudicated matters of personal conduct, settled disputes, and tried such criminal cases as theft and counterfeiting. They often tried to conciliate in criminal cases as they would in a dispute, having the offender make restitution, but they also levied fines, disfellowshipped, excommunicated, and in rare cases ordered whippings.

The system continued in pioneer Utah. In the fall of 1847, the high councils of Salt Lake and Kanesville, acting on their own authority, enacted tentative statutes pending establishment of a more complete government. Non-Mormons passing through Utah also made use of the bishops' courts, sometimes turning to them as the only judiciary available, and sometimes being called before them for allowing livestock to stray or for other offenses.

This system was generally satisfactory, but there were complaints, usually about the extralegality of the bishop's court. Largely because of this tenuous authority and a growing case load, the state of Deseret formed in March 1849 had judges among the first officers elected. Judicial districts were laid out to coincide with ward boundaries, and the bishops were duly voted in as magistrates or justices of the peace.

The bishops took every case until 1850 when the state supreme court was given original jurisdiction over the more serious cases. County courts were created a few months later.[23] When the territorial government took over in 1851, all civil cases were turned over to county or federal courts, leaving the bishops as probate judges handling inheritances and divorce settlements. But when two federal judges quit their posts later that year, the probate courts were assigned original jurisdiction over all cases not otherwise provided for by the legislature. This lasted until the Poland Act of 1874 again reduced them to administering wills and estates.[24]

During this period, a priesthood quorum would often hold its own trial when the offender was a member of the group, a practice that became so prevalent that it usurped episcopal authority. Indeed, some bishops apparently delegated much of their judicial power to their teachers' quorums. In some settlements there were "teachers' trials" of civil and church cases in which the acting teachers apparently functioned as police, prosecutors, witnesses, judge, and jury. The bishops did not always preside or even attend.[25]

Changes came with the Poland Act and the priesthood reorganization of 1877. Quorum trials were discontinued, and ward teachers were charged to

settle small difficulties between neighbors but refer more serious problems to the bishop. The bishop was to handle all possible disputes and transgressions, keeping them out of the civil courts if he could. His own civil authority diminished and soon disappeared. Procedure became divorced from the common law: "Each case stands on its own merits. There is no precedence. You cannot judge one man by the conduct or action of another. The inspiration of the Lord should guide you to the right course to pursue in each case." [26]

Aside from very broad guidelines of this kind, there was no standardization in church trials. Feeling this to be a disadvantage, the Nebo Stake in 1902 assigned one of its presidency, Joseph B. Keeler, to research the subject. His pamphlet, "The Bishop's Court: Its History and Proceedings," received an immediate popular response. The Church insisted that only the scriptures were authoritative and that, while such studies might be helpful, bishops should be guided by the spirit, not by a book.[27] Nevertheless, requests from wards and stakes were so numerous that from 1921 the Presiding Bishopric included an outline of court procedures in the annual instructions and, in 1956, finally issued its own comprehensive guide, *Handling the Transgressor*.

By far the greatest task of nineteenth-century bishops was handling Church funds and property. The attempt to live the Law of Consecration centered upon the two general bishops in Kirtland and Missouri who received the members' consecrations, distributed their "inheritances," and supervised the storehouses of the United Order.

The bishop received, by legal title, every stick and thread owned by each participant, then deeded back to him those things needed for his family as his stewardship or inheritance. The amount returned to the participant was to be decided by mutual consent. Deadlocked negotiations went to the high council. All instruments of transfer were in the bishop's name, and he was to use all property acquired for building up the church in the area.

This accumulated capital was used first for buying land for incoming Saints. Bishop Whitney also supervised disbursements for building Kirtland and its temple. Other uses included supplying the Missouri settlers and the Church's print shop. It would appear from all accounts that Bishops Partridge and Whitney had nearly complete charge of Church finances, including budget, property, expenditures, seeking loans, etc., in their respective areas.

After the collapse of this first united order, the temporal responsibility of bishops changed radically. The law of tithing eliminated some negotiating and title transfers, but the job was still huge since, through the nineteenth century, tithes were appropriate only in kind. This meant one dollar of ten, one chicken of ten, or one bushel of ten, not a chicken in lieu of a bushel or dollar. The bishop collected all this, stored the commodities, and disposed of them. He also had to work out adjustments — nobody ever devised a satisfactory tithe in kind on eleven cows — where monetary values were assigned to items and a method of payment arranged.

Without the communal order, there was some uncertainty about the bishop's role in temporal matters other than tithing. That they bore some responsibility in such things was unquestioned, but accounting and administra-

tion were now largely done by Melchizedek Priesthood authorities. After the death of Joseph Smith, Bishops Whitney and Miller were named joint trustees-in-trust for the Church, but that calling was soon reclaimed by the Twelve.

Temporal affairs during the exodus were managed in a mild form of collectivism. Tithing was still collected where possible, but the stark necessities of physical survival forced these refugees into a new degree of cooperative effort. Those who had anything to spare turned it in to their bishops, calling it tithing, and it was distributed to those in need. An innovation to manage work projects was labor tithing, a system that lasted through the pioneer period.

Selected items from the record book of Bishop Isaac Clark illustrate the poignant story in detail:[28]

1847	*Receipts*	
Jan. 3	O. Pratt cr. by 22½ lbs. of flower	67½¢
Jan. 30	Isaac Clark cr. by one days work cutting house logs for Bishop Miller, Tithing	62½¢
March 1	Rec'd of George Lyman and A.B. Lambson three and one half cords of wood	
March 16	Daniel Allen Cr. by 3 lbs. and 10 ounces of meat	16¢
July 9	Received of Joseph Fleming five cents in cash for the support of a certain boy name Henry Turner	05¢
July 9	Do. Oliver Dudley 12 lbs. of meal	12¢
July 27	Isaac Clark Cr. by 6¼ cts in salleratus	06¼¢
Aug. 25	Sarah Gibbons Cr. by 1 dress 2 aprons 1 pare of stockins	$02.25
Sept. 1	Thomas Dew Cr. by 22 hundred lbs. of hay it being his tenth	2.75
Oct. 4	Received of N.K.Whitney 1 cabbage head	02¢
	Distributions	
Jan. 3	To George A. Smith 26½ lbs. of flower for the support of some orphans in his care and a young man that is sick name of Abijah Reed	79½¢
	also 6½ lbs. of corn meal	06½¢
March 12	To Harriet Whitney one dollar in provisions by Jacob Bigler	$01.00
July 9	Distributed 29 lbs. of meal to Joseph Night Bishop in Winter Quarters for the support of the said Henry Turner	29¢

July 31	To the family of McCullough candles also 4 lbs. of flower	13¢
Aug. 16	To the widow Ann Smith one peck of meal	13¢
Aug. 29	To Ann Smith 1 dress 2 aprons 1 pare of stockins	$02.25
Oct. 4	To Ann Smith one cabbage head	02¢

As the community became settled in the Salt Lake Valley, the emergency communal economy faded away and tithing was reinstated as a regular program, evidently dating from 8 October 1848.[29] The bishops took in the produce for storage and distribution. The central storehouse received any surplus and kept track of where supplies or deficiencies existed. This remarkable but unwieldy system, held together with shaky and irregular administrative procedures, often fell short of expectations. The discourses of Brigham Young sometimes contained scathing rebukes of bishops' failure to grasp the spirit of their calling.

Labor tithing continued in the public works program, which was handled through the bishops. In a meeting of Salt Lake bishops in 1849, President Young told them to "see that every man works his tenth day" and to be at the projects themselves to ensure that no one would fail to show up, slack off, or slip away.[30] The Presiding Bishop assigned each ward its days and number of men; the ward bishop assigned the individuals. In some cases, especially in outlying settlements, cash or produce was accepted in lieu of labor.

Since the pioneer era the bishops' temporal stewardship has undergone three structural alterations. The first, another experiment of limited success and duration, was the second try at communalism. Initially, as part of the ZCMI co-op, each ward or settlement set up its own store as the main retail outlet of the system. Each store was incorporated separately with the bishop heading the board of directors. When local orders and cooperatives were established later in the 1870s they had either an elected president or a bishop in charge, but in every case the bishop was responsible for getting it organized.

The second change was the creation of the Presiding Bishop's Office to oversee policy, procedures, and administration of temporal affairs. President Young and Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter had worked together and conducted most matters personally with the aid of the county bishops; but by the 1880s this was no longer feasible. After much discussion, the Twelve "agreed on revision of system of doing Church business. Bishop's office gatherer and custodian of all funds."[31] The old, cumbersome system was overhauled and new methods were instituted for operation in a modern age.

The third shift was in the concept of tithing itself. The task of handling a great variety of produce had become so onerous, with so much spoilage, that by the early years of the twentieth century, something had to happen. The annual instructions manual revealed the trend: in 1909 it said that tithing not in kind was not in the spirit and meaning of the law, though acceptable. The 1913 edition said that "cash is always acceptable" and other commodities not

in kind might also be accepted, although "not strictly a proper kind of payment." By 1923 the manual said that "tithes 'in kind' should be acceptable when offered," indicating that money had replaced goods in official favor as well as in practice. By the 1930s virtually all tithing came in as money and the bishops' job in this and most other temporal matters was largely reduced to routine paperwork.

The concept of a bishop as a shepherd of his flock or as father of the ward developed slowly. In the pre-Utah period it was largely limited to physical welfare. Again, an illustration can be drawn from Isaac Clark's 1847 record book:

March 4 — To Lewis Hulse one lb. of coffee one of sugar, six of flour

March 11 — To Doctor Bradley 30 cts in wood for attendance on Lewis Hulse

March 12 — To Asa Lyman one bushel of meal for the support of Lewis Hulse

March 15 — To Lewis Huls one pint of whiskey and brimstone

March 20 — One pint of molasses to Huls

March 21 — George A. Smith Cr. by 25 cts for the burial of Lewis Huls

In Utah the bishops were assigned to furnish wagons, teams, and teamsters to bring immigrants of straitened means across the plains. Once in Utah, these people had to be situated and looked after. An observer of the 1860s told how it was done:

> The unpaid functions of a bishop are extremely numerous, for a Mormon prelate has to look, not merely to the spiritual welfare of his flock, but to their worldly interest and wellbeing; to see that their farms are cultivated, their houses clean, their children taught, their cattle lodged. Last Sunday after service in the Tabernacle, Brigham Young sent for us to the raised dais on which he and the dignitaries had been seated, to see a private meeting of the bishops, and to hear what kind of work these reverend fathers had met to do. We rather wondered what our friends at Bishopsthorpe and Wells would think of such a scene. The old men gathered in a ring; and Edward Hunter, their presiding bishop questioned each and all, as to the work going on in his ward, the building, painting, draining, gardening; also as to what this man needed and that man needed in the way of help. An emigrant train had just come in, and the bishops had to put six hundred persons in the way of growing their cabbages and building their houses. One bishop said he could take five bricklayers, another two carpenters, a third a tinman, a fourth seven or eight farm servants, and so on through the whole bench. In a few minutes I saw that two hundred of these poor emigrants had been placed in the way of earning their daily bread. "This," said Young, with a sly little smile, "is one of the labors of our bishops." [32]

Another of the labors, as alluded to here, was to look after the Saints' spiritual welfare. This aspect of the calling was recognized but received little attention until the Reformation of 1856–1857. During that episode, many

authorities "did not feel that a bishop was to be considered as a father so much as a commander in the ward," enforcing a disciplined righteousness.[33] This attitude produced a subtle change in the relationship between the bishop and his ward. He began to take a personal interest in every facet of people's lives, and the ward took on more the character of a shepherd and his flock than merely an organizational unit.

By 1860 the intimidating rigor of the reformation had worn down, but the new concept remained. President Young charged bishops to "see that all lived as they should, walking humbly with their God, attending to their prayers, observing the Sabbath-day to keep it holy, and ceasing to swear and steal. There would not be a person in his ward that he does not know, and he would be acquainted with their circumstances, conduct, and feelings." [34] Within a few years the principle was firmly established that the bishop had direct responsibility for the spiritual welfare of his ward, though now he was again acting less as a commander and more than ever like a father.

Visits to the home by the bishop or (block, ward, home, etc.) teachers representing him have always been the most personal means of spiritual guidance, but most of the bishop's spiritual influence has come through his built-in forum, the ward meeting. After 1851 the mass preaching meetings were gradually replaced by weekly ward meetings of various kinds. Except for the brief interlude when ward presidents existed, these meetings have all come under the bishop's direction. Not surprisingly, their diaries and meeting minutes show continual frustration at the problem of irregular attendance.

Another area of the ward father's responsibility to his "family" members is their intellectual and psychological welfare. In pioneer settlements, the ward provided the school, the teacher, and the extracurricular activities. With the emergence of public schools to replace ward schools, instruction in the auxiliaries and priesthood quorums expanded, technically still under the bishop's direction.

However, it is in the psychological dimension, personal counseling, that the greatest change in the bishop's work has come. Early bishops and ward teachers had worked with their charges to help preserve family harmony, overcome bad habits, reactivate faltering members, etc. Then beginning with Nauvoo's revivalist spirit, the helping hand was replaced by an admonition, a rebuke, or even a bishop's court. Until very late in the nineteenth century, Church authorities, like American society generally, attributed personal problems to a weak-willed failure to resist temptation. Only the sinful person experienced mental disorders or personal problems. Over the next two generations the General Authorities exhorted bishops to treat personal and family matters delicately and to reconcile more than punish, but the methods to be used remained hazy. Bishops' counsel nearly always took the form of a call to repentance.

As late as 1954 a member of the First Presidency could tell a Relief Society Conference, "I do not believe that the remedy for irritation and quarreling in the home is divorce. I believe that the remedy the Lord approves is repentance . . . repentance from sin in one form or another against the laws of God which makes fertile ground for dispute and contention, envy, jealousy, and hatred." [35]

In 1982 a counseling bishop comes at this kind of problem from an entirely different approach: "All marriages — happy or otherwise — have the need to manage different viewpoints, different feelings, in a manner that is helpful rather than destructive to the relationship. . . . Think how depressing it would be to think that your marriage was the only one in the world that had challenges — and lots of people *do* add guilt to their difficulties by thinking that way." [36]

The growing acceptance of psychology as a science from the 1930s has encouraged more people to go to their bishops for advice and personal counseling. Studies done at Brigham Young University show that religious leaders of all denominations have seen an increase in counseling, even when it is not part of their traditional role, and that most Latter-day Saints regard the bishop as the natural person to turn to outside the immediate family.[37] This latest development in the bishop's job has placed an extra burden on his shoulders — a gratifying burden, say bishops I have interviewed, but one that often takes more time than all the other functions combined.

The office of bishop continues to evolve. Within the last two years, the burden of upkeep on ward buildings has been shifted from the bishops to a more economical system at the stake level. The bishops have been charged with implementing a more urgent campaign for personal and family preparedness. There is now a simplified version of a bishop's duties for areas where the members are all recent converts without experience or where the level of education is low. The ways, means, and organizational patterns change frequently, albeit subtly, to meet the changing demands of a mandate whose functional concept, the physical and spiritual wellbeing of members, stays always the same.

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Frances Whitney Richardson

South of Olympic

If you're looking for a house in that area and price range," said the real estate salesperson — and she lowered her voice to a horrified whisper — "You'll have to go *south*!" I rested the telephone receiver against my neck and sighed.

"Yes, I know. I'm looking for something south. Don't you have any listings within the boundaries I've given you?"

"Well, honey, not at this time. We try not to work in that area."

It was my third day on the telephone. California real estate in 1979 was quite expensive and we were trying to find a house we could afford within the Wilshire Ward. We knew we had to stay in Los Angeles — both of us felt that nobody in his right mind would spend several hours a day commuting from the suburbs. And Wilshire Ward had pretty well claimed us — my husband had been called to be bishop.

Now, Wilshire Ward has a glowing, legendary past. Meetings are held in the fantastical Art Deco cathedral of the Los Angeles Stake Center. Oldtimers lovingly recount tales of the days when the Church in Southern California was run like a country club, when what is now the cultural hall was a ballroom with crystal chandeliers and sunken orchestra pit, when people arrived in chauffeured limousines for meetings. If a young mother should bemoan the lack of baby-changing and nursing facilities, she is informed that in 1927 children were not brought to church. (In Wilshire Ward they stayed home with the nanny.) Times have changed, and the old neighborhood has gone considerably downhill, but even a cottage in a "good" neighborhood within the ward boundaries sells for several hundred thousand dollars.

Yes, we would have to go south.

To go south is an interesting experience. One can ride south on the Western Avenue bus, a route which covers the stretch of Western from Hollywood Boulevard to the Imperial Highway, and observe that all the white people get off at Wilshire Boulevard. A few blocks further south, all the Orientals get off at Olympic. As the bus approaches Washington, the Latinos alight, leaving only black people (and us) to go on south of Adams.

Well, I knew there must be houses for sale in the area where we were looking. Those agencies just don't advertise in the *Los Angeles Times*. I began to

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drive through likely neighborhoods, seeking "for sale" signs. I began to ask around. People thought I was nuts.

The problem of how to obtain an affordable home was not the only one we faced. My husband was concerned about his stewardship over the several hundred thousand people within the boundaries of our ward. As it was at the time, the vast southern reaches of our ward, which extend south to Slauson Avenue, had few church members. How were the blacks living in those areas going to learn the gospel from their friends and neighbors if no neighbors had the gospel?

"Maybe I should be like Brigham Young and call people to colonize those unsettled areas," mused the bishop. We came to the conclusion that he was on the right track, that there is no time like the present to colonize, and that since there were no other volunteers waiting in line, we should be the ones to begin.

We had been dismayed as family after family left our ward to settle in "white flight" areas. Couples would stay a few months (or maybe even a few years) and then be gone. I had begun to feel that as soon as I had made a friend, she would be moving — to Fontana, or the San Fernando Valley, or Orange County or (worst of all) to Utah. It would certainly have been easier to jump off with the rest of them, but we knew the Lord needed us here.

My family regarded the idea with amusement, Roy's with horror. We began with a great deal of trepidation and visions of Great Danes, six-foot chain-link fences, and double cylinder deadbolts. But one Sunday evening we received a call from a formerly unhelpful real estate agent. When we heard the asking price, we jumped into our car and found the house on a lovely quiet street. We knew at that instant we had come home. After a glimpse of the interior the next day, we made an offer on the spot. Nowhere else in the city could we find oak floors, Craftsman paneling, coffered ceilings, leaded and bevelled glass, and a lovely little dormer window for anywhere near that price. (Others were not so impressed. We still hear, "This will be a cute place when you get it fixed up." And the Craftsman paneling hid plumbing and electrical problems and did not hint at the spooky noises in the attic.)

We put off buying the Great Dane until after we moved in — no room in our rented apartment. After we moved in on 12 December 1979 we felt no immediate need for a large dog. We still don't. You see, we have our neighbors.

Our neighbors were on the doorstep the day we moved in, welcoming us to our new home, helping carry sofas, and bringing advice and gossip. They played with our baby, they invited us to their churches. They reassured us that we had chosen a nice place to live. They wanted us to feel welcome and at ease. Yes, they were black. From that time on, all have been a source of friendship, strength, and Christmas goodies, keeping a watchful eye on us and our property. While we are gone they collect our mail and take in our newspaper. More than one stake or ward member who had hoped to stick something in the mailbox unnoticed has gone away unnerved by suspicious stares.

One Fourth of July we used the holiday to tear out our kitchen in preparation for remodeling. Early that morning the woman next door yelled, "Hey, you got a chicken you want us to throw on the grill for you?" I gratefully

removed a chicken from the freezer and promptly forgot about it until about noon, when her children appeared at the door carrying not only our barbecued fowl but also a generous portion of spareribs and dishes of baked beans and potato salad. We receive this kind of hospitality all the time from various families on the street. In return we deluge them with surplus zucchini and tomatoes, which they, innocent nongardeners that they are, appreciate very much.

At first when our neighbors talked we could hardly understand them, but now we communicate quite well. I can't tell if it is because we have learned to understand jive or if they considerately speak to us in English.

The only problem is, our neighbors are too busy to listen to the gospel. One woman has taken a couple of missionary lessons — and fully intends to do something about it someday when she has time. All of them are highly involved in their own churches. We have no monopoly on dashing off to this meeting or that activity. Invitations to Relief Society work meetings, dinners, or programs are welcomed with enthusiasm and smiles, but something always seems to come up. One exception is the teenagers to the south, who attend firesides and youth activities with some regularity, but always at the expense of their many school activities and at the whim of their mother. Many members of the Church, therefore, see no visible missionary results from our experiment.

"So I hear you've bought a home," said one ward member. "Is this in a partially white neighborhood?"

"It is now!" Roy laughed.

"Well, when our daughter was young we had a home down there, too," he recalled. "But when the area started, you know, *changing*, we bought the house we have now, and moved to the north end of the ward. And it has paid off. Our son-in-law is a bishop now, you know."

I privately wondered what moving to an expensive (and white) neighborhood had to do with the girl's marrying a future bishop but decided not to antagonize the man. A fellow we knew in the Young Adult program remarked, "Shinetown, huh? You couldn't pay me to go there."

More subtle racism takes the form of amazement at "how wonderful it is to be here among the blacks" (Koreans, Spanish, Filapinos, etc.) "How come he got to go on like that?" demands a young black woman angrily as a visiting dignitary announces that if he had a choice of any ward in the world to live in, he would choose Wilshire Ward. It seems to us that he does have a choice. And he lives in Bountiful, Utah.

Other reactions have been more favorable. When I told the stake president's wife about our decision to move south, she said, "Well, good for you. I believe it's time for people to take a stand." The stake president's family (who live on the rich side of the stake) have indeed taken their stand. Against a rising trend, both in and out of the Church, they have left their children in public schools. That is a decision which requires considerable courage in Los Angeles, especially for those who can afford to do otherwise. Even if a parent is not afraid that his child will be bused, or (heaven forbid!) have to sit next to a minority student in class, the public schools have a reputation of dubious quality and of operating on the verge of bankruptcy.

This family feels that the children are receiving a quality education in the public schools. The parents work very hard to be sure it continues by being curriculum watchers and serving on community-school advisory councils and in the PTA.

People keep asking us what we are going to do about schools when the time comes — our oldest child, six months when we moved in, will soon be four. This is a valid question, because the schools are a major reason why many young families leave the inner city. We don't know what we are going to do, but we'll probably just brazen it out. The schools don't look all *that* bad, especially if you're not searching the crowd for Caucasian faces.

I have tried to formulate a philosophy, concerning the school system as well as our personal safety, which I use in the speech I give to all the BYU-fresh innocents who constantly land in our ward and try to scramble back out as soon as they can. It goes like this: "If we stay here, and serve the Lord with all diligence where he needs us so badly, then the Lord will look after us, answer our prayers, and provide for our needs." This article of personal faith has been of great comfort to me. I hope it will sustain me through the future.

Many who have firmly planted their feet and are striving to give service to the Lord in his Los Angeles vineyard argue that it doesn't matter where one raises one's children as long as the family remains strong and the parents are committed to working and playing with their children. Public education can and should be enriched at home. This view makes good sense for those with fortitude and is confirmed by the mental and spiritual health of their children. These youngsters make a great contribution in their schools and neighborhoods, and in our struggling Mutuals and Primaries. Their parents labor long and hard both with their families and in the Church — hoping against hope that their herculean efforts will hold things together until help arrives or things improve.

One problem is such families are few and far between. It becomes more and more infuriating to me to hear a young middle-class couple — someone beginning a family like ours — bellyaching about the high price of real estate in Los Angeles. If we proffer our solution, the answer is always the same: "Well, it would be okay if I were alone — for myself I don't mind living next to blacks — but my wife/husband/in-laws would *never* go for it!" There seems to be a real paucity in the Church, I catch myself fuming, of people who have the courage of their faith. They will perhaps shake the hand of a new minority convert. Maybe they will even go once a month to hometeach her. But live next to one of them? Have one over for dinner? Let their daughter or son marry one? And I remind myself that I may not be able to predict my own future tests.

When the revelation to admit blacks to the priesthood was announced, my first reaction was unbounded joy. My second was a fierce fear: the last days were indeed upon us; the wheat would truly be sifted from the tares. But there was no mass exodus of hypocrites from the Church. Most of those who had dragged along before kept limping on. The sifting, however, went on too.

There were a few black members in the ward before the revelation. One young family has recently moved into Southwest Los Angeles, a.k.a. the Watts

Branch, where we hear they have assumed heavy leadership responsibilities. Another sister, an older woman of many, many years membership, takes the challenges of being a black in the Mormon church quite lightly. I knew she would appreciate the nylons my husband had picked up for me at the local twenty-four-hour market (where they also book races and write bail bonds). Unable to find the specified beige or nude, he had dutifully returned with "sun-tan" stockings explaining, "It looks like only black ladies buy stockings there."

This sister examined my legs critically and grinned, "Well, you still look pretty pale to me. Coffee. Coffee is the color *we* wear."

I long for the same easy grace, find myself wearied by my own anger at racism in our ward, and sting with shame to find myself unexpectedly guilty.

Visiting General Authorities at nearly every stake conference tell us that Salt Lake is watching our stake and especially our ward, hoping that minorities will be prepared to carry the gospel to their own people throughout the world. We love the challenge. We are proud of the success we've seen. We welcome the two Spanish wards, the Korean branch, and the Chinese branch formed in the last five or ten years. Yet anytime a piece of equipment in our building is missing or out of order, the Third Ward (Spanish-speaking) is automatically suspect.

"Phew, Koreans; they sure stink," says one sister loudly as she and I stand in the foyer. I am horrified. The Korean men could not have helped hearing. I hope they do not speak English as I exclaim, "I can't believe you said that! You must have hurt their feelings!"

"Well, they do stink," she insists stubbornly, putting out her lower lip.

The Young Women president and I visit an inactive Samoan family to invite the daughters to our volleyball tournament. We are greeted with reserve and sit uneasily on the mats. "Are you Tongan?" the president asks. The atmosphere freezes. On the way home I explain, "Samoans and Tongans have a very strong traditional rivalry. It was a mistake to bring that up. If you are not sure, it is better to say nothing."

"Well, I cannot tell these people apart. To me they all look the same."

"But think how you would feel if they called you a Mexican."

"I am *not* a Mexican. My country is very different. We are all different in Central America."

"But they don't know that."

She looks at me blankly. No connection has been made.

Late one night the next-door neighbors were hammering in what I guessed was their dining room, and a ladder fell through the window. They nailed a piece of plywood over the broken glass. I glared at that patch all week. "Well," I thought, "there goes the neighborhood." Early the next Saturday morning, the gentleman of the house installed a shining new pane of glass. Through it I could see the freshly painted walls and the new furniture proudly centered in the room.

"I hope this naked window doesn't bother you," said the wife. "The new drapes should be hung in a few days." (We ourselves have now been two years without dining room drapes.)

My husband invited the bishop of Third Ward to speak in sacrament meeting. His address, an invitation to brotherhood, stirs me and I resolve to do more, to greet Third Warders in friendly Spanish as we meet. "He does speak good English for a Mexican," I overhear one elderly lady say. The bishop, a highly-educated systems analyst, is from Peru.

A large contingent from Wilshire Ward attending the World Conference on Records included Thelma, a young black woman convert of about a year, one of my visiting teachees. At the conference she took up with the Genesis Group, kissed Alex Haley, and was greatly inspired by the Afro-American research seminars. The highlight of her trip, however, happened when she sat down in a Native American lecture. A woman glared at her blackness. "What are *you* doing here?"

"I thought I'd come hear the lecture," said our unflappable convert. "What are you doing here?"

"I have Indian blood in *me*!" replied the woman proudly.

"So do I," retorted Thelma cheerfully. "Don't you go judging people by how they look."

It seems a miracle that I know of only one couple who became inactive because they felt discriminated against within the Church. Weak testimony, burn-out (I have always maintained that the best way to scare off a brand-new convert is to give her a calling in the Mutual), lack of commitment perhaps due to inadequate teaching or insufficient fellowshipping account for most. In general, however, it is my experience that those who make the slightest effort to belong fit right in, are welcomed, included, and loved.

But what of the future? One young black girl investigated for months, not willing to make a commitment for baptism, because she took the gospel very seriously but could see few black men in the Church. Once she joined, she became one of the stalwarts of our Mia Maid class but there is no corresponding Explorer contingent. She lives with the frustration and sees little promise of change.

The majority of our converts have been women, most of them single, many with young children. The elders quorum is spread mighty thin. The Church simply does not have a workable solution to this demographic imbalance, and surely our ward is not the only one with the problem.

But the problem goes further. I wonder when the Church will acknowledge the life situations these women face in a realistic way. They are not innocent girls cuddled by the MIA into dreams of housewifely bliss. They have seen a fair amount of life. The economic realities of supporting themselves and their children (and often a husband, too) make staying at home a luxury they cannot afford. Those who so easily pronounce answers from pulpits seldom have heard their questions. These women have come up from slavery in their own lifetimes. They do not count on a future of homemaking and motherhood with just a little hobby on the side to keep the screaming meemies away. The New Woman (having put away the old woman through baptism) has discovered her potential for godhood. She is studying the gospel harder and faster than the elders who teach her. Keen-thinking, take-charge women

are coming into the Church; their needs and their capabilities are exploding the confines of traditional priesthood and Relief Society attitudes and policies.

For us, having made a decision about Wilshire Ward has not prevented other decisions from coming up. My husband and I know of a small town which would make a wonderful home. We fantasize about life there — clean air, quietude. I would thump my typewriter in the clean shade of an orange tree, throw scratch to the chickens, and make chokecherry jelly. We know we would not escape responsibility in the kingdom by joining that small, new ward; but must we be forever pioneers and colonists? Where would the Lord have us serve? And how much is enough? Sometimes the struggle here is very lonely and exhausting.

Wilshire Ward revolves around a strong core of older members, people who were in their teens and newly married when our chapel was built. They have given years and years of dedicated service. Some still strive continually; others have slipped into the complacence old age sometimes brings. Still others no longer have the physical strength to serve as they would wish. Some attend the meetings dreaming of the ward's golden age, already half a century in the past, but bear monthly testimony of the stained glass windows. A new golden age is dawning. Ten years from now those people will all be dead, and Wilshire Ward will be almost all black. Hopefully a strong contingent of new priesthood bearers will have entered the Church and the chapel. The women are here already. And, despite the lure of the orange tree, we probably will be too.

Book Reviews

The Extremes of Eclecticism

Abraham in Egypt by Hugh Nibley, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981, 288 pp., $9.95.

Reviewed by Eric Jay Olson, scripture researcher, LDS Translation Division, Salt Lake City, Utah, Ph.D. candidate in Egyptology, University of Chicago, seventy, father of five children.

I approach a description of this latest book by Hugh Nibley with much hesitation. With Nibley, you buy a package that is as much image as content. He is either viewed as the exemplary scholar, able to establish historical facts in a single bound, or he is the ardent apologist, able to construct any defense of the faith out of thin air. The individual who says anything in favor of his work or against his work is immediately placed in one camp or the other. If you acknowledge Nibley as an authority, you are a believer; if you don't, then you are an enemy. There is no middle ground. A review of one of his books is usually read with attention only until the reader decides which side of the line the reviewer is on. I want to emphasize at the outset that my comments reflect my assessment of the book as a book, not my opinion about the historicity of Abraham and the Book of Abraham.

In *Abraham in Egypt*, Nibley has applied to an extreme the eclectic approach to history. The basis of that approach is the conviction that if you read everything that has ever been written, soon you will see how everything that has ever happened fits into a universal framework with a common origin and goal. In pursuit of this approach, Nibley collects information from all periods of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Israelite, Canaanite, Greek, and Christian history. For example, in the first chapter of the book, he cites nineteen documents: the Shabako Stone, Book of Jubilees, Metternich Stele, Lachish Letters, Book of the Dead, Ethiopian Book of Enoch (First Enoch), Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham, Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Pyramid Texts of Unis, Coffin texts, *The Iliad*, Justin Martyr's *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, Book of the Two Ways, a Text from the coffin of a daughter of Psammetichus II, Amduat, and Genesis.

Nibley defends this approach by observing that since we do not know when Abraham lived in terms of current chronological systems, one is justified in using data from any period to deduce the historical Abraham. However, after only a few pages, I was left behind in the jumps from Ptolemaic Egypt to the Old Kingdom and back, from Mesopotamia to Israel to Egypt to Greece to Rome and back. Abraham was obviously not only in Egypt. Within Israel we are treated to selections from Jewish apocalyptic documents whose extant versions are usually found only in a non-Ancient Near Eastern language such as Slavonic. We also have selections from rabbinic commentaries and Christian pseudepigrapha. Out of this information whirlwind, we try to find the true Abraham who, at times, Nibley suggests, is equated with Onchsheshonqy, an Egyptian wisdom writer, whose earliest documents date from the Ptolemaic period and contrasted with Nimrod, who is equated with Pharaoh.

As a result of Nibley's method, a reader is not persuaded that Nibley's reconstruction is convincing. He is merely worn down until he ceases to raise objections and ask questions. The avalanche of citations and footnotes does not elucidate; it overwhelms. References should help to clarify and give documentation, but these bewilder and confuse. If by chance one tries to look up a reference for further information or to

check on accuracy, he often finds an error in the citation which makes the effort frustrating or he finds that the interpretation is based on conjecture. For example, a long quotation on page 5, which is actually taken from an earlier article by Nibley himself, deals with the tradition of keeping and preserving family records. It quotes from the Book of Jubilees saying, of Joseph: "He gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day." A check of the original reveals that Joseph did not have a hitherto unknown son named Levi but that the words were really those of Jacob, not Joseph. Such an obvious mistake so early in the book makes one wary of trusting any of the quotations, unless each and every one of them is checked. And since there are so many citations from so many different literary traditions and scholarly specialties, one's next reaction is to find another book to read.

In science classes in secondary schools I suppose children are still taught that the only true scholarly method is the scientific method. It is the only method which reaches truly defensible conclusions. And the method dictates that a researcher should collect his data, construct his hypothesis, formulate an experiment to test his theory, conduct his experiment, analyze the results, and if necessary, modify his hypothesis. By this method, one arrives at the ultimate truths of reality. Since in historical reconstructions, a scholar is not able to construct an experiment which he can conduct to test his theories, at best his conclusions are only tentative. Therefore history is not a true science. Only later do the students learn that the first two steps in the scientific method are actually interrelated, if not in fact reversed. That is, data and hypotheses are interconnected. You must at least have some working theory before you know which facts to collect. So in reality there is more speculation in the scientific method than is at first admitted.

In historical reconstructions, the speculation is even more apparent since there we do not have the option of formulating and conducting an experiment. We have only some recorded data from which we must try to construct a coherent scheme to explain how things happened and what forces were involved. The historian must beware of the temptation of selecting only those pieces which fit a preconceived picture.

Unfortunately Nibley cannot allow himself the freedom to exercise this care. Even though he calls his book *Abraham in Egypt*, he knows and so does the reader that he is really writing about the Book of Abraham. For example, he begins with a view of the "real" history of Egypt: "Matriarchal primacy in Egypt was traced by the Egyptians to a certain great lady who came to the Nile Valley immediately after the Flood and established herself and her son as rulers in the land. Since this is the same story that is told in the Book of Abraham 1:21–27, it is fortunate that the Egyptian sources are both abundant and specific." (p. 149) The first sentence is not given a footnote. One must ask which came first: the theory or the data? If the theory exists first, is it any surprise that the data selected support that theory?

Chapter 6 gives a variety of references to the role of women in the mythology of Ancient Egypt. As anyone remotely acquainted with Egyptian mythology knows, there are several prominent female deities. These personages have a variety of functions and roles associated with the institution of kingship. Unfortunately, while the Egyptian sources are abundant, they are not specific, at least not unambiguous. Hathor can be presented as the embodiment of kingship, without any necessity to posit the historical account of a king-making mother. Matriarchal primacy merely means that bloodlines are traced through the female, a practice which recognizes the difficulty of establishing paternity. The flood motif in Egyptian mythology does not presume a historical flood after the pattern of Genesis but the extrapolation of the annual inundation from which life and earth were reborn each year. There are, thus, simpler ex-

planations than those presented by Nibley.

I have enjoyed reading Nibley's publications in the past. His efforts to make the advances and dangers of philology available to the lay reader are often insightful and always entertaining. When he deals with a specific and restricted historical problem within his area of expertise, he can be coherent and direct. However none of these qualities is present in this latest work. It is unfocused, plodding, disorganized, confusing, and lacking a clear thesis or line of argument. It is unfortunate that such a prodigious collection of information could have been presented in a way that does more harm to his cause than good.

Unity in Diversity

Literature of Belief: Sacred Scripture and Religious Experience, edited by Neal E. Lambert, Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1981, 274 pages, $8.95.

Reviewed by S. S. Moorty (S. Murthy Sikha), associate professor of English at Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah. He teaches Eastern literature in translation with general emphasis on Indian, Chinese, and Japanese religious literature.

Religion is, undeniably, an ever-present part of human life. And the several eastern and western religions are like colors of the same rainbow of spiritual and moral truths. The literatures of belief and faith that have grown organically with the religions are profoundly significant spiritual documents that have continually shone when man was lost in darkness.

Should there be one single world religion? Is it confusing for man to be surrounded by varieties of religions and types? To such similar questions, William James's answer was an emphatic "No." His reason: "I do not see how it is possible that creatures in such different positions and with such different powers as human individuals are, should have exactly the same functions and the same duties." I do not wish to surmise whether religions give rise to sacred books or whether scriptures produce the religions. Whatever be the case, I do recognize that "people derive their identity from a sacred book." It is from this point of view that I have carefully studied *Literature of Belief*, fifth in the Religious Studies Monograph Series of Brigham Young University's Religious Studies Center, a collection of thirteen articles that focus on the world's leading ancient and modern religious traditions — Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Mormonism. All the readers of this rich collection, I am sure, will have experienced a religious odyssey by covering all the essays.

The editor of this volume, Neal Lambert, has shrewdly and sensibly arranged the diverse essays — both the papers presented originally at the Symposium on the Literature of Belief sponsored by BYU's Religious Studies Center in March 1979 and five additional studies prepared under other auspices — with a succinct introduction to each.

Part One of the book deals with Jewish, Christian, and Islamic scriptures and religious thought. Herbert Schneidau in his presentation on "Biblical Style and Western Literature" argues that "the character of literature in the West follows the biblical pattern in much more important respects than it follows the Homeric or mythological." Relying heavily on Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Schneidau chastises Western critics for assuming that "the so-called classics, that is, the literary works of the Hellenistic world, were the matrix and nurturer of our literature. These critics seem not to have read Auerbach." Though polemical in nature, Schneidau's views demonstrate a need for a new approach for an evaluation of western literature in the context of biblical thinking.

Of the thirteen essays, four specifically relate to typology. Gerald Lund's "Old Testament Types and Symbols," loaded with informative details is addressed to the beginning student with helpful guidelines, and tells the reader how a given event should be interpreted typologically. He asserts that "the Old Testament is not pre-gospel but primary gospel" and that "the Old Testament, especially in its types and symbols, will richly reflect that gospel, the gospel of preparation for faith in Christ." The article particularly appeals to the common reader both because of its simplicity and discussion of special holidays and festivals.

Placed appropriately next to Lund's essay is Richard L. Anderson's "Types of Christian Revelation," a convincing examination of several types of revelation — spiritual gifts and visions, the ministry of angels, direct manifestations of the Lord, and guidance by the Holy Spirit — in New Testament times. "It would be possible for the outsider to see the Holy Ghost simply as the Christians' name for the spirit working with all men's minds and enlightening those in many religions," he observes. As a non-Christian, I find Anderson's statement appealing and satisfying.

Part One concludes with Fazlur Rahman's "Elements of Belief in the *Qur'an*." Rahman, a leading authority on the culture and religion of Islam, writes in a nonscholarly fashion, perhaps deliberately, keeping in mind his western audience. Though the essay seems introductory, it does carry tremendous appeal inasmuch as it specifically focuses on God and his doings and benevolence. "No nation, no people, no community in the world may claim exclusive rights over God." The *Qur'an* says, "God's guidance is not limited to Jews and Arabs. God has been sending these messages all over the world to all people in all nations. . . . Every people has had an invitation to goodness and a warning against evil." It is interesting to know that the *Qur'an* emphasizes man's success or failure, reminiscent of the Hindu concept of karma or the Christian ethical view of "as you sow, so shall you reap."

Part Two concentrates on the eastern religious thought and sacred scriptures of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Taoism. P. Lal's presentation, "The Hindu Experience: An Examination of Folklore and Sacred Texts," though richly embellished with parable and personal anecdotes, does not really examine the Hindu sacred texts because Lal denies that India has a "literature of belief." First, Lal's title for the essay is partly misleading; secondly, his denial is disputable. What about the Vedas? What are the Upanishads? Is the *Bhagavad Gita* merely an oral piece passed on from one generation to the other? Is it not a literature of belief, of philosophy? Yes, Lal explains Hindu experience wittily, gracefully, and half-ironically. I wish he had included an appendix on Hindu scriptures at least for publication purposes.

Joseph Campbell, a renowned world authority in comparative mythology, in his "Masks of Oriental Gods: Symbolism of Kundalini Yoga," offers a tongue-in-cheek definition of mythology ("mythology is *other* people's religion") and explains the steps of India's greatest gift to the world, "the Kundalini yoga." (A working definition of yoga is "the intentional stopping of the spontaneous activity of the mindstuff.") This essay is demanding.

I immensely enjoyed Wing-tsit Chan's "Influences of Taoist Classics on Chinese Philosophy," which explains lucidly Taoism's history and philosophy, resemblances and differences between Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism and between Taoism and Western philosophy. Once again as with Campbell's essay, this presentation deserves a studied reading. Interestingly enough, this is the only paper in the collection that doesn't rest on footnotes. The charm and wit of Wing-tsit Chan, patriarch of Chinese scholars in the U.S., radiates from the essay and energetically demonstrates how the Taoist classic shaped the spirit of Chinese philosophy and religion.

Out of all the essays in the book under review, Richard B. Mather's article, "The Impact of the *Nirvana Sutra* in China," seemed most difficult. Though Mather

with his manifestly impressive knowledge adroitly sorts out a tangled argument, it fell far on the technical side of the spectrum and seemed designed for scholars, not a lay audience.

All five essays in Part Three, "Latter-Day Saint Scripture," are highly scholarly, and thoroughly researched and documented; they focus on the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the modern Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price.

Boldly subjecting a small portion of a Mormon text "to the same sort of comparative study which we are willing to apply to other texts, believing that this can be an illuminating venture, rather than a reducing exercise," Adele McCollum in her "The First Vision: Re-Visioning Historical Experience" examines Joseph Smith's account of his first vision in the Pearl of Great Price and concludes that a religion must be polytheistic to survive in our present-day pluralistic society and culture.

Steven P. Sondrup investigates the Articles of Faith, yet another document in the Pearl of Great Price, in his cogent essay "On Confessing Belief: Thoughts on the Language of the Articles of Faith." Sondrup's explanation of "I believe" and "we believe" in the larger context of *agree*, *trust*, and *faith* is fascinating and meaningful. His analysis of the contrast between the Articles of Faith and Catholic and Protestant creeds further provides scope to study comparative features of religions including the linguistic significance of the scriptural texts.

The three remaining essays in this part deal with typology in the Book of Mormon. I disapproved of the editor's sequence. From the reader's point of view, it would have read more smoothly to have George S. Tate's essay, "The Typology of the Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon" precede Bruce Jorgensen's "The Dark Way to the Tree: Typological Unity in the Book of Mormon," and Richard Rust's " 'All Things Which Have Been Given of God . . . Are the Typifying of Him': Typology in the Book of Mormon," because Tate's article details the meaning and significance of typology before it begins to discuss the Exodus pattern. Because of the growing attention to typological approaches to literary investigations in the Book of Mormon, Mormon readers should find these essays enlightening.

Let me tell my reader that he should, after a careful reading of the essays, come back to Gerald Bradford's informed and insightful introduction. It is both engaging and rewarding. Bradford comprehensively grasps the varied subject matter and skillfully weaves the several strands into a rich fabric.

Since the volume under consideration is primarily based on the papers read in a symposium, the reader inevitably recognizes a certain unevenness in tone, in style, and even in scholarship in the essays — the range is from murky to enlightening, simple to complex, informal and personal to formal and academic, general to specific. Despite their uneven nature, however, on the whole they reinforce the strength of my belief in the perennial value of sacred texts in the affairs of humankind.

The purpose of this book is not to rehabilitate any religion nor to discuss the supremacy of any religion. Its purpose is to present a global perspective on "the religious dimension of our common human heritage." A rich fare! A splendid collection! A bold venture! Congratulations are due the directors and the advisory board of the Religious Studies Center of BYU for organizing the symposium and publishing the volume of essays.

I highly recommend this book to my readers. This is a book for the Mormon and the non-Mormon alike, for the Christian and the non-Christian, for the common man and the specialized, and for the libraries.

On the Road Again

Discovering Mormon Trails: New York to California, 1831–1868, by Stanley B. Kimball, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 50 pp., $4.95, maps.

Reviewed by Ronald O. Barney, Historian, Kaysville, Utah.

This soft cover booklet of fifty pages is the latest of Stanley B. Kimball's works on Mormon trails. Stan Kimball has long been noted as an expert on the Mormon hegira and this little text will not detract from his reputation.

The volume was written to "restore [the] memory of some of these trails" and directed to both the Mormon shrine visitors and to serious students of Mormon history. It should be noted, however, that according to Kimball, "aside from some trail-breaking by General Stephen W. Kearny and the Mormon Battalion in 1846 between Santa Fe and San Diego, out of the thousands of miles of trails and roads used by the Mormons of the nineteenth century, they may have actually blazed less than one mile. This was from Donner Hill to the mouth of Emigration Canyon in present-day Utah." The appeal of the booklet is more to the LDS reader but the first three chapters would be meaningful to the RLDS reader as well.

In a format that includes a short chapter for each pioneering venture, the booklet is approximately one-quarter to one-third maps by the able cartographer, Diane Clements. While the text could have become pedestrian, it is instead easy to read, concise, and accented by historical facts. One of the weaknesses, however, is that this short treatment allows only brief hints at the historical events surrounding each Mormon trail.

The routes covered include the major Mormon movements which finally led the Saints to the Great Basin. New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa all played a part in the refugees' trek to the Midwest. From that point, Kimball demonstrates his expertise, covering the exodus to the West in depth. While most consider these routes the sum of the Mormon migration, lesser known routes such as those of the Mississippi Saints, the handcart pioneers and Mormon Battalion are dealt with as well.

Most of the material presented is not unique. Kimball has been writing about Mormon historic sites and trails for many years and there is little in this particular book that has not been said elsewhere. Many readers will be familiar with the material from his series starting 1979 in the *Ensign*. Kimball's introduction to *The Mormon Trek West: The Journey of American Exiles* embodies much of the same message as this little booklet.

The value of the booklet is that it is a convenient statement and analysis of the importance of the Mormon migration. It appears that it could be best utilized in conjunction with a good road atlas. And while the interested traveler may be put off by repeated referrals to check county maps or to ask the locals, it will be a welcomed addition for those who vicariously seek the past.