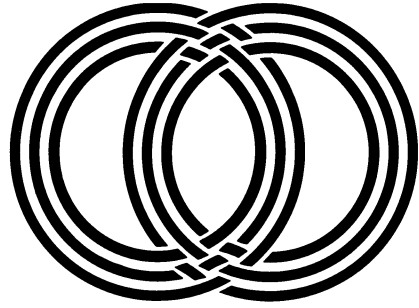


DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

*is an independent quarterly
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and to examine the relevance of religion
to secular life. It is edited by
Latter-day Saints who wish to bring
their faith into dialogue with the
larger stream of Judeo-Christian thought
and with human experience as a whole
and to foster artistic and scholarly
achievement based on their cultural
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Cover, "Cottonwood Stream," watercolor, from the collection of
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Address inquiries about the untitled pen and ink drawings, pp. 76, 87, 117, 130,
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LETTERS

"Isaiah Update" Challenged

The issues raised by George D. Smith, Jr., in "Isaiah Updated" (Summer 1983) are very important for the LDS community, yet for the most part, he failed to make explicit many of his assumptions and the resultant implications.

His paper has two major arguments. First, the existence in the Book of Mormon of portions of Isaiah 48-55 (purportedly written after 587 B.C. by "Second Isaiah") represents a major historical anachronism; and second, Mormons have interpreted certain passages in ways which do not coincide with the apparent meaning of the text.

Brother Smith writes that "most biblical scholars now find the evidence persuasive . . ." concerning the multiple authorship of Isaiah, which is quite true. However, not all the "scholars" (an amorphous and ill-defined body indeed) agree with the multiple authorship theory; those who do disagree among themselves about the exact nature of the multiple authorship and scholarly consensus is no proof that their opinions are correct. Scholarly consensus on an issue would indicate that we should give serious thought to their arguments, but it does not mean that we should accept their conclusions as facts. What is much more important than the scholarly consensus are the specific assumptions and arguments which the scholars use to support their position.

One fundamental assumption of many of these scholars is that there is no "real" prophecy: prophets did not and could never truly prophesy concerning the future. Smith seems to share this assumption as far as Isaiah is concerned. For most Latter-day Saints, denial of the prophetic strikes

at some very vital roots. However, if one admits the possibility that Isaiah actually prophesied instead of just writing social commentary in an ancient literary style called "prophecy," then many, if not all, of the arguments against single authorship vanish.

For the sake of argument, let us accept that only chapters 1-39 were written by the "real" Isaiah. Where does that leave the Book of Mormon? Since Nephi could not have quoted from a work not yet written, we must conclude either that Joseph Smith was a fraud or that the Book of Mormon is only an inspired but nonhistorical parable or allegory whose value lies only in its ethical and theological principles. Does Brother Smith wish to maintain either of these positions or does he draw a different conclusion?

There is, however, a third possibility. One can accept most of the scholarly arguments in favor of Deutero-Isaiah, except that of dating. The Book of Mormon makes it clear that Lehi's group did not leave until after King Zedekiah ascended the throne (1 Ne. 1:4) as a Babylonian vassal in 597 B.C. after the first Babylonian invasion of 598-7, and after the first Babylonian Deportation.¹ Lehi and his group left Jerusalem some time after the first year of Zedekiah, sojourned in the wilderness for an undetermined period, then returned

¹ J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 325-28. The chronology in the Book of Mormon footnotes is incorrect, based on the prophecy that Christ will be born 600 years after Lehi's group left Jerusalem (1 Nephi 10:4). The 600-year figure perhaps represents either lunar years (which are shorter than solar years) or a round figure such as "six centuries."

to get the brass plates. It may well have been a year or even two or three before they obtained possession of the brass plates, conceivably as late as 595 or 594 B.C. 1 Nephi 1:4, which provides the Zedekiah date, also states that "there came many prophets prophesying." Was one of these prophets Deutero-Isaiah? If he existed, it is not unreasonable to suppose he began writing his prophecies after the first deportation and continued adding to them for many years. Indeed, we could theorize that Lehi knew Deutero-Isaiah and got copies of his prophecies directly from him.

Thus, if we posit that Deutero-Isaiah began writing as early as 597, 596, or 595 B.C. after the first Babylonian deportation instead of after the second deportation of 587, the problems regarding Deutero-Isaiah in the Book of Mormon are greatly diminished.

Brother Smith's second major point is that many Mormon interpretations of passages of Isaiah are not consistent with the apparent meaning of the text in its historical context — another way of saying that Mormon interpretations are different than interpretations given by other religious or scholarly groups. That is, of course, to be expected.

I believe, along with Brother Smith, that we have the responsibility to submit LDS interpretations of scriptures to detailed scrutiny using all the exegetical tools at our disposal, something which, I'm sorry to admit, I feel we often fail to do. But we also have the responsibility to submit the interpretations of other religions or scholars to equally rigorous scrutiny, which I feel Brother Smith has failed to do. In many cases he almost seems to unquestioningly accept scholarly or non-LDS interpretations of Isaiah and then conclude that the LDS interpretations must be incorrect. Of course, if one accepts the assumptions and biases of Jews or Catholics or secular scholars, one will naturally accept their conclusions. Brother Smith points out that many of the passages which Christians often interpret messianically are

not so interpreted by Jewish theologians and secular scholars. That is hardly surprising. If they thought a passage in Isaiah truly referred to Christ they would probably become Christians. What becomes clear from Brother Smith's review of the problem, but which he unfortunately never explicitly states, is that there is no consensus of interpretation for most of the passages discussed. He mentions eleven different interpretations of the "Servant." In view of such disagreement, why should we assume that it is the Mormon/Christian interpretation which is faulty?

Even after one recognizes that approaching a text with different viewpoints will yield different conclusions, Brother Smith still offers arguments which might indicate that some LDS interpretations may not be completely compatible with the apparent meaning of the text. It is important to point out that there is no universally accepted methodological standard by which the correctness of a scriptural/historical interpretation can be judged. A major methodological problem of biblical scholarship is that it thrives on diversity and new interpretations. What graduate student ever got a Ph.D. by studying a problem and concluding that a previous interpretation was correct? Scholarly reputations are built on providing new insights, not on agreeing with what has already been said.

From the large number of useful principles by which scripture can be interpreted, I would like to suggest two which may be useful in the current context. The first could be called "Nephi's Method," in which a prophet will use the writings of a former prophet as a catalyst for revelation and develop phrases or concepts into new theological ideas. For example, Brother Smith criticizes Nephi for misinterpreting Isaiah in 1 Nephi 20–22 = Isaiah 48–49. But in the verses just preceding 1 Nephi 20, Nephi himself announces his plan to do just that: "I did liken all scriptures unto us that it might be for our profit and learning. Wherefore I spake unto them, saying:

Hear ye the words of the prophet, ye who are a remnant of the house of Israel, . . . hear ye the words of the prophet, which were written unto all the house of Israel, and liken them unto yourselves, that ye may have hope as well as your brethren from whom ye have been broken off." (1 Ne. 19:23-24)

Mormons generally take this passage as a command to rummage through the scriptures searching for items of ethical or didactical use. However, another reading is that Nephi is alerting the readers of exegetical principles which he will use to prophetically reinterpret Isaiah. He recognized, like Brother Smith, that Isaiah wrote "unto all the house of Israel" and not to its "remnant," the Nephites. In a very real sense Nephi is "updating Isaiah," but knowingly, and based on his own prophetic revelation. It is possible that many prophets, both in New Testament times and in the Restoration, have done exactly the same thing, reapplying passages of scripture to form the basis for further revelation. If this interpretation is valid (which it may not be) it would go far in explaining some of the apparent difficulties Brother Smith encountered.

Brother Smith seems to assume that Isaiah's writings would have been preserved only if they spoke to the needs of his own time. I would both agree and disagree. Isaiah's prophecies were preserved because they are capable of speaking to many people in many different ages through what could be called "archetypal prophecy." Thus Isaiah 9:6 discusses the new child to be born, the "wonderful councillor" — Hezekiah to Jewish scholars and Christ to Christians. Viewed as an archetypal prophecy, it could be both. Likewise, the Servant could be seen as Israel, Abraham, David, the Exiles, or Christ, all equally applicable, for Isaiah was speaking of a type or pattern.

I am not here advocating the "substitution of new meaning to be justified as a dual message hidden in Isaiah's original words" which Brother Smith condemns.

Nor is this the *sensus plenior* of our medieval Catholic brethren. God didn't mean one thing and Isaiah another. Nor need we maintain that Isaiah actually prophetically saw somehow in a vision both Christ and Hezekiah when he described the "wonderful councillor" (although of course he may have). He may even have been specifically referring to Hezekiah. But Isaiah saw the world as filled with cosmic patterns, types, cycles, rituals, and repetition.² His prophecies were meant for the people of his own day, but they were also meant to have a cosmic or archetypal dimension. In part, they meant something to the people of his day precisely because they had this universal archetypal quality. We too are beings of our own time, insisting on strict cause and effect and logical relationships between ideas which our prophetic ancestors saw mythically and archetypally.

Thus both Jehovah and Christ can be seen as redeemers — Jehovah redeemed Israel from bondage to Egypt/Babylon, while Christ redeemed man from bondage to Satan. Likewise Isaiah may not have literally seen Professor Anthon in a prophetic vision (although of course he may have) but he clearly saw his "type" — the learned man who reads but fails to understand.

Some people may accuse me of reducing prophecy to the level of a literary motif. That would be unjustified. First, I admit the possibility of specific prophecies foretelling specific events, and I do not claim that all or any passages in Isaiah or any other prophet are archetypal. Second, an archetypal prophecy is no more a simple literary motif than is the LDS temple cere-

² The theory of religious thought upon which this concept is based is most readily found in Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954) and *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1959). Similar ideas can be found in Avraham Gileadi's *The Apocalyptic Key to Isaiah* (Provo, Utah: Hebraist Press, 1982) although I would not necessarily agree with all his conclusions.

mony, the most archetypal element of the Church today. One can look at the temple as a dramatic presentation, just as one can read the Bible as good literature. But to the believer, enlightened by the Spirit, who understands the spiritual truths embedded in the literature, the words are revelation.

Bible scholars, by their relentless search for certain types of truth in the scriptures, have given us exegetical tools which we would be foolish not to utilize. But for most of them, despite their learning — but not necessarily because of it — the scriptures still remain a “sealed book.” Let us not allow them to seal the book for us as well.

William Hamblin
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Smith Responds

In his thoughtful letter, Mr. Hamblin, a student of Mideastern studies at the University of Michigan, recognizes the issues raised in “Isaiah Updated” to be “very important for the LDS community.” Indeed they are, and for three primary reasons:

1. To give Nephi access to the post-exilic writings that he quotes from the book of Isaiah — writings which describe events that took place after Nephi had relocated in the New World — some LDS authors ascribe all the chapters in Isaiah to one early author who must have foretold 240 years of history. In so doing, they must disregard the evidence that the different authors contributing to the book of Isaiah exhibited different writing styles and that the passages commonly attributed to Second Isaiah read like contemporary description rather than the prophecies of the eighth-century B.C. patriarch. Schools of biblical exegesis not tied to a one-author view have long recognized the pervasive evidence of multiple authorship.

2. Even if LDS scholars generally acknowledged the multiple authorship of Isaiah, they would be left to address

Nephi’s unlikely use of unavailable scriptures, such as Malachi (Mal. 4:1–2, c460 B.C.) and quotations appearing in the New Testament that date before the time of Christ. See *Sunstone* 6 (May–June 1981) 3:48. To some, this anomaly tends to locate Book of Mormon authorship in the nineteenth century when all of these scriptural sources were readily available.

3. But if the Book of Mormon is viewed as retroactive rather than ancient history, as inspired allegory rather than a literal record, some Latter-day Saints might question whether the Lord would inspire Joseph Smith to originate a history of ancient American inhabitants, either to fulfill interpretations of biblical prophecy or to convince new converts of the Restoration.

In my article, I merely stated the problem; Mr. Hamblin has proposed an imaginative solution. Along with the *vox ad populum* of modern scholarship, he acknowledges that there was a Second Isaiah and, unlike prior solutions for the Mormon “Isaiah problem,” feels that we can live with the reality of sixth century B.C. authorship. Correcting for the possible erroneous use of “lunar years” or “a round figure,” Mr. Hamblin concludes that Nephi actually did not leave Jerusalem for the New World at the turn of the sixth century B.C. and that Second Isaiah wrote ten years earlier than the main Babylonian invasion which he records from 587 B.C. Although his argument seems somewhat strained, Mr. Hamblin’s acknowledgment of a second Isaiah places Mormonism squarely within the *argumentum ad populum*.

George D. Smith
San Francisco, California

Recommendation: Reviewers Should Read

The last time Gene Sessions wrote a “review” of one of my books I called the editor, then Mary Bradford, and asked Mary how, if Sessions had read the book,

he could avoid any reference whatever to its content.

In your last edition he took a swipe or two not at our book *Teaching Children Responsibility* (indeed he said nothing about the book or its contents) but at my wife and me personally, at our motives and our credentials. Interesting format, I thought, for a "review."

Sessions apparently feels that books (or at least my books) should be judged not on content but on his perceptions of the author's motives or credentials. I question his ability to judge either, particularly since we have never met.

His cynical references to our lack of credentials to write parenting books do present me with an opportunity to make a point that I think many parents need to hear. Parents sometimes feel that they are not qualified to raise their children unless they have degrees in child development and psychology. Many are intimidated by the vast array of parenting "experts" ranging from child psychologists to ministers. Few academic child development experts agree in their techniques or perceptions and they often present "defensive" approaches to parenting, reacting to a child's negative behavior after the fact rather than planning for and encouraging positive behavior.

What Sessions will realize, if and when he reads *Teaching Children Responsibility*, is that it is a unique approach, "parenting by objective," where parents decide precisely what types of responsibility they want to teach their children. The book is a guide and method list for focusing attention on one form of responsibility each month.

In light of Sessions's suggestion that the book's bestseller status results from mothers-in-law who give it as gifts, he might be interested to know that people are not only buying it and reading it, they're *using* it. A national "parents co-op" of over 10,000 families has sprung up around the books *Teaching Children Joy* and *Teaching Children Responsibility*. All

the parents in the co-op receive a monthly lesson plan and newsletters and all focus on the same *form* of responsibility during that particular month.

I appreciate Sessions calling attention to our book, but I must add that I find no place (particularly in a publication claiming the literary orientation and scholarly intent that DIALOGUE claims) for book reviews that are not really reviews at all but half-baked personal comments about authors.

Richard M. Eyre
McLean, Virginia

The Wrong Stuff

It was refreshing to read in Brief Notices that Gene Sessions has the courage to expose tripe for what it actually is. Merely because a book is published by Deseret Book does not make it particularly palatable, yet too many of our fellow members consider virtually anything published by the Bookcraft/Deseret Book consortium as *de facto* approval by the Church and the Brethren. I am constantly amazed that some writers can be published when others with an edifying and uplifting message cannot get their works in print. I agree that being well-connected with the Church hierarchy must play a significant role in determining what is published.

Are we as a Church membership so gullible as to believe that all literary works by Mormon authors are quality reading and morally correct, while secular works should be avoided, perhaps banned and condemned? Shame on us for being so easily deceived!

John A. Cox
Olympia, Washington

Polarization Resented

Although I'm not convinced either that a satisfactory reconciliation has been (or

can be) made between organic evolution and the gospel, I resent reader Julian R. Durham's attempt (Letters, Autumn 1983) to polarize the issue in such a simplistic manner.

First of all, I cannot accept attempts to argue religious doctrine purely on the basis of the position the holder of a particular belief happened to attain, unless of course he was speaking in an official capacity. As president, Joseph Fielding Smith never issued an official pronouncement on organic evolution. Furthermore, this kind of argument, which has a twisted *ad hominem* aspect to it, could backfire. Could one not argue that because President Smith's term of presidency was one of the shortest in this dispensation that he was least favored by the Lord? Merely the other side of a base coin!

Secondly, from a scientific point of view, Durham is setting up straw men in his comment that, in his opinion, Lyell, Darwin, et al., would have had nothing to do with "adding God to the Lyell-Darwin mechanism as a prime mover . . ." This is probably true, but, then, Eyring (nor, for that matter, even B. H. Roberts or James Talmage) never tried to do that. As all three seem to have had more scientific training than Durham, they knew that the rationalist impulses behind uniformitarianism, which provided the philosophical foundation for Darwinian organic evolution, were separate issues from the consideration of amoral evidences such as the geological record. It is these "amoral evidences" (with or without the "rationalist impulses" which may have led to their uncovering) which also led to the invention of, for example, the television and the computer, without which seerstones the Church, in its current and anticipated millennial manifestations, might well be impossible.

It is with this larger issue of the implications of all knowledge being considered as truth that Eyring, Roberts, and Talmage struggled. It would seem, at least from the representation made on his behalf,

that Joseph Fielding Smith struggled with an entirely different, less profound issue.

Marc A. Schindler
Gloucester, Ontario

Creationism Pseudo-Science

Julian Durham's letter in the last issue is remarkable in its attempt to defend the literalist interpretation of the scriptures dealing with the creation. I thought that Duane Jeffrey's definitive *DIALOGUE* article in 1975, together with other articles that have appeared since then, had laid to rest once and for all the confusion over the Church's stand on this issue. Perhaps Durham has not had the benefit of reading these articles, for otherwise it is hard to see how he could quote from the officially disclaimed book *Man, His Origin and Destiny*. Perhaps also he has been misled by the "scientific creationist" movement into believing that the theories of geologic dating and evolution are now in question. In any event, his claims need to be answered.

First of all, it is simply not true that the scientific community has any doubts about the basic notions of the age of the earth and the evolution of biological organisms. All of the noise to the contrary has been generated by a tiny group of creation "scientists" associated with some fundamentalist Bible colleges. The churches behind this movement, by the way, are militantly anti-Mormon, and they despise Joseph Smith almost as much as Charles Darwin.

Their brand of facts-be-damned rationalizations can hardly be characterized as science. The scientific bankruptcy of this movement has been well exposed elsewhere (see, for example, Godfrey's *Scientists Confront Creationism*, or the article on the subject in the current issue of *The Skeptical Inquirer*). But I cannot resist giving the reader a sample of this pseudo-science. One of their prime arguments that the earth is not as old as geologists claim is this: If it were, the moon would

be covered with up to fifty feet of cosmic dust, since it has no atmosphere to trap and burn this material. Sounds impressive? Unfortunately, their premise is simply false — the rate of accretion of cosmic dust has been precisely and repeatedly measured by spacecraft, and it is less than an inch per billion years, completely in accord with what the astronauts found. The only study to conclude otherwise was retracted many years ago due to errors in estimating certain parameters.

Durham, like many others in the Church, rails that these scientific theories contradict revealed truth in the scriptures. But I feel that another lesson is to be learned. It seems to me that this apparent conflict underscores the limitations of the dogmatically literalist, proof-text approach to the scriptures. It is patently obvious to most unbiased truth-seekers that the biblical passages dealing with the creation, as well as their counterparts in modern scripture, are not technical documents. Their style is symbolic, and their message and meaning are spiritual. For example, even the literalists among the general authorities concede that Eve was not literally cloned from Adam's rib. However, this symbolism is a powerful image of the separate yet equal status of the sexes. Similarly, the scriptures provide a beautiful exposition of the purpose of the creation, although the time scale is hardly correct to the nearest millisecond.

Lastly, I beg to differ with Durham that the atonement of Christ or other such doctrines have anything to do with the technical details of the physical creation. And as for his claim that no evolutionist "worth his salt" seriously believes these doctrines, I have a counterexample: myself.

David H. Bailey
San Jose, California

Compartmentalization Denied

Julian R. Durham's letter (Fall 1983) in response to S. H. Heath's article (Au-

gust 1983), "The Reconciliation of Faith and Science: Henry Eyring's Achievement," states that Henry Eyring "achieved no such reconciliation in his lifetime. He kept his knowledge of the revealed truths of religion and his organic evolutionary views in separate compartments to avoid resolving the obvious conflicts which would otherwise arise, as McConkie has stated."

I became quite well acquainted with Brother Eyring's position on organic evolution and related topics through many discussions with him starting in 1947. I never sensed that he kept science and religion in "separate compartments." His often-stated position was that the gospel required him to accept only truth, that he had no serious difficulty in reconciling the principles of true science with the principles of true religion for both are concerned with the eternal verities of the universe, and that God accomplished his creations and purposes by employing eternal natural laws — the same eternal verities sought and studied by scientists.

Seeming difficulties commonly arise through failure to distinguish between speculation and facts when pertinent facts are missing. The standard works state that man (presumably the physical body of man) was formed "from the dust of the ground" and do not describe in any detail the process by which the physical body of man was created. Eyring considered the facts from several approaches: biological, anthropological, geological, and scriptural. He concluded that organic evolution is a possible means by which God may have created the physical body of man. Those who feel that such a view is incompatible with accepted LDS scriptures depend on their interpretations of statements in the standard works. Dr. Eyring felt that the same scriptural statements could be otherwise interpreted.

Statements by at least two presidents of the Church are germane. In 1957 President David O. McKay, in a letter to William Lee Stokes, states "On the subject of organic evolution, the Church has officially

taken no position" (photocopy in Autumn 1982 issue). President Joseph F. Smith in a 1911 message to youth observed, "The Church itself has no philosophy about the modus operandi employed by the Lord in his creation of the world." A 1910 *Improvement Era* "Priesthood Quorum Table" asked "whether the mortal bodies of man evolved in natural processes to present perfection through the direction and power of God" or were otherwise acquired received the response: "not fully answered in the revealed word of God." (See D. E. Jeffrey, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," Autumn-Winter DIALOGUE, 1974, pp. 41-75.)

Henry Eyring was quite convinced that based on radioactive element dating, the earth was four billion years old or more and that this antiquity was not incompatible with revealed truth. Several Church leaders, including President J. Reuben Clark, have stated that scriptural time periods refer to a spiritual creation, not a temporal creation.

Eyring's views on organic evolution and the antiquity of the earth are essentially the same as those held by many of our most respected General Authorities including John A. Widtsoe, James E. Talmage, and others.

I asked Llewelyn R. McKay about the reference his father David O. McKay made (BYU address, 30 Oct. 1956) to "the millions of years that it took to prepare the physical world." He responded that his father believed that very long periods of time were involved in the creation and, furthermore, that the physical body of man may have been created by a God-directed evolutionary process. The latter is consistent with President McKay's reference to "evolution's beautiful theory of the creation." (BYU address, Oct. 1952)

Eyring firmly believed that when the true meanings of scripture are completely known by study and additional revelation and the pertinent facts of science are available and understood, there will be complete compatibility; that before one reaches

conclusions, one must be sure all prejudices and speculations are set aside and a comparison is being made between the facts of scripture together with the *official position* of the Church and the relevant facts of science.

E. B. Christiansen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Revelation on Earth History

Julian R. Durham (Autumn 1983) states that Henry Eyring did not achieve a reconciliation of faith and science; that he kept his evolutionary views and revealed truths of religion in separate compartments. I strongly disagree. From 1938 to 1943 I was close to Dr. Eyring both in church activities and socially. As pointed out by others, he believed that all truth, no matter what its source, was part of the gospel. He believed as I do and as thousands of member and nonmember scientists believe, that the purpose of science is to find out how God worked and works. He hoped as I do that someday a Church president would be sufficiently interested in the actual process of creation to seek and obtain revelation. Such a revelation would, I feel, align the Church more closely with the vast bulk of evidence of science. Brother Eyring, in a conversation shortly before his death, expressed his pleasure to me in a similar sequence that had culminated in the revelation regarding the priesthood for blacks.

In another letter to the editor, Robert F. Bohn states that a geology professor at BYU gave his students copies of a letter signed by President David O. McKay which stated that the Church did not have an official position regarding the age of the earth and evolution. In the Provo Fourth Ward, in the Church group in New Jersey under the leadership of Henry Eyring, and in Moscow, Idaho, the Church members either thought as I did in this area or accepted my right to my opinion. When I arrived in Riverside, California, I listened to speakers and teachers denouncing igno-

rant scientists who believed the earth was more than 6,000 years old and accepted evolution, announced that all life on the earth except that saved on the Ark was destroyed about 2300 B.C. and quoted Joseph Fielding Smith's writings as "proof" of their views. Of course I objected, stating that this was not official church doctrine.

I was soon released from my several church positions. The bishop told me he fully agreed with me but that a group of influential members had demanded that I be released. This type of activity on the part of some members has driven numerous LDS scientists and talented individuals into inactivity. It almost did the same to me. But Henry Eyring's advice and that of my father was to stay with the church, that it is true, that I should be tolerant and understanding of other members' opinions and views; that they believe the way they do because they were taught that way and interpret the scriptures that way. Also that I should now and then when the opportunity presents itself suggest alternative opinions or views in a positive way.

As have others, I wrote to the president of the Church (late 1940s) about these events. Also I was told that at one time a member of a bishopric had written to the president asking for permission to call me before a special meeting with the local church administrators. I was told that the answer to the member's letter was the same as my answer, namely that the Church did not have an official position in this area.

Another pertinent experience took place in the 1920s. I was present with a small group who were discussing President Joseph Fielding Smith's views regarding scientists and earth history. Joseph F. Merrill, later an apostle, stated that he was very concerned about the anti-science attitude and activity of Elder Smith and some of his supporters. He said that if they were successful in this course of action that no more scientists or anyone known to agree with the scientists regarding earth

history would be approved for membership in the Quorum of Twelve. He also stated that if Elder Smith were successful, the time when the First Presidency might receive revelation to update the church position in this area would be greatly delayed.

It has always been difficult for me to understand why many Mormons accept the opinions of Joseph Fielding Smith in regard to earth history as the word of God but reject statements by other Church leaders including James E. Talmage, John A. Widtsoe, B. H. Roberts, Brigham Young, and even Joseph Smith that either allow or support different views. I also resent the tendency of this same group to brag about the number of LDS scientists to their non-member friends. They fully accept the discoveries of science in most areas, including the development of radio, television, and the placing of men on the moon. But when scientists with equally rigorous minds and equally sophisticated methods tell us that the earth is billions of years old and that life on earth has slowly evolved from more simple to more complex forms, they totally reject their conclusions.

All members of the Church are disturbed by the clumsy and unchristian anti-Mormon activity directed by Ed Decker and others. We should all be careful that we do not engage in a similar type of activity within the ranks.

J. P. Martin
Riverside, California

First Vision Accounts

During the past several months it seems that more and more attention has been directed both within and outside the Church to Joseph Smith and the First Vision. In a recent general conference, at least one General Authority addressed Joseph Smith and the "problems" with his historical accounts, asking us to examine the total picture rather than isolated incidents. At the same time, the anti-Mormon press has been pointing to obvious flaws in

Joseph's accounts of the First Vision, focusing primarily on early claims that Joseph had been visited by *angels*, and not by the Father and the Son. I would like to pose a practical explanation for the discrepancy, one with strong scriptural precedent.

Historians have long wrestled with the statements that Joseph had not been visited by the Father and the Son, but rather by angels. Joseph himself said, "I received the first visitation of angels, which was when I was about fourteen years old. . . ." (*Deseret News*, 29 May 1852). Earlier, Oliver Cowdery had explained, "And in a moment a personage stood before him . . . he heard him declare himself to be a messenger sent by commandment of the Lord . . ." *Messenger and Advocate*, [1 Feb. 1835]: 78-79). In 1855, Brigham Young taught: "But he did send his angel to this same obscure person, Joseph Smith jun., . . . and informed him that he should not join any of the religious sects of the day" (*Journal of Discourses* 2:171). George A. Smith in 1868 said: "The Lord answered his prayers, and revealed to Joseph, by the ministration of angels, the true condition of the religious world. When the holy angel appeared, Joseph inquired. . . ." (*Journal of Discourses* 12:333-34). John Taylor said in 1879, "When the Prophet Joseph asked the angel which of the sects was right that he might join it. . . . the angel merely told him to join none of them. . . ." (*Journal of Discourses* 20:167). Heber C. Kimball was even more emphatic: "Do you suppose that God in person called upon Joseph Smith, our Prophet? God called upon him; But God did not come himself and call. . . ." (*Journal of Discourses* 6:29)

While it is possible to argue that these early Church leaders simply misunderstood Joseph's explanation of the First Vision, this explanation somewhat strains credulity.

One must assume that receiving a vision such as Joseph's would be an overwhelming experience. If he had observed the Father and the Son in a blazing shaft of light, possibly accompanied by other

personages and delivering a complex and profound message, how might he be expected to react? A possible answer, I would submit, may be suggested by John 12:28-29 as Jesus entered Jerusalem. Before the assemblage, Jesus implored: "Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. The people therefore, that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered: others said, An *angel* spoke to him."

One may argue that it was the unprepared and spiritually less mature who identified the voice as thunder or that of an angel. Certainly it does young Joseph no disservice to acknowledge that he had not yet attained his full stature as a prophet. Could his conflicting reports have originated in the same temporary confusion? Sound biblical precedent exists for the discrepancies found in Joseph's accounts of the First Vision: although God does occasionally work in wondrous ways to get his message across, we may be dealing here — as in John 12 — with a simple case of shock.

Michael J. Barrett
Sterling Park, Virginia

Transformation into a Nonperson

I greatly enjoyed Davis Bitton's essay in the Fall *DIALOGUE*. The story about the missing portrait of Leonard Arrington is touching. I visited the site, and there was indeed no portrait of him. There was a small card with an explanation.

In the Soviet Union, when a leader falls from power, he can become a historical nonperson. For example, when Lavrenty Beria lost the power struggle following the death of Stalin, and his life as well, the *Soviet Encyclopedia* sent all its subscribers a long article on the Bering Sea, which was to be inserted in the place of the pages with the same page numbers containing a laudatory biography of Beria. The offending pages were to be cut out and

burned. Similarly, photos of Mao which contained an image of his wife have been officially retouched to remove her, now that the Gang of Four is in disgrace.

In contrast, in the Great Hall of the Palace of the Doges in Venice, there are portraits of all the men who have ever held that title. Several are covered with black cloth. Those are the ones who were convicted of treason. Their portraits are still there, under the black cloth.

The Venetians believed that they should acknowledge the unpleasant facts of their history. The communists believe that they can erase them. What does Davis Bitton's story about the portrait of Leonard Arrington suggest the Mormon view is?

Noel de Nevers
Salt Lake City, Utah

Fear the Paranoid Fears

I've read just about all of the Fall 1983 issue and in particular enjoyed the gentle essay, Davis Bitton's "Ten Years in Camelot." It is very disturbing to see any leaders, civil or religious, who are afraid of honest histories and regard history only as another tool of the public relations organs of the Church. If the Church is really true, as we say it is, if we are really led by men directly inspired by God, then what have we to fear from honest, searching histories that do not shy away from the tough questions? The truth of the gospel will always shine through if it is true. The only thing we have to fear are the paranoid fears of some of our leaders.

Let me also tell Jess Allen that his cover photograph is wonderful, wonderful work. This may be one of the most attractive covers DIALOGUE has ever used. I'd encourage you to use more photography on your covers.

Kenneth David Driggs
Tallahassee, Florida

The Chevrolet . . .

Recorded there, we saw today
That Jolley sold The Chevrolet.
We found it all in issue three:
The weighty things for you and me,
The poems, doctrine, prosey stuff,
The sour grapes, reviews — enough
To warm the hearts of all astray.
But nothing topped The Chevrolet.

Their axes grind with sparks aspray,
The serious with their things to say.
They send their words to us below
And pile it on till some say no.
We've read it all and stayed for more
For fifteen years, till eyes were sore
Waiting for the frabjous day.
It came — in Jolley's Chevrolet.

Richard and Janice Keeler
Logan, Utah

Thrombosis Averted

Those of us who comprise the body of Mormon readers for whom DIALOGUE (with surgical precision) probes, dilates, stimulates, and refreshes our intellectual/spiritual circulatory system (on occasion, even preventing a thrombosis) extend our thanks!

Bouquets also to your dedicated staff. As editor of the CSUF General Catalog for eleven years, I have had intimate experience with unreal deadlines, last-second administrative revisions, politically sensitive copy, format changes that looked stunning on the drawing board and ghastly in print, etc., etc. We learn, don't we, to rely heavily on those precious few who come early and stay late.

Ruth B. Thornton
Fresno, California

Gratefully Charter

Recent issues of DIALOGUE have made me sense more fully than before how much I owe the journal for its stimulating con-

tent. Perhaps the sheer number of issues published this past year has affected me in this way. Whatever the reason, I would like to express belated thanks to all of *DIALOGUE*'s editors and authors for their varied and valuable contributions over the years.

Two articles of this past year illustrate my debt to your publication. George Smith's essay summarizes nicely and concisely many of the problems I have encountered in teaching Isaiah to LDS Sunday School classes. The Christian/Mormon tendency to take Isaiah literally and try to apply his views to much later times blinds us to the book's literary beauties and historical insights. But how does one teach Isaiah in the context of *his* time without undermining the faith of latter-day believers who find in the book so many signs of *their* times?

Many more historians may write about the golden decade of Church history that has just ended, but I doubt that any of them will offer us a more poignant account than Davis Bitton has. Certainly the move of Arrington and Company to Provo has created a big void in the Church Office Building. However, their work and influence will continue, if only because they have involved and inspired so many of those now engaged in Mormon studies. Church history should thrive all the more at the Y, with still another group of historians added to its faculty. How ironic that the demise of the Church Historical Department should coincide with the rise of the current Church Historian within the hierarchy!

Ben Bennion
Bayside, California

Waterless Wave of the Future

Although I devoted only one sentence to Max Weber's interpretation of bureaucracy in my article "Battling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel" (Winter 1982) M. P. Marchant challenges my

use of him. Whether Marchant is correct, I will leave to the sociologists. It seems to me that it has little to do with the central theme of the article, namely that bureaucratic problems have impeded the construction of Mormon chapels. Since I was really more interested in Tony Kimball's interpretation than in Weber's, perhaps I could put Marchant in touch with Kimball.

I find Richard Pearson Smith's suggestion that his own ward's third phase has no shower for either women or men for reasons of modesty intriguing. Our stake center is about to go into the ground and likewise will have no shower. It must be the wave of the future. We'd all better get used to long, sweaty drives.

Dennis L. Lythgoe
Abington, Massachusetts

Being Both

I was carefully explaining to the children at dinner last night about Richard Poll's Iron Rod vs. Liahona Mormons. I had just gotten them to understand the distinction and was about to launch into a lengthy peroration on the subject, when Lisa (age six) said simply, "We're both."

That was of course exactly the point. The value of Poll's exercise lies not in labeling ourselves one or the other, but in pointing out both necessary aspects of our gospel life. If we *aren't* both, something is wrong.

Douglass F. Taber
Newark, Delaware

Among the Mormons — at Last

Thank you very much for listing me in "Among the Mormons" after fourteen years of publishing. Enclosed is a list of six items which should have been listed, but were not. "The Joseph Smith Papyri," *DIALOGUE* 4 (1969): 129-32; "El or Yahweh? An Observation of Patai's Comment on Segler's Review," *American Anthropologist*

74 (Dec. 1972); "About El, Asherah, Yahweh and Anath," *American Anthropologist*, 75 (August 1973): 1180-81; "The Structure of Genesis, Chapter One," *DIALOGUE* 8 (1973): 3-4; "Two Notes on Mormon Words," *Conference on the Language of the Mormons*, April 8 1974. Language Research Center, Brigham Young University; and "Lévi-Strauss and Mormonism," *American Anthropologist* 76 (June 1974).

Ben Urrutia
Provo, Utah

P.S. I also renounce and repent of the letter (*DIALOGUE* 7:4) criticizing Clifton Jolley's review of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*. In the years since then, I have become disenchanted with Richard Bach and quite enchanted with Brother Jolley's writings, especially his account of Gene England's famous Chevy.

"Fruit" Truth Test

I read Foster's article encouraging LDS members to stop trying to convert other Christians to Mormonism, and to be less authoritarian like the Quakers. If Foster would read the scriptures, he would discover that God encourages his followers to convert others to the truth. In fact, under the doctrine of "by their fruits ye shall know them," one may discern which church is the right one, by comparatively

and scientifically analyzing their respective "fruits."

In the United States we have about 50 million Roman Catholics; their church has been going for about 1,950 years; this means they have 25,641 members to show for each year of their existence. The corresponding LDS number (5 million members divided by 153 years) is a whopping 32,680 members per year. But the Quaker number (140,000 divided by 331 years) is only 423.

Rustin Kaufman
Rexburg, Idaho

Stanley B. Kimball proposes to coordinate a search about the fate of four mummies and an unknown quantity of papyri, sold on 26 May 1856 in Nauvoo to a certain A. Combs, who afterwards resold two mummies and some of the papyri to the St. Louis Museum. (See Kimball's article in the Winter 1983 issue). The initial project is to search every extant issue of every significant United States newspaper from 26 May-December 1856. Tell him what papers and what period you will search at School of Social Sciences, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, Edwardsville, IL, 62026.

1983 *DIALOGUE*–SILVER FOUNDATION AWARD WINNERS

HISTORY

First Place \$200

RICHARD VAN WAGONER, "Mormon Polyandry in Theory and Practice"

Second Place \$100

LEO LYMAN, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case"

Third Place \$50

WILLIAM P. MACKINNON, "The Utah Expedition of 1857–58: Perspective from 125 Years Later"

THEOLOGY

First Place \$200

GRANT UNDERWOOD, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology"

Second Place \$100

GARLAND E. TICKEMYER, "Joseph Smith and Process Theology"

FICTION

First Place \$200

JOHN BENNION, "The Interview"

Second Place \$100

PATRICIA HART, "The Black Door"

Third Place \$50

CRAIG WITHAM, "A Rock, A Fir, and a Magpie"

DIALOGUE 1984 WRITING AWARDS

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT announces \$2,000 in awards to encourage new writing in Mormon studies and letters. Up to three first place awards of \$300 will be given. The remainder of the money will be distributed among the other winners — distribution to be determined by the judges.

A manuscript submitted at any time during 1984 is eligible, provided it has not been submitted previously to *DIALOGUE* and has not been previously published or is currently being considered for publication elsewhere. Papers presented at professional gatherings are eligible for consideration.

DIALOGUE reserves the first right of refusal and, at the time it announces the prizes, will inform the author if his or her manuscript is being considered for publication. *DIALOGUE* also reserves the right to edit manuscripts in its usual fashion in preparation for publication.

DIALOGUE welcomes submissions dealing with Mormon-related aspects of sociology, theology, history, personal essays, scriptural study, anthropology, law, administration, and philosophy, as well as fiction, poetry, and criticism of contemporary or past Mormon literary works.

Manuscripts must be typed and double-spaced (including notes and block quotations) and follow *Chicago Manual of Style* in format and documentation. One original and two photocopies of each manuscript must be submitted with a self-addressed, stamped envelope not later than 31 December 1984. In general, manuscripts should not exceed forty double-spaced pages, including notes.

All manuscripts will be judged on the basis of their contribution to their field, clarity and felicity of expression, and responsible, innovative thought. Judges will be selected by the Dialogue Executive Committee from its board of editors, staff, and other qualified persons. Announcements of winners will be made in the Spring 1985 issue.

An Interview with Sterling McMurrin

Editors' Note: Sterling M. McMurrin has been a leading philosopher and educator for many years. Among his publications pertaining to the philosophy of religion are *Religion, Reason, and Truth* (1982) and *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (1965). He served as United States Commissioner of Education under President John F. Kennedy and is currently E. E. Ericksen Distinguished Professor at the University of Utah. The *7th East Press*, then an independent student newspaper at Brigham Young University, published this interview on 11 January, 1983. The concluding comments on ritual and the temple were added by Ostler and McMurrin later. Some adjustment in the order of the questions and answers has been made in the interest of consolidating related comments. Paragraphing, punctuation and typographical errors have been corrected silently, when necessary.

Blake Ostler, a student at BYU in the fall of 1981 when the interview was conducted, is now a law student and member of the *Law Review* staff at the University of Utah. He has a degree in philosophy and psychology from Brigham Young University. The *Seventh East Press* ceased publishing in the spring of 1983. Reprinted in expanded form by permission.

OSTLER: Let's start at the beginning. Where were you born and educated.

McMURRIN: I was born at Woods Cross, just north of Salt Lake City. In the twenties my family moved to Los Angeles, and I went to high school there. I started at UCLA and later came to the University of Utah, where I received an A.B. in history and an M.A. in philosophy. I received a Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Southern California and did postdoctoral work at Columbia, Princeton, and Union Theological Seminary.

O: At one time weren't you affiliated with the seminary and institute program?

M: Yes. I began to teach seminary in 1937. I was also an instructor in the Religious Conference at Arizona State University and later was director of

the Institute at the University of Arizona. In some ways this was a pleasant experience, and in others it was not. The most pleasant part of it was, of course, the personal relationships with students and with others with whom I was associated. I have in mind especially Frank L. West, the Church commissioner of education, and Lynn Bennion, the director of seminaries. I also had a very pleasant relationship with some, but not all, of the stake authorities with whom I was associated. I left the institute at the University of Arizona to join the faculty of the School of Philosophy of the University of Southern California.

O: What is your emphasis in philosophy?

M: I have been involved with most branches of academic philosophy with the exception of aesthetics. I have no competence in aesthetics or the arts. My main interest has been the history of philosophy and the philosophy of history. I have no strong attachments to any philosophical school.

O: Are you interested in the recent and current hassles over the writing of Church history?

M: I have read the address on the writing and teaching of Church history by Apostle [Boyd K.] Packer, as well as the replies to his statement by Michael Quinn, Jackson Newell, and James Clayton.

O: Do you think that it is fair for Church authorities to stipulate the type of history that Church historians should write?

M: Well, that depends on what you mean by fair. The Church authorities control the Church, and I suppose they can do as they please in such matters. I'm sure that some of them would like the histories to be honest. But obviously some want distorted history — distorted to order.

O: Is it honest to control history?

M: Certainly dishonest history isn't honest, but it isn't always possible to determine what written history is honest. Besides, honesty is not a particularly common virtue of churches or of any other organization. There is nothing new about churches perverting history. This has been done ever since we have had churches, and I suppose it will continue as long as churches persist. Most institutions, including churches, governments, and government agencies, look out for themselves and . . . often find it advantageous to ignore historical facts and do a little reconstructing here and there on their own history. Most certainly this is not a new thing in our Church. But a historian who intentionally distorts history is obviously a dishonest historian. He doesn't deserve to be called a historian. If the Church is interested in controlling its history to make it look better than it actually is or as a means of achieving a measure of thought control over its people, Apostle Packer's advice and instruction would seem to be quite in order. His task is to pursue the purposes of the Church as a defender of the faith. It would appear that he feels that the end justifies questionable means.

O: Would you see this as desirable?

M: Of course not. It is reprehensible and odious. I suspect that in this matter the situation is worse now than it has ever been in my lifetime. A historian who does not respect all the relevant facts available to him and make a

serious effort to give honest interpretive explanations of those facts simply isn't a historian. When the Church refuses its own historians access to the materials available in its archives, it obviously has something to hide. Apostle Packer apparently doesn't want the Church historians to produce honest history. There are some things in his statement that I can agree with. For instance, you should teach children — small children — differently from the way you teach adolescents, and you should teach adolescents differently from the way you teach adults. The problem, in part, is that Apostle Packer wants to treat the adults as children. But this is nothing new in the Church. Much of our adult literature and teaching is on a child's level.

But in one sense I'm not sure that the historians who are in the Church's employ have solid grounds for taking issue with Packer's paper. Surely they knew when they hired on as historians for the Church that they would be up against this sort of thing. I have known that for a good many years. Yet when I became an employee of the Church back in the thirties, in many ways things were quite different — believe it or not. Those of us who went into seminary and institute teaching in those days were really led to believe that the Church wanted genuinely honest scholarship, and I think that for the most part it did. But I don't see very much evidence that warrants that belief today.

I don't know who among the General Authorities would agree with Elder Packer in the matter of Church history, but I am sure that the average run of LDS people would fully approve of his views. After all, the Church doesn't pay its teachers to destroy the religious faith of the people, and it is apparent that Apostle Packer regards genuinely honest Church history as dangerous to the faith. His basic interest, naturally, is the defense of the faith. Apparently for him and for many other Church leaders, the faith can't survive the light of all the facts.

O: Do we have so much to fear from history?

M: Sure we have. In this respect Apostle Packer is on rather safe ground. Nothing can produce a more rapid deterioration of religious faith than the honest study of the history of religion. Now, I don't mean to say that a person can't face history honestly and still remain religious, but you just have to recognize that in the case of Mormonism, the faith is so mixed up with so many commitments to historical events — or to events that are purported to be historical — that a competent study of history can be very disillusioning. Mormonism is a historically oriented religion. To a remarkable degree, the Church has concealed much of its history from its people, while at the same time causing them to tie their religious faith to its own controlled interpretations of its history. So there is no point in arguing whether a serious study of Mormon history may have a deteriorating effect upon the faith of large numbers of Mormon people. It certainly will in countless cases. But that is the Church's fault or the fault of the weakness of the faith, not the fault of today's historians, most of whom are both honest and highly competent. The Church shouldn't tie religious faith to its history. Religious faith should be faith in God and in one's fellowmen — not faith in some historical events and their official interpretation.

In the case of Mormonism, historical events have been made in effect the foundation of the faith and in a sense the touchstone of orthodoxy. Due to the position taken by official Church writers, Mormon history has such a large bearing on the Mormon faith that I think it is inevitable that from time to time there will be trouble between the Church historians and history teachers, and those who are appointed to be the protectors of the faith. Our historians should take this for granted. During the Leonard Arrington era things became progressively better, but I guess it was too good to last. Arrington did very good things for the Church.

O: So what you're saying is that the Church has allied itself with a historical interpretation which may in fact prove to be false?

M: The Church hasn't settled on a single treatment of history but has been involved with several approaches to its own history. I have no objection to this in principle because no one should rely on a single historian. Full historical objectivity is an impossibility, and there is no justification for assuming that any particular historian has the whole picture or the entirely true picture. The writing of history is exceedingly complicated and difficult. The best that any lay person can do is to read several historians on the same subject if he wants to achieve an adequate grasp of the facts and a satisfactory causal explanation of the historical events. No one should settle, for instance, for a single historian on the origins of Christianity, or of Mormonism, or of any other religion. The Apostle Paul, Joseph Smith, and Buddha were immensely complicated persons, and it is futile to think that we will ever have a full and accurate picture of them. To settle for a single historian or a single historical view would be as foolish as to sell out to a single philosopher or philosophical position.

O: That places a lot of responsibility on the individual who must judge the evidence.

M: Certainly it means great responsibility for the individual. Each individual is ultimately responsible for his own beliefs. The problem we have is that at the present time the Church is not encouraging the individual to accept that responsibility and really think through his problems. We are going through a stage of intense indoctrination in the Church that robs the individual of intellectual freedom.

In my opinion, no church can stand a very close scrutiny of its origins and history without a good deal of moral and intellectual cringing. Mormonism should judge itself by its accomplishments, its fruits, the strength and happiness that it brings to its people, and hopefully someday to large numbers of others as well, rather than by its early beginnings where it encounters a good many unsavory things that must be faced and should not be distorted and misrepresented simply because they have become stones in the foundations of the faith.

O: Are you suggesting that certain spiritual experiences were fabrications?

M: I'm not sure how much territory you mean to cover by the term "spiritual experiences." What is spiritual to one person is not necessarily spiritual to another. And churches don't have spiritual experiences. Only individuals and, in some cases, groups of individuals have spiritual experiences. I never challenge anyone's report on his own religious experiences. This is a very personal and subjective matter.

I don't say that the Church has intentionally fabricated historical data. What it has done at times is become somewhat confused on matters of fact as well as on the interpretation of fact. Many things have been intentionally ignored and sometimes concealed or have been taken to have religious meanings or implications which, in my opinion, have no religious connections whatsoever. I believe that the Church has intentionally distorted its own history by dealing fast and loose with historical data and imposing theological and religious interpretations on those data that are entirely unwarranted. Historians must be selective in identifying the data which they will treat, and they must have some kind of framework for the interpretation and evaluation of their data. It is a question of the justification of their grounds of selection and of their interpretations.

O: If, as you said, in your day they were yearning after honest history, when did this distortion start?

M: What I am saying is that there was a genuine interest in honest history and honest everything else in Church education. At least this is what some of my colleagues and I thought was the case. It wasn't that everyone fit that pattern but simply that it was a prominent characteristic of the education system. There was a feeling that the best things in Mormonism would survive an honest and open search for the truth and that even the skeletons in the closet should not be hidden from the people. Obviously, that openness does not prevail today. For example, I was personally acquainted with Dean Milton Bennion, who was . . . head of the Church Sunday Schools down to the early fifties. He laid great stress on the importance and necessity of cultivating good scholarship in Sunday School teaching. He used the term "Sunday School scholarship," by which he meant he wanted good, honest, and frank scholarship in the teachers. This, of course, is often difficult to get because the Sunday School teachers as they are selected and installed today include some people who scarcely have the time, energy, disposition, or talent to pursue scholarly work for their Sunday morning teaching.

During the several years that I was an employee of the Church, when Franklin L. West was the commissioner and M. Lynn Bennion was supervisor, I did not personally encounter any criticism whatsoever from my superiors in the department resulting from my efforts to treat the subjects which I taught in essentially the same way that I would now treat them in the university. I encountered plenty of local criticism, you understand, but not from my superiors in the Church Education System. In those days, however, we did encounter many things that were discouraging, as for instance the infamous message for ward teachers that read, "When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done." That came out when I was at the Institute at the University of Arizona.

O: Did you oppose that phrase?

M: To say that I opposed it is to put it mildly. As a matter of fact, there is a good deal of descriptive truth in the statement. But taken in the normative sense in which it was intended, it was an outrageous thing. Many Church people were offended by it, and I think it proved to be a serious embarrassment

to the Church leaders. Nevertheless, I am sure that a large segment of the Mormon people would find nothing wrong with it today. After all, the people who own the Church are not a bunch of university and institute instructors who are eating out of the Church trough. The Church is owned by the people who finance it — those who raise their hands to sustain the authorities and who contribute their time, energy, and means to the sustenance of the institution. It is their Church. When I went into the Church Education System, I didn't say things like this because in those days we were really encouraged with the idea that the Church belonged to all of us and that in some way or another we should all make a serious contribution to it. There were even some grounds for thinking that our opinions were respected. I was soon to find out, of course, that to a considerable extent this was wishful thinking. But at least many of us were led to believe that there was a real desire on the part of the Church for an honest and open pursuit of knowledge and that our efforts might count for something.

O: Did the authoritarianism of the Church disillusion you?

M: I really can't say that that was the case. I don't like authoritarianism; but anyone who was reared as a natural-born Mormon, as I was, became accustomed very early to authoritarianism in the Church. That's the way the Church is set up and that is the way it runs. There's no indication that this will ever change — at least not in our day. Like most other Mormons, I am simply calloused and somewhat insensitive to Church authoritarianism. That the authoritarianism of the Mormon Church should develop on American soil among American people is, in a way, rather strange. But it is hardly a disillusioning thing for Mormons, simply because they have been accustomed to it all their lives. Authoritarianism did not affect me as a teacher in the Church because I encountered less authoritarianism in the Church Department of Education than simply as a Church member.

O: Are you disillusioned with the Church?

M: No. In a general sense I am really not disillusioned because I was never illusioned in the first place. I have never experienced the frustrations and disillusionment that many Mormons experience. I now occasionally encounter young people who are discovering for the first time things about the Church that they should have known from their childhood. They are the ones who become disillusioned. Often they are caught in a difficult intellectual and personal struggle with themselves and their families.

I will say, however, that in those more open days some of us thought that through dedicated and persistent effort, working for and in the Church, we might conceivably help to effect changes that appeared desirable. I was probably disillusioned with regard to that prospect, as I don't take it at all seriously now. I have had numerous experiences that have confirmed my conviction that from the standpoint of the intellectual life things are not getting better, but rather worse, in the Church.

For instance, a few years ago I was invited to give a lecture on academic freedom to the BYU chapter of the American Association of University Professors. Against my better judgment, I accepted the invitation. When the

time came, the affair, which was scheduled at 3:00 in the afternoon on a day when the university was in session, was held off the campus. In addition to three persons who accompanied me, five other people came, three of them officers of the association. They were a little embarrassed by the size of the crowd as well as by the fact, as one of them acknowledged, that they were not permitted to hold the event on the campus. We discussed academic freedom, a matter that apparently at that time was of some concern to some members of the BYU faculty. I told them that I could see no reason whatsoever why BYU professors should experience disillusionment on the matter of academic freedom pertaining to matters of religion and morals as they should have known before they signed on at BYU that they would not have this kind of freedom. There are various types of limitations which university teachers encounter, and a limitation upon this kind of freedom is to be taken for granted at BYU.

I have the impression that some years ago the situation was somewhat different, especially under the leadership of President Franklin S. Harris. But for several decades the policy of the Church, which was clearly enunciated in an official statement read by President J. Reuben Clark at BYU's Aspen Grove in 1938, has placed severe limitations on academic freedom in matters relating to religion and morals throughout the Church Educational System. In my opinion, those who elect to teach at BYU in fields relating to religion should simply face that fact in advance. I have had very little contact with BYU in recent years, and I am willing to be corrected if things are different now. For instance, I greatly admire President Holland's decision to allow your newspaper on the BYU campus. This is a very good thing, and I hope that if you print this interview, it will not be seen as a violation of the trust he and others have placed in the *Seventh East Press*.

O: Are there certain limitations even here at the University of Utah?

M: In my honest opinion, the University of Utah is as free a university from the standpoint of academic freedom as one can expect to find anywhere in this country or in the world. Of course, there are limitations in all institutions. There are limitations which a qualified instructor should impose upon himself — such things as not using the classroom as a podium for any kind of political propaganda, or exercising genuine propriety in matters pertaining to moral conduct, and good judgment in treating issues that are locally very sensitive. Those who lack the judgment and sense of responsibility necessary to impose both moral and intellectual standards upon themselves have no business teaching in a university or any other kind of school. A university, such as the University of Utah, does not function under some of the limitations that a parochial school such as BYU might. On the other hand, private institutions are free from the imposition of some pressures that public institutions must contend with. They don't depend on legislatures, for instance, and all that that may involve. They depend rather on the largesse of private donors or parent institutions — in the case of BYU, a very wealthy church that is remarkably generous in its appropriations for education.

O: What was your opinion of the Book of Mormon when you were a teacher for the Church, and what is your opinion of it now?

M: I never did consider the Book of Mormon to be authentic. At least I have no recollection of ever seriously believing in the Book of Mormon. No doubt when I was a child I did hold that belief, but I have no recollection of it. Frankly, I am always somewhat amused by those who make extensive studies of the Book of Mormon through archeological remains, computer word studies, etc., in their attempt to prove its authenticity or to come to some conclusions as to whether it is what it purports to be.

O: Are you saying that the story of Moroni bringing the Book of Mormon to Joseph is a fabrication?

M: I won't comment here on Joseph Smith and his claims because he was a remarkably complicated person, and we don't know enough about him to competently judge his motives and mentality. My point is that I came to the conclusion at a very early age, earlier than I can remember, that you don't get books from angels and translate them by miracles; it is just that simple. So I simply don't believe the Book of Mormon to be authentic. I think that all of the hassling over the authenticity of the Book of Mormon is just a waste of time. You should understand that I don't mean to say that there aren't some interesting and worthwhile things in the Book of Mormon. I really don't even mean to attack the Book of Mormon but rather to simply deny its authenticity. I don't believe that it is what the Church teaches it to be. I know of no real evidence in its support, and there is a great deal of evidence against it. As you no doubt know, B. H. Roberts set forth some of that evidence in an unpublished book-length study of the Book of Mormon.

O: Doesn't that mean then that in your opinion the Church is merely a facade?

M: Of course not. I think it is unfortunate that a church should ground itself so thoroughly on something that is, in my opinion, not genuine and obviously is seriously doubted by thousands of persons who are in the Church and love the Church. But the Church is not a book, nor is it a collection of books—the standard works. Nor is it simply an ecclesiastical organization. The Church is the people who constitute it and their relationships to one another, their hopes and aspirations, their mutual love, their joys and tragedies. Whatever one might say about the Church's scriptures, its ecclesiastical organization, or its theological or historical claims, the Church is certainly not a facade. It is a living, moving, religious community and should not be judged on any other terms than its character and quality—its capacity to bring satisfaction and happiness to the people, to give them the strength and courage to live through the dangers and tragedies of life.

I am well aware that the Book of Mormon has had a strong impact on the life of the Church, particularly as an instrument for conversion. Anyone who studies the history of religion knows well that a religion that has a literature of its own is strengthened, and the Mormon Church has been strengthened in its institutional life and in the faith of its people by the Book of Mormon. But it is the simple existence of the book rather than what is in it that has made the big difference. Whether the Bible would not have been sufficient as a scripture is an open question. I do not agree with the common Mormon view that the

Book of Mormon was necessary as a “new witness for Christ.” The Bible itself was a sufficient witness as far as literature is concerned. I know of nothing in the Book of Mormon that is of importance for religion and the moral life that is not already at least in principle in the Bible.

This is not to say that there are not good things in the Book of Mormon, as well as some bad things. Nor is it to say that the Book of Mormon is not sacred literature. Things are not sacred in and of themselves. They are made sacred by those who regard them as sacred or holy and develop sacral attitudes toward them. Though I don’t regard the Church’s position with respect to the Book of Mormon as authentic, I certainly recognize that it is a very remarkable book and I respect it in the way that I respect any religious literature — even more, of course, because it is the sacred literature of my own people.

O: Is there anything at all that could count as evidence for the Book of Mormon, given that angels don’t exist?

M: I’ve never said that angels don’t exist. I don’t know whether they exist or not; but I’ve never met an angel, the kind that spend at least part of their time in heaven. I’m just saying that you don’t get books from angels. Mortimer Adler recently published a book about angels — which I haven’t read and don’t intend to read — but I doubt that even Adler, for all his theological eccentricities, would have angels carrying metal books around.

O: How is it that you could teach in the seminaries and institutes of the Church and yet not believe that the Book of Mormon is a genuine article that was delivered by ancient prophets?

M: When I became a teacher for the Church, I was not questioned about my beliefs. Rather, I was interviewed with respect to my competence in relevant scholarship, my attitudes toward religion, my moral judgments, and my concern for the well-being of the Church. In retrospect, I feel that no doubt I should have been more forthcoming in revealing my heresies, such as my disbelieving in the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. But those who interviewed me were not interested in searching for heresies. They were looking for competence in the teaching of religion and faithfulness to the Church. Moreover, they made it very clear that they wanted the work of the seminaries and institutes conducted on a high scholarly level as a search for truth. In my day there were no classes in the seminaries directly on the Book of Mormon. Seminary classes were on the Old Testament, the New Testament, and Church history. In my institute teaching I was never involved in classes on the Book of Mormon. I have never taught a course on the Book of Mormon and would not do so. Long before I left the employ of the Church, my views on such matters had been made entirely evident to those under whom I served. This was not the result of their inquiries into my views but, rather, simply the outcome of serious conversations with them with regard to Mormonism.

I realize that it is often difficult for the orthodox to grasp the fact that some of us in the Church who are unorthodox in our views love the Church as much and are as sincerely devoted to it as they are. I have found that there are elements of heresy in virtually all of the orthodox whom I have known and that there are elements of orthodoxy in all of the heretics. I recall a statement by

Heber C. Snell, the leading Bible scholar of the Church, who in his late years said, "I'm orthodox; it's simply that I have my own doxy."

The problem is that most people tend to confuse heresy with apostasy. In my language an apostate is one who turns against the Church. A heretic is simply a person who disbelieves in whole or in part the teachings of the Church. They sometimes, of course, go hand in hand, but not necessarily, and there is a difference. I readily admit to heresy, but I reject any charge that I am an apostate. As a person holding heretical views, in my teaching for the seminaries and institutes, and also in other Church classes, I have tried very conscientiously to avoid expressing heresy. There is so much good in Mormonism as a religion and moral culture, and so much basic strength in Mormon theology, and so much goodness in the Mormon people that a teacher can concentrate on these without indulging in classroom heresy. Even a quite radical heretic is not under some compulsion by the nature of the subject of Mormonism to indulge in heresy in his classes. Actually, I haven't been the instructor of a Church class for twenty-three years, since 1960, though I have met with three or four fireside groups.

I don't mean to say that some students did not detect that I was unorthodox, but I certainly have never been interested in disseminating heresy or in any way affecting negatively the religious faith of my students or of anyone else, Mormon or non-Mormon. I presume that my teaching has had negative effects at times, but this certainly has not been intentional on my part. I have never had any disposition whatsoever to argue for or against a person's religious beliefs or to try to change another's religious views. I rather think that is the reason the Lord never called me on a mission. To be a good missionary, you have to be sure that you have the truth and that the other person is in error. This is a qualification that I do not possess. (Perhaps the fact that I was never asked to fulfill a mission could be used as evidence that we have the true Church!)

But to get back to your question. I must say simply that when I entered into the employ of the Church as a teacher, the intellectual environment and the attitudes of Church leaders were in many ways quite different from what they are at the present time. As teachers we were encouraged and expected to be searchers after the truth and to be honest. Some of us who had heretical leanings were made to feel that we were just as much a part of the Church and that it belonged to us just as much as it belonged to some of the ultra-orthodox who, at the other extreme, constitute the broad Mormon lunatic fringe. To illustrate my point — I have often been condemned as an apostate for not believing in the devil, and yet I know of a seminary teacher, held in the highest regard as an orthodox person, who taught his students that the devil smells like a wet dog. Another seminary teacher taught his students that the devil is responsible for the behavior of persons manipulating ouija boards. It's a little like politics in Utah. Those who are a little far to the left are counted as being rather bad, but you can go as far to the right as you want and, for the most part, Church people regard you as quite acceptable.

My interest as a teacher is to encourage people to think and to think carefully and honestly — to have a genuine respect for evidence and a passion for

truth. I am not interested in telling them what they should believe. I recognize, of course, that the very young should be inducted into the value system of their society, but there are good and bad ways of indoctrinating the young. Do you make bigots of them — and our Church has its fair share of bigots — or do you teach them to think intelligently about their values?

I am not defending the fact that I became a teacher for the Church but am simply undertaking to explain why I was willing to do it despite my unorthodoxy. Having said this, I am willing to admit that under what seem to be the Church's present policies, I probably should never have been in its employ as a teacher. Things have changed.

I would not want to be regarded as an orthodox Mormon. I must say this even though I am aware that many people will be offended by it, among them some whom I would least want to offend.

O: Are you a Mormon in any real sense of the word?

M: Of course I am. I am a member of the Church. I was reared in it, and my parents and all of my grandparents were reared in it. My personality and character, for good or bad, are to a large degree a product of it. Its teachings continue to greatly affect my attitudes and ideas. It is the foundation of my religion. Its history is just as much a part of my cultural heritage as if I were orthodox. Its social life is an important element of my environment. Its ecclesiastical affairs are of positive interest and concern to me. Its moral teachings are the basis of my own moral beliefs and ideals. I must say again that many of the orthodox, who often are not nearly so orthodox when you get under the surface, find it strange that most of the unorthodox feel close to the Church.

Most important, the things that are sacred to the generality of Mormons are sacred to me. I commented to several people a few days ago that while I don't believe in baptism for the dead, I am deeply offended by the fact that in the new visitors' center on Temple Square there is a replica of a baptismal font of the [Alberta] Temple — something for the tourists to gape at and climb on. This deeply offends my religious sensitivities. The temple is a sacred place and the baptismal font is a sacred object. It belongs in the temple and for me it is a profanation of religion that a cheap replica of it has been produced for the tourists to climb on and photograph. I have the same feeling with respect to the use of models and drawings of the gold plates which you see used on book covers and for teaching purposes. In these matters I may be involved in a kind of contradiction, but religion is not simply a rational affair. It is a sentiment that is rooted in the sense of the holy. I don't believe there were any gold plates, but the gold plates are a symbol of something of great importance in the religion of the Mormon people, and, like other religious symbols, they should receive a kind of respect which is often violated even by the orthodox.

O: Would you consider yourself an agnostic?

M: Technically, yes, I am an agnostic. But I have strong religious sensitivities. I am an agnostic in the sense that I do not profess to know whether there is or is not a God. I do not believe that we can either prove or disprove the existence of God. In my opinion, belief in God must be essentially a matter

of faith rather than any kind of proof. But don't assume, as many would, that when I say I am an agnostic I mean to simply say in a more polite way that I am an atheist. Because that is not the case. Incidentally, I should say here that the great question is not whether Mormonism is true or even whether Christianity is true — but rather whether religion is “true.” And what that means is, “Are the things that matter most ultimately at the mercy of the things that matter least?” The real question has little to do with the authenticity of books or prophets, or the truth of typical religious dogmas. It is far more profound and important than any of these. Religion does not depend on the churches.

O: If you were brought to trial for excommunication, what would be your defense?

M: I can speak with some experience on this matter because back in the middle fifties there was a serious effort to put me on trial . . . , but the trial did not come off. I was never informed of any specific charges against me, but I am sure that the general charge would have been, as it usually is, “apostasy and wrongdoing.” They could have easily got me on wrong thinking, but I am not sure what I actually did that could be regarded as wrongdoing. As a matter of fact, the bishop who was handling the affair, a Church employee at a rather high level, told me that they had been unable to find anyone who would testify against me and asked for my assistance in locating people who could be used as prosecution witnesses. He was sure that I would know some. As a matter of fact, I knew quite a few; but I felt that the prosecution should locate its own witnesses. I did name two leading apostles whom I had fully informed of my heresies, both of whom later became Presidents of the Church, but he insisted that he could not use them as witnesses. It seemed to me that they would be excellent witnesses.

Now, you ask what defense I would make. It was my definite intention at that time and would be at any time in the future if I were brought to trial to make no defense whatsoever. Unlike some of my friends who preferred not to show up at their excommunication trials, I would certainly attend. I wouldn't want to miss it. And I would want to have a competent witness present simply as an observer. But I would certainly have no one speak or write in my defense. If the charges were completely erroneous, I would, of course, want to call attention to the errors; but if they were justified, as they might very well be if they referred to my unorthodoxy, I would offer no defense and would be willing to answer any and all questions that might be raised respecting my beliefs. If permitted to do so, I would want to make one statement, simply to the effect that the judges in the case had the responsibility to decide whether an unorthodox person of my stripe should be kept in or thrown out of the Church. I would make it plain that it is a decision for the Church to make and one which I would not in any way contest or appeal. This is a problem, of course, that every church faces. What is to be the status of the dissidents among its members? This is a problem for the Church, not the dissidents. It is not a simple problem.

O: In view of the fact that in recent years many people have been excommunicated for their beliefs, how is it that you are still in the Church?

M: In the first place, I have no desire to be severed from the Church or even alienated from it, and therefore would not request excommunication. I want to make that clear. I really have a genuine love for the Church and a concern for its well-being, as difficult as this will be for some of your readers to understand. But as we all know, excommunication from the Church is in part a function of geography. It depends to a considerable extent on where you live and the character, thinking, and attitudes of your associates in the Church, especially of the local officials. I say this even though I am well aware that many excommunications are initiated from the general Church headquarters, as was the earlier move to excommunicate me. Some persons would not have been excommunicated if they had lived in a neighboring ward or a neighboring stake. I think that is entirely obvious.

I have lived for over twenty years in my present ward and stake. I didn't move there after checking out the local officials to determine what their policies in such a matter as this might be, but as it has turned out, I live in the best ward and the best stake in the Church. There is no question whatsoever that my stake president is the best stake president in the Church, and the bishops of the ward have been more than generous in their attitude toward me. Now, of course, they may come after me tomorrow, or after this interview is published, but I have to take my chances on that. As things now stand, my wife and I enjoy the most pleasant relationships possible with the people of our neighborhood and ward. I realize, of course, that this is due in part to the fact that I don't go around the Church very often. I learned long ago that the best way for me to be on pleasant terms with the members of my ward is to have nothing to say about religion.

While I am at it, I must mention my home teachers, though I don't want to get them into any trouble. They are without any question the best home teachers in the Church. They are remarkably generous in their attitude toward me, and we have very pleasant and worthwhile discussions on religion. Having the home teachers call is one of the most pleasant experiences of our home life. Of course, one reason for that is that one of them is a very beautiful, talented young woman. Some wards send around teams of men and boys. A bad practice. You can't say much in front of the teenager, so nothing of real interest is said. In assigning a woman as part of the team the Church has certainly surged ahead. The great qualities that reside in its women — qualities of wisdom, sensitivity, and leadership — have never been adequately exploited.

O: You have mentioned orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Mormonism. Is there a true heterodoxy or orthodoxy other than the current trend in doctrine?

M: Yes, I think it is possible to identify Mormon orthodoxy, or at least elements that must be part of an orthodox faith or belief — such as the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, the reality of revelation, and the divinity of Christ.

O: Do you believe in the divinity of Christ?

M: No, not if the concept of divinity is anything like the typical conception of Christ that has prevailed through the history of the Christian church or that the Mormon people accept today. I realize that in saying this I am

committing the basic Christian heresy and that the stock-in-trade reply to me would be that apparently I think that Jesus was nothing but a great teacher or something of the sort. But that doesn't do justice to my views on Jesus. There is a middle ground between being simply a great teacher and being God, the Creator and Savior. That Jesus had a transcendent, charismatic personality and a remarkable insight into moral and spiritual matters is too obvious to permit his being thought of as simply a great teacher. I am disappointed that Jesus was so much involved with incidents relating to evil spirits, if we are to literally accept the Gospel accounts, and I regard it as a serious error to attempt to deduce a social morality for today's world from his teachings; but I sometimes think that I have as profound an appreciation of him and as sensitive a grasp of the meaning of his teachings as those who profess the belief that he is Jehovah, the creator of heaven and earth, and at the same time speak of him familiarly as their "elder brother." In our Church we have a remarkable talent for trivializing theology.

My views respecting Jesus and the concept of Christ as Savior began to take shape at a very early age, when I was in elementary school. In those days we sang a hymn in Sunday School that went something like this: "How great the wisdom and the love that filled the courts on high, and sent the Savior from above to suffer, bleed, and die." Every time I encountered that hymn, I was impressed by the fact that there seemed to be neither wisdom nor love in such an arrangement — that if some kind of saving act were necessary it surely could have been done in a better way. It made no sense to me as a child, and it makes no sense to me now. So I don't believe it. It made no sense to Tertullian, Kierkegaard, or Karl Barth, but lacking a good Mormon upbringing, they were convinced that we should believe things that make no sense, sometimes, indeed, *because* they make no sense. One of the best things about Mormonism is that it wants religion to be reasonable even when it isn't.

O: Why are you willing to admit to such fundamental personal heresies as that you do not believe the Book of Mormon and do not accept the divinity of Christ?

M: Simply because you asked me the questions, and I presume that you want honest answers. I certainly don't go around intentionally advertising my heresies. This would be reprehensible behavior. But I am quite unwilling to misrepresent my views when such questions are responsibly raised with serious intention. I often think of a saying of a very dear friend of mine, Grace Tanner, who would often say, "Nothing but the truth is good enough for us Latter-day Saints." Grace also has another saying, "We shouldn't lie for the Almighty."

O: What is your opinion of the state of Bible scholarship in the Church?

M: The general state of Bible learning in the Church is at a very low ebb. But we have had some competent scholars. I have personally known three of them — Heber C. Snell, who ended his career at the LDS Institute in Logan but thereafter taught biblical courses for the University of Utah's Continuing Education program; Russell Swenson, who is now emeritus at BYU; and Lewis M. Rogers, who moved in the fifties from the BYU to the University of Utah.

W. H. Chamberlin, who was at the BYU from 1911 to 1916, when they deprived him of his Bible classes, was a good Bible scholar. There may be some excellent Bible scholars now at BYU whom I simply do not know. Of course, there have been a considerable number of Church scholars who have been well informed on the Bible — as for instance Jack Adamson at the U of U in Bible literature — and quite a few at BYU and elsewhere who have given instruction in Bible courses aside from their specialties in other fields.

O: What about James E. Talmage's *Jesus the Christ*?

M: Apostle Talmage was an excellent expositor of Mormon doctrine, and from this point of view *Jesus the Christ* is a very good book. But from the standpoint of competent Bible scholarship, there is little to recommend it.

O: What about the philosophy of religion?

M: We have a number of people of competence, but nothing of major importance has happened in the philosophy of Mormonism over the past fifty or sixty years. Obert Tanner is a wise person in the philosophy of religion, and Kent Robson, in the philosophy faculty at Logan, is very good, as is George Boyd, now retired from the Institute system and living in Provo. Lowell Bennion, of course, deserves his excellent reputation; and I should mention Gerald Bradford of Santa Barbara and a recent convert to the Church in Perth, Western Australia, Max Nolan. Except for Truman Madsen, who has a lot of philosophical study under his belt, I simply don't know the BYU philosophy faculty. There are, of course, others here and there in the Church who can make important contributions to Mormon philosophy, but for the most part they are ignored or discouraged. Apostle Neal Maxwell, in my opinion, is the intellectual leader among the General Authorities and over a period of time will no doubt have a very large impact on Church thought. The annual Sunstone Symposium on theology is a very good thing.

O: In your opinion, what are some of the institutional problems which the Church faces at the present time?

M: I think the Church's largest practical problem is its extremely rapid growth in membership involving cultures of which the generality of Mormon people know very little and sometimes almost nothing, the conversion of large numbers into a culture basically foreign to them. I am referring to Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Granted that there are individuals in the Church who know a great deal about these cultures, the Church as it now stands is essentially an American product. Those who have shaped it and its beliefs are almost exclusively from North America, the British Isles, and Northern Europe. Mormonism is more than a religion in the ordinary narrow sense. It is a society and a culture. It is a product of America and Europe and is quite foreign in character even to most Latin Americans, to say nothing of native Asians and native Africans.

I realize that the Church has moved rapidly and, I am sure, effectively on its administrative front to face this large and difficult problem; and I am willing to assume that it will work through it effectively. But it is a very large task and will call for some serious policy decisions. Does the Church, for instance, intend to impose a Utah-Arizona-Idaho-California style of Mormonism on the

converts from these cultures regardless of whether they are coming out of a kind of combination of Catholicism and primitivism or a combination of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Protestantism? The Mormon people have remarkable capacities for good judgment in practical affairs, and I think under President Kimball's administration the Church has developed in directions that should greatly facilitate the handling of this problem from an administrative and managerial standpoint. But the real question is what it portends for the future of the religion. What kind of religion is Mormonism likely to be as it becomes a universal, world-wide religion? As you well know, Christianity became a different kind of religion when it moved from Palestine to the gentile hellenistic-Roman world, and it became a different kind of religion when it moved from Southern Europe to Northern Europe. Universalizing Mormonism as a religion is a tremendously important step, one which the Church should take and has taken. But there is no point in minimizing the problems which will follow and, I suppose, are already developing as a result of this step.

O: What is your opinion of Mormon theology?

M: I believe that Mormon theology has great strengths and very serious weaknesses. At the present time, in some respects it is in a very crude state, and it needs a thorough, competent working-over by the Church's theologians. Its chief strengths are its denial of the absolutistic conception of God and the doctrine of original sin, together with their implications of salvation by grace only. But that is a long story.

O: Do you mean it doesn't have consistency?

M: It isn't entirely consistent, but that in itself is not an unusual thing as there are inconsistencies in virtually all theological and philosophical systems.

O: Haven't you in the past referred to the life-killing veneer of theology or something of the kind? Wouldn't the uniqueness of the Mormon faith be compromised if a normative, systematic theology were developed?

M: It is quite true that theology can destroy much of the character and quality of religion. But religion without theology tends to be just a matter of superstition and emotional excess. In my opinion, theology is a very important thing for Mormonism, and Mormonism has a very good and strong theological base. The trouble is that for the last fifty years, since the death of B. H. Roberts, no really competent work has been done on Mormon theology, largely because the leadership of the Church has been occupied with other matters, and those outside the leadership who have theological talents and might make important contributions to the theology receive far more discouragement than encouragement from the Church.

O: We sometimes hear the complaint that Mormonism has become anti-intellectualistic.

M: Rationality or reasonableness has always been a Mormon ideal, and this is one of the best things about the religion, that it should be reasonable. I think the ideal of reasonableness or rationality is very firmly grounded in the thought and attitude of the Mormon people, but reasonableness is a fragile commodity. In Mormonism, as elsewhere, it is an ideal that is all too commonly violated. At the present time, there is a great deal of anti-intellectualism,

a movement away from reasonableness and knowledge as a basis for religion. This, of course, is a world-wide phenomenon, not peculiar to Mormonism.

O: Should theology be a task of the institution or should it be left entirely to the individual?

M: Religion is an individual, personal affair, of course. But in the case of Mormonism, as in most instances, it has very strong social foundations. Theology, which is the attempt to make sense of the basic religious beliefs and practices of the people, cannot be left entirely to the individual. This would produce a great deal of intellectual and practical confusion. This is not to say that the individual should be coerced in his theological ideas, but he at least needs the guidance of those who may have special competence in theology. And if a church is to survive as a viable and strong institution, it must have some quite clear set of beliefs and a firm basis for those beliefs. It is unfortunate, however, when theologies become static and frozen and religious beliefs become inflexible and so institutionalized that the individual is robbed of his own individuality and religious freedom. But theology is a serious and difficult discipline. The average individual doesn't have the time or the talent to be a competent theologian any more than he has the time or the talent to be his own physician or chemist. Nevertheless, an institutionalized theology should not be permitted to rob the individual of his right to think and believe as he pleases in matters of religion. I'm sure that most of your readers are acquainted with the truly admirable statement of Joseph Smith in his reference to the case of Pelatiah Brown, when the Prophet said, in opposition to established creeds, "I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammelled." (*History of the Church*, 5:340) President David O. McKay used the same language in a conversation with me back in the fifties. He said, "I have only one piece of advice to give you — that is that you think and believe as you please." When I urged him to give the same advice to everyone in General Conference, he simply replied with a benign smile. There's a limit to how far you should try to push the prophets.

O: Speaking of prophets, do you regard President Kimball as a prophet?

M: I certainly do. In 1978, after long and perhaps agonizing days and nights of what I know was searching thought and the most sincere prayer, with one stroke he transformed a parochial religion into a universal religion, the most important event in Mormondom since the founding of the Church. If he is not a prophet, we haven't had any prophets.

Here I should say that I obviously approach such things as revelation and religious experiences such as visions entirely from an essentially naturalistic standpoint. You are aware, of course, that the central element of Joseph Smith's first vision as described by him was well established in the thinking of his own family before he had the vision. His mother's book on his life that can be purchased today in the Deseret Bookstore gives full evidence of that. Some of his father's visions, prior to his own, were geared to the belief that the true gospel was not on the earth and the hope of its return. The first vision must be seen against the background of Joseph's time and place and family life. I think it was mainly my Mormon upbringing in a church that opposes the conven-

tional idea of the supernatural that accounts for my treatment of religion in basically naturalistic terms.

O: Back to theology — does the individual have the time even to learn and understand the theology which the institution develops?

M: Obviously, many people today have no time for this sort of thing, and in theological matters today I think there is some desertion in the Church from what have been well established as the fundamentals of Mormon theology. I think Mormon theology receives far less competent attention today both from the leadership and the rank and file of the people than when I was young. There is not the competence for theology in Mormon officialdom that there was a few generations ago, but there is plenty of competence here and there in the Church if those who have it were given serious encouragement to contribute to Mormon philosophy and theology. But the rank-and-file people in the Church can understand far more than their leaders seem to want them to know. The function of theology is to make some kind of rational sense of what are taken to be the fundamental beliefs. A good theology should have a great deal of flexibility in it and should allow plenty of space for people to think and decide and think again and change their decisions. President Joseph Fielding Smith once mentioned to me that the people of the Church should realize that there is much room in Mormon theology for freedom of thought. I personally think that they would have more intellectual freedom if they simply had the courage to take it. Too many seem to be afraid to say what they think.

O: But isn't theology also a set standard on what people should believe?

M: Personally, I don't like the idea of even discussing what people "should" believe. I think people should believe whatever they care to, that is, whatever their experience and the evidences which they have and their best thinking recommend to them. I don't think we should even say to anyone, "You should be a Mormon." A person should be what he wants to be. On the other hand, I am willing to say that churches should approach this matter in whatever way they regard as advisable. If they want to have an established set of dogmas which their people are required or at least expected to accept, I have no strong objection as long as there is no coercion and as long as a person is not under some kind of requirement to join the organization or to continue membership in it. All institutions, of course, must have standards of some kind or another if they are going to maintain their organizational integrity and viability, and I see nothing wrong with churches having established theologies. Many people want it that way, so they should have it that way. I have already indicated that I think some kind of theology is necessary to avoid irrationality and superstition in religion. At the same time, I don't like the idea of a person being under some kind of pressure or coercion to accept a set of theological beliefs.

The best kind of theology is one which is open to criticism and growth and improvement. Moreover, we should never forget, as too often we do, that there is nothing wrong with a person's changing his mind or disagreeing with the crowd. It is not an indication that someone is a bad person because he disagrees with the beliefs of others, or because his own beliefs change. An un-

orthodox Mormon may be a bad person, but his moral deficiencies do not lie in his heresies. Of course, if his heresies turn him to drugs and rape and murder, there is a problem. But it would appear that in Mormondom the moral evils are as likely to come from the orthodox as frequently as from the unorthodox — especially the evils in the white-collar crime category.

O: Is it consistent to have ongoing revelation and a theology at the same time?

M: I see no necessary inconsistency in this. As a matter of fact, if there is a belief in revelation, it is a good idea, it seems to me, to have ongoing revelation if this allows for criticism and correction of past revelations. In Mormonism, of course, it is common to insist that revelations do not conflict with other revelations, but the history of Mormonism, fortunately, actually contradicts this view. Believers in revelation are usually opposed to any policy that suggests that revelations might be in error, but, as you well know, Joseph Smith himself held that he could be in error in his revelations. I suspect that the average Mormon thinks of revelation in terms of infallibility. I think this is a most unfortunate idea, especially in view of the fact that the Mormon conception of revelation is not well defined. In recent years the term “revelation” has been kicked around in the Church to the point where it no longer has very much meaning and the whole concept of revelation has been trivialized. It seems like revelations are now occurring all over the place, or at least people think they are. It’s becoming a little like the unhappy days in Kirtland. This is most unfortunate for a church that believes in revelation. It should keep the meaning of revelation under control with rather strict limitations.

O: It seems that Mormonism has at times adhered to a finitistic theology, that is, the idea that God is conditioned in a sense by his environment, and yet we want to use absolutistic language when referring to the attributes of God.

M: In ordinary religious discourse the language of absolutes is, of course, very common. It always sounds good from the pulpit. Words like “infinite,” “absolute,” and the multitude of “omni’s” — “omnipotence,” “omniscience,” “omnipresence,” etc. — are the kinds of things that religion tends to thrive on. Expressions like “the infinity of God” seem offhand to be somewhat more appropriate for a sermon than terms such as “limited” or “finite” in making reference to God. Mormons, like most others, are seduced by absolutism in their sermons and ordinary class discussions.

But, of course, you are entirely right in calling attention to the fact that orthodox Mormon theology, if Joseph Smith is to be taken as the standard of orthodoxy, is in principle finitistic rather than absolutistic. This is a view which some Mormon theologians have respected and others have ignored. Roberts, for instance, was very conscious of the finitistic elements in Mormon theology. On the other hand, President Joseph Fielding Smith once told me that God was finite until he became God, but from that moment on he was absolute. It is an error to suppose that all Mormon writers have followed Joseph Smith down the line of finitism, though I personally regard the finitistic position as being not only the standard for Mormon orthodoxy, but also the only tenable form of theism. The trouble is that most of us don’t stop to con-

sider the meanings of words. We are inclined to be very loose in our use of language and somewhat illogical in our discussions.

In my opinion, the chief strength of Mormon theology lies in its refusal to follow the classical forms of Christianity in their absolutism, an absolutism whose sources, incidentally, are mainly Greek and are to be found for the most part in hellenistic metaphysics rather than the biblical antecedents of Christianity. It is a strange thing that many Mormons talk and write glibly about the idea that human beings can become gods and that God was once a human being, ideas that, in my opinion, are sheer nonsense and are an embarrassment to the religion, yet still hold to the idea that God is absolute. I presume the only way to handle this is the way that President Smith handled it — finite until you become God. This is a remarkably naive approach to the problem, but it is one way of going about it.

Nonabsolutistic theology is, of course, a heresy from the standpoint of traditional Christianity. As everyone knows, one of the most difficult problems faced by theology is the problem of evil and suffering. In my opinion, it is quite impossible to handle this difficulty on an absolutistic basis. I am not suggesting that it is a simple problem within the framework of a finitistic theology, but certainly finitism provides some access to solutions that make sense. It is unfortunate that at the present time some of the Church writers are returning to the old absolutism, which means in effect the abandonment of the most characteristic feature and major strength of Mormon theology.

O: Aside from the problem of finitism, what kind of theology is consistent and true to the roots of Mormonism?

M: It is possible, of course, to overdo the matter of consistency for the simple reason that even if you were successful in achieving 100 percent consistency, which is probably impossible outside of logic and mathematics, you would produce a kind of watertight system, and watertight systems of theology, if they existed, would not be good for religion. What is needed is something that is flexible and open. Such a consistent theology would be essentially a rational discipline with no genuine relationship to religion, which has to do with life and the problems of life. Religion is an experience which human beings have, a particular kind of experience involving such things as the relationship to God or sensitivity to the sacred. In itself it cannot be described in terms of such categories as consistency and, therefore, theology has to be a bit loose in order to serve the interests of religion.

But as I have already said, the first requirement for Mormon theology, if it is to avoid settling back into the tradition of orthodoxy against which it rebelled in the teachings of Joseph Smith, is to be nonabsolutistic in character. I personally think that the tendency toward absolutism, which is rather common among Mormon writers today, is a serious betrayal of Mormonism's intellectual heritage. At this point I regard myself as entirely orthodox and some of the apostles as unorthodox. It seems to me that those who are attempting to turn Mormonism back toward absolutism are in danger of moving it into a kind of Protestantism that is distinguished from Protestantism in general mainly by its possession of the Book of Mormon. I think the present trend, if I discern it

correctly and as it is indicated by some of the stuff being sold on the main floor of the Deseret Bookstore, is unfortunate. Whether it will continue in the future is, of course, a question.

Our best theologian was B. H. Roberts. He was not a top-drawer theologian, but he was the best officially accepted theologian that we have had, though even he was not always accepted by some of his colleagues among the General Authorities. He saw a lot of these problems with a great deal of wisdom and insight. I think his strength as a theologian lay especially in the fact that he had a strong sense of history and a well-developed historical consciousness. He was a good historian, as he was a good theologian, but he was not a great historian. Some of our present historians have a better grasp of the principles of historiography than Roberts had, and their research in minute, detailed matters is probably on the whole quite superior to his. But what you find in Roberts was a man of expansive intellect, a genuine historical consciousness, with good access to the materials, and, what is most important, he wanted to be honest. The present critics of our historians should consider seriously Roberts's statement in the preface of Volume 1 of his *Comprehensive History*, where he says that to write exact history and yet not destroy faith it is necessary "to frankly state events as they occurred, in full consideration of all related circumstances, allowing the line of condemnation or of justification to fall where it may." I am aware that there are some things Roberts wanted to get into the history of the Church that didn't get in. But he managed to get by with some things that probably would never appear in an official history today. Roberts's history of the Church, which is the official history, could not pass the criteria that are set up in the statement that you mentioned earlier by Apostle Packer. For instance, his handling in Volume 1 of the so-called Canadian copyright incident where Joseph Smith said, "Some revelations are of God; some revelations are of man; and some revelations are of the devil." (*Comprehensive History*, 1:162–66) There are three things in that account that could not be published today in an official Church history if the author and publisher subscribe to the prescription that is laid down in the address of Apostle Packer — three things that definitely are the opposite of "faith promoting": In the first place, the outrageous idea of selling the Canadian copyright of the Book of Mormon as a means of raising money. I don't think that would be allowed in an official history today. Second, that the prophet's revelation on which the attempted sale was based failed. And third, that he said some revelations are from man and some from the devil. It isn't likely that this kind of talk would be allowed in an officially published history today. Roberts himself recognized that this may not have been a reliable report, but he said that the source was such that it could not be left out of the history. Those who want to get the full picture must read Roberts's notes that appear at the end of the chapter.

To give another example that probably would not get by today, although it is in the official Church history: It is my recollection that Roberts strongly criticized Joseph Smith in connection with the destruction of the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. He held the destruction of the press to be illegal; and if I

remember correctly, he quoted Blackstone to point out that it was contrary to English common law. (*Comprehensive History*, 2:231–33)

The very title of Apostle Packer's address, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect," seems to me to be a betrayal of a very important Mormon idea, that the mantle and the intellect should not be set over against each other. This is destructive of a Mormon ideal. But here we are again back in history. It's typical of Mormons to want to hassle over matters of history.

O: Some General Authorities thought that the King Follett Discourse contained unreliable ideas. What is your opinion of that discourse?

M: The main extract of that sermon is in the current edition of the *History*. In my opinion, there is a lot of nonsense in the King Follett discourse, and I have no interest in defending it. But, of course, much Mormon orthodoxy has been supported by it — the finitistic position, for instance, which is of basic importance, and the idea that the human intelligence is uncreated. It is a convenient summary, but I don't think that Mormon theology is in any sense dependent on the King Follett discourse. Mormons often tend to talk almost as if God were somebody down the block, only a good deal smarter, better informed, and a long time ago, because it took a long time to get to be God, and so on. This way of discussing the idea of the potential divinity in man and the ultimate mystery of the reality of God is not only destructive to sane religion, it is intellectually debasing. There are others who know far more than I about the history of Mormon theology and such things as the place in it of the King Follett sermon. Thomas Alexander, for instance, of the BYU history faculty is an extremely competent person in this field.

O: That is the problem with finitistic theology. The first question one must ask is, "How finite?"

M: Just enough finitism to create an opening that will release God from responsibility for evil and suffering. Not enough to pull God down to the human level, however advanced, as many Mormons would have it. Much of our theological talk and writing, if it were not well intended, would be sheer blasphemy. Finitistic theology is not in itself the problem. The kind of nonsense that often shows up in Mormon discourse is not to be found in the works, for instance, of Charles Renouvier, William James, William Pepperell Montague, or [Alfred North] Whitehead, all of whom in one way or another are defenders of a nonabsolutistic theology. I personally favor finitism in theology, as I have already indicated, but I don't think we should make fools of ourselves by reducing theology to extreme anthropomorphic nonsense.

In being critical of the King Follett sermon, I don't want to disparage Joseph Smith so much as his way of speaking. I greatly admire his independence of thought, his creativity, and his willingness to come forth with very untraditional and unorthodox ideas. We don't expect the prophets to be scientists or philosophers, or even theologians. I personally don't regard Joseph Smith as essentially a theologian, and certainly not as a philosopher. He fits the prophetic mold. In that function I think that he said some things that would have been better unsaid. On the other hand, he had some very profound religious insights, and one of these insights is the basis of what I would

regard as the orthodox position in Mormon theology, the nonabsolutism which now some Mormon writers are betraying — not intentionally of course, but simply because they are incompetent in assessing and treating fundamental theological problems. For many years I have felt that Mormon theology is in principle a much better theology than it appears to be because so often it is poorly presented and poorly argued in Mormon literature.

O: It certainly is not a pejorative comment on God to say that he is finite. We simply mean that above all he is a being who is related to us and, as Charles Hartshorne holds, this relationship is possible only if there is a finite aspect to God's nature.

M: I'm glad you mentioned Charles Hartshorne because he is an excellent example of a nonabsolutistic theologian and, incidentally, one who has indicated to me that he has some interest in Mormon theology. I personally regard Hartshorne as the foremost living philosopher of religion. Those Mormons who have a serious interest in and talent for theology would be wise to give attention to Hartshorne's philosophical writings. Hartshorne, of course, was greatly influenced by Alfred North Whitehead, one of the foremost philosophers of this century. A paper given at the 1981 Sunstone Theology Symposium by Professor Floyd Ross, a non-Mormon who is one of the leading scholars in comparative religion, draws attention to the similarities of Mormonism and the theology and religious philosophy of Whitehead. This paper was published in *Sunstone*.

As I have already said, I think on the intellectual side the Church is far better than it seems to want to be known as. It has more spiritual strength and a better intellectual foundation than it usually exhibits in front of the world. It seems to me that it often puts its worst foot forward rather than its best. At the present time this is due in part to its oversensitivity to its own image and its involvement in a kind of professional public relations. It is too self-conscious and altogether too anxious to look good to those of average or less-than-average taste and competence to judge quality in religious thought. To see this mediocrity exhibited, for instance, one needs look no further than the editorials on the last page of the Church Section and compare them with the excellence of the regular editorial page of the *Deseret News*.

Just a few days ago I was interviewed by a writer for a Netherlands journal who asked me why the Church does not publish a financial statement that reveals the Church income to its members. Before I could venture a reply, he said, "I want to tell you that when I raised this question with the public relations spokesman for the Church, his answer to me was ridiculous. It was, 'The Mormon people have no interest in knowing what the Church's financial position is.' " This kind of talk from official representatives makes the Church look rather bad in the eyes of serious journalists who are attempting to do an honest job of reporting.

To take another type of case exhibiting mediocrity in taste, look at the quality of most of our current architecture. Surely the Church should be able to produce more artistic buildings than most of those which have appeared over the last three decades. Compare the Ogden and Provo temples with the

early Utah temples and such buildings as the Salt Lake, St. George, Logan, and Paris, Idaho, tabernacles. I was in Rome not long after the razing of the Coalville Tabernacle, a most impressive pioneer structure. An illustrated article about the whole affair appeared in the Paris edition of the *Herald-Tribune*. The Italian Minister of Education brought the matter up with me, saying, "We don't understand why you Mormons destroy your old churches. We make an effort to preserve ours." I have the impression that we are indebted to President Kimball for bringing that era of destruction to an end. Anyone who wants to see a magnificent case of preservation of an old, beautiful church, while at the same time expanding it, should take a look at the ward building in the little village of Spring City, Utah.

A couple of years ago I went to the BYU to attend a lecture given by Wayne Booth of the University of Chicago on Mormonism and art. It was a brilliant lecture, and every Mormon should read it, for here was a leader in the nation's intellectual life confronting his own people with the shortcomings in their artistic ideals and tastes. Much of what we put out in the arts, especially architecture, is for the most part second, third, and fourth rate. On the other hand, much of what is done is first rate, especially our music. Often the Church seems to be more interested in being known through its entertainers, its golfers, and its millionaires than through the production of fine art or through its scientists, its historians, or its other intellectual leaders.

O: One last question: What do you think of the current revival of religious fundamentalism that is exhibited on TV and is strong on some college campuses?

M: The Sunday morning TV evangelism is often difficult to distinguish from ordinary commercialism. Its great national popularity is an indication of the mediocrity that characterizes much of today's culture. As for the "born-again" phenomenon, I think it is sometimes a sincere but misguided religion and often a mixture of pretended religion and real business and politics. Those "born-again" who insist that Mormonism is not a Christian religion, arguing simply by definition, like the recently created organization of "Ex-Mormons for Jesus," should be ignored. The only problem that Mormons face in this "salvation-by-grace-only" stuff is that it came mainly from the Apostle Paul. Paul saved Christianity from extinction as an obscure Jewish sect, but he was responsible for many of Christianity's most basic errors. I think Jesus would be shocked to read Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

O: As a result especially of the Protestant reformation, there has been considerable reaction against much of the ritual and ceremony associated with Christian worship. At the present time, many anti-Mormons in their crusade against Mormonism seem to concentrate much of their attention on the temple and its ritual. What is your attitude toward those who try to demean something that is sacred to others?

M: I regard it as somewhat despicable for anyone to demean the forms of worship of others though it is quite acceptable to be critical of whatever is abjectly immoral or, for that matter, utterly ludicrous. For the most part, how-

ever, the history of religion is the story of its overcoming much of its early primitivism and immorality. I personally regard the current attempts of some ex-Mormons to draw public ridicule upon the Mormon Church and its beliefs and forms of worship as beneath contempt. Responsible criticism of its doctrines or its public actions is quite another matter.

O: What value and what function do rituals have, if any, in the religion of today?

M: It is entirely obvious that ceremony and ritual play a very important role in religion, as they do in the secular life of individuals and society. It would be difficult for religion to have a very large impact upon the moral and spiritual life of an individual or of society if it did not develop symbols and ritual as the bearers of its meaning and message. Mormon ritual is for the most part confined to the temple. The question of the temple is a matter of major importance for Mormonism because of the beliefs on which it is predicated and the very large expenditure of time and energy by the Mormon people in "temple work." Here two or three things deserve to be said. In the first place, I would like to make it clear that I do not believe in the efficacy of work for the dead, the doctrine that rituals performed vicariously by the living can in some way affect the salvation of the souls of the dead. I think it is unfortunate that Mormonism ever became involved with this strange and primitive belief and practice. It is obvious, however, that this is in some way tied to the well-known fact that some of the early Christians practiced baptism for the dead.

The early Mormons were caught in the difficulty of believing, as most Christians have believed, thanks to their inordinate submission to whatever is in the Bible, that baptism is necessary to salvation. What do you do about those who lived in the wrong place at the wrong time? Despite my complete rejection of the idea of vicarious work for the dead, this very practice is an important expression of the profound universalistic character of Mormonism—hope for the salvation of all creation. This universalism, where there is a compassionate desire to save all souls, is consonant with the Mormon denial of the traditional Christian views on judgment and hell.

But all of that aside, I have no difficulty whatsoever in supporting the idea that religious symbolism and ritual may have considerable value for those who actually participate in the ritual. The Mormon temple endowment is a sacrament which is intended to sacralize every facet of life of the individual. The principle of the total sacredness of human life lies right at the heart of the meaning of Mormonism and should not be criticized lightly.

On the other hand, there is the problem of the nature of the ritual. I feel that it is unfortunate that in its origins the Mormon temple cultus had such an intimate relationship with Freemasonry. The result, in my opinion, has been that the temple ritual is in some respects not genuinely indigenous to the Mormon culture and religion and does not adequately or fully express the character and values of the Mormon people. I hope the ritual is not beyond the possibility of reform. I understand that it has been changed considerably in the past.

Temple work consumes a very large measure of Mormon time and energy. Whether, as compared with alternative activities, it contributes adequately to the vitality of the Church may be a matter of some question. But quite certainly it is a major factor in strengthening the religious faith and commitment of countless persons among the true believers. It not only is an ostensive symbol and expression of the sacred character of human existence and makes a sacrament of the totality of life, it ties the believer into a cosmic structure that adds meaning and value to his or her experience. But there is always the problem that religion inevitably encounters — the threat that the habitual performance of ceremony will destroy genuine religious piety, that the priests will drive out the prophets, that ritual will replace righteousness.

Evolution and Creation: Two World Views

Cedric I. Davern



ne does not have to go beyond the title of Darwin's book, *The Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859), before getting into deep philosophical and theological waters. What does the word *origin* connote? Are we dealing with an ontological problem, a genuine coming into being, or with change?

While the study of change is the proper domain for scientific inquiry, the origin of something, in the sense of its "coming into being out of nothing," is beyond the scope of science. But the distinction between change and origin is more ideal than real because the scholar can never be certain that his or her quest has reached the source. By using the term *origin* in the title of a scientific treatise, Darwin was signaling that the species need not, or perhaps should not, be considered direct creations of God.

Some leaped to the conclusion that Darwin's aim was to secularize the universe by denying God his most impressive work, but nothing could be further from the truth. Darwin simply sought to discover which of the world's phenomena were explicable by chains of causality. The great bulk of his intellectual effort was devoted to this enterprise; Darwin believed it an error to concede a phenomenon to God's direct intervention without first attempting to find an intermediate cause. Such a path would not only deny him an intellectual pleasure that he did not consider the least sinful; but, more importantly, it would block the progress of human inquiry.

The next word of significance in the title is *species*, a term then synonymous with Platonic form or the Aristotelean essence. To Darwin, however, and indeed to most contemporary biologists, the word *species* has lost its essentialist

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connotation and now refers to a group of individuals that share a recent common heritage. For those that reproduce sexually, a species exists when any pair of individuals within the group have the same chance of begetting fertile offspring. Biologists delight in distinguishing species that are so close in form that none but the expert can tell them apart, but which are deemed species nonetheless for they are either unable to mate with each other, don't care to mate, or if they do, either produce sterile offspring or none at all.

The contemporary creationist, on the other hand, still refers to *species* in the essentialist sense and, to emphasize the distinction, prefers to talk about "kinds" which usually correspond to larger taxonomical categories. Aristotle was not averse to intuiting essences nor are today's creationists. But their propensity for so doing presents a problem because the ontological status enjoyed by *kinds* in an Aristotelian world has no counterpart in the empirical realm of a scientist. In short, created species would be essentially distinct from species that arise by modification through descent. The former are necessary and the latter contingent. Even so, modern-day creationists do not object to, and indeed embrace, the notion of natural selection (or artificial selection) as an agent for the emergence of varieties.

Accompanying the emergence of these philosophical distinctions, has come a substantial change in what we define as knowledge and how we go about acquiring it. Not only did Darwin live at a time that witnessed a sharp transition in the canons of knowing, but he was one of the first to comprehend what was entailed in this shift.

This epistemological change had its roots in the Protestant Reformation. Prior to the sixteenth century, the medieval Christian world relied on a system of belief forged from Aristotelian ontology and biblical doctrine. In this system the universe was almost divorced from God; natural phenomena were manifestations of immanent forms and causes rather than the consequence of direct superintendence by deity. Medieval Christians sought to understand the world in terms of the four Aristotelian causes — the material cause (or substance), the formal cause (the design), the efficient cause (the maker), and the final cause (the purpose). While today we stress the efficient cause (or process), Aristotle's greatest emphasis was on the final cause. The why of things, or the goal of inquiry, was teleological, the method rational.

With the Reformation, the Greek philosophical tradition, with its premise that the mind of man could discover the rational elements in nature, was largely submerged and replaced by Hebrew doctrine, built around a Creator-God and a universe that was both orchestrated and explained by divine command. With this profound change in religious outlook came a new episteme where one sought to decipher God's purpose and nature by close examination of nature itself, rather than by consulting the furnishings of one's mind. Exemplifying this new climate of opinion, seventeenth-century thinkers like Galileo, Kepler, and Newton sought not so much to find out why things happened as to discern how they happened. Francis Bacon consciously shifted from the deductive to the inductive method of inquiry, stimulated by his vision of scientific discoveries being employed in the service of society. But even Bacon, for all

his proclaimed empiricism, succumbed to the allure of certainty by relying on an intuitive apprehension of truth suggested by his application of inductive processes. In doing this he strayed from the rigorous example of his predecessor, William of Ockham, who also recognized the two domains of knowing but insisted that the fruits of empirical inquiry were always tentative.

While empirical for the most part, the scientists of the seventeenth century had not yet become thoroughly positivist in orientation or method. They continued to mix their new knowledge, acquired from observation and evaluation, with traditional assumptions about the origins and purposes of natural phenomena.

The extension of this growing conscious aspiration for a strictly positivist explanation of things was one of Darwin's two great contributions to science. He expanded the scope of scientific inquiry to include all reliably observable phenomena. But, as his journals reveal, he experienced no sudden conversion. He crept toward positivism. As he gingerly embraced it, however, with a growing awareness that the world may come to be comprehensible without resort to a creator, he experienced considerable unease and, at times, an almost intolerable anxiety.

Darwin was the first modern scientist in that he both practiced and believed in positivism, although others foreshadowed his approach. Newton is a classic example, postulating the law of gravity as the explanatory principle for planetary motion. Closer in time to Darwin, Charles Lyell reiterated and popularized Hutton's theory that the geomorphology of the earth could be explained by observed natural phenomena working over the millennia, without requiring supernatural events to account for massive reworking of the earth's crust.

In looking to nature to explain natural phenomena, Lyell's approach was governed by his notion of uniformitarianism, but this principle occasionally led him beyond positivism back into the realm of theistic metaphysics. For instance, he strongly opposed the idea of progress in natural history. He was caught up in the Newtonian view of the world, where, like a clock, nature goes round and round — cycling but getting nowhere. This *a priori* conviction made it almost impossible for him to come to terms with Darwin's theory of evolution and the progress it implies for life.

For Newton, the doing of science was a form of religious devotion. Yet his methods were thoroughly positivist. He sought to deduce forces by observing motions and then by testing the forces so identified by predicting still other motions. In the same manner, Darwin sought to explain changes in species by the "force" of natural selection working on genetic variation. And just as Newton argued analogically from the terrestrial fall of the apple to the celestial fall of the moon in the earth's gravitational field to account for the origin of species, Darwin analogized from man-caused selection (noting the successes of animal breeders) to the possibility of natural selection (based on the survival of the fittest).

Despite this similarity between the methods of Darwin and Newton, there is a striking contrast in their use of hypotheses. For Newton, the purpose of

science was to discover mathematical language to explain divine prescriptions or natural laws. He was explicitly hostile to the notion that the progress of science was as dependent on the forming and testing of hypotheses as on the discovery of laws. While he correctly refused to speculate on how the force of gravity came to be, he failed to distinguish between idle speculation and productive hypothesis. Darwin was confronted with his own mystery in his theory of evolution; how did variation come to be? He struggled unsuccessfully to account for genetic mutation in positivist terms. For liberal Christian evolutionary apologists, however, this lacuna in his theory provided the loophole for God's intervention and thus allowed them to embrace Darwin's theory.

I am sure that if Newton were reincarnated as a modern biologist, he would be a population geneticist happily plotting gene-frequency changes and deducing therefrom the magnitude of the selective force. But he would have eschewed the problem of the origin of the species as being mathematically intractable. Even so, when Newton broke his own rule and waxed metaphysical about absolute time and space, Berkeley attacked him as being atheistic. Stung, Newton responded by adding a statement to the second edition of *Principia* wherein he declared the full dominion of God everywhere. To Newton the universe moved in God, in God's sensorium no less, absolute space being a metaphor for God in which he moved bodies by his will, almost as if the Universe *is* the mind of God. Newton could not proclaim a greater immanence for God: in his mind science and God's will were coextensive.

Newton's view stood in sharp contrast to Darwin, who insisted, for the sake of the advancement of knowledge, that science and theology be kept apart. He worked from a kind of epistemological apartheid, where the two worldviews would be regarded as separate, but equal. As we have painfully experienced in other realms, partitioning is sure to leave one or both parties feeling slighted. Darwin's scientific work precipitated a controversy that is still with us after 120 years.

In his 1979 book, *Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979), Neil C. Gillespie argues that as science progressed, and the pragmatic fruitfulness of the positivist approach became increasingly apparent, reference to the Creator became more a matter of ritual than of logical necessity in scientific explanations. With a growing interest in secondary causes among scientists, the ritual itself eventually evaporated. While this seems to have been the case in chemistry, physics, and perhaps geology, it was not so in biology — and certainly not among those who wrestled with the origin of species. Thus, for his insistence that science be restricted in its scope and not conflated with religion, Darwin was confronted by and isolated from the Christian scientific community. When some of his contemporaries embraced evolution to explain the fossil record but resorted to a deistic mechanism to account for it, Darwin complained in 1838, "The explanation of types and structure in classes — as resulting from the will of the deity, to create animals on certain plans — is no explanation — it has not the character of a physical law and is therefore utterly useless. It foretells nothing because we know nothing of the will of the deity, how it acts and whether con-

stant or inconstant like that of man. The cause given we know not the effect.”¹

The final element in Darwin's title is the term “natural selection,” the analogical element in his positivist theory. The rank materialism of the mechanism added insult to the already injured idealists, theists, deists, and Aristotelian scholastics. With foresight and prudence, Darwin elected to postpone the obvious extension of this theory to the origin of man, due to its great threat to man's dignity, which Darwin believed was overblown. Even so, it was the materialist mechanism for evolution that presented both the most persuasive argument for evolution and the greatest problem for the Christian communities, laymen and theologians alike.

Inspired by Paley's proof of God's existence based on his argument from design in nature, Darwin saw natural selection as the agent for diversifying species — working on the raw material of natural variation wherein separate individuals left progeny in proportion to their adaptation to their environment and their attractiveness to the opposite sex. But Darwin's theory of the origin of species replaced Paley's divinely designed contrivance with a process more akin to a Rube Goldberg contraption than to God's handiwork. In doing this Darwin enlarged the role of natural selection from simply ensuring survival of the fittest (within species) to the creative role of generating new species.

In positing this mechanism of evolution, Darwin brought into sharp focus differences in theological opinion about how the universe was divided into divine and secular phenomena. Opinions ranged widely. On the one hand were those who believed God created the universe — setting it in motion so perfectly that there was no need for his continued presence to keep it going. Such a division between the initial creative role of God and secondary consequences operating as natural laws provided a wide berth for scientific inquiry.

At the other end of the scale were those who envisioned God superintending his creation throughout time and space. In this view, God was actively and ubiquitously present. One would expect that this view leaves little scope for scientific inquiry. In thinking this, however, we underestimate the possibilities of innovative theological thinking. Some theologians who favored this notion of God argued that since deity is constantly superintending the universe, there is no need for him to intervene in his own works, and thus all the happenings of the universe, from its smallest to its greatest events, are governed by divine, orderly law. To the extent that God was seen as an orderly being, this view was congenial to scientific inquiry, though it did not encourage it. Other theologians argued for an intermediate position in which God intervened from time to time, either miraculously or according to natural law. The intermittent expression of divine will, of course, was seen as a barrier to scientific inquiry. Corresponding to this range of theological possibilities, it was not surprising that Darwin's theory could be assimilated by a Christian world view without shaking its foundations any more than they were already shaken by its own theological divisions. As science expanded its capacity to explain the universe,

¹ As quoted in Gillespie, *Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 68.

theologians no longer had the field to themselves. Their devices of accommodation were various.

For some orthodox Christians, like two of Darwin's great defenders in America, botanist Asa Grey and glaciologist Frederick Wright, it was the Achilles' heel of Darwin's theory, namely the *origin* of the genetic variation, that provided a loophole for God's superintendence. By creating variation, God indirectly guided evolution. This argument by Darwin's strongest supporters in America led to an exchange of letters in which each party, with great courtesy, attempted to persuade the other. Each acknowledged the power of the other's argument, but neither changed the other's assumptions.

The idea of evolution was also accommodated by some of liberal theological persuasion, such as British anatomist, Richard Owen, and American dinosaur hunter and paleontologist Edward Drinker Cope. Unfortunately, their accommodation was hopelessly compromised as far as Darwin was concerned because the mechanism for change was not natural selection at all but a throwback to Aristotelian teleology, whereby a mystical indwelling force drives a divine plan to produce a progression of species leading to man. In this deistic view of the origin of species, God's creative act is direct in originating the first life form and in providing in it the potential for, and guidance of, evolutionary progress.

One cannot leave this subject without commenting on the most intriguing and radical explanation of evolution. I refer to the theory put forward by Harvard nineteenth-century zoologist, Louis Agassiz. Agassiz was a "catastrophic creationist" who argued from the study of the fossil record illuminated by his faith that the earth was repeatedly devastated by a series of catastrophes and then repopulated by a succession of special creations, culminating in the crowning creation of man.

Collectively, these theological accommodations of Darwinian theory may be identified as *providential* evolution. It was against those who held such views of evolution, rather than against those who refused to contaminate their biblical doctrine with any accommodation, that Darwin felt most obliged to struggle. In loading the positivist core of their explanations for the origin of species with theological freight, they presented a threat to the intellectual integrity of Darwin's theory. Like wolves in sheep's clothing, Darwin might have said, they would cause many to overlook the distinction between the old episteme that awkwardly linked positivism and theology and the new, strictly secular, positivism that Darwin so energetically strove to establish as the basis for modern science.

Despite all his scientific passion, however, Darwin was sometimes repelled by the stark implications of a totally materialist vision of the universe and man's place in it. In these moments he found it impossible to believe that God had no part in the creation of life. But even on these occasions, his glimmer of hope would be quenched by his relentless curiosity: he wondered if a belief in God might itself be an adaptive strategy generated by natural selection.

Even since the rhetorical excesses of the famous 1860 debate between Bishop Wilberforce and Thomas Huxley, the proponents of evolution and

special creation have warily circled each other, bursting into episodes of attack and counterattack, as in the Scopes trial in Tennessee and more recently in the First Amendment Case in Arkansas. Reinhold Niebuhr rather nicely summed up this situation in his essay written for the Centenary of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. He observed that scientists tend to view the pious as "telling a lot of little lies in the interest of great truth," while the religious see science as "telling a lot of little truths" which could be fashioned into a "big lie."²

The big question for me in this controversy is whether freedom of inquiry, with the agonizing ambiguity that accompanies it, will be sacrificed to the interests of those who demand certainty in the hope of salvation. It cannot be denied, as Sterling McMurrin has pointed out, that the fundamentalists have their eyes firmly fixed on personal salvation. They will not risk the bastion of their faith — their belief in the inerrancy of the scripture — to accommodate those who seek to increase knowledge through the processes of modern science.

When Galileo was having his troubles with the Inquisition over his support of the Copernican view of the solar system he felt impelled to quote an eminent ecclesiastic who opined that "the intention of the Holy Ghost is to teach us how one goes to heaven, not how heaven goes." It strikes me as a comment that has lost none of its cogency over the intervening centuries.

² "Christianity and Darwin's Revolution," in Ralph Buchsbaum, ed., *A Book that Shook the World* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 32.

The Stone and the Star: Fanaticism, Doubt and the Problem of Integrity

Richard J. Cummings



In 1831, a revelation given through Joseph Smith echoing the book of Daniel, characterized the gospel set forth by the restored Church as a veritable monolith: "The keys of the kingdom of God are committed unto man on the earth, and from thence shall the gospel roll forth unto the ends of the earth, as the stone which is cut out of the mountain without hands shall roll forth until it has filled the whole earth."¹

The metaphor suggests the growth of the Church through the process of bringing the restored gospel to ever-increasing numbers until all mankind is converted. However, the image of the monolith has come to apply to Mormonism in ways which its young founder could hardly have foreseen. As the Church has grown in size, it has placed increasing emphasis on uniformity of purpose, belief, and behavior leading to such developments as the phenomenon of correlation and a massive public relations effort to project a homogenized image of righteousness and unity from top to bottom and from the external particulars to the inner core. I know of no more thoroughgoing nor thought-provoking characterization of the gospel as monolith than Elder Bruce R. McConkie's summary under the heading of *unity* in *Mormon Doctrine*:

This unity among all the saints, and between them and the Father and the Son is reserved for those who gain exaltation and inherit the fulness of the Father's kingdom.

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¹ D&C 65:2. See also Dan. 2:34-45; 8:25. In an address delivered in the Nauvoo Temple, 21 May 1843, Joseph Smith again uses the image of the rolling stone but this time reverses the metaphor by applying it to himself and suggesting that the stone is diminishing in size in the process of refinement: "I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else, striking with accelerated force against religious bigotry, priest craft, lawyer-craft, doctor-craft, lying editors, suborned judges . . . — all hell knocking off a corner here and a corner there. Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty." (*History of the Church*, 5:401)

Those who attain it will all know the same things; think the same thoughts; exercise the same powers; do the same acts; respond in the same way to the same circumstances; beget the same kind of offspring; rejoice in the same continuation of the seeds forever; create the same type of worlds; enjoy the same eternal fulness; and glory in the same exaltation. All this is the eventual unity that is to be achieved but even now in man's feeble mortal state he can yet attain unity in thought, desires, purposes, and the like.²

Almost as though anticipating the need to offset the potential for excess in the monolith of 1831, Joseph Smith published in 1842 the book of Abraham which develops the star metaphor underlining the fundamental individuality and distinctiveness of each intelligence:

And I saw the stars, that they were very great, and that one of them was nearest unto the throne of God. . . . Howbeit that he made the greater star, as also, if there be two spirits, and one shall be more intelligent than the other, yet these two spirits, notwithstanding one is more intelligent than the other, have no beginning. . . .

And the Lord said unto me: These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they. (Abr. 3:2, 18–19).

The stone and the star — the all-encompassing monolith and the inviolate individual intelligence — constitute a basic polarity built into the very fabric of Mormonism. Either can be a threat to personal and institutional integrity, especially if it is not consciously acknowledged and dealt with. Ironically I did not become fully aware of these strains until I had occasion to discuss Mormonism with a group of Catholic students.

Some years ago, I was asked to teach a Gospel Doctrine class in comparative religion in the Federal Heights Ward of Salt Lake City. When it came to discussing Catholicism, I invited Father Merz, a young priest assigned to the Newman Center, the Catholic equivalent of the Institute of Religion on the University of Utah campus. It was an informative experience for the class and, to the best of my knowledge, was the first and last time a Catholic priest in full clerical attire attended and helped teach a Gospel Doctrine class. Several weeks after his visit, Father Merz called and asked me to return the favor, addressing his student congregation on some contemporary problems of Mormonism. At first, the assigned topic seemed to have a negative bias, but I realized that Father Merz had ended up discussing some contemporary problems of Catholicism, and I should be willing to reciprocate.

As it turned out, the evening I spent talking to a group of some forty Catholic students was enlightening and fruitful on both sides. All forty had met a number of LDS students, but not one of them had acquired a Mormon friend. They had all been asked the Golden Questions but had not given the "Golden Answers," and that was the end of that. They wanted to know why their young Mormon counterparts seemed so uptight and unapproachable, so I proceeded to explain what is expected of a good Latter-day Saint. By the time I had run through the list of basic requirements including the Word

² Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), p. 275.

of Wisdom, tithing, the building fund and ward budget, the call to fill a mission, ward and stake meetings and assignments, temple work including one's own endowments followed by the lifelong requirement to wear the garments and perform ordinances for the dead, lay priesthood duties, a strict law of chastity, and the need to develop and bear a solid testimony in addition to following the basic teachings of Christ — they were frankly astounded. They commented that the only way a Catholic could come under comparable religious pressures would be by entering one of the orders to become a priest, monk, or nun. Even then, he or she would have an "escape valve" — the confessional — which is not available to Mormons. Given the elaborate code imposed on Mormons, the young Catholics could finally understand the appellation, "Latter-day Saint." One would *have* to be a saint to live up to all that! The implication was clear: to be a truc-blue Mormon, one would have to be a zealot, perhaps a fanatic.

This led to a question about the practical implications of the almost impossibly high standards of the LDS Church. Do Mormons generally manage to live their religion with punctilious rigor, and, if not, what is the minimal level of religious observance below which one is no longer considered a Mormon in good standing? In responding, I had to admit that active Mormons almost always accept the assumption of total commitment and that no attempt has been made to describe a "minimal Mormon" corresponding to the "minimal Catholic" who attends mass and goes to confession once a year to avoid lapsing into a state of mortal sin. I also acknowledged the theological and ethical compartmentalization which Mormon perfectionism often produces among the faithful when they cultivate convenient features of Mormonism to compensate for those areas which they choose to ignore or neglect.

In retrospect, that exchange at the Newman Center taught me three major things. First, it was a valuable ecumenical experience in honesty. My willingness to admit that we have doubts and misgivings and my acknowledgment of the genuine challenge of being a "total" Mormon produced an atmosphere of sympathy and candor; the discussion became much more vital and substantial than I had anticipated. Second, it underscored the demands of being a full-fledged Latter-day Saint, demands so high that, viewed from without, Mormonism seems to demand a degree of dedication which borders on fanaticism. Third, it reminded me that the need to achieve perfection (or at least to appear perfect) and the physical impossibility of doing so almost always results in compartmentalization and the subterfuge of suppressing doubt and shortcomings.

It may be useful at this point to return to our metaphor of the stone and the star. It seems to me that the more we emphasize the stone, the more our monolithic thinking leads us in the direction of fanaticism, whereas the more we favor the star, the more our penchant for individual autonomy inclines us toward doubt. I would like to focus more specifically first on fanaticism, then on doubt, in an effort to ascertain why it is such a challenge for Mormons to balance these tendencies. I feel that our efforts to achieve and maintain true integrity will not be successful until we can.

It is my experience that Latter-day Saints are very uncomfortable with the concept of fanaticism and that we rarely use it to designate a fellow Mormon except in limited cases such as someone who strikes us as being “a fanatic” about the Word of Wisdom (or genealogy, etc.). Euphemisms like *dedicated*, *obedient*, or *strict* are more customary ways of describing the kind of excessive behavior which could well be equated with fanaticism. Perhaps this sensitivity lingers from the common nineteenth-century view of outsiders who saw Mormonism as a fanatical cult dedicated to such religious aberrations as visions, polygamy, polytheism, and blood atonement.

Examples abound, but a few should suffice: An 1833 newspaper account describes “a meeting of the citizens of Jackson County, Missouri, called for the purpose of adopting measures to rid themselves of the set of fanatics called Mormons.” A letter written by a gentile in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836 admits grudgingly that Mormons “are by no means, as a class, men of weak minds. Perhaps most fanatics and visionaries have intellects peculiarly though perversely active.” In commenting on a visit to Salt Lake City with Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1871, James B. Thayer described a discourse of Brigham Young as being “marked by quaint sense, and yet flavored also with a revolting mixture of religious fanaticism and vulgar dishonesty.”³ While it might lead us too far afield to discuss the dynamics of the public perceptions and public relations that have led to the term’s gradual disappearance, I would submit that, in reality, it has simply gone underground.

I would like to make it abundantly clear that I am *not* trying to paint a lurid picture of Mormons as wild-eyed fanatics. We generally tend to be a level-headed, down-to-earth, practical lot, imbued with the belief that the “glory of God is intelligence,” and strongly committed to the Word of Wisdom precept that we should exercise moderation in all things, even though current practice is more exclusionary than moderate. In associating fanaticism with Mormonism, I wish to call attention to a potential danger which, given our unique belief system, sporadically erupts as an ugly reality in some Mormon circles. It can be a useful device to get us to see ourselves more objectively. As Miklos Molnar has so aptly pointed out, although “everyone is a potential fanatic. . . . the fanatic is always the Other.”⁴ Perceiving one’s own penchant for fanaticism can be valuable, just as I discovered that evening at the Newman Center. Like it or not, there is evidence to suggest that we Mormons still fit the description as well as any group around.

Fanatic is derived from *fanum*, the temple where oracles were set forth, and it has the same root as *vates*, which means prophet. Thus, “fanatics”

³ The examples which follow are cited in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958); pp. 77–78: Minutes and resolutions of a meeting held 20 July 1833, published in the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon’s Lick Advertiser* (Columbia), of 10 Aug. 1833; p. 88: letter by James H. Eels 1 April 1836, which appeared originally in the *New York Evangelist*, and was extracted by the *Christian Journal* of Exeter, New Hampshire, 21 April 1836; and p. 384: James B. Thayer, *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson*, 1884.

⁴ André Haynal, Miklos Molnar, and Gérard de Puymège, *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, trans., Linda Buller Koseoglu (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), pp. 215, 8.

thronged the temple, while the “profane” (from *profanus*, literally “he who stands in front of the temple”) was the uninitiated, alien to the sacred concerns of religion, and a threat to the sacred. It is noteworthy that fanaticism thus, from the very beginning, implied a strong we/they polarization, a dichotomy of the righteous and the unrighteous which categorically excluded the possibility of any middle ground.

Although *fanatic* originally had no pejorative connotation, it eventually came to be used by Christians to condemn the followers of pagan faiths, notably Muslims; and, as Christianity became progressively more schismatic, Christians began applying it scathingly to a selected few of their own number. However, it was not until the eighteenth century that the notion of fanaticism emerged as a clear negative in a society which generally shifted its emphasis from absolutism to tolerance. Gérard de Puymège summarizes this development:

If fanatics abound and are often scorned in intolerant societies, the concept of fanaticism is not conceivable outside of tolerance, outside of pluralism. The fanatic's domain is the *religio*, within the framework of which he exercises his vocation as priest and his faith as a believer. He who fails to listen to the voice of the prophet spurns divine will It was only when fanaticism ceased to be society's unnamed norm — unnamed because unobjectivized — that it becomes the object of fear and repulsion from the pluralist world of the Enlightenment.⁵

The French *philosophes* used the term systematically to condemn superstition, various forms of irrational thinking and behavior, and, above all, intolerance. The French 1777 *Encyclopédie* described fanaticism as a kind of disease, “an aberration of the imagination,” “a sickness of the people,” “a sickness of religion which affects the brain,” “a heavenly epilepsy,” with such symptoms as “dark melancholy,” “visions,” and “pseudo-prophecy.”

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *fanaticism* has been applied with increasing frequency to secular activities such as politics and science. But even then, because of its strong religious overtones, it can only be applied to something which, for the fanatic, has taken on an aura of sacredness. Even the degeneration of *fanatic* into the *fan* of a popular culture hero has remained true to its origins. The fan identifies in a religious way with the idol — whether it be James Dean or the Beatles — around whom a cult develops which almost always engages in such excessive behavior as ecstacy, screaming, and fainting. Clearly there can be no fanaticism without some form of religious faith.

The most perceptive study of fanaticism to appear to date, namely, *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, by Haynal, Molnar, and de Puymège has direct applicability to Mormonism, though the authors did not write with Mormonism in mind:

One thing is constant in fanaticism, and that is that the object to which the fanatic devotes his jealous, vindictive, and monomaniacal faith must acquire in his eyes an exclusively sacred character. Faith in the party, the leader, or the family leads to fanaticism by virtue of the exclusivity and the unique saving function it invests in its

⁵ Ibid., p. 20. The discussion which follows is largely drawn from this work, with citations from pp. 29, 33, 36, 41, 215–16, 218, and 226–27.

object. . . . In his illusion of having found the absolute and superhuman, the fanatic believes himself to be in possession of *the* truth, which confers upon him omniscience, omnipotence, and invulnerability — all superhuman conditions. . . . the feeling of omnipotence is accompanied by a narcissistic thrill at the idea of being among the elect of God or history. . . . The paranoid dichotomic system — true-false, black-white, friend-enemy — engenders radicalization of thought, channeling aggression toward an enemy. . . . The fanatic cannot tolerate scientific thought. . . . [The criteria which fanaticism entails are] exclusivity, intolerance, the search for an absolute, the conviction of being right, imperviousness to any line of reasoning that seeks to deflect it from its course. . . .

Faith, while not in itself implying fanaticism, does remain its matrix. The zeal that faith induces carries fanaticism within it unleashing it as soon as it becomes *excessive* . . . or *exclusive*. . . . [Fanaticism is also characterized by] “knowledge” of good and evil as absolutes, a binary and standardizing way of thinking, an aversion to anything that opposes the truth or questions it, however slightly. Fanaticism, through all these forms, pursues the same goal: perfection and harmony on earth or in the other world.

It would be a simple matter to select passages from recent addresses of various General Authorities concerning Church history, the women’s movement, the authority of the living prophet, and the theory of evolution, which would illustrate this catalogue. That exercise would be both unnecessary and ungracious for my present purpose, especially because it is not always possible to distinguish between deliberate fanaticism and rhetorical overstatement. The real danger lies in what de Puymège calls the “fanaticizer/fanaticized dialectic,” according to which even a hint of fanaticism in the pronouncements of top-level leaders can be dangerously magnified by what de Puymège uncharitably calls “fanatical henchmen” at lower hierarchical levels.

As I have already suggested, *fanatic* and *fanaticism* rarely occur in Mormon discourse. For that reason, it is significant that Bruce R. McConkie, in *Mormon Doctrine*, defines fanaticism as “the devil’s substitute for and perversion of true zeal. It is exhibited in wildly extravagant and overzealous views and acts. It is based either on unreasoning devotion to a cause, a devotion which closes the door to investigation and dispassionate study, or on an overemphasis of some particular doctrine or practice, an emphasis which twists the truth as a whole out of perspective.” He concludes his comments with an italicized reminder that “*stable and sound persons are never fanatics; they do not ride gospel hobbies.*”⁶

Ironically, Elder McConkie’s sweeping pronouncements in his 1980 address on “The Seven Deadly Heresies”⁷ appear to be oratorical overkill typical of fanatics, all of which raises a serious question applicable to religious fanaticism in general: why so much vehemence in setting forth presumably self-evident points of doctrine? In the first issue of *DIALOGUE*, Frances Lee Menlove summarized this problem brilliantly when she observed: “Behind the mask of fanatical preservation may be the real fear that the truth of the Church is too fragile to tamper with, that an honest and open examination may destroy his

⁶ McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 275.

⁷ McConkie, “The Seven Deadly Heresies,” address delivered 1 May 1980, at Fourteen-Stake Fireside, Brigham Young University.

faith or his way of life. Thus the religious conservative may also be hiding from himself a basic lack of faith.”⁸ Josef Rudin, an exponent of the Viennese school of psychology, makes a similar observation when he asks: “Does fanaticism originate as compensation for one’s own inner insecurity, as C. G. Jung emphasizes: ‘Fanaticism is the brother of doubt’? Yet perhaps it can also be maintained that man becomes a victim of fanaticism only when educational and environmental differences have guided him into radicalism and intolerance,” and he adds that “the psychotherapist probably meets fanaticism most frequently in the form of perfectionism and ethical rigorism.”⁹

Haynal provides additional useful insights into the deleterious effects of compensatory fanaticism when he notes that “fanaticism always implies a betrayal of self which is manifested by an inner anguish — deep, gnawing guilt feelings which cannot be shaken despite attempts to camouflage them through loud protestations and tireless activity,” and he refers to the accompanying “‘compromise of integrity’ characterizing the defensive elimination of moral conscience and the replacement of ideals by satisfaction of a narcissistic order (power, opportunism, vengeance, ambition, et caetera).”¹⁰

If, as a rule, we Mormons are reluctant to own up to our predisposition to fanaticism, we are also less than candid about any inclination we may have toward disbelief. D. Jeff Burton at the 1982 Sunstone Symposium discussed “the closet doubter” as “an active Latter-day Saint who has secretly rejected one or more fundamental tenets upon which today’s Church is based” yet chooses not to divulge his doubts to the “mainstream believer” to avoid family pain, embarrassment, or ecclesiastical retribution.¹¹

If it is valid to single out “closet doubters,” I would submit that it is equally valid to speak of “closet fanatics.” I would reserve this designation for true believers who, while presuming to eschew the traditional popular image of Mormonism as an eccentric cult or sect, nevertheless live by the divine imperative — the assumption that the decisions and directives at all levels of Church leadership are divinely ordained and therefore require unquestioning obedience and even fanatical allegiance.

The point I wish to emphasize here is that, since doubt, however much denied or resisted, is so patently a major component of fanaticism, the closet doubter/closet fanatic syndrome is not so much a polarization of opposites as it is simply two sides of the same coin. It should be clear by now that since fanatics use their fanaticism to protect themselves from their own doubts as well as to denounce the doubts of others, the true meaning of the term “closet fanatic” is to be found in the instinctive effort to keep the doubts safely locked away in the closet of the unconscious mind. Furthermore, the closet fanatic constitutes a very real and present danger — much more so than the closet

⁸ Frances Lee Menlove, “The Challenge of Honesty,” *DIALOGUE* 1 (Spring 1966): 48.

⁹ Josef Rudin, *Fanaticism: A Psychological Analysis*, trans., Elisabeth Reineke and Paul C. Bailey (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), pp. 9, 15.

¹⁰ Haynal, Molnar, and de Puymège, *Fanaticism*, p. 59.

¹¹ D. Jeff Burton, “The Phenomenon of the Closet Doubter,” *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.–Oct., 1982): 36–38.

doubter — because he/she is less conscious of the root of the fanaticism than the doubter is of the doubt and wreaks ungodly havoc in the name of God. Fanaticism poses as holiness but is actually a form of hubris. Reinhold Niebuhr observes that “the tendency to claim God as an ally for our partisan ends is . . . the source of all religious fanaticism.”¹² Indeed, to gratify one’s own power needs, to engage in strident self-righteousness in the name of the Lord is to be guilty of a particularly insidious form of blasphemy. It is a contradiction of Christ’s admonition to love our neighbor as ourselves, and it condemns the mote without seeing the beam.

Practically speaking, there is a synergistic relationship between the closet doubter and the closet fanatic. Whether externally perceived or internally sensed, doubt sparks the fanatic’s fanaticism, and the fanatic’s heightened zealotry drive the doubter farther into the closet. I am convinced that the only way to break this vicious circle is to bring doubt — and with it, fanaticism — out of the closet.

All too often doubt and religious faith seem to be antithetical, and, accordingly, doubt has come in for its full share of condemnation. Brigham Young, keenly aware of the Church’s far-from-imaginary foes, warned that “if you allow yourselves to doubt anything that God has revealed, . . . it will not be long before you . . . find fault with the authorities of the Church.”¹³ Bruce R. McConkie, writing during an apparently more benign time, states that “faith and belief are of God; doubt and skepticism are of the devil,” and he adds that “doubt comes from failure to keep the commandments.”¹⁴

On the other hand, John A. Widtsoe made some subtle distinctions that gave doubt a more positive emphasis: “Doubt, unless transmuted into inquiry, has no value or worth in the world. . . . Doubt of the right kind — that is honest questioning — can lead to faith.”¹⁵ To claim never to have experienced doubt in religious matters or to call all doubt sinful is to deny a central fact of human experience and to ignore the very real doubts of some pivotal religious leaders. As Frances Lee Menlove points out, “No one should doubt that in some way, or for some reason, he is also a doubter.”¹⁶ Let’s not forget that Jesus Christ himself expressed acute doubt when, in agony on the cross, he cried out, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Mark 15:34) Joseph Smith began his religious career by doubting that any existing church had the truth; and during his prayer in the grove, he experienced a moment of intense darkness and doubt before the enlightenment of the first vision burst upon him. Doubt and discouragement assailed him repeatedly throughout his

¹² Cited in Laurence J. Peter, *Peter’s Quotations: Ideas for Our Time* (New York: Bantam Books, 1979), p. 187.

¹³ Discourse, Salt Lake City, 15 Aug. 1876, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards 1854–82), 18: 215.

¹⁴ McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 208.

¹⁵ John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations, Volumes 1–2–3*, Arr., G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), pp. 31–32.

¹⁶ Menlove, “The Challenge of Honesty,” p. 46.

career as a prophet.¹⁷ J. Reuben Clark developed a rocklike testimony only after wrestling mightily with his doubts on a number of central religious issues such as the need to avoid self-deception in matters of faith by making “every conclusion pass the fiery ordeal of pitiless reason,” the possibility that Joseph Smith’s own readings or experience had contributed substantially to his formulation of doctrine, and the mind-boggling implications of the potential of individuals to achieve godly stature which led President Clark to ask: “Is Space or occupied portions of it divided among various deities — have they ‘great spheres of influence’? Wars of Gods — think of the wreck of matter involved. . . .” However, out of this process came the provocative epigram, “If we have the truth, [it] cannot be harmed by investigation. If we have not the truth, it ought to be harmed.”¹⁸

Not only is it evident that doubt can be respectable and positive, it is also unavoidable if the gospel is to be subjected to the unhampered intellectual scrutiny which it needs and deserves. I would even assert that, as free agents emulating that divine intelligence which we have been told is God’s true glory, it is our God-given duty to doubt wherever honest inquiry requires it and to transcend that doubt in developing a valid testimony based on our own deepest experience and our own hard-won convictions. A so-called testimony based on blind obedience, bland conformism, and the desire to look good expressed in various forms of mindless activism simply is not a testimony but a sad compromise, a convenient, undernourished, and less-than-inspired embryo of a testimony. No one should settle for such a substitute in an institution with the all-embracing truth claims of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which promises its faithful members nothing less than the splendor — and magnanimity — of godhood itself. As Parley A. Christensen, the late beloved and outspoken professor of English at Brigham Young University, observed, “God himself is limited when men cease to think.” He also affirmed that “true religion removes conflicts everywhere. It puts man at peace with himself and

¹⁷ One of the most dramatic instances of Joseph’s very human proclivity to doubt occurred in 1828 when he discovered that Martin Harris had lost the first 116 pages of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon translation. According to his mother, he cried out, “Oh, my God! . . . All is lost! all is lost! What shall I do?” Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England, 1853), p. 121. Another instance occurred in May 1837 at the climax of the Kirtland banking disaster when Joseph wrote, in a moment of despair, that “it seemed as though the powers of earth and hell were combining . . . to overthrow the Church at once and make a final end.” Fawn M. Brody, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 203. At the end of his career when his enemies were gaining the upper hand in Nauvoo, Joseph’s first impulse was to cross the Mississippi in an effort to flee to the west. But when Emma pleaded with him to return and many of the Saints accused him of cowardice, he commented: “If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself.” At that point, reduced to a state of total doubt, he turned first to Porter Rockwell asking, “What shall we do?” and then to his brother Hyrum asking, “You are the oldest, what shall we do?” Hyrum replied, “Let’s go back and give ourselves up.” Joseph deferred to his brother, leading, of course, to their mutual assassination in Carthage. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), p. 402.

¹⁸ Cited in D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), p. 24.

other men. It gives him inner integrity and outer compassion. There is something wrong with a religion that puts head and heart, mind and emotion, knowledge and faith, at odds with one another. Religion is not doing what it is supposed to do if it fails to draw people of all faiths together in mutual respect and sympathy.”¹⁹

It may not be realistic to expect the Church to achieve Christensen’s broad ecumenical ideal. But surely the Church is big enough and generous enough to pursue the kind of internal ecumenicalism that would bring together such diverse factions as closet doubters and closet fanatics through an honest confrontation and compassionate discussion of their respective doubts, fears, and expectations. After all, *integrity* derives from the Latin word for wholeness, and it has come to connote probity, completeness, and unity. The Church cannot be whole and complete without making room for its thinkers and doubters as well as its true believers. It cannot achieve probity unless it deals forthrightly — and compassionately — with those core doubts which have generated the factionalism so painfully evident in the Church to anyone who looks beneath the surface. The monolith must accommodate the star, just as the star must acknowledge the monolith.

I make no claim to being a model of integrity, although I admire it whenever I see it because I know the difficulty of achieving and maintaining it. Perhaps the finest summary of the point under discussion has already been made by Lowell Bennion, a dear friend and a man of the highest integrity who has made his peace with the stone while moving steadily toward the star:

One ought not — in the words of Levi Edgar Young — to pulverize the Gospel, live it piecemeal, one rule or principle at a time bolstered by a single text. It is more prudent to keep in mind the Gospel as a whole. . . . For example, Latter-day Saints believe in the fatherhood, justice, love, and intelligence of God. . . . Everything that men have said and done in the name of God cannot be accepted at face value unless it is consistent with His character and purpose. And for me, Jesus Christ best reveals the character, spirit, and will of God. What I cannot square with Christ’s teachings, I will question no matter what the source. The nature of God becomes then a basic, rational guide with which to interpret the religious and moral life. This in my judgment, is the most significant purpose of theologizing.²⁰

The balance between stone and star is a delicate one: however great the authoritarian claims of the monolith may be, they must ultimately come to judgment at the bar of a personal testimony of the teachings of Jesus Christ. If, as Lehi declares, “it must needs be that there is opposition in all things,” then there is really nothing alarming about the counterpoise of stone and star even at the very heart of Mormonism. Living the gospel fully and with integrity means recognizing and accepting the ever-present need to reconcile the stone and the star, for as Lehi also observes, “all things must be a compound in one.” (2 Ne. 2:11)

¹⁹ Parley A. Christensen, *Of a Number of Things* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962), p. 25, 11.

²⁰ Lowell L. Bennion, “Faith and Reason: The Logic of the Gospel,” *DIALOGUE* 6 (Autumn–Winter 1971): 162.

The Effect of Mormon Organizational Boundaries on Group Cohesion

Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King



Approaching the Church in organizational terms requires a perspective different from focusing on its spiritual role and mission. The German sociologist Georg Simmel framed the problem in this way: "On the one hand, religion stands in contrast to the whole substance of human life; it is the counterpart and the equivalent of life itself, aloof from its secular movements and interests." On the other hand, however, "religion takes sides among the parties in the secular life" and as such it "is an element of secular life alongside all its other elements."¹ As an organization, the Church is subject to the same dynamics as any other institution; focusing on its organizational aspects can help explain certain facets of its history that might otherwise be less clear.

One of the most basic organizational issues — one which conditions the nature of an institution, its internal cohesion, and the relationship with its environment — is how boundaries are formed and maintained. For an organization to exist it must distinguish itself from the larger society and from other social groups; it must establish boundaries between itself and its surroundings.² Boundaries vary considerably from one organization to another, but probably the most important distinction is their firmness. In a loosely bounded organization entry or exit is relatively easy and frequent, and membership involves general support but few required duties. In a firmly bounded one, access to membership is more difficult and leaving the organization is infrequent; a member subjects him/herself to a greater degree of organizational discipline

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¹ Georg Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix, trans. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 158.

² See William R. Dill, "The Impact of Environment on Organizational Development," in Sidney Mailick and Edward Van Ness, eds., *Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 94–109.

and assumes more commitment to the group. The links between members of a loosely bounded organization are generally weaker than those between members of a firmly bounded one.³

The establishment and maintenance of boundaries are very much related to group cohesion. Firmly bounded organizations have a higher level of internal cohesion, while more loosely bounded ones are less cohesive. The more difficult it is to gain membership, the stronger the bonds that link those who have been accepted. Likewise, the more cohesive the group, the more difficult to gain admittance.⁴

Before examining those elements that contribute to the strong boundaries that characterize the Church, it is important to keep two factors in mind. First, defining who is a member of the Church — i.e., who is included within its organizational boundary — is more complicated than merely checking membership records. Although the Church has very specific definitions of membership, many are counted as members who do not consider themselves such, and the strength of their commitment varies. The use of the term “jack” Mormon and the designation of members as “active” or “inactive” reflect this problem.⁵ Second, the relative significance of the various factors that have contributed to the firm organizational boundaries and sense of group cohesion has changed over time, reflecting the fact that the Church itself has changed considerably since its founding in 1830. Six elements stand out as most significant in contributing to Latter-day Saint boundaries — Church ritual including temple ceremonies, unique doctrines and beliefs, a strong sense of community, conflict with other groups, the practice of polygamy, and the dietary restrictions of the Word of Wisdom.

THE ROLE OF RITUAL

Ritual serves both to mark accession to membership and to maintain a sense of group identity.⁶ A number of rituals are important in the Mormon

³ The firmness of boundaries of organizations is an important factor in classifying them. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, trans. (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 139–43, refers to “open and closed relationships”; Meyer N. Zald and Roberta Ash, “Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change,” *Social Forces* 44 (March 1966): 327–41, refer to “exclusive” and “inclusive” organizations.

⁴ See Elliot Aronson and Judson Mills, “The Effect of Severity of Initiation on Liking for a Group,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 59 (Sept. 1959): 177–81; Harold B. Gerard and Grover C. Mathewson, “The Effects of Severity of Initiation on Liking for a Group: A Replication,” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 2 (1966): 278–87; and Jacob E. Hautaluoma and Helene Spungin, “Effects of Initiation Severity and Interest on Group Attitudes,” *Journal of Social Psychology* 93 (1974): 245–59.

⁵ On this problem of defining organizational membership in analytical terms, see David Horton Smith, “Organizational Boundaries and Organizational Affiliates,” *Sociology and Social Research* 56 (July 1972): 494–512.

⁶ Two good articles which discuss the social functions of ritual are Edmund R. Leach, “Ritual,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), 13: 520–26, which suggests a number of roles and explanations of ritual; and Abraham Kaplan, “The Meanings of Ritual: Comparisons,” in Truman G. Madsen, ed., *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaic-Christian Parallels* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1978), pp. 37–56, which argues that ritual provides the symbolic expression of a way of life. Though Kaplan focuses on Hassidic Judaism, its relevance for Mormonism is evident.

context: Blessing and naming of children, baptism, confirmation, communal worship, the sacrament, and particularly the temple ceremonies. Baptism takes on greater importance as a boundary-establishing act with Latter-day Saints since, unlike some other religious groups which practice adult baptism, this rite is considered valid only when performed by authorized Mormon priesthood officers in the prescribed manner. Also, steps are taken to insure that an adult candidate for baptism both understands and is willing to accept the beliefs and practices of the group; those not willing to make such a commitment are excluded. Baptism is perhaps most powerful in establishing boundaries since it symbolizes the death of the old self and the return to life as a new person "assuming another mode of being" which "is inaccessible to those who have not undergone the initiatory ordeals."⁷

The importance of the baptismal rite in establishing Latter-day Saint boundaries has assumed greater importance in more recent times. During the nineteenth century, adult baptism by immersion was more common in other religious groups than in this century. Furthermore, within the Church the importance of one's initial baptism was minimized by frequent rebaptism. For awhile, Saints were routinely rebaptized when they arrived in Salt Lake Valley after 1847; and during the great reformation of 1856–57 most were again immersed. It was common for individuals to be rebaptized before going to the temple or in connection with some special event in their lives; until at least 1900 the Church provided a special form for recording rebaptisms. In this century, baptism into Church membership has assumed greater significance as it has become less common with other religious groups and as the practice of rebaptism has been discontinued.

Another ritual element that contributes to the establishment and maintenance of boundaries is the sense of communion developed through participation in regular worship services. Although the ritual of Mormon services is less formalized than in most other religious groups, communal worship plays a similar role. Group solidarity is encouraged through joint worship — singing of hymns, public prayer, mutual exhortation by members of the congregation, and particularly partaking of the sacrament. This latter act is intended for Church members only, although in recent years Church leaders have given less emphasis to its exclusivity. Public profession of faith is a particularly significant aspect of Mormon ritual, and one that is less common in other denominations. It takes several forms, the most common of which is bearing testimony in the monthly fast and testimony meeting.⁸

⁷ Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. xii, xiii. On the significance of baptism as a boundary device see also Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia* (New York: Schocken, 1968), p. 252; Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Commitment and the Internal Organization of Millennial Movements," *American Behavioral Scientist* 16 (Nov.–Dec. 1972): 236–37; and Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 93–96.

⁸ On the importance of public professions see Kanter, "Commitment and Internal Organization," p. 237, and Takie Sugiyama Lebra, "Millennarian Movements and Resocialization," *American Behavioral Scientist* 16 (Nov.–Dec. 1972): 210–11. The sharing of

Temple ceremonies, a unique element in Mormon boundedness, play a greater role because they are secret, exclusive rites for a select group. Simmel wrote that a secret, regardless of content, serves the social function of welding the sharers of it into a special group.⁹ Another unique aspect of the temple ritual is the wearing of temple garments. Unlike other religious groups who wear some external symbol of their religious devotion (e.g., a prayer cap), the special clothing worn by devout Latter-day Saints is concealed from public view beneath regular clothing.

THE DOCTRINE AND BELIEF SYSTEM

Another important aspect in the process of establishing organizational boundaries is belief or doctrine. Philip Selznick, in a study of the tactics of the Soviet Communist Party, has shown the central role of ideology (belief/doctrine) in securing full commitment. Ideological indoctrination creates a separate moral and intellectual world for the believer, which helps insulate him/her from external influences and at the same time facilitates his/her integration into the organization.¹⁰

The first aspect of Mormon ideology that contributes to boundary creation and maintenance is a series of unique doctrines: belief in the Book of Mormon, modern scriptures and continuing revelation, contemporary prophets, the Latter-day Saint concept of God, the pre-mortal existence of man, man's eternal nature, the view of the afterlife, and others. These beliefs create a unique *Weltanschauung* that binds Mormons together and excludes those who do not share it. When individual Latter-day Saints do discuss their religious beliefs with nonmembers, the purpose is generally to win converts, which in turn tends to emphasize LDS boundaries.¹¹

A related aspect of Mormon doctrine, though not unique to Latter-day Saints, is the proclivity to see the world in bifurcated terms — God/Satan, righteous/wicked, elect/damned, salvation/damnation, faith/doubt, we/they, saints/gentiles. The doctrine, in fact, is much more complex than this. The view of the afterlife, for example, includes a broader gradation of rewards than traditional Christian conceptions. Nevertheless, the good/evil dichotomy is a pervasive and persistent theme, and further reinforces Mormon boundedness by pitting the member against those not numbered among the Saints.

spiritual experiences and personal trials ("self-disclosure" in the terminology of psychologists) is a particularly important factor in contributing to group cohesion. See Barry J. Kirshner, Robert R. Dies, and Robert A. Brown, "Effects of Experimental Manipulation of Self-Disclosure on Group Cohesiveness," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 46 (1978): 1171–77.

⁹ Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Kurt H. Wolff, ed. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 330–76.

¹⁰ Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), pp. 17–73. Wolfgang Leonhard, *Die Revolution entlaesst ihre Kinder* (Cologne: Kiepenheir und Witsch, 1955), is the autobiographical account of a former communist, which illustrates the role of ideology in boundary establishment.

¹¹ See Joseph F. Zygmunt, "Prophetic Failure and Chiliastic Identity: The Case of the Jehovah's Witnesses," *American Journal of Sociology* 75 (May 1970): 942–43.

When the beliefs of a particular group differ substantially from the accepted consensus of the larger society, certain social processes can contribute to the maintenance of these "deviant" beliefs. Among the more important of these is the tendency for members of the group to associate and identify with those who share their beliefs and to isolate themselves from and disparage those whose beliefs differ.¹² Religious sociologist Peter L. Berger observes that "only in a counter community of considerable strength does cognitive deviance have a chance to maintain itself." It "must provide a strong sense of solidarity among its members (a 'fellowship of the saints' in a world rampant with devils) and it must be quite closed vis-a-vis the outside ('Be ye not yoked together with unbelievers'). In sum, it must be a kind of ghetto."¹³

THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Abandonment or renunciation of the old social ties and the forging of new ones within the Mormon circle is an important factor in establishing a sense of community. In some cases old ties are severed as parents and former friends refuse further association with those who become Mormons. Although this is not unique to Latter-day Saints, there are two distinctive Mormon aspects. This first is the emphasis on gathering during the first century of the Church's existence. When individuals became members, they physically left their old homes and existing social networks to join Church members elsewhere. Second, addressing each other in kinship terms (i.e., brother and sister) thereby suggests a new family in the Church, an idea buttressed by the doctrine that Latter-day Saints are Israelites through adoption or descent. Thus, blood ties as well as social ones bind the faithful.

Sacrifice of resources and time cements individuals to the group, and this too has contributed to Mormon boundaries and cohesion. In the last century, some or all material possessions were turned over to the Church, while other wealth was lost through frequent moves or mob persecution. Members were encouraged to make these contributions with such statements as "a religion that does not require the sacrifice of all things never has power sufficient to produce the faith necessary unto life and salvation."¹⁴ Sacrifice is unifying: The more it costs a person to do something, the more valuable he/she will consider it to justify the psychic expense.¹⁵ While sacrifices required of Latter-day Saints today are less than those of the last century, the time and money expected are significant, particularly in comparison with other religious groups.

¹² J. L. Simmons, "On Maintaining Deviant Belief Systems: A Case Study," *Social Problems* 11 (Winter 1964): 250-56. See also Daniel Glaser, "The Differential Association Theory of Crime," in Arnold Rose, ed., *Human Behavior and Social Processes* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1962), pp. 425-43.

¹³ Peter L. Berger, *A Rumor of Angels* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1970), pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ Attributed to Joseph Smith, *A Compilation Containing the Lectures on Faith* (Salt Lake City: N. B. Lundwall, n.d.), p. 58.

¹⁵ Kanter, "Commitment and Internal Organization," pp. 226-28.

Sharing similar experiences has also contributed to the sense of community. Among the most significant elements in this regard were the trek to the Great Basin and the effort there to establish an isolated and self-reliant kingdom of God. Making the trek itself became, as Wallace Stegner has called it, "a rite of passage; the final, devoted, enduring act that brought one into the kingdom."¹⁶ The migration was also a dramatic and symbolic act of renunciation and abandonment of the old social order for Church members — the flight from Babylon to establish the new Holy City.¹⁷ The gathering in the Mountain West further contributed to group cohesion because mutual assistance was necessary for its success. Cooperation was certainly an important aspect of the Church community's way of life before 1846, but the rigors of the trek and conditions in the Great Basin required a degree of mutual help that had not been as essential before and probably would not have been as necessary in a more hospitable region. The Church played the major role in organizing and directing the economic life of the region in ways that strengthened group cohesion.

The fact that the Church failed in its effort to establish an isolated and self-sufficient kingdom may have been more important in strengthening group boundaries than would have been the case if it had succeeded. The permanent stationing of U.S. Army troops in Utah after 1857, the exploitation of the area's mineral wealth by non-Mormon mining interests soon after the Latter-day Saints arrived, and the coming of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 forced the Church to intensify its unsuccessful effort to maintain economic autonomy and social isolation, resulting in a heightened awareness of Mormon/non-Mormon distinctions and contributing to a growing sense of community. With the mobility and rootlessness of contemporary society, the Church has come to play a greater role as a community for families and individuals separated from relatives and friends. Today every local congregation is a ready-made community, an *ersatz* family into which its members are readily absorbed.

CONFLICT AND PERSECUTION

One of the most important factors defining a group's boundaries is conflict with its surrounding environment.¹⁸ Facing a common enemy tends to draw members of a group together, providing a single focus of concern for individuals and subgroups which otherwise may have little in common. This is in part due to the tendency for conflict to externalize hostility and aggression that might otherwise be directed inwardly toward other group members. Conflict permits the polarization of emotions — love can be expressed toward members of a group sharing a common identity, while hostility and anger are directed toward external enemies.

¹⁶ Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 1.

¹⁷ See Lebra, "Millennarian Movements and Resocialization," pp. 208–9.

¹⁸ Two works are particularly relevant on this topic: Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, pp. 13–123, and Lewis A. Coser, *Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), which relies heavily on Simmel's work.

In the face of external conflict, a group will react to internal dissensions in one of two ways: (1) it can constrict its boundaries by demanding that members exhibit greater conformity to its rules and ideology; or (2) it can expand boundaries by ignoring internal differences and seeking to bring in persons from competing organizations or factions.¹⁹ In general, large inclusive organizations (e.g., American political parties and the Roman Catholic Church) tend to expand boundaries in conflict situations, while smaller, more exclusive ones (e.g., radical political parties and religious sects) tend to constrict boundaries. When a group attempts to establish more rigid boundaries, a member whose commitment is uncertain is usually seen as a threat to the group's cohesion. Those unwilling to accept the more stringent demands of membership required in situations of conflict are expelled. This leaves the organization smaller but with a higher level of cohesion and more firmly defined boundaries.

Conflict with other groups has led to Latter-day Saint boundaries becoming more rigid. During the life of Joseph Smith, Mormons encountered the hostility of their neighbors in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. The causes and nature of these conflicts are not relevant here; the important fact is that Latter-day Saints considered themselves a persecuted and embattled minority of the righteous, beset on all sides by the forces of sin and evil. During these early crises, many members and leaders were expelled from the Church or voluntarily left in large numbers. The core that remained was smaller but significantly more cohesive.

After the Church established itself in Utah, conflict intensified. The Church's difficulties with the federal government were principally over the scope of federal authority, and were, in fact, similar to the fundamental issue behind the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction-era conflict. Within the Church, conflict arose largely over the issue of polygamy, though it was political control and not Mormon morals that was at the crux. Group boundaries became firmer as the institution and its members responded to external threat. The abandonment of plural marriage and changes in the Church's political attitudes were responsible for the eventual resolution of the conflict, but the sense of persecution has dissipated only gradually.²⁰

In some cases the unity of a group is lost when it no longer faces a common enemy. In others, "unity, while it originates in conflict and for the purposes of conflict, maintains itself beyond the period of the struggle." This is true if the conflict serves to articulate latent relationships and unity that already exist; thus, conflict becomes "more the occasion of unifications which are required

¹⁹ On organizational strategies in conflict situations, in addition to Simmel and Coser, see Howard Aldrich, "Organizational Boundaries and Inter-Organizational Conflict," *Human Relations* 24 (Aug. 1971): 279-93; and Zald and Ash, "Social Movement Organizations," pp. 336-37.

²⁰ A study of the consequences of conflict upon Mormon cohesion is the 1922 Ph.D. thesis of Ephraim Edward Erickson, published as *Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975). Two works on the Mormon-U.S. government conflict are Gustave O. Larsen, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1971), and Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1970).

internally than it is the purpose of these unifications.”²¹ In the case of the Church, persecution and conflict during the first seventy years of its history played such a role. This era of intense conflict emphasized elements of cohesion that have continued to contribute to internal unity and a firm sense of boundedness.

Periodic problems between the Church and government officials or external groups have kept a sense of conflict alive and call forth quotations from former Church leaders made during earlier times of conflict with warnings about future trials of faith. Recent examples include the criticism of the Church by civil rights groups in the late 1960s for failure to grant blacks the right to hold the priesthood and even more recently by feminists, for the Church's stand on women's issues.

POLYGAMY AND TEMPLE MARRIAGE

As mentioned earlier, the practice of polygamy played a unique role in Mormon boundary establishment. From 1831 when the initial revelation was given to Joseph Smith until 1852 when the Church publicly announced the doctrine, it was secretly taught to selected members and a few began to practice it during the early 1840s in Nauvoo.²² When it was a secret teaching known only to a limited number, polygamy contributed to elite cohesion during a difficult time in Church history. The most lasting impact, however, was the consequence of its public practice from 1852 until the turn of the century when official sanction was withdrawn.

The best current estimate is that from 1850 to 1890, no more than 5 percent of Mormon men, 12 percent of Mormon women, and 10 percent of Mormon children were members of polygamous families.²³ Those who did enter into polygamous marriages, however, were generally Church leaders,²⁴ and those not part of polygamous families nevertheless tended to believe in the doctrine and accept it as the model for Latter-day Saint marriage and family life.

Plural marriage had an impact on Mormon boundary establishment in three ways. First, since it violated accepted Christian and American social conventions of the time, it served to separate those individuals who were willing to give highest loyalty to the Church from those whose stronger allegiance lay elsewhere. The initial reaction to the concept by Church members was similar—most were reluctant to accept it, even the closest associates of Joseph Smith.²⁵ Those who subsequently embraced it, however, thereby made

²¹ Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, p. 101.

²² A great deal has been written on the practice of polygamy. For a review of the literature, see Davis Bitton, “Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article,” *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101–18.

²³ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), p. 199. Stanley S. Ivins gives an analysis of the shifting involvement of the Church membership in polygamy over time in “Notes on Mormon Polygamy,” *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 229–39.

²⁴ See Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York: Holt, 1954), p. 107; Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 402–3.

²⁵ John Taylor, who subsequently headed the Church, noted that after being taught the principle, the Quorum of the Twelve “seemed to put off, as far as we could, what might be

an unequivocal commitment to the Church, while many who could not accept it left.

Second, the practice emphasized the distinction between Mormons and all others and symbolized the renunciation of ties with the broader society. By rejecting and violating the conventional rules and norms in so important an area as sex and marriage, Church members reinforced their act of separation and linked themselves together in shared defiance of the established order. The emotional enthusiasm of an intentional break with convention "welds the devotees together in a new fraternity of people who have deliberately flouted the most sacred rules of the old society," binding them together "against all who still hold the old beliefs."²⁶

A third function of polygamy which strengthened organizational boundaries was its effect in weakening the exclusivity of the marriage relationship. Lewis Coser notes that "stable sexual ties [are] a threat to total allegiance and commitment" and in stable utopian communities "the complete elimination, or at the very least the decided de-emphasis, of dyadic [i.e., two-person] sexual relations provided the form of organization in which commitments would not be diverted from the one central purpose of fashioning an ideal all-encompassing community." In focusing commitment on the organization rather than the family, "celibacy and promiscuity, though opposed sexual practices, fulfill identical sociological functions."²⁷ Among nineteenth-century American utopian communities, the Shakers practiced celibacy, while in the Oneida community "complex marriage" involved men and women cohabiting for short periods of time but without establishing long-term relationships.²⁸ Even in seventeenth-century Puritan society, where marriage and family life were important features, "there were strong proscriptions against the development of very strong emotional bonds between spouses; husband and wife were supposed to like each other, but not too much."²⁹

Polygamy served a similar purpose among Mormons. Simmel argues that the larger the number in a group, the more difficult it is to establish and maintain intimacy. The addition of a third person to a dyad completely changes the nature of the relationship; the qualitative leap comes with the addition of

termed the evil day." B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), p. 100. Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young, the two men who subsequently had the largest number of wives, both had difficulty accepting the practice. See Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1945), pp. 321–28; and the Brigham Young sermon reported in the *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: F. D. Richards 1854–86), 3:103.

²⁶ Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, pp. 249–50.

²⁷ Lewis Coser, *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment* (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 136, 138, 139.

²⁸ See Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); and Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias — the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

²⁹ Yehudi Cohen, "Social Boundary Systems," *Current Anthropology* 10 (Feb. 1959): 113.

a third person (a second wife) while the addition of subsequent individuals (wives) has much less impact because the dyad has already been broken.³⁰ Even under ideal circumstances, the sharing of affection with more than one wife would not permit the development of as close a relationship as a husband and one wife could achieve. Even in nonpolygamous families, the knowledge that plural marriage represented the ideal family model may well have contributed to a certain reserve in marital intimacy. Objective accounts of the effects of plural marriage on the husband-wife relationship are few, and persecution led most of those who wrote or spoke publicly about the practice to defend it. There are some personal accounts, however, which suggest that polygamous marriages were less intimate, less personal, less exclusive, and less privileged than monogamous marriages.³¹

Brigham Young, possibly recognizing that under polygamy the intimate husband-wife relationship of monogamous marriages was difficult, if not impossible, counseled women to focus their attentions on their children and service to the Church community. They were encouraged to play an active role in building up the kingdom through projects such as silk culture, operating cooperative retail establishments, home production and manufacture of as many of their needs as possible, and the practice of medicine, teaching, and other professions.³² As polygamy weakened the exclusivity of the marriage relationship, it helped strengthen the community.

The abandonment of the practice of polygamy raised the possibility that strong marital relationships could compete with loyalty to the organization, but the doctrine of celestial marriage serves to mitigate this. The celestial (i.e., temple) marriage relationship can continue in the hereafter, but only if the partners are faithful to the Church. This doctrine has assumed more importance as marriage increasingly takes on greater social and psychological significance and its economic aspects become less important.

Related to marriage practices are Latter-day Saint sexual standards which differ significantly from those manifested by society. They too are an aspect of contemporary Mormon boundaries, but their observance or nonobservance does not involve as public a reaffirmation as do other boundary elements. The growing importance of sexual conduct in boundary establishment is evidenced

³⁰ Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, pp. 118–44.

³¹ Ellen Spencer Clawson, first wife of Hiram Clawson, wrote to a friend, "I never thought I could care if Hiram got a dozen wives," but when he took his third, she said, "I feel as if I had lost him. . . . It makes my heart ache to think I have not the same love, but I console myself with thinking it will subside into affection, the same as it is with me." See S. George Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and their Letters* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974), pp. 32–33. Mary Jane Mount Tanner, the wife of Myron Tanner, wrote in her memoirs, "I have lived fifteen years in polygamy, which is a severe trial to our fallen nature, but God has sustained me, and I feel to rejoice that I am counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake." Cited in George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family* (Salt Lake City: John Tanner Family Association, 1974), p. 405. Another personal account that gives insight into the author's experience as both child and wife in polygamous families is Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969).

³² Brigham Young's attitudes on these issues are discussed in Jill Mulvay Derr, "Women's Place in Brigham Young's World," *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 384–95.

by the emphasis given to sexual transgression as grounds for action of Church courts.³³

THE WORD OF WISDOM

While polygamy was one of the main features of Mormon boundary establishment and maintenance during the period 1844–1900, the Word of Wisdom has played a prominent role since then. It is common to find dietary restrictions serving as boundary mechanisms in many religions: practicing Hindus do not eat meat, faithful Moslems avoid alcohol and pork, and of course the best known dietary limitations are those followed by the Jews.³⁴ Significantly, the Jew-gentile distinction — and the dissolving of that distinction — was symbolized by Peter's vision in which he was commanded to eat "unclean" foods (Acts 10:9–17; Lev. 11:2–47).

Although the injunction that Latter-day Saints abstain from the use of alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and hot drinks was given in 1833, it was described as "a word of wisdom" and treated initially as good advice rather than a commandment. While the Church adopted a policy that a member should not hold a leading position if he/she did not observe the requirements after having been taught them,³⁵ in practice the Word of Wisdom did not receive great emphasis during the early period of Church history.³⁶ After the settlement in the Great Basin, initial emphasis on abstinence came largely for economic reasons. Importing tobacco, coffee, tea, and alcohol was expensive and contributed to an outflow of money, which was in short supply in the quasi-barter economy that existed among the Mormons. Further emphasis on living the Word of Wisdom came with the arrival of the transcontinental railroad in Utah. Church leaders sought means to raise cash to pay rail fares for bringing Latter-day Saints from Europe, since the railroad would permit a more efficient gathering. The method decided upon was to discourage the importation of luxuries, including coffee, tea, tobacco, and liquor, and to urge contribution of the money thus saved to help bring the poor to Zion.³⁷

It was not until the twentieth century, however, that the Word of Wisdom came to assume greater importance in Mormon boundary establishment. The

³³ See Lester Bush, "Excommunication and Church Courts: A Note from the General Handbook of Instructions," *DIALOGUE* 14 (Summer 1981): 80–88.

³⁴ A very insightful article on the boundary functions of Jewish dietary laws is Jean Solter, "The Dietary Prohibitions of the Hebrews," *New York Review of Books* 26 (14 June 1979): 24–30.

³⁵ Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., comp. and ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963), p. 117n.

³⁶ See Paul H. Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972).

³⁷ Brigham Young called upon members to produce these products themselves or do without them. When families were called to establish settlements in Southern Utah in 1861, among the crops to be produced in order to insure self-sufficiency were tobacco and grapes for the production of wine and brandy. In fact, because of the quantity of grapes turned in as tithing that would otherwise spoil, Church tithing offices in St. George and elsewhere in the region entered into wine production. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Economic Aspects of the Word of Wisdom," *BYU Studies* 1 (Winter 1959): 37–49; and his *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 216, 222–24, 238, 240, and 250.

contemporary emphasis on the Word of Wisdom began with the administration of President Joseph F. Smith in 1902.³⁸ The importance of the Word of Wisdom as a boundary device is in part due to changes in values of the wider society, in particular with regard to temperance. Through the first part of the twentieth century, Mormon abstinence was not unique, since most Protestant denominations were advocates of temperance. The repeal of Prohibition in 1933, however, reflected a change in society's attitudes. Since that time, American social consensus has increasingly rejected temperance, and Protestant groups (e.g., Methodists) which previously championed abstinence have quietly dropped such views.³⁹ As the social values of the wider society shifted, Mormon abstinence from alcohol appeared in sharper relief. Proscription of the use of tobacco and hot drinks has likewise emphasized differences.

The Word of Wisdom is significant in contemporary boundary establishment because in social interaction a common convention is to share a drink — an alcoholic beverage, coffee, or tea. Practicing Mormons are continually called upon to reaffirm their religious commitment in front of non-Mormons. In a study of Melanesian "cargo" cults, Peter Worsley notes that if believers do not physically withdraw and separate themselves from the unconverted, they show their dedication to the new movement by adopting "diacritical signs and symbols — songs, badges, dances, dress, ornaments, etc. — which emphasize their separateness and dedication."⁴⁰ For Mormons, the Word of Wisdom has become such an outward symbol of separateness.

There are current indications, however, which suggest that in this area the views of Mormons and broader society may again be converging. Recent years have witnessed a U.S. government campaign against smoking, a "back to nature" movement has stressed the evils of caffeine (resulting in caffeine-free coffee and colas), and campaigns have been launched against the consumption of alcohol (encouraged by the high incidence of alcohol-related automobile fatalities). The continuation of this trend could have the effect of minimizing the importance of the Word of Wisdom as a boundary mechanism, even if Church leaders continue to stress observance, because the Mormon position is becoming less unique.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MORMON BOUNDEDNESS

The factors that we have discussed are not the only ones to play a role in establishing and maintaining Mormon boundaries and group cohesion, but

³⁸ Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," *DIALOGUE* 14 (Fall 1981): 78–88. See also Robert J. McCue, "Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?" *DIALOGUE* 14 (Fall 1981): 66–77.

³⁹ See Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963); Joseph H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900–1920* (New York: Atheneum, 1970); Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: Norton, 1976); and James G. Hougland, Jr., James R. Wood, and Samuel A. Mueller, "Organizational 'Goal Submergence': The Methodist Church and the Failure of the Temperance Movement," *Sociology and Social Research* 58 (July 1974): 408–16.

⁴⁰ Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, p. 252.

they are among the most important. Their relative significance has shifted over time, however. Individual differences also exist. For one person, for example, acceptance of the unique doctrines of Mormonism may be the most important factor in bringing him into the group; for another it may be the Word of Wisdom or a sense of community.

Furthermore, there are differences in the perceived importance of boundary mechanisms depending on one's relationship to the Church. For Mormons, participation in temple rituals plays a very significant role in indicating a high level of organizational commitment. Formal expulsion from the group (i.e., excommunication) also takes on greater meaning for members. To outsiders, ritual has less value since its meaning is not shared, but the aspects of daily behavior observed through contact with Mormons — polygamy, the Word of Wisdom — are given greater importance. Baptism is a boundary device that is perceived as significant both by those inside and outside the Church.⁴¹ For boundaries to be most effective they must be perceived both by those inside as well as those outside the group. The fact that the various elements contributing to boundaries and group cohesion assume different relative importance to members and nonmembers is less significant than the fact that firm boundaries are perceived on both sides.

Firm boundedness and a high level of group cohesion have important consequences for the Church. First, unless an organization has firm boundaries it can be overwhelmed by its environment with the addition of new members.⁴² By establishing rigid membership requirements and maintaining a high degree of group cohesion, it can add new members with less disruption to the nature, goals, and structure of the group. Between 1850 and 1900, Church membership increased from approximately 52,000 to 284,000, an average of 34 percent per decade. In 1980 membership reached 4.6 million and from 1900 to 1980 growth averaged 43 percent per decade. During the 1950s Church membership grew by 52 percent; in the 1960s by 73 percent; and in the 1970s by 58 percent.⁴³ These recent increases in Church membership have been less difficult than they might have been without the organizational development of earlier periods which prepared the institution for growth.

A second consideration is that the changing nature of the religious experience of Mormons makes organizational ties more important now than previously. In a study of Wilford Woodruff, Thomas G. Alexander notes that after the Nauvoo period, "the basic nature of mystical experience changed from open supernatural experiences [visitations, healings, speaking in tongues, etc.] to personal revelation, dreams, inspiration, and . . . insights" connected with Church activities.⁴⁴ The organization has come to play a much more significant role in the religious life of the membership; and greater importance is

⁴¹ See Jan Shipps, "An Inside-Outsider in Zion," *DIALOGUE* 15 (Spring 1982): 153–55.

⁴² Aldrich, "Organizational Boundaries," p. 289.

⁴³ Membership figures are from 1983 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1982), pp. 214–16.

⁴⁴ "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience," *Church History* 45 (March 1976): 69.

increasingly attached to aspects of organizational maintenance, boundaries, and group cohesion.

Third, many social movement organizations over time pass through a process sociologists refer to as "institutionalization" and "goal displacement." When an organization achieves an economic and social base in society, its original charismatic leadership is replaced, a bureaucratic structure emerges, and officials acquire a stake in preserving the organization irrespective of its ability to attain original organizational goals. Consequently, an accommodation of organizational goals to the dominant social consensus occurs, the primary activity of the organization becomes maintenance of its own existence, and power is concentrated in the hands of an oligarchy.⁴⁵ This is not an inevitable process, however, and all organizations do not necessarily undergo it. Sociologists Mayer Zald and Roberta Ash argue that "the more insulated an organization is by exclusive membership requirements and goals aimed at changing individuals (rather than changing society), the less susceptible it is to pressures for organizational maintenance or general goal transformation."⁴⁶ While the Church as an organization has not been immune from institutionalization, the degree to which this process has been minimized is in significant part due to the establishment and maintenance of exclusive membership requirements and firm boundaries.

Fourth, the extent to which the Church successfully avoids secularization is also in part due to the firm boundaries and internal cohesion established and maintained during its history. Secularization is the process by which aspects of social life and culture are removed from domination by religious institutions and ideas. It affects cultural life and thought and is most evident in the decline of religious content in the arts, philosophy, and literature. This process is most apparent in the rise of science as an autonomous, thoroughly secular, perspective on the world,⁴⁷ and has come to affect directly religious, as well as economic and social life. Protestant and Catholic theologians have sought to reconcile the growth of secularism with their own theologies through "demythologizing" Christianity, translating the Christian message into "modern" terminology, seeking to reconcile science and religion, and explaining the demise of the supernatural. As the social consensus continues to shift towards an increasingly secularized *Weltanschauung*, group cohesion and firm boundedness of Mormonism contribute to minimizing such influence among Latter-day Saints.

Thomas O'Dea observed that of the many American religious groups founded during the first half of the nineteenth century, Mormonism "alone has avoided the stagnant backwaters of sectarianism."⁴⁸ The factors which

⁴⁵ Zald and Ash, "Social Movement Organizations," pp. 327-28; Weber, *Economic and Social Organization*, pp. 363-73; Roberto Michels, *Political Parties* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949); and F. Stuart Chapin and John Tsouderos, "The Formalization Process in Voluntary Organizations," *Social Forces* 34 (May 1954): 342-44.

⁴⁶ "Social Movement Organizations," p. 332.

⁴⁷ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969).

⁴⁸ "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation," in *Sociology and the Study of Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

he suggests as most responsible for this are ones which necessitated or permitted accommodation and adjustment between the Church and the larger American community. At the same time, however, it is clear that this accommodation has not resulted in Mormonism's being absorbed into the American religious mainstream. Those elements that have contributed to the sense of separateness, which are discussed here, are among the most important in explaining why the Church, despite a degree of accommodation and adjustment, has remained outside general religious consensus.



An Eternal Quest: Freedom of the Mind

President Hugh B. Brown

On 13 May 1969, Hugh B. Brown, a member of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, addressed the student body of Brigham Young University. He was eighty-five years of age. Beautifully blending the ideals of personal freedom and religious commitment, President Brown's words of that day are frequently quoted. After fifteen years, it seems appropriate that the complete address be made available again. It is reprinted here with permission and begins a few minutes into the address, omitting some topical remarks. Internal headings have also been omitted.



One of the most important things in the world is freedom of the mind; from this all other freedoms spring. Such freedom is necessarily dangerous, for one cannot think right without running the risk of thinking wrong, but generally more thinking is the antidote for the evils that spring from wrong thinking. More thinking is required, and we call upon you students to exercise your God-given right to think through on every proposition that is submitted to you and be unafraid to express your opinions, with proper respect for those to whom you talk and proper acknowledgment of your own shortcomings.

You young people live in an age when freedom of the mind is suppressed over much of the world. We must preserve it in the Church and in America and resist all efforts of earnest men to suppress it, for when it is suppressed, we might lose the liberties vouchsafed in the Constitution of the United States.

Preserve, then, the freedom of your mind in education and in religion, and be unafraid to express your thoughts and to insist upon your right to examine every proposition. We are not so much concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall have thoughts. One may memorize much without learning anything. In this age of speed there seems to be little time for meditation.

Dissatisfaction with what is around us is not a bad thing if it prompts us to seek betterment, but the best sort of dissatisfaction in the long run is self-dissatisfaction which leads us to improve ourselves. Maturity implies the ability to walk alone and not be ashamed within ourselves of the things we do and say.

Progress in maturity may be measured by our acceptance of increased self-responsibility and an increased sagacity in decision-making. This transition is not a time of calm enjoyment, but of growth and adaptation.

One matures as a person by responding differently today from the way in which one responded yesterday. We observe restraint so that restraints do not have to be imposed upon us; we do our best to think clearly so that we avoid chasing after false doctrines; we use deliberation so as to see through nonsense; we realize our social duty to the honest opinions of others while maintaining our own principles.

Self-discipline — and that is a subject on which I think I have somewhat a right to speak because of my military training and experience — self-discipline means doing things you would rather not do but having the courage to do them if they are right. When a course of action shows itself to be unprofitable, it is sensible and valorous to drop it.

There is no personal value in making a show of maturity if you do not have it. Affectation of any sort borders on vulgarity, and at the least it is ridiculous to pretend to feelings and beliefs that do not appeal to your intelligence. On the other hand, no mature person will be content to sit by the side of the road and watch the world go by. One cannot be merely a bystander, doing nothing but criticize.

When a human being finds himself at a dead end, he is tempted to turn to that last desperate resource of muddled mankind: lawlessness. He does not realize the unprofitableness in delinquency and the low standard of living to which it condemns him. He may even imagine himself a martyr in some trivial or irrelevant cause. His hooliganism brings discredit to the peaceful, legitimate, and often courageous protests by young people on great moral issues.

Society is indulgent toward young people, but there are limits to permissibility. Youth is right to repudiate sham and hypocrisy, but to assume that disorder and chaos have merit in themselves is to assume that we are no longer capable of reasoning together in search of the right solution of problems.

You students have strong desires. You are not content to live a merely miscellany life, however pleasurable it may be. You dream beyond the actual and think beyond your fingertips. In doing so you are living up to the great law of culture, that a man shall become all that he is created capable of becoming.

While we speak of independence and the right to think, to agree or to disagree, to examine and to question, we must not forget that fixed and unchanging laws govern in all God's creation, whether it be in the vastness of the starry heavens, or in the minute revolving universe of the atom, or in human relationships. All is law. All is cause and effect, and God's laws are universal. God has no favorites; none is immune from either life's temptations or the consequences of his own deeds. God is not capricious.

Our reactions to the ever-changing impacts of life will depend upon our goals, our ideals. "The vision that you glorify in your mind, the ideal that you enthrone in your heart, this you will build your life by, this you will become." Every life coheres around certain fundamental core ideas whether we realize it or not, and herein lies the chief value of revealed religion. But while I believe all that God has revealed, I am not quite sure that I understand what he has revealed, and the fact that he has promised further revelation is to me a challenge to keep an open mind and be prepared to follow wherever my search for truth may lead. You young people have been attending a school presided over by the president of the Church, a school established by a prophet of God, a school where your eternal welfare is ever foremost in the minds of your professors, your administration, the faculty, and others. Our reactions to the ever-changing impacts of life will depend upon our goals and our ideals. And I would like to leave that thought with you to ponder.

Again I emphasize, there is no final goal. Life must continue to expand, to unfold, and to grow, if it is to continue to be a good life. These things are indispensable, and in this connection age makes little difference. There is opportunity for all to expand and to grow and to be and to become.

There are forces at work in our society today which degrade an intellectual quest for knowledge. These forces are nothing new. They have always been powerful. They are anti-intellectual. Forces in this country and in other countries are known and grappled with, but they are making headway. The Know-Nothings of the last century in this country could be cited as but one example. Germany in the thirties saw the burning of books and the glorification of barbaric emotion as part of the tragedy of Hitlerism.

We have been blessed with much knowledge by revelation from God which, in some part, the world lacks. But there is an incomprehensibly greater part of truth which we must yet discover. Our revealed truth should leave us stricken with the knowledge of how little we really know. It should never lead to an emotional arrogance based upon a false assumption that we somehow have all the answers — that we in fact have a corner on truth. For we do not.

Whether you are in the field of economics or political science, history or the behavioral sciences — continue your search for truth. And maintain humility sufficient to be able to revise your hypotheses as new truth comes to you by means of the spirit or the mind. Salvation, like education, is an on-going process.

One may not attain salvation by merely acknowledging allegiance, nor is it available in ready-to-wear stores or in supermarkets where it may be bought and paid for. That it is an eternal quest must be obvious to all. Education is involved in salvation and may be had only by evolution or the unfolding or developing into our potential. It is in large measure a problem of awareness, of reaching out and looking up, of aspiring and becoming, pushing back our horizons, seeking for answers, and searching for God. In other words, it is not merely a matter of conformity to rituals, climbing sacred stairs, bathing in sacred pools, or making pilgrimages to ancient shrines. The depth and height and quality of life depends upon awareness, and awareness is a process of being saved from ignorance. Man cannot be saved in ignorance.

We today not only enjoy many advantages and comforts unknown to former generations, but we suffer many trials and cope with many problems which did not plague our forefathers. We are puzzled by the frictions and the deficiencies of our society.

I think the expression, "Keep it cool," is peculiar to your age, but it means in reality, "Do not be impatient." Too many young people are so impatient that when they press an electric button they can't wait for the answer. They think there is a gap somewhere, and they think it is because of the old folks that don't know enough to press the button.

Historians, philosophers, and scientists all agree that life on this earth has been and is one continuous, never-ceasing process of readjustment. Your generation is maturing in body and mind at an earlier age than did preceding generations, and as you become aware of that fact, you are inclined to become critical of the older generation and sometimes with justification. We are not here to defend ourselves against you; we are here to let you know some things we have learned the hard way, and sometimes by sad experience.

For almost every young person, adolescence means one thing above all else: he must prove that he is no longer a child. He is fighting to establish himself as a person. When choice is to be made of a course of action or a deed, choose that which has significance. Every youth is forced to answer the question in dialogue with himself: "What are the things that I ultimately value?" He must answer with the thought in mind: "I will have to live with myself all my life, and what I decide now will influence my happiness."

As you go forward in your search for truth, and as you espouse principles and establish ideals toward which to work, pray for courage to be true to your loyalties, to your ideals and to yourself. It has been said that he who knows the precepts and neglects to obey them is like one who lights a candle in the darkness and then closes his eyes. Remember, there is a power greater than yourselves upon which you may call. It is the gospel which Paul declared to be the power of God unto salvation. There is a power available to all which, when understood and utilized, will lead to salvation . . .

I am going to have to shorten what I had thought of saying because I want to leave with you at the end a statement from my heart. You are going home shortly, many of you. This I understand is the final devotional assembly to be held on the campus this spring. I want you to take with you to your homes and to your families the spirit of the gospel of Christ. It makes it possible for you to participate in the things around you. The organization of stakes and wards on this campus has enabled thousands of young people to become active in the Church and, thereby, to open their eyes and their understanding. This question of participation was impressed upon my own mind years ago when I was acting as coordinator for servicemen.

Now I know the faculty have heard me tell this story before, but they have forgotten it. You young people perhaps haven't heard it, but you will forget it too. I want to tell you this story to emphasize the value of participation.

While I was acting as servicemen's coordinator, I was in London, England. I sent the following telegram to the senior chaplain of a large camp near Liver-

pool, "I'll be in your camp tomorrow morning at 10:00. Kindly notify all Mormon boys in your camp that we'll hold a meeting."

When I arrived the next morning I met seventy-five young men, all in uniform. They were delighted to see me although I knew none of them. They were glad to see someone from home.

There stepped out from the crowd a man who, after shaking hands, said, "I'm the one to whom you sent your telegram. I'm the chaplain of this camp. I didn't get your telegram until this morning [that is, Sunday morning]. Upon receipt of it, I made an inquiry — a careful inquiry. I found there were seventy-six Mormon boys in this camp. Seventy-five of them are here, one is in the hospital."

He said, "I wish you'd tell me, Mr. Brown, how you do it. I have six hundred men in my church in this camp, and if I gave them six months' notice they couldn't meet that record. Tell me how you do it."

"Well," I said, "if you come into our meeting we'll show you how we do it." And so he accompanied me into the quonset hut and before us sat these seventy-five young men. I had the minister sit next to me.

I said, "How many of you fellows have been on missions?" Fully 50 percent of them raised their hands. I pointed to six of them and said, "Come here and administer the sacrament." I pointed to six others and said, "Come here and be prepared to speak." I looked at my friend, the minister, and he had his mouth open. He had never seen such a thing.

And then I said, "Fellows, what shall we sing this morning?" And with one voice they said, "Come, Come, Ye Saints!" And I said, "Who can lead the music?" and most of them raised their hands. I selected one. "Who can play this portable organ?" And again there was a fine showing and one was selected.

Now, we didn't have any books but the man at the organ sounded a chord and those young men stood, shoulders back and chins pulled in, and they sang all the verses of "Come, Come, Ye Saints." Now, I have heard that sung all over the Church many times, even by the Tabernacle Choir to whom I apologize for what I am going to say. I have never heard "Come, Come, Ye Saints" sung with such fervor, such conviction, such power as those young men sang it. When they came to the last verse, "And should we die before our journey's through, happy day, all is well," I tell you it was thrilling. And as I looked at my friend again I found him weeping.

After the prayer, one of the boys knelt at the sacrament table, and he said, "Oh God, the Eternal Father . . ." and then he paused for what seemed to be a full minute before proceeding. At the close of the meeting, I went and looked him up. I put my arm across his shoulder and said, "What's the matter, lad?"

He said, "Why?"

"Well, you seemed to have difficulty in asking a blessing on the bread. Has something happened?"

"Well, sir," he said, "a few hours ago I was over Germany and France on a bombing mission. We had made our run, left our calling cards [meaning the bombs], and when we gained altitude and were about to return across the

channel, we ran into heavy flak. My tail assembly was pretty well shot away, one of my engines was out, a number of my crew were wounded, and it looked like a hopeless situation. It seemed like no power in heaven or earth could get us back across the channel to a landing field. But," he said, "Brother Brown, up there I remembered what my mother had said to me. [And this I want to say to this vast audience, both those that are here and those that are listening in.] This is what my mother said, 'If ever you find yourself in a situation where man can't help you, call on God.' I had been told that same thing in Primary, in the seminaries, in Sunday School: 'If ever you need help and man can't help you, call on God.' Although it seemed hopeless and impossible, I said, 'Oh God, the Eternal Father, please sustain this ship until we get back into England.' . . . Brother Brown, he did just that.

"When I heard of this meeting I ran all the way to get here, and when I knelt at the table and named his name again, I remembered shamefully that I had not stopped to say, 'Thank you.' And that's the reason I paused, to express my gratitude for the goodness of God."

Well, we went on with our meeting and these young men spoke, and they spoke with power and conviction. Every one who heard them was thrilled by the evidence of their faith, and my friend, the chaplain, continued to weep. When they had finished talking, I said, "Fellows, we'll have to dismiss." (That meeting was not like this; it had to be dismissed on time.) I said, "We'll have to dismiss or you won't get any chow."

They said, "We can have chow any time. Let's have a testimony meeting."

"Why," I said, "if you have a testimony meeting you'll be here another two hours."

They repeated with one voice, "Please let us have a testimony meeting."

I turned to my friend, the minister, and said, "Now I know this is unusual for you. We've been here two hours and we're going to be here another two hours. We'll excuse you if you prefer to withdraw."

He put his hand on my knee and said, "Please, sir, may I remain?" And, of course, I encouraged him to stay and then for two solid hours those young men, one after another, stood up and bore witness of the truth of the gospel. My only job was to say, "You're next, and then you, and then you," because all of them wanted to get up at once. It was a glorious occasion.

Finally there came an end. We dismissed, and this minister turned to me and said, "Mr. Brown, I have been a minister of the gospel for twenty-one years but this has been the greatest spiritual experience of my life." And again he said, "How do you do it? How did you know which of those fellows to call on?"

I replied, "It didn't make any difference which one I called on. They are all prepared. And this could happen in any camp anywhere in the world where there are seventy-five young Mormon boys."

I relate this to you, my dear students, that you may realize the value of participation, the value of a conviction of the truth, and that you may take advantage of every opportunity to bear witness to that truth.

I bear my witness to you now, as you leave for home, and as time goes on I do not know that I will be here again and that doesn't matter much as far


as you are concerned. But I want to leave this witness with you. I am too old to try to deceive you — I have one foot in the grave and [am] waiting to kick the bucket with the other. But this I want to say to you before I leave, and I say it with apologies for holding you a moment.

With all the fervor of my soul, I know that God lives, that he is a reality, that he is a personality; that Jesus of Nazareth is and was and will ever be the Son of God, the Redeemer and the Savior of the world. I know that better than I know anything else, and I say with Peter of old who was asked, “Whom say ye that I am?” He replied, as I reply. He replied with the same authority with which I speak, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” And he was told by the Master what I have been told by him as well, “Flesh and blood did not reveal this unto you, but my father which is in heaven” (see Matt. 16: 15–17).

God bless you, my dear fellow students, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

“In the Heavens, Are Parents Single?”: Report No. 1¹

Committee on Celestial Demographics

ince the pioneering work of Orson Pratt, little advancement has been made in the area we will refer to as celestial demography.² This lack of progress is distressing given the thousands of hours spent debating issues about post-mortal existence such as the possibility of inter-kingdom mobility, the implications of contemporary proselyting which continues to produce more female than male converts, and the possibilities of polygamous or other marital forms in the future life. Although the data necessary for definitive projections are unavailable and some tentative assumptions must be made, the application of contemporary demographic methods to the projections of the size and composition of post-mortal populations yields insights that have gone unrecognized in the more speculative debates on the nature of immortality and eternal life. Here we consider the sex composition of the Celestial Kingdom.

Ever since the Book of Mormon was translated, the Church has held the doctrine that children who die before age eight are saved. Elder Bruce R. McConkie states that such children are exalted in the highest degree of the Celestial Kingdom.³ This doctrine has profound implications for the gender composition of this kingdom, especially in light of the mortality rates that have prevailed during much of the earth's history.

To explore these implications, we make three assumptions based on the best demographic data available, namely: (1) 70 billion people have been

¹ In preparing this report, the committee has profited from discussions of celestial demography with several persons, especially Tim B. Heaton, Howard M. Bahr, James E. Smith, and James Duke.

² Orson Pratt was concerned with the number of spirits in the preexistence and the fertility and nuptial patterns required to produce these spirits. For example, he calculated that it would have required “over one hundred thousand millions of years for the same Mother to have given birth to this vast family.” “The Pre-existence of Man,” *The Seer*, 1 (March 1853): 38. Shortening the gestation period or allowing for multiple wives would shorten this period, but there would still be a very large age difference between the oldest and youngest spirits. He went on to estimate that in the third generation there would be a large enough population to inhabit “one billion three million and three worlds” (*Ibid.*, p. 39).

³ “The Salvation of Little Children,” 7 (April 1977): 3.

born on the earth,⁴ (2) the sex ratio at birth is 104 males per 100 females,⁵ and (3) 47 percent of males and 44 percent females die before age eight.⁶ It follows that 46 percent of the earth's population (people ever born) are automatically exalted. Given that two-thirds of the hosts of heaven survived the war in heaven, this percentage rivals Satan's success rate in that premortal struggle.

Furthermore, it also follows that 16.8 billion males and 15.1 billion females have been exalted by early death, producing a surplus of about 1.7 billion males. With so many celestialized males available in post-mortal existence, it may be less surprising in the long-term perspective, that women who survive past age eight appear to be more religious than the surviving men. Indeed, if the surviving women did not perform better (i.e., if females surviving past age eight were not more likely than males to become celestialized), a balanced sex ratio would be impossible. The following calculations illustrate this point:

<i>If this percentage of surviving men were exalted</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>this percentage of surviving women would have to be exalted to achieve a balanced sex ratio</i>	<i>ratio of females to males</i>
10		19	1.9
20		29	1.4
30		38	1.3
40		48	1.2
50		58	1.2
60		68	1.1
70		78	1.1
80		88	1.1
90		97	1.1

If equal percentages of surviving males and females are exalted, the 1.7 billion surplus of males would not be greatly altered regardless of the magnitude of the percentage exalted. Clearly, significantly more females than males who

⁴ This number is cited as a reasonable estimate by Orson Pratt (*The Seer*, 1:38) as well as by some present-day mathematical demographers. See, for example, Nathan Keyfitz, "How Many People Have Ever Lived on the Earth?" *Demography* 3 (May 1966): 581-82.

⁵ This is a conservative estimate since societies with relatively complete registration have sex ratios at birth ranging from 104 to 107. See Pravin M. Visaria, "Sex Ratio at Birth in Territories With a Relatively Complete Registration," *Eugenics Quarterly*, 14 (June 1967): 132-42.

⁶ These percentages are obtained from the West model life table with a mortality level 6, column 5; Ansley J. Coale and Paule Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966). This particular life table was selected on the basis of fertility and mortality rates from early Europe; Charles F. Wesloff, "The Populations of the Developed Countries" in *The Human Population* (San Francisco: Scientific American, 1974), pp. 69-77. Using other life tables from other regions or with fertility and mortality rates ranging between 30 and 40 per thousand would not alter our conclusions. Roughly 10 percent of the 70 billion people have been born in societies with mortality rates below twenty per thousand. The sex ratio of deaths in these societies still overrepresents males such that continuation of this trend into the future would not greatly alter the sex ratio of children who die before age eight.

survive age eight will need to be exalted to achieve a balanced sex ratio. Thus, the long-term consequences of a higher female baptism rate will be to create a more balanced sex ratio in the hereafter.⁷

The sex ratio places limits on marriage patterns. If all 19.2 billion women and *none* of the 18.9 billion men who survived past eight were exalted, the sex ratio in the heavens would barely exceed two women per man. Thus, one would need an extremely favorable image of women to believe in the possibility of universal polygyny. Indeed, these projections suggest that many women who have been distressed at the possibility of sharing their mate may rest at ease. In fact, they may face an equally formidable task of keeping two men in eternal bliss. Perhaps Eliza Snow's rhetorical question, "In the heavens are parents single?" requires more serious consideration.

If we are required to do temple work for this vast heavenly host, the task before us is awesome. Already, fewer male than female endowments are completed for the dead. Any concern regarding this current inequality pales in comparison to the 1.7 billion male surplus awaiting attention. Unless more efficient methods are introduced, there is little doubt that doing temple work will be the major task facing those alive during the millennium, especially for men.

It is also of interest to note that a more detailed analysis of ethnic and racial composition of the celestial inhabitants would quickly eradicate any racist notions about the inferiority of blacks, Asians, or residents of the so-called heathen nations. Judging from the present and projected populations of non-Caucasian nations, Jews, Nephites, and Christians will constitute a small minority of the heavenly host.

In closing, some caveats bear mentioning. First, the size of the earth's population, mortality rates and the sex ratio at birth are rough guesses derived from the best available data. Small changes in any of these estimates would not affect these conclusions, but large differences might. Second, belief that all children who die before age eight are automatically exalted is not universally accepted as doctrine. Thus, the assumption that they will all be eternal parents might be challenged. Third, we are now living in an era when mortality rates are very low in comparison with preindustrial societies. If this era persists, then the share of the total population that dies before age eight will decline. This will not alter the sex ratio of early deaths but it will reduce the importance of these deaths in comparison with salvation rates for those who survive past age eight. In any event, close monitoring of demographic trends cannot be ignored in any informed analysis of the population structure of the heavens.

⁷ James Duke (personal communication) has made calculations similar to those reported below, based on somewhat different assumptions. He arrives at a similar sex ratio and number of excess males. He also concludes that a higher female baptism rate may have long-term advantages.

Scatterville
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The Grace of the Court

Dian Saderup



he night before, I had felt a sudden need to read the scriptures, something I hadn't done in nearly three months. I stayed up until 2:30 and was asleep when Lynn called from Oakland at 10 A.M. to tell me that her sister Carol was depressed because a Church court was being held on her that evening in Provo and her five-month-old daughter had a 102 degree temperature. Carol has an irrational fear that God will punish her moral transgressions through her child.

Slowly I groped toward the necessary actions: Carol doesn't have a phone. I will have to find a car to get from my apartment in Ogden to Provo. I'm not supposed to leave the house until my back surgery is completely healed — what if I get rear-ended at a stop sign? Carol's depressions can be *mega*, as in huge, enormous, overwhelming — I will have to find energy to face that. Carol will probably be excommunicated even though she believes Joseph Smith saw God and angels as much as I believe I'm alive. More energy, the spiritual kind; but except for last night, I haven't prayed in over two months. I'm tired.

After Lynn hung up, I called the Ogden temple and put Carol's name on the prayer roll. If I couldn't pray at least someone could. Then I lay down on my bed to figure out a plan of action. I fell asleep.

Two and a half hours later I awoke, my head a great deal clearer. I called my mother in Holladay, an hour's drive away. After a burst of protest concerning my health, she agreed to come get me and let me use her car. I went into the bathroom to get ready. My skin was pasty from lack of sunshine. I smoothed on a little Max Factor "Color Rub."

Carol is pretty. We'd been friends for ten years, and had gone together to BYU for a semester. I'd always felt dumpy around her, so today would be no

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exception. I hate going out of the house feeling ugly. Big deal. How could I be worried about the way I looked when Carol was mega-depressed and about to be excommunicated from the Church? *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*. That was one of the scriptures I'd read last night as I flipped from book to book in the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants. It was strange, like verses or whole sections would jump off the page at me. And I read them.

The drive to Salt Lake City took an hour. After I dropped my mom off and kept going into the second hour to Provo, I knew I should pray — please God, forgive my neglecting you lately, but could you give me some energy now? Please make me not get overwhelmed. Help me know how to help. Please. But I couldn't do it. My faith muscles had gone into some kind of cramp a while back and — whether it was apathy or aversion to spiritual exercise — I felt I couldn't move them.

I looked at the mountains, all snowy since I'd gone into traction and retreat three months ago. It wasn't fracturing a bone in my back and getting laid up for six months that started it. The whole year before, I had felt myself sliding. I had been active in my singles ward for three years: social relations teacher, Relief Society education counselor, get-up-at-6:30-to-read-the-scriptures-and-pray type of person. All that had been very good at times, generating a faith that felt like warmth in my bones.

I think I just started getting worn out from working at it so hard, or maybe the voids in my life were getting bigger than I could handle: Not having an E.P. (as Carol calls eternal partners) and being an almost-special-interest-age Mormon can be stressful: nobody's dirty clothes on the floor but my own to get irritated at, nobody's teething babies but my brother's to soothe with tummy tickles and Gerber biscuits, no sex. Being a student in English lit by day and a waitress by night has its freedoms and exhilarations but sometimes wanting a family of my own would come so hard I could hardly breathe. Al Pope may turn a clever phrase but he doesn't make the night any shorter. Anyway, slowly, for whatever reasons and without anybody's noticing, my enthusiasm for the Church and its multitudinous activities began to dwindle. I had grown tired, bored and lonely; and for the first time I began to understand maybe part of why Carol was so drawn to the lifestyle she'd been immersed in off and on for nearly ten years: she went for laughs and physical (if she couldn't get emotional) intimacy. I knew I didn't really want that, that such an attitude would bring its own unbearable voids and conflicts; but I wasn't sure what I did want. So I went into a sort of spiritual limbo, acting my part of the model LDS woman on the outside, while remaining increasingly aloof and untouched inwardly, feeling generally depressed.

As I headed down I-15, I tried not to think about all of that. I soaked in the mountains through my eyes. I hadn't seen the beautiful Salt Lake valley in almost four months. It was an "everlasting burnings day" (another Carol phrase) with everything blinding white, clear, clean, the air charged with sunlight reflected off the snow. As I had pulled out of my mom's driveway, a gust of wind had shaken the brittle leaves of the apricot tree in our yard; the dry

snow had clouded off the tree's limbs like glitter into the immaculate air. Looking at it all, the beauty felt like strength, like increments of energy nudging their way into me. I began to feel strong enough to think about Carol.

You hear all your life how good it is to have compassion for others. It's Christian. What nobody tells you is that compassion isn't easy and sweet to feel: it hurts. My mother tells me I have the "gift of comfort," which means that when people are feeling bad I can somehow make them feel better. I guess I know how to empathize and that's why people sometimes like to come to me when they have troubles. When you're suffering you don't need philosophical tidbits on the blessing of adversity; you just want someone to *feel* with you. My patriarchal blessing says that I will find "the greatest of joy in serving others." That used to be true; but as my spiritual energy (the scriptures call it charity) had decreased, my capacity to bear the pain of compassion had too. I was tired. Sometimes I avoided my friends who had problems, feeling guilty and relieved simultaneously. How do you endure the grief of a friend with two children just after she's been diagnosed with multiple sclerosis? Or the loneliness of an emotionally handicapped teenage cousin? Or the anger of a recently divorced neighbor whose husband has won custody of their children on fraudulent grounds?

I decided the only way I could do it was by steeling myself. I would try to turn my feelings and will to rock. Through sheer will, I would go through the motions of responsible and compassionate action. As I headed toward Provo, letting myself think about Carol, the beauty of the day receded from my vision. The increments of energy dissipated. I felt myself locking into rock-position, staring straight ahead at the freeway.

Carol and I had been friends since high school in Oakland, and had gone to the same ward. My parents didn't dislike her, but they worried about our friendship. They said her "sexy clothes" didn't reflect the standards of the Church, and that people would judge me by who I went around with. Carol's dad was weird. He used to hit her a lot, like if she came home late from a date, or if she'd been wearing lipstick. He'd check for signs of makeup (which she always carefully removed before going home) by rubbing her eyes and lips with a Kleenex. One time when I came home with her after seeing an evening movie he grabbed her by the hair and rubbed her eyes so hard I almost yelled, "Stop it! You're going to wreck her sight!" But I didn't. He's a big man. Once Carol cried when we were talking about him. She said he'd always hated her — not Lynn or their younger sister, just her — and that she hated him too. He has mellowed substantially since then, but that's now.

Carol was sixteen when she went bonkers with sex. The first time she slept with a guy she said to me the next day, "I did it. I don't know why. I just did. I feel terrible, like I really am ugly inside. But I want to do it again." And she did, again and again with many different boys. I didn't understand promiscuity, but I accepted it in her; the ability to accept people no matter what seems to be part of the gift of comfort. I tried to help when she had periods of self-hatred, but when she started hanging around with a nightclub crowd, we drifted apart. I still liked her — her peculiar blend of frankness

and sentimentality, and her clever humor — but we weren't interested in the same things. My parents breathed a sigh of relief that probably rocked the Oakland Bridge.

I hadn't seen her in two years, when she called again and said she wanted to get back into the Church, that she couldn't stand doing all these sins anymore. Carol (whose family, except for Lynn, was only borderline active) had always had the kind of "I *know* the Church is true" testimony that I envied. It had baffled me at high school parties when she'd get loaded on pot and then start telling people about Joseph Smith and the gold plates. She was an enigma, an exaggerated example of the spirit being willing but the flesh weak. We decided to start doing stuff together and get her introduced to some of my straight friends. She confessed to the bishop who said that even though her sins were scarlet they would become like snow. The repentance program lasted four and a half months. She called me many times after midnight in tears, saying she was so lonely she couldn't stand it, Mormon guys didn't like her, she didn't think she could live righteously, she was bad to the bone. She would ask me if I hated her and if I thought she was a slut. I said no, and no, and that she *could* do it. I didn't know what else to do. I told her maybe a psychiatrist could help. The intensity of her confusion and suffering frightened and saddened me. I wasn't surprised when she went back to the old crowd.

When I got to Provo on the afternoon of the court and knocked on the door of her basement apartment, I was steeled up for the encounter. Carol didn't answer, so I knocked again and called her name through a ground-level window. She finally opened the door, smiling and crying at the same time. We went downstairs. The baby, who was cross from fever, was plump and beautiful with Carol's slanted blue eyes and her full mouth. Even she was going to make me feel dumpy. Holding Jennie, Carol looked radiant, as I've always heard but rarely seen new mothers be. It was the baby that had drawn the bishop's attention to her situation. Carol hadn't been attending Church and the visiting teachers, who had come once in thirteen months, reported Jennie's arrival.

For most single women pregnancy is a calamity. Carol, however, had been scared but extremely happy. She'd been told by two doctors that semester we were at BYU that she would never be able to have children. Her tubes had been damaged by V.D. when she was nineteen. BYU had been her second attempt at repentance. Her parents wanted her out of the house, she wanted to turn her life around, and they said they'd support her if she went away to school. The doctors' report had come the first month of the semester. She was blackly depressed by it, fighting the old lifestyle but seeing no hope in the new. What Mormon man would want a wife who couldn't have children? And Carol, right or wrong, could not live without a man.

During that period was the first time I ever consciously felt the gift of comfort in me. It happened one night when Carol came home late. She had been to a bar in American Fork, had gotten drunk for the first time in four months, and had had sex with some cowboy in the cab of his pickup truck. She was hysterical, crying again and again that she was filth, that God would have to

punish her forever and ever and still she would be filthy. I had been fasting that day, but I couldn't handle this. I was afraid — she was talking suicide. And then, as I desperately tried to calm her — all the while inwardly pleading, God help — I felt enfolded, as if a soft mantle had fallen about my shoulders. I took Carol's hands in my lap, touched her forehead, and started to pray out loud, my words a quiet rising and falling wave of sound. I can't remember anything that I said, but as my voice flowed over the darkness of the room, her sobbing gradually stopped. She lay her head against me and I rocked her in my arms. When I had stopped praying a moment, I said, "Let's go into your room and I'll help you get ready for bed. When you lie down I'll brush your hair. Do you think that would feel good?" She nodded. I helped her undress that night and sponged her face with a warm, wet towel, and gave her some lotion for her face. She fell asleep as I brushed her hair.

My patriarchal blessing says I will find the greatest joy in serving others. My mother says I have the gift of comfort. All I know is that that night, through all the pain, I felt a kind of joy. I learned something about love. I felt a soft shock of awareness, as if I were beginning to understand what Christ and the gospel and the Church were all about. Over the past five years, that awareness has ebbed and flowed. The day of Carol's court I was at the lowest tide in a long, long time.

We took the baby over to a friend who had volunteered to tend, then went to Burger King for dinner. After that four months at the Y, Carol had slipped back to her former ways but continued living in Provo. We had stayed in touch even after I moved to Ogden. Across the plastic table at Burger King, she first talked matter-of-factly. The baby was a miracle. God had given her the one thing that could possibly motivate her strongly enough to change her life, a child. She had to repent. Then Carol's control cracked a little. She wondered if it was possible to repent of the same things more than once or twice. One of the scriptures that had popped out at me the night before came immediately to my mind (I still don't remember what book it is in): "As oft as my people repent will I forgive them their trespasses against me." I repeated it to her and said I thought most people genuinely repent of some things many times in their lives. It's just that circumstances can sometimes blur a person's vision, weaken resolves, make you forget what you once saw and determined so clearly. I knew that from personal experience. It seems a person often has to live from rebirth to rebirth, and the moments of high spiritual awareness are usually interspersed with darker times. It is easy to stumble during the dim periods.

Carol told me her bishop had said she would probably be excommunicated — to be prepared for that. As long as I had known her and despite her extreme feelings of unworthiness, Carol had dreaded excommunication. When she'd gone to confess to our BYU bishop after first arriving in Provo (she hadn't had the courage to go to the Oakland bishop again), she hadn't been able to eat or sleep for almost two days. As unloved and unlovable as she felt, it was as though the Church were her one tie to the *possibility* of finding the merciful Christ she so passionately believed in but could not seem to reach.

I don't think a human being can live for very long without some kind of hope. Church membership for Carol was, I think, like the substance, the symbol, of a hope, however faint, that someday, somehow she could be redeemed.

I looked at her over my French fries and Whopper and wondered how such Church action would affect her now. As if she'd read my thoughts, she blurted out, "Being ex-ed will probably be the best thing. Who knows? Maybe the loss will feel so big it will give me even more motivation to change." Her tone reminded me of the time she cried when telling me her father hated her and then insisted that she hated him too. In some ways she had changed over the past few years, though, had grown more accepting of herself. As an afterthought, she said frankly and sadly, "Or maybe I just can't be a Mormon. Right now, I just don't have it in me. Maybe *that's* the bottom line." She looked at me, then ate a French fry and quickly ducked her head, covering her eyes with her hand. Her eyes glittered with tears when she looked up again. "But what about Jennie?"

As we drove over to the chapel, I thought about her question. I started talking about grace and some of the scriptures that had impressed me: how it is by grace we are saved after all we can do; how the Lord doesn't require *us* so much to be strong as to rely on his strength; how he doesn't require perfection so much as humility — a broken heart, and a contrite spirit; how the mere fact that she *saw* her inability to be righteous on her own power might be the thing that would allow her to receive a transfusion of strength from God. She listened to what I said, didn't toss it away with "yes, but . . ." I knew I was saying things she needed to hear. I had hardly felt a breath of inspiration during the past months; I'd refused that along with other feelings. But driving down University Avenue in my mom's '76 Chevrolet Impala, I recognized the flickerings of the Spirit. Thoughts and intuitions that during the past year had defocused to absolute gray were all at once clear in my mind. I let them come. It felt good, like smelling my late grandmother's cologne last summer on an older woman at the jewelry counter in ZCMI.

I parked the car in the lot facing the chapel. It was an older building in a dark neighborhood. We sat there in the cold and dark for twenty minutes. A car pulled up beside us as we talked. A man got out and went inside the chapel. Carol said, "One of my condemners." I laughed. She laughed too, and said, "I'm serious. There's no way these guys are going to say anything but '*Out, girl.*' My clothes will be enough to determine the verdict." She was wearing tight levis, platform shoes, and a too-small sweater — hardly the clothes of a penitent. She'd told me earlier that she wouldn't dress like Miss BYU, pretending to be something she wasn't — and wasn't even sure she could become. She went on: "The bishop and his counselors have probably lived in Provo their whole lives. They're nice — *really* nice — and everything, but there's no way they aren't going to be totally blown away by the things I'm going to have to tell them."

The man who had walked into the church was short and round, his head balding. He looked like someone who had just finished a dinner of macaroni and cheese with a horde of energetic children and a tired, sweet, slightly over-

weight wife. Carol was staring at the chapel: "You know, I've been trying to look at this philosophically, how it's all for the best, but . . ." Tears came suddenly to her eyes and her voice got shaky. "I just now remembered what it was like when I was a little girl — the bishop standing in the foyer shaking people's hands and welcoming them to church. He used to bend way low to shake my hand, so we'd be face to face." She tried to laugh at her tears and said something about how the bishopric was going to think it was really weird when she — "Miss Sleeze" — got all choked up. I said we'd better go inside; it was after seven o'clock. We got out.

It was a starry night, *lots* of stars. I was looking up as we approached the steps. On the building above the entrance I saw the words in gray metal letters: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I hadn't been inside a church for three months because of my back, and had been there only dutifully for some time prior to that. And here again came a surge of assurance of method mixed with all the madness in the world. Just looking at the metal letters with the backdrop of stars, I felt like a wayward pilgrim who has accidentally stumbled onto her shrine. Immediately, I glanced at Carol and felt selfish relief that her eyes were on the ground. If I had been her, the letters would have felt like guilt or loneliness. We went inside and stood in the entryway for a minute looking around. The moment of inspiration subsided within me. I asked Carol where the bishop's office was. Just then he appeared in a doorway, the man we'd seen five minutes before.

He greeted us warmly. Carol introduced me, explaining I was to be the witness her letter had said she could bring. He asked us both to wait outside the office for a few moments, then he would ask Carol to come in alone, afterward, I could testify. I was startled. When, earlier, Carol had asked me to be her witness, she said I'd just have to watch and confirm that she was treated fairly.

I said, "You mean I'm supposed to say something?"

The bishop replied without sarcasm, "That's what witnesses usually do."

"I'm here mostly to offer Carol moral support. I don't think I have anything to say."

He said that was all right. Then he went back into his office. We walked around the foyer hearing the murmur of voices through the cloudy glass window in the bishop's door. There was a map of the world drawn on a blue poster board that hung on the wall. At the edges were photographs of five young men, an older couple, and a young woman: Missionaries. Each picture had a piece of colored yarn taped to it that stretched to a country on the map where the yarn was held in place by a matching colored thumbtack. "GO YE UNTO EVERY NATION, KINDRED, TONGUE, AND PEOPLE" was printed over the map. One missionary smiled out at me, all teeth and bright, startled eyes beneath his awkwardly cropped thatch of hair. Carol said, "I wonder what they're talking about in there," hitching her shoulder toward the office. I said I thought they were praying; you could tell because it was only one voice and had a certain rhythm I'd heard a thousand, thousand times. Then the bishop came out to get Carol. He said I might as well find a

comfortable place to sit down to wait and pray. He emphasized the “and pray.” I sat on an old pew that served as a bench in the foyer. I thought he should have asked Carol if she wanted me to come in. For some girls, confessing sins to a roomful of men could be a harrowing experience.

Pray. I knew Lynn and their mother had been fasting and praying for Carol since yesterday. I looked around the empty foyer. Down one hallway there was a drinking fountain with a step chair for children in front of it. The foyer was panelled with new-looking imitation wood. The banister leading to the basement was good, golden hardwood, warmly polished by the army of hands that had gripped it over the years. I remembered my own childhood and the stairs I clattered down in my chapel in Oakland. That banister was oak like this one and so were the moldings around the floors and doors. I looked at the print of Jesus directly across from my pew, the one I’ve always thought made the Lord look too mild, even effeminate. His hair was wavy and golden brown. The colors in the print were the same tones as the banister. It was the only picture of Jesus I’d seen in three months. “Come Follow Me” was inscribed in brass on the bottom of the frame.

My prayer was silent and short, no mention of unworthiness on my part, no promises to repent. I prayed for the bishop to be inspired, for Carol to bear well and grow with whatever decision was reached, for myself to know what I could do to help and to be able to do it. I looked at a fluorescent yellow poster on a bulletin board to my left: “If not you, who? If not now, when?” Next to it was a picture of Joseph Smith receiving the gold plates from a glistening Angel Moroni and a pamphlet entitled “Which Church Is Right?” There was also a Primary display on reverence — a large crayon drawing of two children, their arms folded like jointed pretzels, receiving the sacrament from a leggy deacon with a solemn pink face.

The murmur of voices from behind the door broke upon my consciousness and suddenly, like a tremor through my body, the thought came: What if that were me in there? What if *I* were being tried for my membership in the Church? What if I were excommunicated? I had drifted far enough to make that a startlingly and frighteningly imaginable possibility. Carol was using her matter-of-fact tone, probably saying something like “I’ve done this and this and this. It sounds like I should be excommunicated, so let’s do it and get it over with, okay?” She was her own accuser and, I knew, would make no defense. What if I were behind that door? Being excommunicated would be like being a single feather falling from a bird in flight to a disinterested earth; like being a button, snagged and torn from the breast of a worn, warm woolen coat; like being an ivory queen in a mystical self-propelled game of chess, moving heedlessly but deliberately into jeopardy.

I knew I had to be more than a silent witness for Carol. The metal letters, the drinking fountain, the banister, the Jesus picture, the displays were tiny electric generators, first throwing out sparks, then sustaining a current of re-awakening emotion and spirit-sense and sensation. Oddly, I heard Carol’s voice clearly for an instant through the door: “Well, I don’t think she really has anything to say.” But I did. They were talking about me. I stood up and

crossed the room. But what would I say? Another scripture from the previous night came to mind. “The Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what you ought to say.” I didn’t know whether to knock or wait to see if they came out to get me. When Carol opened the door I was standing right there. I was momentarily embarrassed, wondering if they thought I’d been standing there the whole time, spying.

I sat next to Carol in a big shiny dark wood chair — the kind I remember seeing on TV’s *Divorce Court* as a child. The bishop was there, his two counselors, and the ward clerk. The clerk asked my name, then asked me to spell it so he’d get it right on the official record. He was a small, dark-complexioned man with a harelip. He didn’t say anything else the whole time but sat, his head bowed over the endless notes he scratched on his paper. The first counselor sat across the large conference table from me. He looked about thirty-two, had deep acne scars on his face, and wore a plaid, imitation-Pendleton jacket over his broad thin shoulders and spider arms. His smile was wide and spread slowly across his face when the bishop introduced him to me. Unlike both Carol and me, he hadn’t had braces on his teeth as a teenager. His eyes were glittering, translucent stones set in an ill-cut length of pitted hardwood. They were the color of Bear Lake, intelligent and kind. I don’t remember the second counselor very well. He sat directly to my right, three seats down, out of my immediate line of vision. He smiled whenever I glanced his way, and as I talked, marched the fingers of his left hand, which was stretched in front of him, silently upon the table, from index to pinkie, forward and back, like a four-note scale repeated again and again on the piano. The bishop asked me to tell a little about myself, then with a question mark in his voice said, “Carol tells us you are an active, committed member of the Church.” The past year was my business and God’s. I said, “Yes, I am.”

Then I started talking, explaining what I knew of Carol and her problems over the years. Much like the night I prayed with Carol long ago at BYU, the words flowed and I can’t remember now what exactly I said. Things, I think, about her father, her deep — if not apparent — feelings for the Lord and the gospel, and her terrible frustration at her failures to live faithfully. At some point she reached over and took hold of my hand. Then a strange thing happened, strange for me at least. I started crying, so hard that I couldn’t talk for several minutes. I rarely cry in private and almost never in public, but the steel in me that had been so mysteriously softening over the past hour suddenly melted completely, like ice in fire.

I remember a symposium on world religions I attended several years ago at BYU. A holy man from India told a fable illuminating the Buddhist (or was it Hindu?) belief system. Ultimate transcendence of the world and its cares lay, for his people, in experiencing what he could only describe as an “unutterable gush of compassion,” whether for an individual or the whole of humanity. Sitting in the *Divorce Court* chair in this Mormon bishop’s office, I experienced a pure and purifying gush of compassion for Carol, a giant surge of the gift of comfort. Carol began to cry and her mascara ran in black streams down her cheeks. The bishop lowered his head. The first counselor rubbed his

scarred face with three flat fingers, his Bear-Lake eyes brighter with unspilled tears. The second counselor's fingers marched silently. The clerk's pencil stopped. When I could finally talk again, I said, "I guess that's all I have to say."

The bishop asked Carol a few more questions, and then she and I stood up to leave while he and his counselors deliberated. He rose and came to her, taking her hand. He spoke quietly, and said, as nearly as I can remember, "The Lord is full of grace, Carol. Let yourself accept that and take joy in his gifts. In my life I've had moments of peace and inspiration and encouragement from our Heavenly Father. Sometimes they even come when I know I'm not really worthy and I think he's furthest away. Just remembering those moments helps me get through the dark times in the way I know I should. He loves us. You're a precious girl." It was the first time I'd ever heard a bishop say the word *grace*.

Carol and I crossed the foyer arm in arm. I said, "Let's wait outside for a minute." I opened the double glass doors. We passed beneath the metal letters: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It was a moonless night with more stars in the black sky than I had seen since right after a week of windstorms five months ago. I like to look at the stars. I got a small telescope for Christmas two years ago. The night of the court the stars seemed full of motion and shapes, invisible lines connecting them into fleeting images of horses running, ladies dancing, or mere arcs of light slicing the dark sky. We looked up at them for a long moment. If I focused on one corner of the night, I could, like a child's dot-to-dot picture, draw a line from star to star to form whatever configuration might be suggested by the pin-points of light and spaces of shadow. I traced what looked like the trunk of a tree.

Carol said she was cold. I glanced at her. She'd pulled two handfuls of her long hair tightly over her ears, twisting the ends together under her chin. I smiled and said, "Okay." We turned to go inside where, after thirty-five minutes, the decision for Carol would be disfellowshipment — and hope — rather than excommunication. I looked back before opening the first glass door. My eyes had stopped on the star that is Orion's right shoulder. Tomorrow night, if it was clear and I stayed up past midnight for maximum darkness, I could go up on the roof of my apartment and draw the branches of the tree. I would perch for a while on Orion's shoulder, getting my bearings, carefully — I had a brand-new constellation in the making. Then — stars connected behind and scattered before me — I'd draw a straight path into the blackness of the shadows.

Being Mormon: An LDS Response

Irene M. Bates



What does it mean to be a Mormon? Is it what you believe or how you act? "Both," of course, is the easy and immediate answer, but the question deserves closer scrutiny. No longer are we "a peculiar people," clearly segregated from mainstream America by our early Mormon Zionism, our cooperative economy, and our polygamous practices. Individual Mormons fit quite handily into middle-class America, so how does being Mormon distinguish us? Within Mormon communities, faithfulness is often gauged and defined by "activity." Yet among active Mormons, quite a spectrum of attitudes and lifestyles exist. What, then, produces the frequently expressed feeling that as Mormons we are part of a world-wide family whose members belong wherever they might be? Does that comfortable sense of belonging arise from conformity of belief?

As Mormons we all subscribe with more or less fervor to a common set of ideas or principles. I could parade forth a long list of collectively held Mormon beliefs, but if we were to compare honest individual responses to each one of these tenets of our faith we would find not only a variety of interpretations but some significant contrasts. As Gospel Doctrine teacher I once asked class members in my own Pacific Palisades ward what they would expect to find in an earthly kingdom of God. I gave them a list of features from which to choose three that would be paramount. Not only was I surprised at some of the answers, I was amazed at the wide diversity of opinion as to what mattered most. In a more recent lesson on free agency, one life-long member of the Church held the view, quite happily, that "we give up our free agency when

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we become members of the Church. We simply follow the prophet or other church leaders.” This would be a widely provocative statement in almost any Church setting. The appointed balance between obedience and free agency is by no means so clear cut for most of us.

Subjectively, then, being Mormon means different things to different members of the church. We each choose our allegiances. As Jill and Brooke Derr have pointed out, “Mormons have always been able to exercise their personal freedom by rejecting church directives in whole or in part. . . . 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.”¹ This behavior is not uniquely Mormon, of course. Theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether has noted a similar selectivity among Christians in general: “Individuals in their local communities of faith are always engaged in making their own selection from the patterns of received tradition that fit or make sense in their lives . . . but these differences remain unarticulated, held within the dominant consensus about what the revelatory pattern ‘means.’”² That for the most part “differences remain unarticulated” in Mormon circles as well is true of my current church experience. It was not always so. In the mission field converts were only too anxious to test their beliefs in discussion or argument and I found myself in the role of moderator or wheel-oiler. These days at church I often long to discover what each person believes.

But those individual differences, however submerged, are there. Each of us is unique and has different needs at different times in life. Each individual has his or her own private hierarchy of beliefs and values. To return, then, to the question of what it means to be Mormon, we need to consider the relationship of belief to behavior. Sterling McMurrin has observed that “in religion a person achieves a relation to the world as a totality”;³ and as our beliefs become an essential part of our being, they become the motivators of action as well as the determinants of the quality of those actions. Actions in their turn affect belief — they either reinforce or change it. Beliefs, strong beliefs, demand responses. It is in our weaker beliefs that we waver.

To answer the question of what it means to be Mormon, then, I would have to ask, “Which Mormon do you mean?” Is it what one believes or how one *acts*? I can only respond in terms of what “being Mormon” has meant to me through my twenty-eight years as a convert to the church.

Davis Bitton has suggested that “the process of conversion must be worth fuller exploration than it has received . . . what conversion means in terms of family relationships and friends; the painful, perhaps liberating, perhaps ex-

¹ Jill Mulvay Derr and C. Brooklyn Derr, “Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power,” *DIALOGUE* 15 (Winter 1982): 35.

² Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God-talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), p. 15.

³ Sterling McMurrin, “Religion, Reason and Truth,” paper read at the annual meeting of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, University of Utah, 2 Nov. 1979.

cruciating re-evaluation of life and its meanings.”⁴ For me it was all of those things. Brought up as a Methodist, regularly attending until the age of sixteen (when I was allowed the choice to attend or not), I had become, thereafter, a “weddings, christenings, and funerals” member. My husband, a member of the Church of England, had a similar record.

In 1955 when we joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in England, our lives changed dramatically in very obvious ways. I was a somewhat retiring person and it was an effort at first even to walk into such an exuberant, busy congregation. Content with quietly serving my immediate neighbors and family, I was suddenly required to serve strangers in ways that probed my depths instead of merely using the skills that came easily to a housewife. This meant less time for family and older friends, with some resultant stress. It also meant seeing myself as a person as well as a wife and mother of four. I began to realize that *who* I was, the kind of *being* I was, mattered as much to those I loved as the service I was giving. That recognition was born of new challenges which required both that I develop new abilities and that I carve deeper into my consciousness. Teaching, for instance, when I had never taught before, demanded that I confront ideas and spiritual values so that I could know how I felt about them and teach in honesty. My first calling terrified me but I grew to love my group of sixteen-year-old girls. Stimulated by their constant questioning, I became totally involved in their joys and pains.

Since then I have run the gamut of teaching and administrative positions, all of them bringing self-discoveries and accompanying growing-pains, including repercussions in our happy marriage. Previously our personalities had meshed beautifully, my husband’s strengths compensating for my weaknesses and vice versa. After being in the Church a while we found we each were developing new strengths that altered our relationship to each other. Those changes had to be worked through, but our marriage has matured into a much more sharing partnership, full of interest and challenge.

There were cultural adjustments, too. Visiting teaching, for instance, is still hard for me because I had to overcome the feeling (of British origin) that I am invading someone’s privacy. (I believe the low visiting teaching averages in England of 25–30 percent during the 1960s register cultural bias rather than lack of commitment to the program.)

So becoming Mormon required change — active, visible change. The wellspring of all this change was *belief*. In the interplay of belief and behavior, activity often served as an arena for testing belief; and most of the time, involvement validated and expanded my new beliefs so that some of them were transmuted by experience into knowledge. In fact, without action the new faith might have been difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, belief itself had generated the courage, energy, and enthusiasm required to convert faith into practice. Similarly my beliefs today are the strong but silken threads, woven into the fabric of my experience, that help me survive in the Church through other kinds of change and probably even greater challenges.

⁴ Davis Bitton, “Mormon Biography,” *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1980): 12.

Among those beliefs and values which shape my response to a changing world, two are central. In a fluctuating kaleidoscope of beliefs, these two, since I joined the Church, have remained both constant and paramount in the sense that all others are contingent upon them.

The most significant belief concerns the atonement of Jesus Christ. From my childhood I have loved Jesus. In the Methodist Church most of the Sunday School lessons centered on stories of Jesus. But God the Father troubled me. For years I had lived with the sacrilegious thought that not only had God *required* his Son to suffer and die for us, but that he was unfairly taking the credit for Christ's sacrifice. After a long night of discussion with some caring, intelligent missionaries I discovered the foundation, the rock upon which my house of faith would be built. For the first time I understood that God the Father had *allowed* — not sent — his Son, Jesus Christ, to express his love in such a way — a crucial difference. This recognition of God's love inspired within me a new, deep reverence which, when I am still, colors my world.

After listening to talks and comments on the Atonement, whether focused on the mechanics, the parameters, the concept of ransom, or the promises of redemption, I have realized that my own worship is grounded in something simpler and quite basic. Although I find many dimensions of the doctrine intellectually exciting, I am filled with awe simply by the depth of the love of Jesus Christ and of his Father for all of us. The universality of the gift, as well as the intelligence behind it, are only barely comprehensible, but for me it would have been unbearable if the grace had been less — for instance, if it had been extended to just a few, even if the few had included me. The universal and unconditional nature of God's love provides the foundation for my absolute trust in him. It also affects my relationship with the rest of humanity.

First of all, by this exalted standard of love I have measured every scripture and every principle. I judge every sermon, statement, or directive uttered or written by any Church leader by this ideal. And I respond accordingly. I also measure my own response to fellow human beings by this same criterion. Even after many and obvious failures, I am still inspired by love's possibilities as manifest in Christ because of its effect on me and upon the lives of people I know. Second, because the gift of grace was purchased so dearly on behalf of all people, my view of others is necessarily more appreciative and compassionate. Their intrinsic worth has become a fact for me, especially since Church activity has afforded countless opportunities for testing that belief, so that I might know it subjectively.

For instance, when I was Primary president in Manchester, England, I was made aware of the power of this belief. For weeks half a dozen non-member children, ranging in age from six to twelve, had been creating havoc in our meetings. The children were rude, wild, and unkempt — four of them the neglected children of a drunken father and absentee mother. (She wasn't working, she simply ran off periodically and one could hardly blame her!) Because of their disruptive behavior, pressure was put upon me to deny those children access to the chapel. I was miserable. The children were totally unresponsive to affection or discipline; and to make matters worse, they even

haunted our home during the week. But I could not turn them away. The grumbles of some of the members were understandable and even the bishop thought I was totally misguided. Nevertheless he allowed, "It's up to you." Over the weeks a deep belief in the innate value and goodness of those little hellions sustained me and would not allow them to be cast off. Only when their self-destructive behavior and the response it engendered in people reduced me to painful tears on their behalf did those children begin to realize that we really cared for *them*. Then the beginnings of change were seen. Five of them were baptized months later.

Christ's gift of grace clearly implies faith in every one of God's children. From this wellspring of belief a second imperative emerges, one which is linked to a key doctrine in Mormonism. If there is value and great potential in each one of us, then all means are required to realize it. Knowledge and wisdom were what I prayed for most often as I was dealing with those children. I sought a way to love that might help them learn what they were doing to themselves. So in this way my being Mormon inevitably became tied to the law of eternal progression.

Now within the community of Latter-day Saints various aspects of this law affect attitudes and behavior in subtle ways. Our understandings of the doctrine will differ depending upon personal needs and hopes and perceived abilities. For some, "eternal progression" means simply an obstacle course, a testing procedure, leading to the celestial kingdom. For others, it reflects the success ethic of mainstream America, a kind of spiritual or social Darwinism. For still others it represents a hierarchical progression of religious service, leading to a general board (or higher in the case of men) but ultimately leading to godhood. None of these, however, has any appeal for me, especially the last one mentioned, for the quite selfish reason that I cannot bear the thought of the pain involved. (Even Jesus wept.) To me, given a knowledge of divine love and the many challenges faced in answering that love, the doctrine has always meant progression in terms of discovering spiritual truths. I have seen the effects of this progress in others over and over again.

One of the greatest privileges I had in the Church in England, for instance, was working with a young convert from Rochdale, a former millgirl. Without much formal education she became, after joining the Church, one of the most truly educated women I have known because she was so hungry to learn and to understand. As our stake Relief Society president, she was very strong, yet sensitive and compassionate. As her education counselor, I observed that she not only *knew* the scriptures, they were an integral part of her life, a source of her wisdom and strength.

And she loved the saint and sinner in all of us. In the days when sisters were voted in at Relief Society, one ward Relief Society president in our stake had refused to put a sister's name forward for the vote because the woman was living with a man, having done so for many years in common-law marriage. Sister Hoyle believed with all her heart that this new convert should be admitted to the community of sisters unconditionally. But the local ward president could not be persuaded. So Maureen Hoyle put her belief on the line.

She asked me, when I was visiting Salt Lake, to get a ruling on the situation from the General Presidency of Relief Society. When I relayed to Sister Sharp the question posed by Sister Hoyle, namely, “Am I erring on the side of mercy rather than obeying the demands of justice?”, Sister Sharp replied simply, “Didn’t Jesus?”

The law of eternal progression also involves the development of character and integrity as spiritual truths are discovered, often painfully. Every talk I have given, every lesson I have prepared, has been a confrontation with my own inner convictions. Tensions have surfaced at my probing; paradoxes have emerged that sounded new depths in me as I have tried to resolve them. One such tension was produced by my discovery of the priesthood restriction on blacks when a young black convert had to be told he could not be given the priesthood along with his white friend. He did not survive in the Church nor did his white friend. But another person, a black woman married to a white man, had faced a similar trauma when her young son reached the age of twelve. Her entire branch had risen in protest and almost apostatized en bloc. She did survive, partially because of their support; but also because, through long nights of pain, she arrived at her own unassailable sense of worth, an inner dignity born of a deeper relationship with God, and one that feared not what man might do. I was there in her little branch when, as Relief Society president, she told of her particular Gethsemane. What she needed now, she said, was their faith in her as well as their love. In her strength she pulled that little branch together. I often think of her now that her faith has been vindicated. She had requested our support, but her calm, abiding love had supplied the anchor to faith for many of us.

My unwitting mentor, Lowell Bennion, points out the importance of loving intelligently, with a knowledge of human nature and its needs.⁵ In a similar vein of thought, Arthur Bassett in a recent lecture at Brigham Young University observed that “love is not enough.” Instead, he suggests, our question should be “How can I more adequately express love?”⁶

Over the years I have recognized that this question is not easily answered, whether it refers to God or to suffering humanity. Loving intelligently and well can call for an awareness of the unbelievable complexities of human nature. Many of my experiences in the Church have created a real hunger for that kind of wisdom. For me being Mormon has always meant being hungry for wisdom and understanding, or, in other words, for truth in all its dimensions. Hugh B. Brown calls it the eternal quest, and I believe it is. He speaks of “the kind of quest which implies curiosity, a desire to know, a certain teachable humility — all of which are prerequisites to a successful search for truth. They who seek must have courage, must love truth, and must be unafraid of new adventure. They must be willing to depart, if need be, from the beaten path, and to alter and amend their own opinions. They must have vision to

⁵ Lowell L. Bennion, “Thoughts for the Best of Times, the Worst of Times,” *DIALOGUE* 15 (Autumn 1982): 103.

⁶ Arthur Bassett, “Love is Not Enough,” *Sunstone Review* 3 (April/May 1983): 7.

see, valor to venture and faith to sustain them on the quest.”⁷ It was a new-found faith in the love of God that gave me the courage to “depart from the beaten path” in the first place, and once begun, it seems, the search for truth cannot be halted. Besides, as President Brown also observed, “Eternal existence would be most undesirable if that existence became fixed and static upon arrival in heaven.”⁸ (Or, I might add, upon arrival in the Church.)

As a Sunday School teacher in England I found it difficult to contain the process, to quell the speculation, to temper the ongoing quest among a large group of eighteen-year-old converts, the liveliest class I have ever known. By contrast, my first impression in Zion — that is, until I became acquainted with *DIALOGUE*, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II*, and Mormon History Association members — was that all life-long members, with the exception of some missionaries, were more likely to rest content believing that answers were easily obtainable. I know differently now. In an address at Brigham Young University in 1958 President Brown quoted a prayer from the ancients which might well be echoed by Mormons in this readership, “From the cowardice that shrinks from new truth, from the laziness that is content with half truths, from the arrogance that thinks it has all the truth, oh God of truth deliver us.”⁹ In 1961 he urged the BYU faculty to teach so that “the minds and spirits of the men and women whose lives you touch may continue to be fresh, exciting, dynamic — and hungry.”¹⁰

This, then, was the climate of my early years in the Church and it remains an essential part of what being Mormon means to me. Although this climate of inquiry is the life and breath of my existence in the Church, paradoxically it is responsible for many of my discontents with the Church today.

Religious institutions have always tended to reify even relative truths — political, economic, or nationalistic — but in a universal church our obligation is to resist this tendency if the very nature of our faith is to survive in its pure intent. B. H. Roberts recognized that “some would protest against investigation lest it threaten the integrity of accepted formulas of truth — which too often they confound with the truth itself, regarding the scaffolding and the building as one and the same thing.”¹¹ So this struggle against a conservative institutionalization of our faith is perhaps a healthy and inevitable part of being Mormon. Certainly, desire to impose structure, to exercise some control over what Joseph Smith described as a creedless church, must be an ongoing temptation to those who lead us in this chaotic world. Yet, my chafing can still be part of what I see as a peculiarly vital, Mormon process. Investigation represents the kind of personal challenge that gospel principles themselves would uphold. Tensions help me discover what my values are. Tensions, however, do need to be aired in order to be seen and resolved. In our “unofficial” publications and

⁷ Hugh B. Brown, *Eternal Quest* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Inc., 1956), p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁹ Author's notes of Hugh B. Brown, address at Brigham Young University, 1958.

¹⁰ Hugh B. Brown in George T. Boyd, *Views on Man and Religion* (Provo, Utah: Friends of George T. Boyd, 1979), p. 86.

¹¹ “B. H. Roberts on the Intellectual and Spiritual Quest,” Notes and Comments, *DIALOGUE* 13 (Summer 1980): 127.

forums, such as the B. H. Roberts Society lectures and annual Sunstone Symposium, my own view of what being Mormon means is encouraged to survive.

In the same way that life is a process, for me being Mormon is a process. It is not so much a state of being, a pattern of behavior, a role, or an end in itself, as it is a means — a means by which I might discover God, understand my fellow human beings, and get to know myself. Mormon beliefs and ideas stimulate my mind as well as my spirit; they create attitudes in me and they motivate, even dictate, my behavior. Those responses, in turn, can help me find out — by testing my beliefs in loving service and communion — who I am and who my neighbors are. Belief and activity together should lead to my becoming a better person, a whole person in my own uniqueness.

I believe that the Church as a vehicle can embrace our individual differences easily and happily when sound principles are at the heart of it. Differences in perception of what being Mormon means can make the whole experience vital, exciting, and enriching; our stimulating arguments with much-loved missionaries bore testimony of that. And variety can also guard against stagnation and inflexibility, even in our judgment of “the good.”

When I joined the Church I could not have defined the constantly evolving effects of the new faith, nor could I have foreseen or understood the pain or the exhilaration of the challenging journey ahead. These two central beliefs, of which I have given merely an outline, have been the threads that have bound me to the Church despite the frustrations of what I regard as excess institutional baggage and in spite of the discomforts and trials which have awaited me around many corners. My belief in the love of God and that of his Son has brought an answering response in me, giving me the security to go on seeking, however painfully, my own deepest spiritual understandings. God’s love for *all* reminds me constantly, too, that others, in their uniqueness, must be afforded their own particular way. Today I face questions and problems I never dreamed of twenty-eight years ago. I seek constantly to discuss these still unresolved questions with fellow members, although many seem less than receptive to the kind of in-depth discussion required. Perhaps they are too busy. Perhaps the questions make them uncomfortable. Yet the ready-made community of faith, the opportunities for service, the sense of belonging *could* be an aid to the honest seeker after truth, though in my experience they seem to be becoming less so.

Nevertheless, this is the ideal which being Mormon has generated in me and which is responsible for the choices and actions which at least yearn toward that ideal. Until recently the ideal had been merely felt rather than consciously defined. Today I seek words to express fully the awareness and the ache for my own truth that being Mormon brings, but for the time being John Fiske’s stirring words, as quoted by B. H. Roberts in 1912, may suffice: “In this broad universe of God’s wisdom and love not leashes to restrain us are needed, but wings to sustain our flight. Let bold but reverent thought go on and probe creation’s mysteries, till faith and knowledge ‘make one music as before, but vaster.’ ”¹²

¹² Ibid. p. 128.

Being Mormon: An RLDS Response

Paul M. Edwards



Asking whether being Mormon is what you believe or how you act is, I suspect, a typically Jesuit effort: designed in hope that at least one of the two options is correct. Let me respond in the same spirit.

When I was young, I was the sort of little boy that my mother did not want me to play with. And some, certainly my mother, would suggest that I am still growing up. Thus, for my own protection I suppose it would be best to argue that being Mormon — at least being RLDS — is more a matter of belief than of action, even though I must confess that my beliefs are not all that much better than my behavior.

Yet my youth was controlled by expectations of behavior, rather than beliefs. We operated on the assumption that the children of church officials — “nabobs” my father called them — automatically believed. Thus the real problem was to assure that their Saintly behavior met the expectations of the critics. Much of my early action as a Mormon was restrained by the willingness of seeming strangers to stop me and inquire, “What would your father think?” As it turned out, I often heard what my father thought about my behavior. But in all honesty I do not remember much emphasis on what he believed. What was conveyed, was a hazy set of assumptions that justified — if not rationalized — the behavior I was supposed to assume.

The answer to the title question then is yes and no and neither. To be a Mormon — in the generic use of that term — is an attitude: an attitude of uniqueness — of peculiarity — which makes itself known in behavior, in beliefs, in relationships, in inquiries and, most of all, in religious expression.

What are they? First, I would suggest that Mormons are elitists. I do not mean that in any widely derogative sense but rather to suggest that they see themselves as set apart by either divinity or history. They view the world — as well as other claims of divine manifestations — as Platonic shadows; mere

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copies of the Real or the Ideal. Such a view fabricates a high point from which to survey, gets Mormons involved in a multiplicity of events and activities that most "religious" organizations would avoid, causes them to carry the burden of absolutes, and saturates their beliefs and their actions with the pressure of necessity.

I acquaint this with America's new fanaticism: jogging. I have always assumed the joy of running was rather like that of wearing a fur coat in mid-summer Georgia: the real joy comes in stopping. The jogger tends to regard running as its own end and elements of puritanical fanaticism easily insinuate themselves. Often Mormonism is such an attitude, one which is its own end.

Second, I feel the Mormon attitude assumes metaphysics as functional rather than essential. The role of theology, philosophy, and history are more to dress up the process of being a Mormon than they are sources of assumptions of Mormonism. Because of the immediacy of the venture, the explicitness of the message and the lack of any kind of identity distinctions between spiritual and material, the concern for systematics is of little or no use.

Conversely I detect an embodiment rationale: the individualization of what seems to be uniquely social conditions and the socialization of those things which are uniquely individual. In this attitude, events take on a concrete historical placement which is, in the main, unrelated to the condition of their birth. Perhaps this is best illustrated by the assumptions of the work *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* which, as Philip Slater has suggested, is a kind of Christian Science Dawn Patrol version of Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer. It confuses individualism with narcissism, community with containment, growth with compulsive striving, and spiritualism with schizoid alienation from the body. The assumptions of the Mormon community stand in stark contrast to their assumptions of agency; history in contrast to story; and, belonging in contrast to owning.

Fourth is the idea that authority stands apart from either dialectic or evolution. While not always seen in our execution, such an attitude respects finality and absolutes rather than emergence. It is a difficult idea within the limitations of our theology. Note, however, that Mormons express themselves by speaking with authority rather than in authority. The reality of our particular rationalizations is that we have authority, i.e. priesthood. But the attitude assumes that we are in authority. De Pillis suggests that Mormonism is probably best described as a quest for religious authority. I would add only that it was a quest for an explanation of an authority already assumed. For all intents and purposes, it is the process of allowing consent to be assent.

I tend to associate with this an attitude of a-intellectualism; not anti as much as apathetic. This may be too harsh and certainly will be misunderstood by someone. But I refer to the frame of mind that acquaints publicity handouts with creative literature — where the role of the intellect is foundationally suspect and kept within the parameters of providing evidence for the already believed. Generally we have assumed the attitude, if I may use a Talmudic phrase, of putting a fence around the law saying: "For purposes of this belief everything outside here is regarded as irrelevant, and everything inside here is regarded as relevant."

There is a Mormon attitude as well that sees itself as dynamic. I think this is probably true of the actions and beliefs of the RLDS and the LDS in different ways. But I would suggest that there is a common conception, a product larger than the total of its parts. This is an active pursuit of response to contemporary pressure. Or in other words, to order and organize the disorderly. After spending several hours recently in my liberal RLDS congregation with its inter-generational worship, its feminist convictions, its enforced informality, its reentry of wind instruments into worship, and its reek of compromise with the undecided, I longed for the peace and quiet of a more traditional congregation where neither form nor content interfered with my apathy.

But you see, I believe in what my congregation is doing and my behavior is reflective of this belief. I believe our Christian assumptions, but I am also aware they are frosting on my firm-if-bland-cake. I have only to give them order to make them mine.

And while we may look with awe at the time it takes us to adjust, we really have learned to do so fairly rapidly by comparison. It explains, I believe, why for the Mormon movement our dispersions — despite the liberal complaints — are generally very passionate and very fundamental.

Last, let me suggest an attitude of revolution. I know that such a word strikes fear in the hearts of some and makes other smile, if not laugh, for in practice we rarely seem revolutionary. What I see is an attitude of revolution concerning the sacred cows of our environment. It is a legitimate heritage from the religious malcontent who was our founder.

Note, this is not rebellion. We are not trying to motivate leaders or adjust the policies of the entire world, but rather to replace them with our own — to make the world truly whatever it is we think it is called to be. It assumes that we can save the movement and or revitalize our role by a reawakening, that by looking within the framework of our own movement we can return to the glories of the past and the promises of the future. We do not need to go outside for the keys to unlock the mysteries of our regeneration; they lie within the movement itself.

Externally our attitude has been one of quiet confrontation; being in but not of the world. This is seen in the interesting response to the recent charges of being un-Christian, leveled against Mormons of all variety. One of LDS Mormonism's greatest selling tools has been the fact that it does not fit into the confines of traditional Christianity. It is, if anything, more Christian. On the other hand, RLDS have spent 100 years trying to convince the world we "really are Christians after all" to fit into the mainstream of Protestant America. Now I discover there are those within our official family who, on the LDS side, are reaffirming their likeness within the Christian community as a whole — despite Jan Shipp's claim that Mormonism is a fourth and new religion in America — and on the RLDS side a suggestion of distinctiveness which, while obviously operating in the reflection of Jesus the Christ, is not really what Christians doctrinally call Christianity.

Despite these trends I suspect I find an attitude of other-than-this-brand of Christianity. This attitude is one of revolution, not rebellion against the traditional.

I heard Eugene England's delightful presentation "What It Means to Be a Mormon Christian." It was not only an informative paper but one of the best sermons — including exegesis — I have heard in years. I would suggest, however, that at stake is not the Mormon's right to be called a Christian. Certainly we have that right, for some of the best Christians I know are Mormon, or Jewish, or agnostic. (In fact, my wife and I decided years ago that if the Mormon idea of men becoming gods was correct, we wanted Leonard Arrington.) But it is a matter of description which asks whether Mormonism is best described in the way the word *Christian* describes beliefs and doctrines. I think not.

But back to the original question and what in particular would be an RLDS response. To suggest an answer I must say some things personal.

I am not sure what I remember of childhood other than some shared guilt rising from my mother's feministic view of the church combined with a displaced urgency born of my father's industrious demands. There is no heavier burden — Linus told me too late — than that of great potential. The unrest resulted in the feeling of exile, of being an outsider. It was my response to the church that led me to build on a lot of reflection, belief, and faith — as well as some borrowed courage — to make the shift from problem as life, to problem as the mystery of life, a shift that allowed me to see the possibility, the dawning potentials of other-directedness, and the light, as well as the lease, on life.

I was reluctant to burden this emergence into humanity with too many institutional attitudes for to do so was not just the obvious exploitation of one person by others. It was more: the loss of spontaneity which makes of our attitudes little more than role-playing where the sort of person one seems to be is more important than the sort of person one is.

Arising from this bias, and my experience, my inclination is to state that being LDS is about equal parts attitude and behavior and that being RLDS is primarily an attitude: an attitude in which the RLDS are more pleased with ideas and persons which are not too loyal. The proper attitude suggests that to find one's religious expression only within the framework of the church is suspect. This is not true I believe for the LDS.

Certainly, the behavior syndrome for us is reflective of the Italian, if not the Spanish, Inquisition; and nothing makes a better story for the telling than the transgressions of the Saints. But really, such behavior reflections are not the heart or the mind of the movement and, in the main, reflect the limited nature of our definable beliefs. In those rare doctrinal confrontations the encounters are passionate because — like academic battles — the outcomes are so unimportant. Lacking doctrinal necessities we are inclined to assume the violations of them. The RLDS awareness of belief resides around a parameter of faith held in place by an attitude of expectation — expectation of the nearness of clarity and of the rightness of the known but as yet undefined. Maybe I can illustrate the distinction of attitude I see between the LDS and RLDS by saying that the LDS community as a rule, genuinely believes that if their church were to be in command of all things, that the world would probably be in fairly good shape. The RLDS community, on the other hand, would be

very concerned if they thought their church would suddenly be in charge of anything.

My RLDS heritage is not the essential source of my hope nor of my convictions. Who and what I am is not "being RLDS" as much as it is the obvious reflection of that institution and its ideas upon my life. The church was, without question, the midwife of my conception, yet I fight the isolation that exists between what is called for and what can be given. Albert Camus reflects on the conflict that exists between a person's recognition of what is, and what ought to be, and sees it as the ground for our sense of absurdity. I do not maintain an attitude of convictions about very many things. What I have primarily is the attitude that there are convictions; and that the message of the church is significant because it is where I receive my messages. For I need — or perhaps just want — something real. I borrow Nietzsche's words: "Alone I confront a tremendous problem. It is a forest in which I lose myself, a virgin forest. I need help. I need disciplines. I need a master. To obey would be sweet. If I had lost myself on a mountain, I would obey the men who knew that mountain, and if I should meet a man capable of enlightening me on moral ideas, I would listen to him, I would follow him. But I find no one, no disciplines and fewer masters . . . I am alone."

I disagree with those who suggest that religion emerged from the need to face death. It is my belief that for most the significance of religion is found in helping us face life. Therein lies the recognition that within the church there is need either to end one's life and the uselessness of it or perhaps to find in the nature of the struggle something that gives life meaning and purpose.

My Mormonism suggests that the ritualization of divine experience has become a means of removing from us the burden of human relationships. There is an increasing effort, it appears, to conform to "tests of faith" on the one hand and "ritual performance" on the other. Tests of faith range from abstinence of coffee by millions of sleepy LDS to the RLDS businessman scrupulously avoiding champagne at a company reception. We take great pride in avoiding not only evil but its appearance.

In "rituals of performance" we pay our tithes (you more than me), we kneel during the blessing of the bread and wine, we seek temple recommends, we follow the correct ordinances for the right office, and so on. In this performance we are acutely aware that we are behaving as we ought. Yet it seems to me that our behavior often results from our human insistence on acting irrationally and illogically. This is not so much the failure to understand logic — for who really does or cares? — but the fact that neither empirical or quantitative knowledge is complete and that most of us have vastly undernourished views of humanity, of nature, and of God. And that this lack of nourishment is not due to limited information as much as ignorance of information available through other media, notably through sensuous knowledge. (For those confused at this point, I am not talking about the joys of sex but the sensation of awareness.)

The depression of a concerned and feeling people who are not sure that anything is happening is a result of their behavior orientation, not their beliefs.

The depression this produces is like the guest speaker at the banquet. It needs no introduction. But what we are not aware of, I suspect, is that the rebellion against the dehumanizing process of authoritarian devices will begin here.

When the loneliness of powerlessness is encountered, then such loneliness becomes a human resource. It is a force that responds to indifference, to unresponsiveness, to manipulation and meaningless communication. To admit our dependence, to grant helplessness and seek participation in the larger dream is our goal. It is at this point that the stars break through the clouds of our own self-pity and are seen as external sources of reinforcement.

Such rebellious persons need persons. But they rarely face this fact until they discover they are in a personless world. For persons need visions and dreams and hope, not just eschatological promises. Yet these lie at the end of a journey, a journey that never really begins in earnest at any point short of self-isolation. Whitehead has pointed out that when people say they are lost, what they really mean is they know where they are but not where everyone else is. Such is the RLDS isolation. The yellow-brick road may well begin, as it did with Dorothy, in the willingness to admit our human despair.

I believe persons who have not learned to make the great human and religious achievements their own — who do not know what it means to earn a novel, or carve a symphony, or to express a divine experience — are either enslaved to capriciousness or to other persons' testimonies of life. As long as the mind keeps silent in the motionless world of reflection everything is nostalgia. But with the initial movement of creation the world cracks and tumbles and opens as the cosmic egg, and an infinite number of shimmering fragments emerge, all of which offer understanding.

As the mind adjusts to the horizons enlarged, it must renounce the comfort of familiar narrowness. It is dazzled when it emerges from its dark prison, awed to find itself suddenly in confrontation with time and space.

In this sense, the church is not — should not — always be in the market for answers but for liberating questions that, in their own way, take us into the mysteries and respond to that void that resides within us. It is that urge to feel as well as to understand the awesomeness of the movement that gives us reason to search, to seek, to dream the impossible dream. It is too bad we are too often called to fight the unbeatable foes.

Not the least of my problems is that behavior is easy to watch, to decide the correctness of, and to mimic if one is in need of the characteristics of belonging. But beliefs are different. They are difficult and in the main they move like the traditional loop in a string — the loop ever there but composed at different times with different combinations of ideas, concepts, and assertions.

Certainly being Mormon is what you believe if one can set that belief in a set of parameters around which we circle like a firefly around a summer light. But this is more an attitude in which a number of beliefs — one or two more than half — balance out as the metaphysical foundations to this period's philosophical assumptions and theological dictates. We arrive at our assumptions of belief either by our own inquiry or by adopting the beliefs of a community which we found other significant reasons for joining. And in the main, we

seem to find we are at home with the beliefs even if we do not know what they are. The belief often is in being Mormon, not in what Mormons of any variety hold valid.

So in response to the thrice-asked question I would answer: It is an attitude — an attitude of being on the edge of fulfillment, an attitude of frustration, of exile and belonging, of concern and respect, the feeling of religious people about the source of their understanding.

Yet there is a growing bifurcation in Mormonism, a split growing between the purification (if not purity) of the doctrine on the one hand and the awakening of the behaviorists more in terms of Christian love than Saintly behavior (though there seems to be a large group of persons for whom the means have become the end). My comments on LDS experience are obviously limited by knowledge and experience; so relying on my observations of the RLDS of the 1980s, I would suggest this gap is widening as the pressures of fundamental reawakening cracks the complacency of those who have floated on the river of membership, never landing but never committed to flow. The Mormon community has grown too accustomed to bridging the gap and our attitudes reflect it. But the promise of the future requires that we deal with it and make it whole. This is my hope and, in the larger sense, my prayer.

A.C. Lambert: Teacher, Scholar, and Friend

Roald F. Campbell



A few months ago we were saddened to learn that Asael Carlyle Lambert had passed away. He was ninety years old and living in Los Angeles. Dr. Lambert was one of the giants to emerge from "Mormon Country" and I am pleased to be invited by the editors of *DIALOGUE* to pay personal tribute to him.

I knew this man for more than fifty years. From 1929 to 1950 our contacts were rather numerous. Within a month after I became a student at Brigham Young University in 1929 Lambert, then a faculty member, joined the Idaho Club students in a hike and party in Rock Creek Canyon. Later, as a member of the debate team, Professor Lambert, representing the Debate Council, accompanied two of us as we made a foray to the Northwest to meet other college teams in Montana, Washington, and Oregon. We had pre- and post-sessions for every meet. In 1932, Professor Lambert became chairman of my master's thesis committee and steered me through my first piece of research. During my tenure as superintendent of schools at Preston, Idaho, Lambert was one of the few people with whom I could share problems. After my joining the faculty of the University of Utah in 1942, we became professional colleagues, even though in different universities, in dealing with conditions confronting some school districts and certain state agencies and organizations.

In later years I went to the Midwest and Dr. Lambert went to California. Our contacts continued but they were less frequent. In the late 1960s, while I was at the University of Chicago, I received a large package by U.S. mail. It was from A. C. Lambert but there was no accompanying note in the package nor letter by separate cover. In the package there was a collection of manuscripts he had written. These manuscripts were of two kinds: research studies

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on school finance and related areas, and research studies on early Mormon Church history. I examined the manuscripts and made two decisions. I found the studies in school finance tied to specific places and times and in some cases related to materials that the author had already published; hence I discarded the papers.

The manuscripts on early Mormon Church history were quite another matter. They revealed a side of A. C. Lambert that I had hardly known. They dealt with early Church scriptures, early Church leaders, the origin of Church symbols and practices, and related matters. It was clear that these manuscripts represented long and persistent efforts to locate original documents followed by their careful examination. Clearly these materials were not available to most Church members. I took the collection to the librarian at the University of Chicago and inquired about their interest in the collection. They were delighted to house it as part of their larger collection of documents related to the development of religious groups in the United States, particularly those with origins in up-state New York.

Let us turn more specifically to the life and career of A. C. Lambert. He was born in Kamas, Utah, in 1893. As the son of a widowed mother he struggled to make the farm support the family. At age seventeen he was called to fill a mission in England. Upon his return he found his mother had remarried and was living in Rexburg, Idaho. Lambert joined his mother there but soon found that he had to make his own way. He took what work was available including the herding of sheep. Within a few years he managed to attend Albion State Normal School for a year and Ricks College for another year and thus earned an elementary school teaching certificate. In turn, he became a teacher of a one-room rural school, a principal, and a county superintendent of schools.

In 1914 Lambert married Florence Smith Ballif. They were the parents of six children, four of whom are still living. Ms. Lambert died in 1947. A few years later Lambert married Margaret Sayer Marr, who survives him. Also surviving him are twenty grandchildren and thirty-seven great-grandchildren.

Following his school experience in Idaho, Lambert completed B.S. and M.S. degrees at Brigham Young University. He was also on the faculty at Brigham Young University in a number of capacities from 1925 to 1950. At various times he was principal of the University High School, professor of elementary education, professor of educational administration, dean of the summer school, dean of the Graduate School, and director of University Libraries.

The highlight of his own education was completion of the Ph.D. degree in educational administration at Stanford University in 1935. Despite limited resources, the necessity to support a family on a very modest salary, and serious illness while at Stanford, he completed the doctoral program with highest academic honors. His dissertation dealt with factors that affect the need for the transportation of pupils. With some reduction in size, his dissertation became a book, *School Transportation*, and was published by the Stanford University Press, a distinction seldom accorded dissertations, in 1938. Professor John Almack, who wrote the foreword, said that the Lambert study "reveals

clearly the fallacies in the correlation method on which preceding workers have relied.” Almack continued by saying that Lambert, “puts forward in definite and objective terms the laws of school transportation.” This empirical work did much to establish a scientific basis for pupil transportation throughout the country.

In 1951 Dr. Lambert responded to an invitation to move to Los Angeles State College (now California State University at Los Angeles). While he said little, it seemed clear that he was weary of a continuing meagre salary and lack of official support for his work. BYU lost one of its most eminent scholars.

For the next twelve years at Los Angeles State College Dr. Lambert was professor of educational administration and successively administrative dean, dean of the college, and director of the Building Program and Projects of the college. In a sense, he was the prime mover in establishing the academic program and planning the physical facilities for a new and rapidly growing institution. While the institutional demands were heavy, he found some time to continue his consultation with school districts, colleges, and governmental agencies. In 1963–64 he returned to Utah to serve as the professional director of Governor Clyde’s School Study Committee.

During his lifetime Lambert published more than 150 articles on school finance, taxation, and related matters. Many of his studies on early Mormonism were unpublished. In addition to the collection at the University of Chicago, referred to above, there are collections at Stanford University and the University of Utah. The collection at Utah, numbering thirty-five manuscripts, is in the Special Collections Division and has been carefully indexed.* The collection occupies eighteen and one-half feet of shelf space and some manuscripts, now available, were restricted until after Dr. Lambert’s death. The time to share his diligent effort and insight has come.

What did this unusual man mean to me? He touched my life in many ways. I understood his beginnings in rural Idaho. With a gleam in his eye and a few well-chosen words he guided, almost imperceptibly, two young debaters in self-appraisal and self-improvement. When time dragged on the long train ride (1930) between Bozeman and Spokane, he relieved the boredom by producing a deck of cards and teaching us to play solo (slough). When I was faced with the task of doing a master’s thesis, he responded helpfully to my efforts to define a problem, to seek and collect evidence, and to organize and write a lucid report. Again, his direction was gentle but his standards were clear. Whether the problem was academic or practical Lambert listened before he offered counsel. Thus, while I never did have a formal class from Dr. Lambert, he became my mentor.

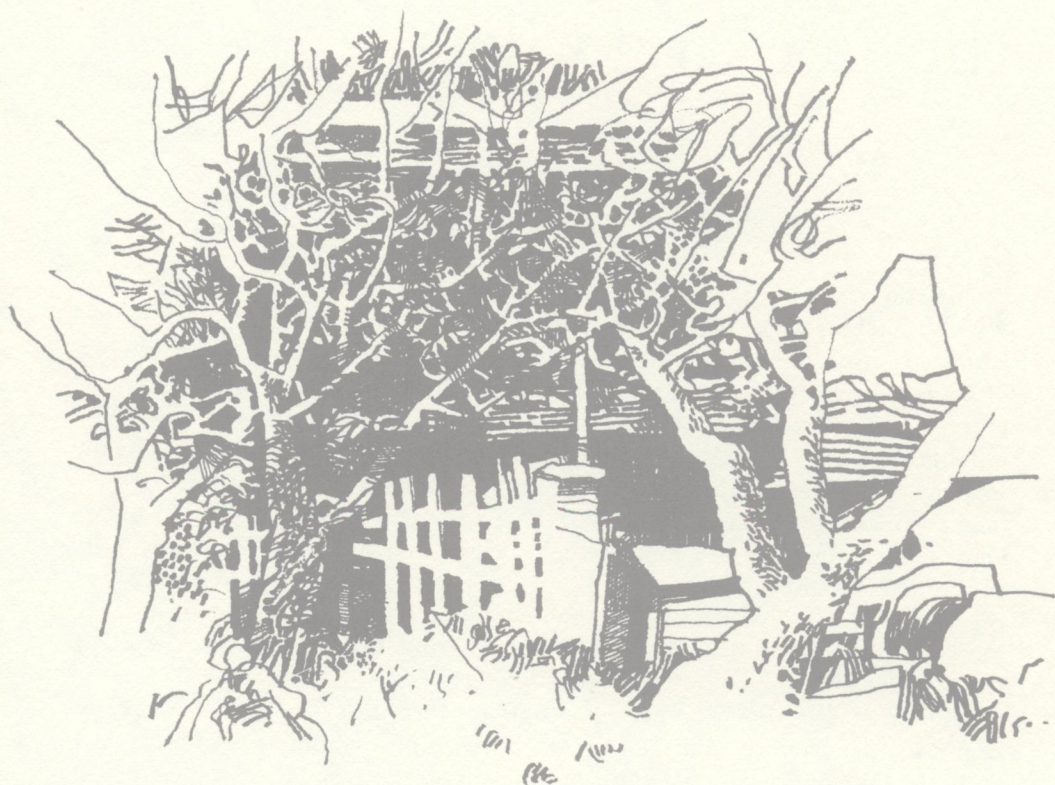
Even before I knew the term and, as I now see it, largely at a subconscious level, Dr. Lambert became my role model. On one or two occasions he shared with me the exhilaration he had experienced at Stanford University. At that institution, he enjoyed an open intellectual climate; thought, inquiry, evidence

* A five-volume handwritten work on Masonry and Mormonism is in possession of his son, Carlyle B. Lambert, of Provo, Utah.

were cherished. There were no restraints, no taboos, no questions that could not be explored, no prescribed positions that had to be protected. Little wonder that a man of Lambert's reach found the climate exhilarating.

His response to that Stanford experience was contagious. I sensed, at least in part, what that experience had meant to him. Perhaps I, too, was reaching out. There was not only the vision of open inquiry, there was also the example of the man himself. Here was a man with humble beginnings and no money who had stepped beyond the confines of his region and his tradition and found that he could not only cope but thrive in the larger world. Little wonder that I, too, decided to sample what Stanford had to offer.

For A. C. Lambert, I shall ever be grateful. I know that I speak for others who also felt his influence. Perhaps in all of this there is a larger meaning. A. C. Lambert lives in the lives of those he touched even though we falter in emulating his example.



KOST, WASH. '72

Roger Across the Looking Glass

Neal C. Chandler



he process is as invariable and explicable as the engineered logic of a machine. Yet for all its biological transparency, to Roger Talmage, educated, institutionally devout, and forty-two, the quite ordinary adjustment of his eyes from day to night vision has become a kind of erotic magic, at once marvelous, and necessary. Always he is astonished at how surely and how well, only seconds after Ellen has switched off the lamp, the darkness begins again to yield up her body; and not just her body, but a renewed, ideal body somehow abstracted and transformed from the manifestly forty-one-year-old woman who had reached for the lamp switch. He waits for this. Connives for it. Manufactures and orchestrates it. And his excitement grows and localizes as the veils slip steadily away, not to music — never to music — but to an ever more insistent rhythm, which, beginning in himself, soon patterns the silent ritual with the woman.

A breeze lifts the window shade and touches his back. He has already begun to sweat lightly, and the sudden chill abruptly summons him to his own body, to the comfortable strength of his supporting arms, the firmness of his chest. Roger Talmage has, in the past year, reclaimed his body from flaccid middle-age. He has made it hard again with brightly colored, vinyl-coated weights and countless early morning hours of running. At this moment a redeemed sense of self-possession makes every movement, though deliberate beyond mere intention, nonetheless unfrenzied, untroubled, and without the old anxieties of pleasure. Not unlike an Indian fakir who holds pain coolly at bay, Roger Talmage takes command of the pleasure in his body, accepting from his senses precisely and only that which he has first meted out with his will.

Through long years and until recently, sexual encounters with Ellen had been, to Roger, a burden of disappointment borne first painfully, then reluc-

NEAL CHANDLER, his wife, Rebecca, and a large and seasonally fluctuating number of children live in Cleveland Heights, Ohio. All members of the family are perpetually in school.

tantly, then hardly at all. As straightforwardly as he desired his wife, his desire often failed him just when it was most to be taken for granted, and he, as a consequence, was most vulnerable. Her frequent tears, and his own apologies and conjured explanations left him perplexed and humiliatingly insecure over a physical attraction which had once seemed obvious and elemental.

It is true Ellen did not complain. She did not keep accounts, and in fact, seemed all too anxious, sometimes tearfully, sometimes in bowed resignation, to accept his apparent disattraction as inevitable. When he could not dissuade her, he began in time to resent his wife's martyrdom as much as he might have resented a whore's derision. He certainly had no desire to administer her shame with his own; and so he began to avoid her body, coming to her only when his urgency and anger made a kind of success inevitable. At home he retreated into a patriarchal reserve posted carefully on one side with the children who seemed happy for the attention and on the other with steadily growing obligations at church and in the community. But as his active sensual life abated, a nagging preoccupation with sex grew. At odd moments of the work day he found himself as beset by breasts and thighs as if he were seventeen years old again; and when he had begun to masturbate, guilt and frustration quickly fed into lean and bitter, though always unspoken, reproach of the woman.

One day, his morning's ritual concern over a swollen waistline suddenly dropped into fathomless disgust at the sluggish intractability of his whole physical life. Standing before the mirror he held the rolls of soft, opalescent flesh between thumbs and forefingers, where, like his recalcitrant manhood, it lay, not defiantly, but in flat vegetable indifference to his person, his pride, his will. By the time he began to dress, he could hardly bear to touch himself, and when he had tied his shoes, he arose with genuine anger and not a little melodrama to leave the house and run eight wheezing, sweating blocks in his business suit before returning home to change his clothes and his life. In the following weeks and months he labored with the pious tenacity of an ascetic to bring his body to a controlled, mechanical leanness, and for the first time in almost nineteen years, took charge of his marriage bed.

None of this consciously enters Roger's mind as he coasts at the edge of his own excitement waiting for his wife's orgasm. Her breath begins to shorten. The muscles in her arms and shoulders tighten, and he opens his eyes to watch with a fascination that is only partly sensual. As his wife's excitement intensifies, his own, in fact, subsides until he becomes as much spectator as partner. Her face, obscured by the darkness, is less "Ellen" than woman. Mouth slightly open, eyes tightly shut, she seems outside herself, beyond her body, receding out into the blue darkness away from him, away from them.

Increasing his pace with the studied preoccupation of a technician, he directs her glide further, further out until the anticipated shudder erupts, shaking her body with the six-seven-eight seconds (he counts them) of silent rocking that leaves her gasping and disheveled on the pillow beneath him.

There is no cry, no word, no sound but breathing. His own need has acutely reasserted itself, and he moves hard, violently. Already, though, there

is a satisfaction even greater than the pleasure his body is intent upon. If Roger Talmage were a less scrupulous man, he might recognize it as the exhilaration of revenge.

Uncommon winter sunlessness darkened the corridor tiles to the color of waxed cordovan, and Talmage, excused from class for a varsity debate meet, hurried through the halls past rows of gray metal lockers. Voices from a rehearsal in the auditorium registered vaguely and, passing one of the short, lighted entrance ramps, he glanced up. Then he stopped. On the ramp above him sat a girl. Her back toward him, she was leaning forward with an ear pressed to the crack between the yellow birch doors. Straight brown hair fell loosely to the middle of her back over a print dress which, pulled tight against one knee, revealed the long pale thigh of the other, extended leg. He stared at the white flesh against the dark tiles.

She must be cutting class to listen to the rehearsal. It was something by O'Neill, something intense and serious which he had already judged pretentious for a high-school cast. He judged himself beyond such an adolescent affectation, and it embarrassed him deeply. From the angle at which he watched her, he could not see her eyes, but he was immediately certain that they were tightly shut, her expression rapt and transported. Suddenly, she pulled away from the doors. He panicked, as desperate at being discovered as if he had been peering clandestinely through her bedroom window. But she only looked at him blankly, then leaned slowly forward against the doors again, leaving Roger almost grateful with relief.

In the ensuing weeks he encountered her everywhere. It seemed almost as if he had fallen into some invisible track running tightly and inevitably along the fact and data of her existence. She was, he learned without having inquired, a year younger than he, strange for all her prettiness, a "type" more than a girl, without discernable affiliations and often without shoes. She did not seem to have or to cultivate friends, though he saw her occasionally with other "types." He was surprised to discover she was Mormon. Certainly, he had never seen her in seminary where he knew virtually everyone. And she wrote poetry. A girl who had sat next to her all year in English and spoken with her exactly once told him. She turned in poems instead of class assignments and read Hemingway or D. H. Lawrence during exercises on pronoun usage.

Roger was transfixed with distaste, and when the English magazine printed some of her poems, he puzzled through them for a very long time in private, ready to turn the page at the least intrusion. He did not like what he read. The language was perhaps clever and cynical, but the poems seemed overheated, full of naive indigation. Haunted by the fear of being or of being thought immature, Roger had sometime since disassociated himself from his own adolescence, and he found the pretension of neatly rhymed social outrage almost unbearable. In the end he felt as embarrassed as he had at their first encounter in the corridor. He closed the little magazine firmly, as if to cover her shame once and for all and to put her behind him, but in fact he returned several times to reread the poems.

Almost involuntarily he had begun to look for her in the halls between classes. He said nothing, but he stared and knew that she — equally mute — had begun to acknowledge these encounters. The childishness of the game disturbed him. She was neither so attractive nor so strange as to explain his compulsion. And yet this embarrassed fixation on a girl he neither knew nor consciously wanted to know, in the end, proved stronger and more persistent than his attraction to any of the pretty and thoroughly reasonable girls he dated and kissed and coaxed in his father's Pontiac. Long after graduation, other girls forgotten, he still carried her strange memory like a small knot of scar tissue which one rediscovers from time to time in surprised moments of self-examination.

On Wednesday, 7 April 1959, Ellen Mitford Church and Roger Allen Talmage exchanged wedding vows in the Salt Lake Temple. The bride, daughter of Dr. Edward Church and a woman remarkable to those in attendance chiefly by her absence at the temple ceremony, was a graduate of the University of Utah where she had majored in English and helped edit the campus literary quarterly. In an ordinary white gown and an attitude of resolved optimism, Ellen was, even for a bride, more than ordinarily beautiful.

The groom, whose smiling parents presided over the event as a matter of habit, was then completing his junior year in business and American government. A returned missionary and honors student, he served in student government and belonged to the appropriate pre-professional and honors societies. At the insistence of his bride, he also wore white, though seasonally premature (as his mother could not help pointing out) and not nearly so well. He felt self-conscious about his winter pallor against the pale gabardine, and as the long evening wore on, his normal groom's anxieties seemed to grow out of reasonable proportion.

When he had begun to worry that perspiration might be showing through his collar, he reacted with a magisterial brusqueness normally very foreign to his nature. He began to conduct the ceremonial introductions with an almost military impatience, prodding startled guests who up until that point, had made only very leisurely progress across the back court and around the keyhole to the spot just out-of-bounds where the reception line waited under a portable canopy of roses and candles. Roger had attended dozens of wedding receptions in this and other almost identical halls, but at some point during the evening the oppressive falseness of a barely camouflaged gymnasium took hold of his usually reticent imagination. It occurred to him that the entire reception was like nothing so much as the obligatory public handshaking of prizefighters before a bout. Standing next to him, literally at the edge of an arena, Ellen seemed as pliantly uncomplicated and lovely as a man could wish. But she was not uncomplicated. She remained somehow an enigma, and had he ever accused her of being obscure or difficult, she herself would have nodded in vague acknowledgment. Roger smiled mechanically and hurried the curious spectators along to his parents down the line, all the while waiting, half playfully and half in earnest for the sign that would send his bride and himself each to their respective corners to await the starting bell of the struggle of their lives.

It was, in fact, this very thought, or rather the accompanying picture of his slender bride trotting grimly away across the court in her soft white gown and twelve-ounce fighting gloves that rescued Roger. He laughed out loud, though carefully, and as his pulse quieted over this ambushed bit of paranoia, he managed to regain some of the studied calm and social grace expected of him.

Once again in control, he had only to look at Ellen as she was, standing beside him to dispel overwrought fears of an Ellen who had existed primarily in his adolescent imagination. The impression he had carried away from high-school had become a fixation, a kind of graven image, so rigid and ritual that, returning from his mission, it had literally been weeks into the first quarter of school before he had realized with astonishment that the long-limbed girl he regularly watched across the lecture hall was, in fact, his bizarre high-school poetess. She sat across from him in class with the erect propriety of someone waiting to speak in church. Her hair carefully cut, she wore narrow skirts and nylons and heels that did marvelous things for her legs. And when he asked her out, she obliged with a smile and a voice, which though more brittle than he would have liked, sounded reasonable and unpretentious.

The change had seemed incredible, almost perfect, as if she had undergone some marvelous conversion in anticipation of his return. During their courtship he began to see a hidden, higher purpose in the attraction that had so puzzled and disturbed him in high school.

It is true, he also encountered in her flashes of sarcasm as well as moments of withdrawal, but these were rare, and he came to view them merely as vestigial outbreaks of the old adolescent girl who chaffed at having been put off in favor of the new woman.

Only once during their engagement had there been unpleasantness. It came over a small thing, a poem she showed him in a moment of risked intimacy. She thought — or said she thought — it was funny — a certain way of looking at marriage. She had titled it “Stewardship,” a word that seemed to address him directly and made him wary. He read it slowly, rereading the short lines in intense discomfort.

There are tulips marching princesses at night.
 In gangs of one (or sometimes more)
 Our ladies struggle, chokechained, through the park
 And clutch their hemlines grimly
 To the one remaining breast
 And drag their tender shins
 Across the lawn,
 While tulips, pressing straight
 Toward the dawn,
 Harass the balking columns
 In a jealous fury, lest
 They lose their sweating charges to the dark.
 With thrashing leaves and flower roars,
 They prod their dour damsels toward the light.

When he had finished, her back was to him and she was busy with something at the desk. Her silence was transparent anticipation, but he had little to offer. He didn't find the poem funny. In fact, what little of it he could make sense of offended him, though he didn't say so. Instead he probed awkwardly for the point she was trying to make, but his questions only seemed to dismay her. She tried to explain that to some women getting married was a little like volunteering for the draft. You did so, not because you admired the military or looked forward to the war, but because rightly, or at least inevitably, you loved your country and because there was a great deal at stake.

The analogy, however, was mostly lost on Roger, and when he continued to frown through her explanations, Ellen broke off hopelessly in mid-sentence.

It was his turn to be hurt, and he struck back. He didn't want to trap her, didn't want her to feel forced into anything. If she didn't really love him, if she thought of him as some sort of roaring pansy who would march her around, then perhaps she'd prefer not to think about him at all. His words were just beginning to fall into cadence with his pride and his incomprehension, but Ellen was already crying, and what was the point? She assured him that she loved him. Apologized again and again for the poem. It was badly made. Didn't say what she really meant. Her regret was sincere, almost despairing. Apart from the poem, she was simply not able to convey to him what she had offered this one halting, disastrous time and would not offer again.

It was the first and last time she willingly showed him anything she had written. For his own part, Roger had had two painful exposures to Ellen's poetry, and her subsequent reluctance to share it with him was an arrangement which satisfied his sense of propriety quite as naturally as the prohibition which kept him from following her into the ladies' room.

With their marriage, however, from the very first moment, fixed proprieties and intimacies somehow entered into flux. Pre-established safelines threatened — though uninvited — to dissolve, and late on the night of his wedding, Roger Talmage, no longer a virgin, and only mildly disappointed at the awkwardness of his first performance, lay awake nursing the sense of foreboding that had distracted him during the reception. Finally, raising up on one elbow, he looked intently down at his wife. There remained something startling and severe in this soft sleeping girl, something he was not prepared to accept yet apparently was unable to exorcise. He ran an experimental finger from the base of her breast over the rising and falling ribcage to the deep female curve of her waist, then carefully laying the palm of his hand flat against the vulnerable flesh of her stomach, retraced the same course letting his mind slip quickly away from the sudden resolve that had brought him to his elbow — that he should pray over her — into warm obliterating desire.

When she awoke they caressed and struggled with an intensity that overwhelmed the awkwardness of their first lovemaking. Roger found himself swept far beyond the still measured space of his fantasies, and in this night and the nights to follow, his young wife's pale thighs against the pale sheets became a vision he would carry into the dreams of old age as the burden of what had been lost.

When children came she would find herself, settle into the responsibility, the reward. But children came and he was disappointed, though not in her performance as a mother. She showed the intense affection and pedagogical determination he expected of motherhood's call on a woman. Still, she was not settled, not at peace with herself, and the vague disappointment he felt only distantly mirrored her own. In some deeply withheld, inarticulable way she felt disloyal to her family. The estrangement put the woman at fierce odds with the wife and mother, a struggle that flashed out regularly in petty explosions, followed always by disproportionate declarations of remorse. Roger, who did not easily lose his temper, was annoyed at this lack of self-control, and when with the passing of time his wife's dramatic swings of emotion seemed to resolve themselves into a kind of ironic aloofness, he was at worst relieved. She had become more remote, and in uncomfortable moments he recognized that the calm she displayed was shallow and cynically self-imposed. Nevertheless, it was calm. She had gotten herself under control.

Working late at the office on an April evening, he received a call from Ellen. With steel in her voice, she announced that she had had a difficult day with the children and was going to her room. He, she regretted, would have to see to their care for the rest of the evening. Then she hung up. Preoccupied with his work and on the edge of anger, he called back immediately, only to get six-year-old Allison on the phone. The child was obviously upset. She said her mother had already gone to her room and wouldn't open the door or answer her knocking. The baby was crying in the background.

With no choice, he gave Allison instructions about herself, her little brother, and the baby, and then after making her repeat them, hung up the phone and began to clear his desk. When he drove into the garage, he had fully formulated his anger, and as soon as the children were put to bed and the kitchen passably cleaned, he went upstairs to confront his wife.

Reaching the bedroom door, however, he opened it much more cautiously than he had intended. Nor was he prepared for what he encountered inside. The room was dark, and while his eyes made their adjustment, he found himself listening in stunned amazement to what sounded like anxious, even desperate pleading. As the room's contours emerged, he discovered Ellen kneeling on the floor in a posture of what appeared to be prayer, though not decorously posed at the side of the bed as he would have expected, had he ever imagined her praying alone like this. Instead, she was rocking awkwardly back and forth on her knees in front of the open window and stammering out into the moonless night in nearly hysterical sobs and rapid conspiratorial whispers whose vehemence and unintelligibility made him physically recoil.

Amazed, his mind stuttered, then began to conjure urgent explanations: the woman raving on his carpet was not his wife at all but some poor, deranged creature, who having lost her way into his bedroom, was hissing out her fear and imagined betrayal into what she supposed to be the vast, dark, and averted face of God. He would have to call the authorities.

Roger closed the door of his bedroom with the absolute haste and stealth of someone who has committed a dangerous indiscretion. In the hall again,

it occurred to him for the first time that perhaps his wife needed professional help. The thought embarrassed and unnerved him, but he held on to it, faced it, until it was he, who was praying, apologizing for this monstrous excess in his wife's behavior, and pleading for her recovery. He was seriously frightened and willing to do whatever was necessary to help Ellen get control of herself again.

Most of the night he sat up in the living room brooding, praying, devising strategies. When he arose late the next morning, Allison was already in school, and the younger children, excited by his presence so long after his usual time of departure, vied for his attention. Ellen, matter-of-factly busy and looking as unexceptional as if nothing at all out of the ordinary had taken place, served him his breakfast with an apology. She was sorry to have been so abrupt on the phone; sorry to have burdened him with the children, when she knew how busy he was at the office; but the day had been terribly frustrating, and she had gone to bed with a headache. Could he forgive her just this once?

When she had finished she smiled dutifully and anticipating — or perhaps not requiring — his forgiveness, went on with her work. "I don't think," he murmured wrestling absently with the two-year-old on his lap and trying hard to concentrate past the eggs on his plate, "I don't think you can get there from here." It was nearly a week before he slept the entire night through again without waking at least once to reassure himself that his wife was lying quietly and sanely at his side.

When her mother was dying of cancer, Roger drove Ellen to the country club development on the Monterey Peninsula where her parents had retired. Her father was not well and not able, nor for that matter, anxious, to take care of a wife from whom he had been comfortably estranged most of their married lives. Roger stayed four days before returning to Salt Lake. He found each succeeding day alarmingly more painful. Not that he would mourn his mother-in-law. They had established no bond between them. Nor had she been close to Ellen. She seldom telephoned, never wrote, and even her interest in the children seemed to him more ceremonial than real. She was, by her nature and, as far as he could tell, independent of specific cause, an undeterrably angry woman, who stood resolutely aloof from the things and people he most valued. In their Mormon community, before she left it, she had cultivated an aura of rebellion and acerbic iconoclasm which, quite obviously, she enjoyed at the expense of her family.

For her part, Ellen was, as in almost all things, dutiful but ambivalent toward her mother. As a girl she had suffered from her parents' habitual fighting — the permanent climate of civilized warfare which made room only for combatants and camp followers. And because her mother was the more aggressive, the more articulate adversary, she had sided emotionally with her father who rewarded her ever after by spoiling and exploiting her expansively.

Now, as Ellen's mother sat emaciated and distracted by pain in the garden that was her only remaining fondness, she seemed to Roger as proud and unreconcilable as ever she had been in her life, yet Ellen cared for her with an

unself-conscious patience and concern that startled him. He was dumbfounded, not just by the expression of his wife's obvious love, but by the bare fact of it at all. In all their married lives he had never experienced anything like the unrestrained affection she inexplicably seemed to be squandering on an irascible old woman, whom he knew she had struggled not to hate, and who even now made no attempt to acknowledge her daughter's attentions.

On his last day in California, weary of his father-in-law's relentlessly political Mormonism, he stood alone at the kitchen window watching Ellen read to her mother who sat rigid, white fists clenched and trembling, in her metal lounge chair on the lawn. When suddenly she slept, Ellen covered the still tense arms and shoulders with a sweater and, folding her own arms defensively against the cool ocean breeze, wept silently over her mother's head to the golf course beyond and far out over the Pacific.

Solitary and unnoticed, Roger felt a voyeur's sense of guilty alienation. Suddenly he needed very much to be at home on his own high ground with his own people. But the long trip back through the desolate Nevada mountains only increased his jealousy and estrangement. Ellen was, he knew, a good wife to him. Moreover, she strove with all the ferocity lost in that old-fashioned word to be what he wanted. Still, her behavior toward him, now and as long as he could remember, had always been tempered by the almost palpable will that imposed it. It was as if she had taken him on like some sort of commendable regimen, a diet or an exercise program, not for his own sake or for love of him, but because it had been the right and proper thing to do.

He wanted to go away to somewhere clean and simple, somewhere absolutely barren of voices and complication, where he might pray his life with all its attachments clear and straight and tractable again. But he knew in reserve and in the end that the dark feelings which oppressed him were just that . . . feeling, emotion, self-indulgence. For what was he to pray? A chastened wife? Was he to protest this newfound love for her mother, to condemn his wife's sudden and unexplained capacity for forgiveness? Answers were easy and inevitable, of course, but like all answers that are merely right, they brought no peace. He was deeply offended, yet with no object for his anger but an absence. He possessed in Ellen a gift that had paled and disappeared in the possessing. She remained in many ways his obsession. He desired her as much as ever he had, but he did so — and this both shamed and puzzled him most of all — almost entirely in her absence. His intense affair with his wife proceeded nearly unabated, but only in his imagination, and always apart from her, as if he alone were living out their intimate lives together.

Even the older children were long since asleep, but agitation at the prospect of his wife's return kept Roger awake and led him finally to cross a border he had carefully avoided all his married life. He had never really entered Ellen's study — hardly paying attention to the tiny room at the end of the hall except to note occasionally, when the door was open, that she kept it strewn with books and papers in a disarray apparently and singularly immune to her compulsion for order elsewhere in the house. He accepted the room, as he did her

writing in general, as useful not for its own sake — involuntarily, he disliked any corner of disorder — but as a kind of therapy.

As he entered now, he did so with a sense of trespass that kept him standing nervously in the center of the room for a minute or more surveying the tangle on the writing table and reading miscellaneous book titles. When this initial disquietude had passed, however, he seated himself and reached purposefully for the notebooks which, unlike almost all other objects in view, lay neatly stacked and at right angles to the edge of the table. He smiled at the spiral bound, wide-ruled paper as he turned the pages of the first notebook. He hadn't handled one of these since leaving high school, and it confirmed to him a latent suspicion that Ellen's retreat here was a kind of withdrawal into adolescence.

The pages of the notebook were crowded with illegible scribbings blurred over and over again by erasures. Occasionally he came across a page on which a single poem had been painstakingly written out, only to be spoiled again by marginal notes and new erasures, then carefully recopied on a second or perhaps a third page. He read some of these, but even after careful rereading, knew he must be missing the point. He found precious little to help him understand his wife, though in the swaggering, nose-thumbing rhythms into which the poems often fell and in their consistently acid tone and choice of words, he believed he clearly heard the sharp-tongued and patronizing disaffection of his mother-in-law. It was the same dissenting sarcasm that had offended him in the published high-school poems so many years before and which apparently persisted unchanged and unmatured in the woman who kept his house and his nearly grown children just beyond the study door.

He started several other poems but, unable to get through more than the first few lines of any of them, began to be annoyed with himself and with the entire enterprise. It was not only somehow deceitful, it was futile as well. Flipping rapidly through the pages, he wanted to make a quick end of this and be gone. Then he was brought up short. "To Roger Across the Looking Glass," the title addressed him point blank from the page, leaving him no choice at all but to stop and examine the poem that followed. Checking backward and forward in the notebook, he found fully seven attempts at a clean version of the text, and when he had counted them all, he turned to the final still unamended, unerasured version and without raising the notebook from the table, began to read.

If all our time, that never is,
(when all of space, ranged in those three
impaling ranks of "Let There Be,"
bears down through you to bury me)
had boiled to metamorphic fizz

that overspills the looking glass
and bubbles down its frosted sides
to make of tidy seconds, tides
and of the virgin minutes, brides
who loose their limbs in laughing gas;

or if our plaster point of view
 had crumbled through the program lace
 to filter softly into grace;
 or had the gerund taken place
 just once, sweet, saving once. Then you

and I and maybe even God,
 instead of casting poisoned bread
 and sleeping with the empty dead
 in sovereign corners of the bed,
 might well have kissed what we have clawed
 or managed, somehow, through the blow
 to touch the wound.

But no. The drain
 extending down our pillowed plane
 dispels the circle, drives us sane.
 There is no orphic afterglow.

And so

I'll rest for now to write some more,
 though writing more is counting sheep;
 Perhaps there's watching when I weep?
 Perhaps the dark my soul will keep?
 Perhaps . . .

The poem, even in its seventh version, was still unfinished but Roger didn't notice. When he had read it several times he closed the notebook, yet remained motionless in his seat. Inside, he was as contracted and bewildered as if he had been struck viciously from behind. There was and would be no attempt at comprehension, but from that moment all of the vague temptations to prayer that had distracted him over the preceding weeks vanished behind a single, sullen preoccupation. Somehow he must see to it that these notebooks never fell into the hands of the children.

The narrow confluence of pain and of pleasure begins now to skate over Roger's senses like a blade, and he closes his eyes to concentrate on the deepening lines of intersection. Iridescence in his nerves grows, and as it does the body locked under his driving embrace begins to change, to metamorphize (rapidly becoming) not Ellen, but his smiling receptionist, then the dark wife of a client, then yet another woman and another and another in an accelerating whirl drawing him surely, swiftly, steeply down into the singular, piercing, world-devouring whine of his genitals.

Afterward he washes carefully in the bathroom. There is no hurry. This still novel sense of control is by itself a wonder to be savored and admired. He does not want to surrender it too soon to sleep.

When he has brushed his teeth and buttoned his pajamas, it is well after midnight. In the bedroom Ellen is lying in almost precisely the same position

in which he left her. Her eyes are closed, but he does not think she is asleep. It surprises him that she has made no effort to dress or to clean up, for Ellen is normally fastidious. The lapse, in fact, annoys him, and as he climbs into bed, the way she lies there across from him, garmentless and unwashed strikes him as somehow defiant. The surge of anxiety is all too familiar and after a time he reaches out for reassurance. Taking his wife's hand he whispers, "Goodnight, Ellen." And then, after weighing it for a moment, adds, "I love you." Her answer is barely audible but comes immediately and with a certainty that confirms her wakefulness. "Thank you, Roger," she says, and the finality in her voice denies him any response. He can hardly say, "You're welcome."

For a while, needing to keep the upper hand, he listens to her breathing, waiting for her to give in to sleep. But in the end his own weariness seduces his resolve, and, rolling onto his side, Roger Talmage quickly loses track of his wife in the early morning darkness.



Another Birth

Linda Sillitoe

“ . . . were we led all that way for
Birth or Death?”

T. S. Eliot, “Journey of the Magi”

They dream of going back.

The bars on their beds
are fingers before a face.
Their knees rise up toward chins
and their bones memorize
the angles that bring heels
to hips and knees to collarbone.

Gently their muscle shrinks
simple enough to rock
on the tide they lost
with striding spines and shins.
Oh, remember the round hills
like a young mother’s breasts,
and hidden sky, a lake of fresh milk.

LINDA SILLITOE is a journalist living in Salt Lake City.

Charm for a Sick Child

Linda Sillitoe

we will dream now of a cave
with a figure at the entrance.
see the magic seeds she holds

to twinkle new stars into your
angry blood. two fingers cross
your wrist, then above your head

my hand traces the entrance;
dream beginning and end
as you swelter in bed.

remember the godmother
little one
pockets of glass slippers
and surprise home runs
your wishes hover here
like candle smoke

the wave not the wand is potent.
and godmother mothergod mother
will bring you seawater, sun

and thunder, a fresh start.
what in my bones knit you
within me still weaves magic.

sleep now. here is the sign
more ancient than memory.
here is the turn in the tide.

Still Sounds of Winter

Dawn Baker Brimley

All the senses have existed
... in my imagination.

Helen Keller

Waking from my loud dream
I hear only what is here:
the cornered stars rattling in glass
and the slow roll of a drumhead moon.

The bare birds hunching icily
where the firethorn glares,
and the sunken spiritless flares
of eyes soliciting a star, a sun.

The brittle shade of a tree gone gray,
placed like a thin hand
on the stopping snow, and on
the abject loss of grass below.

The ringing quiet of a wind chime
broken since last spring; but here,
comforting and near, like all
stillness locked in a spare room.


Now, the real and ritual howl
of some wintering thing: wolf or cat.
But for my breath and a click of light,
the sound most still in the sensual night.

DAWN BAKER BRIMLEY has published poetry in DIALOGUE, Sunstone, Ensign, and Mountainwest, among other periodicals. She serves on a writing committee for the Relief Society Social Relations lessons, and has taught children's literature at Brigham Young University and in the Provo School District. She is currently preparing a volume of her poetry for publication.



Selected Newspaper Articles on Mormons and Mormonism Published During 1982

Linda Thatcher

ach year the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints receives several hundred thousand column inches of space in national and local newspaper. News items range from the local LDS missionaries in the community to the major eight-part series on the Mormon Church in the *Denver Post*. The greatest percentage of news items are favorable to the Church, thanks to the carefully groomed image which the LDS Church Public Communications Department generates. Over the years the LDS Church has received national coverage on the issues of blacks and women. But since the priesthood was given to the blacks in 1978 and after the death of the ERA, the emphasis seems to be turning to the Church's finances. Articles have appeared recently in several major newspapers, including the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *New York Times* on the Church's business affairs.

During 1982 the LDS Church received a boost to its credibility with the disclosure of two letters, one by Martin Harris and the other by Lucy Mack Smith. Coverage of these discoveries extended from coast to coast.

Receiving a great deal of publicity was the eight-part series in the *Denver Post* by John Aloysius Farrell. He covered a number of issues weighing heavily on many Mormons: the family, Mormon/non-Mormon relations, pornography, cable TV laws, Planned Parenthood, Mormon scholars and their plight, politics, and business and economics. His articles hit home with a number of liberal Mormons who are seeking to find a place in the predominantly conservative LDS atmosphere.

Also receiving a great deal of coverage were two proposed LDS temples, one near Chicago and the other outside Denver. Local church authorities ran into opposition from the local residents which resulted in a barrage of newspaper articles. Announcements were also made concerning the construction of several new temples including one in East Germany and one in Australia. In 1982 the Manti Temple was renovated, the Hawaiian Temple vandalized, and the Atlanta Temple completed.

Surveying what is being published in the newspapers gives one a feeling of what is important on the national level (business, politics, church leaders) while on the local level temple weddings, family home evening, food storage, missionaries, and church dedications are of importance. Newspapers present a wealth of material on not only what is happening, but what is important to the Mormons of this generation.

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REVIEWS

Brief Notices

Gene A. Sessions

IN THE FALL 1983 COLUMN, we surmised that Merlo Pusey's history of the George A. Smiths represented, by virtue of its flavor, a respectable and even successful attempt at "family-authorized" biography. Subsequently, a missive from the Pulitzer Prize winner came to hand pointing out that no one had paid him to write it and that such a charge constituted a serious insult.

Should an accomplished scholar participate in subsidized writing projects? Like most debatable issues, it is not an easily resolved one, which is why it came up in "Brief Notices" in the first place. The most urgent aspect in the matter revolves not about "fiscal salvation" but around the problem of censorship—he who pays the fiddler names the tune. Yet some of the most respected writers in Mormonism—Leonard Arrington (David Eccles), Richard Poll (Howard Stoddard), and even Gordon B. Hinckley (James Moyle), to name a few—and a host of lesser lights (such as Gene Sessions) have, without even the pretense of shame, penned biographies with family money and approval. In the end, the only way to approach the issue is on a case-by-case basis, applying without prejudice (if possible) the standard measuring sticks of quality—readability, scholarship, impact, and contribution.

A current opportunity to measure a family-authorized, big-gun biography comes with Davis Bitton's *The Redoubtable John Pack: Pioneer, Proselyter, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: The John Pack Family Association, 1982, xi+232 pp., illus., biblio. \$?). At least two historians in Utah turned down the project (one because of other commitments and the second due to then-current family frugality and hints of censorship) before the University of Utah pro-

fessor and former Assistant Church Historian agreed to take it on. With that knowledge, reading the book without crippling bias looms as a formidable if not impossible task. It becomes even tougher because the cover photograph of Pack looks just like Gabby Hayes. But Bitton's competence as a historian and writer overcomes most such obstacles as he follows his important and long-neglected subject through fifty years of sacrifice for Mormonism (1836–85) and the establishment of one of the premier families of Salt Lake City. Pack's story carries its share of turbulence and controversy which Bitton treats frankly and fearlessly. Nevertheless, even without the acknowledgment in the front that it culminates a family project, the volume possesses all the hallmarks of a family-subsidized work. The hero, for example, is never just "Pack" but always "John" or "John Pack"; the book contains an overabundance of boring and extraneous material on Pack's ancestors and family.

In the soil of that issue, however, grow thornier problems: Bitton mentions in the preface a distaste for fictionalized history but indulges in the reconstruction of dialogue and color. He decides not to footnote the book in favor of a brief and generally inadequate bibliographic paragraph for each chapter. He also fails to provide an index. Certainly the primary audience for a family-authorized biography is the family itself (undoubtedly pleased in this case with a fine volume), but the author has unnecessarily slighted his colleagues in the family's favor, colleagues who would have the book on their shelves for reference and corroboration, for which it unfortunately has few uses. So, is *The Redoubtable John Pack* a redoubtable work of solid

history? Therein lies the rub of the whole family-subsidy issue.

Whatever the answer to the family-subsidy question may be, even the court scribes in ancient Mesopotamia realized that someone had to foot the bill. One willing source for writers in modern Mormonia is the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at BYU under editors Thomas Alexander and Howard Christy. Although some have carped at the center's reinforcement of the old-boy system in Mormon studies through its repetitive selection of authors and lecturers, the Redd operation has rather consistently sponsored quality monographs and lectures that have added immeasurably to the literature of the West, and particularly of the Mormon role. Numbers 12 and 13 in the Redd Monographs in Western History series are no exception: *The Twentieth Century American West: Contributions to an Understanding* (1983) and *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective* (1983). Edited by Alexander with the assistance of John Bluth and Jessie Embry respectively, both volumes contain almost uniformly excellent essays that tap, in many cases, new stores of information and insight. Standing out among the articles is Dean May's "Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," a study that will become an indispensable reference tool for all serious students of Mormonism. Also impressive among others are Edward Geary's work on Mormon Country (helping to explain why the Saints really were different from their pioneer contemporaries) and Lee Scamehorn's timely historical analysis of the western coal industry.

Speaking of a timely work, perhaps no subject needs treatment in Mormon literature more than counseling. With a vast cadre of farmers, lawyers, custodians, physicians, store clerks, and businessmen performing pastoral duties among the Saints, any step is in the right direction that provides solid information on how to handle an increasingly complex counseling load. Willing to realize that bolstering "inspira-

tion" with professional acumen is not a heretical idea, BYU professors R. Lanier Britch and Terrance D. Olson have collected some two dozen essays into *Counseling: A Guide to Helping Others* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1983, 238 pp. \$8.95), a volume that ought to grace the desk of every bishop, stake president, and General Authority in the church. Perhaps the most salutary aspect of *Counseling* resides in its constant reminders that there really do exist some problems that require professional intervention, that love and the Spirit still apply if priesthood authority steps aside when necessary. This volume symbolizes nicely a long, often painful trend in the Church toward a more sensible (in contrast to the nineteenth-century) attitude among Mormons concerning the uses of professionals in traditionally ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Even fundamentalist Mormons seem willing, for example, to consult freely with physicians while holding strictly to the line of everything else the late prophets had to say, although the AMA might want to quibble over whether some of those physicians qualify for the title.

Some Mormons of a more liberal persuasion still choke at accepting a group of professionals the prophets of yore usually classed with liars, thieves, and politicians. When James H. Moyle went to John Taylor for a blessing prior to his departure for law school in the early 1880s, the old man consented but informed the lad that he was going straight to hell. Fearing that most Mormons and Christians in general hold Taylor's opinion, BYU Press has published a superbly researched and written treatise *On Being a Christian and a Lawyer: Law for the Innocent* (1981, 249 pp., biblio., index, \$?), by Thomas L. Shaffer, professor of law at Washington and Lee University and formerly of Notre Dame. Shaffer's brilliance and eloquence notwithstanding, the book holds little appeal for anyone outside the legal profession, something the author no doubt intended. Its pages crammed with lawspeak, the volume hopes

to direct Christian attorneys along a path of "advocacy" that violates neither the lawyer's principles nor the client's theology. Perhaps the most meaningful section of the book for the lay reader comes in Part 3 in which Shaffer handily circumscribes "lawyer culture," that tangle of thinking that so often makes truth into a lie and the basest falsehoods into virtuous verities. Perhaps the Reuben Clarks and the Christine Durhams have convinced most modern Mormons that one can truly be a Christian and a lawyer at the same time, but do not look for proof in Shaffer's book unless you happen to be an attorney yourself. But in that case, why bother? Any lawyer worth his or her salt could convince himself and a jury that he is a lawyer and also a Martian.

An attorney with the amazing ability to convince a publisher that he is a lawyer and a theologian happens to be the recipient of this quarter's Milk the Mormons Award for the gift book most likely to remain unread. Paul James Toscano, *Gospel Letters to a Missionary* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1983, 155 pp. \$?), consists of a series of verbose epistles to some elder named Larry. The reader never figures out who Larry might be, but there can be little doubt that the young man needs a lot of review over what he should have learned either during Primary or while taking the missionary lessons. Thoroughly old-hat in content and condescending in tone, this issue's winner of the coveted Elsie is so boring that anyone who gets all the way through without falling asleep and dreaming that he is in sacrament meeting on high council Sunday ought to receive free legal consultation from Toscano. Perhaps no other book in recent memory has translated so many tired quotes and homilies into new-sounding verbiage: For example, "Our job is to teach correct principles and let people govern themselves" (p. 110) and "Life—even a life dedicated to the Lord—is no picnic" (p. 147). A lawyer's world is a world of precedent, but must precedent also govern so thoroughly his thinking?

The Pull the Latter-day Leg Award for the most pretentious volume filled with hogwash goes to Lex de Azevedo with (in tiny letters so guess who really wrote it) Chris Conkling, *Pop Music & Morality* (North Hollywood: Embryo Books, 1982, xii+125, notes, \$?). Because of stuff like this, word recently spread through the seminary system that certain rock songs played backward contain nasty messages. The good brothers sternly admonished the kids not to listen to rock in general because of such hidden evil. After hearing that a sister had taught a similar lesson in my ward's Relief Society, I asked my daughter and her friends for a list of songs purportedly containing these messages. Considerable effort turned up two singles, "Another One Bites the Dust" and "Stairway to Heaven," both of which I acquired and recorded backwards. An assembly of teenagers and I then listened to them repeatedly and could discern nothing except English recorded backwards, including the reverse of "another" sounding with some imagination like the last two syllables of "marijuana." This, the seminary teachers had told them, was actually a message urging them to smoke pot. My colleagues in the psychology department inform me that they know no evidence suggesting that the human mind can translate words recorded backwards, even in the subconscious. While the book outlines more sensible cautions, it still hammers at this and other alarmist themes, claiming contrary to my own experience that "Stairway to Heaven" does indeed contain "clearly" the backwards message "Here's to my sweet Satan" (p. 71). Why in the world such concerns should occupy the minds of Mormon leaders and parents is a colossal mystery. But what is even more mysterious is why any semi-reasonable person would believe that kids who are enamored with rock might (A) read this book, or (B) be persuaded by it even if they did.

Barbara and Briant Jacobs, *Missions for Marrieds* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1983, viii+130 pp., index,

\$?) is another book meant to persuade and one that could undoubtedly have much more success than *Pop Music & Morality*. With the current push in the Church for missionary couples, this book, which handles virtually every concern prospects might have, is certainly more useful than the standard plea from the pulpit. Unfortunately, most Mormon leaders seem more interested in obedience for obedience's sake

than they are in reason, a condition perhaps more than any other responsible for the general level of thinking in current Mormon literature, which is why you can bet dollars to doughnuts that your stake president will repeat the contents of *Pop Music & Morality* ten times before he uses anything in a book like *Missions for Marrieds* in the fulfillment of his calling. 'Tis a pity.

Moving Swiftly upon the Waters

Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830–1890 by Conway B. Sonne (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), xviii, 212 pp., \$20.

Reviewed by Richard L. Jensen, research historian, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

AFTER THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS began building Zion in the Great Basin it was natural to celebrate crossing the plains as pioneers. Succeeding generations of landlubbers have been less inclined to remember a similarly pivotal drama in Mormon history, the crossing of the oceans by more than 80,000 converts and the river voyages which often preceded the overland trek.

Seldom has an avocation been pursued with more persistence and intensity than Conway Sonne's study of Mormon immigrant ships. From Tasmania to England to continental Europe to South Africa, he has consulted the relevant records. This, his first volume on the subject, shares much information hitherto untapped by researchers.

Describing six decades of Mormon travel by water, 1830–90, is an ambitious task which Sonne has broken down into five main divisions. First are the far-flung missionary travels which yielded the converts. Next, the initial "gathering" for most European Mormon emigrants to Liverpool.

The transoceanic travel to America by sail is described in detail, followed by steamboat trips up inland rivers. Finally, Sonne covers the immigrants' ocean passages on steamships.

Saints on the Seas performs a valuable service for most readers by gently putting them in touch with the nautical world. Sonne shows restraint in the use of specialized jargon. Helpful descriptions and illustrations identify the major types of sailing vessels. Conditions aboard ship for both passengers and crew are described. One cannot avoid gaining an appreciation for the challenges, hazards, and vicissitudes of traversing rivers and oceans in the nineteenth century.

Sonne's writing style is compact and vivid. He is particularly effective in narrating some of the classic episodes involving Mormons on the waters: the survival of the *Olympus* on an emigrant voyage to New Orleans, with resultant conversions; the missionary passage to India aboard the *John Brightman* in 1853; the hazardous emigrant experience on the *Cimbria* in the North Sea in 1854; and the explosion of the *Saluda* on the Mississippi in 1852. Sonne covers much ground (or water) in only 145 pages of text, by virtue of generally apt summarization. The diverse needs of readers are met by a briny solution of narrative, analysis, and data, with much of the latter judiciously confined to

eleven appendices. However, the flow of the narrative occasionally ebbs, with events only loosely chained together and with departures from the overall chronological approach within major topics. I found Sonne's subdividing both immigrant sailing and steamship voyages into two chapters each to be somewhat confusing and repetitive.

Sonne's analysis of immigrant shipping data yields interesting insights. For example, from the 1840s through the 1860s there was virtually no improvement in the average duration of Mormon voyages by sail from Liverpool to New York. The author does not suggest to what extent this reflects a plateau in shipbuilders' achievement of speed, identifies only one or two clipper ships among the 144 sailing vessels used by Mormon emigrants, and observes that they were not significantly faster than the average packet ship which carried most Mormons.

One of the finest results of Sonne's prodigious research is the wealth of little-used illustrations which grace the book. Paintings, engravings, and photographs of ships and facilities; a broadside advertisement; a rare poster; and maps give a tangible dimension to the topics discussed.

Family historians, genealogists, and others will particularly appreciate Sonne's information about ships and shipping. His achievement in identifying 325 vessels which carried Latter-day Saints is in itself monumental. However, while his treatment of the human element is good, it only begins to plumb the depths of rich sources which could yield more. He does well to call attention to such valuable compilations as Andrew Jenson's three-volume manuscript, "Church Emigration"; the manuscript histories of various missions; the Journal History of the Church; and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers' lessons. Still, their process of selection limits the consideration of much that can be found in original sources. Andrew Jenson, for example, was concerned largely with "historical events" more than with process,

motivation, or causation. Sonne apparently used only a half dozen diaries extensively, others to a limited degree, and many others only through excerpts in the compilations. Davis Bitton's *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* lists more than two hundred Mormon immigrant diaries for the period involved, and many more have been acquired by major repositories since Bitton's work was published. Many of these accounts have information that could add depth and precision to topics covered in this study. Had he consulted records of Latter-day Saint shipping agencies, particularly the Liverpool Office, Sonne could have given more specific attention to the Mormon role in shipping operations and at least mentioned such topics as their organized provisioning of ships through provision merchants and the use of their own passenger agent fees to pay fares of emigrants.

Occasionally Sonne's summaries oversimplify complex issues. His discussion of emigrants' motivation could have probed more deeply. There are also instances in which he has drawn tenuous conclusions from his sources, like the assumption that Orson Hyde mastered German in eight days or that the *Løven*, registered at ninety-four tons, was the same ship that carried 447 passengers from Copenhagen to Grimsby in 1855. Relying on statistics that excluded children under the age of eight, he places the total Scandinavian Mormon emigration for 1850-90 at 19,500; using William Mulder's calculations from shipping lists, which include children, the total is about 26,000.

More precise delineation of the processes of change could have been made without greatly multiplying words. For example, rather dramatic changes came at the time Mormons started sailing to New York and the East Coast rather than New Orleans. For the first time, they were shipped on two decks, in larger vessels. The British Passenger Act of October 1855 required more room on each ship per individual and the addition of peas, beef, and

potatoes to a shipboard diet previously dominated by oatmeal. These improvements — and the shortening of time aboard ship by an average of more than two weeks — must have made the voyage much easier.

Sonne paints a rather negative picture of conditions for steerage passengers on nineteenth-century sailing vessels and steamships. True, they were “primitive” by comparison with today’s living standards. However, three persons in a bunk and one cooked meal a day was hardly a step down for many Mormon emigrants. Franklin D. Richards was probably not exaggerating when he told Brigham Young in November 1855 that with recent improvements “many of our people are . . . enabled to live much better on ship board, with nothing to do, than they can at home with hard, laborious work.”

Sonne’s treatment of Mormon mortality at sea also begs for further analysis. Although he suggests that overcrowding and other conditions aboard the ships were to blame, the greatest losses were overwhelmingly due to epidemics, usually measles,

which struck down Scandinavian infants and children. These came mostly *after* improvements were made in diet and living space. Unaccountably, Sonne misses the forty-five deaths aboard the *Monarch of the Sea* in 1864.

Finally, while Mormon immigration was clearly at “ebb tide” by 1890, Sonne’s brief explanation could have been amplified. The demise of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund was hardly a factor; other avenues of financial aid to immigrants had long since predominated. The Manifesto notwithstanding, the year 1890 hardly seems pivotal to Mormon immigration; and the Panic of 1893 might have made a better ending point, in view of the role played by economic conditions.

Sonne deserves much credit for what he has achieved. It is now hard to imagine anyone pursuing an interest in Mormon immigration without consulting *Saints on the Seas*. Hopefully, Sonne’s Encyclopedia of Mormon Maritime Migration, which promises to be an equally significant contribution, will be published soon.

Study in Mutual Respect

Mormons and Muslims: Spiritual Foundations and Modern Manifestation, edited with an introduction by Spencer J. Palmer (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1983), xii, 225 pp., \$12.95.

Reviewed by Robert C. Woodward, history faculty Northwest Nazarene College, Nampa, Idaho.

IT MAY WELL BE TRUE, as Arnold H. Green, professor of Near Eastern history at American University (Cairo), pointed out at a conference devoted to Mormons and Muslims in October 1981, that Protestants like to recite the similarities between Islam and Mormonism to degrade Mormonism. But when such comparisons were made in a sympathetic setting, the experience appeared

to be quite rewarding. The purpose of the conference was to help bridge the distance between the two faiths in the present world. *Mormons and Muslims* is a compilation of papers given by seventeen participants including Spencer J. Palmer, director of world religions in the Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, who edited the book and wrote the introduction. The book is the eighth volume of the Religious Studies Monograph Series published by the Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University.

Several of the participants, writing from a Mormon perspective, went to considerable lengths to show parallels with Islam. In welcoming the participants, the associate academic vice president of Brigham Young University, Noel B. Reynolds,

asserted that there are ways in which Mormons "would feel closer to the followers of Muhammed than to the contemporary Christian culture" (p. 44). William J. Hamblin, a graduate student at the University of Michigan in the History Department, went as far as to speculate, although with considerable caution, that the pre-Islamic tradition of the prophet Hud so closely parallels that the Mormon prophet Lehi that Lehi's teachings might have been the basis of the Hud tradition. Palmer found many points of similarity between the two faiths, including the lifestyle required of the members; but he pointed out that there is a significant difference in their respective approaches to God. For the Muslim, God "is unapproachable," while Joseph Smith "talked with God face to face as a man might communicate with his friend" (p. 41). The high priority given to education was yet another value held in common according to Orin D. Parker, of the American-Mideast Educational and Training Service. Carlos E. Asay, representing the Presidency of the First Quorum of the Seventy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, made a humanistic contribution by the way of a quote from the First Presidency of the LDS Church in 1978 proclaiming that such religious leaders as Muhammed and Confucius and "philosophers including Socrates, Plato and others" (p. 208) all had truths given to them by God.

A major paper by the Indonesian Minister of Religion, Haji Alamsjah Ratu Perwiranegara (read by another due to the absence of the author), gave considerable attention to the character of Islam including its uniqueness. Alamsjah believes that "Islam is the last religion, the religion for all mankind" (pp. 29-30). After giving a general discussion of Islam, he turned to the condition of Islam in his home country of Indonesia, noting some of the consequences of Dutch colonialism. It was his contention that Islam could adjust to a world of diverse philosophies and maintain the basic tenets of the faith. A rather curi-

ous statement appeared in his paper referring to the eighteenth century as the end of the "Dark Ages" (p. 37). A subsequent participant, Frederick M. Denny, chairman of religious studies at the University of Colorado, portrayed Indonesia as having developed its Islamic faith from mixed origins. His point was that the diversity of religions in Indonesia and the great geographical sweep of the nation including thousands of islands had resulted in a significant flexibility for Islam.

Umar F. Add-Allāh, who presides over Islamic Studies at the University of Michigan, gave a long, detailed, and scholarly discussion of Islamic doctrine regarding "the perceptable and the unseen." Since the "unseen" is an important aspect of reality, the role of the prophet was crucial. God can be known by intuitive knowledge and therein lies the importance of the unseen.

Three papers on Muslim women from different Islamic countries were presented by Jane I. Smith, lecturer in comparative religion and associate dean of academic affairs at Harvard University, Anne H. Betteridge, a former faculty member at Pahlavi University in Shiroz, Iran, and presently a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at the University of Chicago, and Donna Lee Bowen, from the Department of Government at Brigham Young University. They discussed such subjects as birth control, the freedom found in the Islamic religion from male domination, and the importance of the family for Muslim women. These papers rewarded the reader for the insights they gave, yet they failed to find analogies with the corresponding conditions among Mormon women, even though the subjects suggest the values of such a study. In like fashion, Robert J. Staab, from the Middle East Center at the University of Utah, presented a study of a small Muslim town in Turkey. He considered the importance of the mosque, the nontheologically trained religious leaders, the issue of separation of church and state, the hospitality of Islam, and the developing equality be-

tween men and women. But he fell short of making the application of these provocative characteristics to a small Mormon town.

Two very brief statements of a personal nature by David M. Kennedy, an LDS church leader and former United States Ambassador (to NATO and at large), and David C. Montgomery, coordinator of the Near Eastern Studies Program at Brigham Young University, were also included in the book.

The subject matter of this small book encompassed far more diverse ideas than can be properly commented on in a review. Anyone interested in the subject of these studies will be amply served by reading the book. A capstone to the book may well be best expressed by two of the partici-

pants. The first, Mahamand Mustafa Ayoub, from the Centre for Religious Studies at the University of Toronto, had returned to his former Muslim faith after several years as a fundamentalist Protestant who had "shouted more amens and hallelujahs than any of you." From his point of view, Mormons would not succeed in "converting Muslims" any more than others who have tried. But he felt that Mormons could succeed in creating "an important dialogue that will lead to a fellowship of faith between you and us" (pp. 116). The second, Omar Kader, who now teaches at BYU and is a Mormon convert from Islam, observed that Brigham Young University was well suited as a place "to reduce the spots of ignorance within our own thinking" (p. 61).

Rx with a Historical Slant

Medicine and the Mormons: An Introduction to the History of Latter-day Saint Health Care by Robert T. Divett (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1981), 222 pp., \$9.95.

Reviewed by N. Lee Smith, a Salt Lake City physician.

IT IS EASY FOR ME TO BE enthusiastic about this relatively short, readable volume, which in many ways breaks new ground in Mormon historiography. It is a book for all fascinated with Mormon health attitudes as well as Mormon history aficionados who have wondered at the intriguing array of often-passionate medical inclinations among Mormons. This fascinating story of evolving biases reveals much, not only of Mormon medicine, but also generally of nineteenth-century medicine on the American frontier. That period was certainly one of the most colorful and revolutionary in all medical history with attitudinal overtones which persist to our own day.

Robert Divett, certainly one of the top two or three LDS medical historians, is

well qualified for the task. His careful documentation draws on new sources that will delight the scholar; and his very readable, objective style likely contributed to the prizes he was awarded by the American Medical Library Association for articles partially incorporated into this volume (which also includes much of the material in his Autumn 1979 *DIALOGUE* article).

A variety of matchmakers have, from ancient times, promoted the natural marriage of medicine and religion. The priest-physician concept of ages past, still literal in the medicine men of the "less developed" cultures today, parallels the desire of many latter-day Mormons for their earthly healer to be in tune with the Divine Healer. Divett chronicles the Mormon struggles with such intertwined issues: faith-priesthood healing confronted with man's medicines; (and which medicines?—man-designed or natural?); the role of sin or devil-possession in causing disease; the "eternal laws" governing health and healing; the Word of Wisdom as a spiritual principle; and the role of "God's chasten-

ing hand" in disease-caused suffering. These concerns are developed historically as Mormons viewed them, not philosophically or theologically. Divett handles such emotion-packed issues tactfully and with the historian's attempt at detached objectivity.

After laying a succinct background of "Medicine in the U.S. in Joseph Smith's Day" (Chapter 1), Divett describes some of the significant health impacts on the larger Smith family (Chapter 2) and the "Medical Aspects of the Restoration" (Chapter 3). He lineates how Joseph Smith, Sr.'s, family became impoverished in the ginseng trade, which led to their westward migration to Palmyra. He also describes the significant impact of remarkable faith-healing episodes and of Thomsonian herbalists on Joseph Smith's thought and thus on nearly all early Mormon medical attitudes.

Lest one underestimate Samuel Thomson's influence, note that part of his herbal revolution against the then-orthodox medicine of calomel, bleeding, etc., was his strong opposition to alcohol, tobacco, and what he called "hot drinks," which he defined as tea and coffee. Two members of the First Presidency in that generation (three if one includes John C. Bennett) were Thomsonian herbalists. Speaking of John C. Bennett, Divett gives some of the best biographical insights available regarding his pre- and post-Nauvoo years. Bennett's medical activities included establishing fly-by-night medical diploma mills and taking degrees and certificates in all the rival medical camps — heroic, eclectic, and even Thomsonian. His inventiveness and opportunism are in keeping with his later ego-preserving treachery toward the Mormons. Also of interest was how important Sappington's quinine pills were in allowing the settlement of Nauvoo (pp. 60–65).

After chronicling the advent of scientific medicine and the flexibility of Brigham Young and later Church leaders in reversing earlier attitudes by accepting the new orthodoxy, Divett's later chapters are a bit bland in their detailing of the LDS hospital system, health missions, and the like.

The book's strengths clearly lie in its earlier history; the omissions from contemporary history and issues justify the subtitle, "An Introduction." The chapter, "New Directions of the 1970s and 1980s," doesn't quite make it to the 1980s. In a second edition, this terminal chapter could be considerably strengthened by discussion of the official LDS positions on current bioethical issues such as birth control, medically indicated abortions, artificial inseminations, test-tube babies, life prolongation and of the coming theological problems raised by new medical capabilities in genetic engineering, intersex and sex change treatments, and new discoveries such as genetic and neurochemical influences on behavior, altruism, depression, etc. These present-day medical concerns, currently being explored by such Mormon associations as Collegium Aesculapium (LDS physicians) and AMCAP (Association for Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists) are likely to be fraught with every bit as much controversy as issues of yesteryear. But then it is never quite fair for a reviewer to list what he wishes the author *had* included.

Nevertheless, the immediate history of the Word of Wisdom revelation could have been more fully developed: the Kirtland context of temperance movement passion, popular health reform fervor, and medical questions that undoubtedly led in part to Joseph Smith's prayerful inquiry, resulting in the Word of Wisdom revelation. Additionally, the section on the introduction of scientific method to medicine would be benefitted by stating that many popularly held folk (Thomsonian, herbal, homeopathic, etc.) beliefs were carefully studied and were found to be largely fallacious. The documentation of this last point would be most helpful in fulfilling the author's expressed purpose of helping physicians understand the attitudes of their LDS patients and to respond appropriately, particularly to those whose medical beliefs have been culled from the advice of prophets from an earlier and very different era. In this regard, it would also have been

most useful to include official efforts in 1977 to combat the association of medical quackery and unorthodox herbalism with Mormon doctrine (see, for example, *Church News* editorial, 18 June 1977).

Overall the book provides an excellent perspective, documenting the evolution of

changing LDS medical beliefs in response to a dramatically changing medical orthodoxy. Interestingly, Church leaders have shown a healthier flexibility (pun intended) in this regard than have the rank and file. Divett is to be congratulated on producing something of a landmark in this field.

Intimacy in a Three-Piece Suit

Human Intimacy: Illusion & Reality by Victor L. Brown, Jr. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Parliament Publishers, 1981), 167 pp., \$6.95.

Reviewed by Phyllis Barber, a professional writer/musician from Salt Lake City, Utah, with a B.A. in music and an MFA in writing.

WHAT IS THIS HUMAN INTIMACY, this condition that human beings seek "at every stage of life . . . as urgently as we seek food and drink . . . this need so powerful that we are vulnerable to deception . . . that we see almost anyone as desirable, almost any situation as endurable, *if* it holds out the promise of intimacy?" (p. xiv)

In his book, Victor L. Brown, Jr., not only attempts to define intimacy—"a broad deep term, not a synonym for sexuality . . . one of the highest ideals of the human heart" (p. 1)—with numerous examples of realities and illusions, but offers a systematic approach to finding intimacy (over the long haul). Brown's yellow brick road is built on the following principles: (1) the establishment of one's identity, (2) the definition of role (the *kind* of female or male one is), (3) the development of relationship skills, and (4) the flourishing of intimacy through marriage, all of which lead to the ultimate communion with "one's innermost self and union with others in social-emotional, mental, physical, and spiritual ways" (p. 2).

With a chapter dedicated to each of the above steps, Brown tries to separate the illusory (the cul-de-sac) from the real (the true path necessary for the achievement of intimacy).

Brown is at his best in the "Reality of Identity" chapter where he discusses how intimacy is enhanced by self-esteem, a topic with which he is knowledgeable and comfortable: "Intimacy includes our ability to enhance other identities and to be enhanced. . . . It adds to our happiness if we are valued by ourselves and others for what we are. If we are valued for how we can be used to gratify someone else's needs or expectations, then we are hampered in our ability to establish intimate relationships" (p. 40). He is also comfortable with the "Developing Roles" section of Chapter 3 where he discusses the dangers of role-playing rather than developing relationships based on inner reality. He compassionately advises his readers to surmount the limitations of role and to make distinctions between arbitrary sex-role stereotypes and appropriate sex-typing. He speaks out for the domesticated as well as the publicly talented woman and for the tender man bound by role expectations of steel hand, lip, and heart.

This book tackles an incredibly complex concept; Brown tries to peg it, capture it, and lasso it for others who will benefit from his wisdom. He sometimes snares himself in the universal generalizations which he applies to the elusive concept of intimacy.

Brown gets in his own way, for instance, when he resorts to moralistic preaching: calling unwed parents "sad people" (p. 118), saying that people dismiss moral values because "they don't like them," calling those dismissals "intellectual temper tantrums" (p. 118), and assigning loud voices to proponents of irresponsible and exploitive sex while those who prefer fidelity have "much quieter voices" (p. 119). Sometimes he defers to simplistic reasoning by over-using such homilies as "the lowest common denominator" or loses sight of the validity of his position and employs defensive posturing as in his case for the homemaker wife whom he considers to have been slandered by contemporary society's "arrogant nonsense" (p. 109).

The generalized polarities he sets up on page after page — indulgence vs. discipline, sex drive vs. voluntary sexual behavior, integrity vs. lust, sexual exploitation vs. relationship skills — are problematical. Not only are some not even logical opposites, but he decries polarities himself when he discusses the choice between marriage-children and community-career: "An either-or ultimatum betrays its weakness, especially since adherents to one extreme are likely to deny any fulfillment at all in the other position" (p. 93).

The basis of the book, the comparison of reality and illusion, also has inherent difficulties. Brown sets the two in opposition by defining reality as "the process of identifying consequences" and illusion as "the process of ignoring consequences." He also seems to believe that his suggested path always or nearly always results in happiness and that other alternatives do not. Neither reality nor illusion can be packaged so neatly. For example, we often don't know what the consequences of any given action will be. Every situation is unique, and every action has both costs and benefits. And when Brown says that "most human misery can be prevented by wise and disciplined living" (p. 3), he forgets Job, the Poles and Jews in World War II, and the innocents of every age

who suffer death and pain along with the guilty. No one can be shielded from human suffering. Are the "safe paths" always reality or are they sometimes also an illusion? And are the risky paths always illusion or are they sometimes reality? Is it always true that every sexual relationship outside of marriage has resulted in more pain and sorrow than in benefits received or growth experienced?

Brown's main contribution is his addressing the issue of how we can achieve human intimacy, draw closer to each other, and alleviate a portion of human suffering. He is concerned and compassionate. He should be applauded for wrestling with the ever-complicated issues of sex, love, and intimacy. He admits that his recommended path is not easy, that there are problems (though not insoluble in most cases), and that the effort to achieve intimacy will prove rewarding if people will be patient, long-suffering, and follow some common sense, time-proven rules. "Those looking for easy recipes for intimacy will be disappointed" (p. xv). He does, however, work within a particular point of view and is sometimes inhibited by this posture.

While the book attempts to touch lives, it remains slightly detached from the flux of humanity. Brown's approach to intimacy seems packaged in a three-piece, pin-striped suit. Refreshingly, he acknowledges that intimacy does include the physical: "Ignorance about our bodies, our minds, and the consequences of sexual expression may be the greatest enemy of sexual intimacy" (p. 112). But the book's message about the body's role in intimacy seems confused and mixed. Brown relegates the body to a bottom rung in the search for intimacy, an inferior member of the mind/spirit/body triumvirate: "In human relationships, the heart and mind do, in fact, rule. . . . To seek in biology the key to understanding relationships is to seek in vain" (p. 78). Granted that biology is not the only avenue to intimacy, Brown's discussion of sexuality is often preceded by words such as "exploitive" or "lustful." When he

acknowledges the desirability of sexuality, it is always in the most polite terms and only within a particular frame of reference.

This book was presented to every LDS bishop by the First Presidency and does

discuss and recognize some issues that have been sidestepped, even considered *verboden* for the LDS populace. Its accomplishment lies in the fact that it is a good first effort to discuss an important issue.

The New Mormon Poetry

The seventh day by Lewis Horne (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Thistledown Press, 1982), 71 pp., \$16 (cloth); \$7.95 (paper).

Reviewed by Dennis Clark, a librarian at Orem Public Library and poetry editor of *Sunstone* magazine.

A NEW MORMON POETRY is beginning to emerge from the shadow of traditional, more bardic Mormon verse. Peeping about in the bright sun, blinking a bit and rubbing its eyes, it shows itself in poems not so word-driven, not so obsessed with wringing every nuance out of every key word, not so ponderous. It reads more in the contemporary American manner: casual diction, intimate tone, personal matter, informal prosody and a focus on the present. Whether Lewis Horne is a Mormon (or even American) poet I can't say: the only poem to make reference to the Church, "Vision of an Older Faith" (originally published in *DIALOGUE*, Winter 1974, here somewhat altered), refers to that faith as "my past belief." But he does exemplify the new Mormon (and American) poetry.

"The Windowcleaning" (pp. 24-25), one of the best poems in the book, exhibits, except in its formal prosody, the contemporary American manner. This is the whole poem. Read it aloud:

I

A swaying rope outside my window —
a ballast, a tail, a reference
to windowcleaners who have risen

upward on a slanting platform,
risen in the wind, the cooling air,
along the sunny wall, glowing like taffeta.

Behind them, puffballs of cloud slide
through a late September sky.
They rise without apology,

rock music quaking, crotchety
and shrill through the static
of their small transistor radio.

They wipe off stains of dribble, the pale
transparent stubble of dirt. They open
up a straightaway for light

through panes that stand against the weather.

II

The manifestations of light — a streak
on water, the burning bush, the voice
from a blinding core of atmosphere.

Shaggy in spirit, touched by tinny
music fading as the pulley
draws them higher, I sit enameled

in the glow, myself the center
of these rays, the blinking, grateful
center, as though the sparks of angels'

wings ignite the lap of air,
grateful for small things cleanly drawn,
exercising shape and line —

theirs alone. I sit in a dazzle
of light, idling, wanting to rise
on its stream, straight — in dream — toward

the breathing altar of its source.

Two things make this poem the delight that it is: its regular structure, featuring a four-stress rhythm (broken only once, in the sixth line) reinforced by subtle rhyme (*dribble* & *stubble*, *apology* & *crotchety*); and, its progression toward an achieved end.

By itself alone, the first stanza would be little more than an interesting exercise

in description: the snapshot of a moment, entirely in present tense (a characteristic of contemporary American verse very irritating to traditionalists). It is itself a poem, as each section of a compound poem must be. The "panes that stand against the weather" are cleaned as a path for light; the cleaning, in early fall, admits more of the lessening light yet does not diminish the needed protection of the window. But without the second section, the poem would be as slight as that summary.

The poet introduces himself in the second section as "shaggy in spirit" yet "the center of these rays," and this is where the verse becomes poetry. His "wanting to rise" on the stream of light "toward the breathing altar of its source" voices the traditional American drive toward transcendence; but he wants to rise "in dream"—not in body, in mind, or even in spirit. In this he seems bound to the earth that contains "small things cleanly drawn, exercising shape and line—theirs alone." These share the light with him, although he is its center. His gratitude for them binds him to them, to their world. The tension between the two worlds—the one of light and air, music and puffball clouds, the other of the small things entire of themselves—is the source, it would seem, of his shagginess of spirit. That tension causes this poem. It is the matter that shapes it, knotted in the speaker's heart, keeping him in the present moment, bound with the language of our day, unable to rise but not therefore unhappy.

Not all the poems in the book are this good. Lacking the discipline of a regular prosody many of them slop about in the mouth, bland like Cream of Wheat with raisins and lumps intermingled (though not so nourishing). This sample, from "Rain and Berry-pickers" (p. 47) describes a storm:

When will the berry-pickers come?
Clouded aspen water air
in swelling wind, and sway—streaming,
tipsy with their sound.

These are two complete sentences. Until you realize that "water" is a verb, however,

the second sentence reads like bad impressionism, and its second verb, "sway," seems fanciful only, as in "to hold sway." Coming late in a poem otherwise clearly and cleanly grammatical, this confusion damages, rather than helps, the poem. It could be the result of an error in printing; the confusion in the poem rises from the omission of a definite article in this sentence: "Clouded aspen water *the* air. . . ." This tendency to omit function words (like articles), not for rhythm but to achieve compression on the page, mars much verse written in America today, clear evidence that its writers consider theirs a visual and not an aural art, to be read without moving the lips—roughly equivalent to eating without chewing.

There are other faults in the poems, like inappropriate metaphors ("clouds spread like old wallpaper on the sky" from "Mail Strike," p. 18) and one-word lines calling attention to weak words. They marred my pleasure but didn't ruin it. I enjoyed reading the poems. I found many of them worth rereading, like "Evenings Full of Fiddle," "In the Witch's Palace," and "Witch's World." The best of them combine a careful observation of nature with reflections on man's place therein, including the family and its relations. I especially liked "Winter Nights" and "After Putting My 14-year-old Daughter on the Train to Toronto." In these poems, by investing his subjects with careful attention, Horne escapes that sentimentality of modern sensibility which sees anything that catches one's notice as important.

Few of the poems force you to a second reading, and few sound better than careful prose. But most of them invite you to *feel* with the poet. They are fleet and enjoyable, displaying not great love of language so much as of living—but more substantial than most of what we read as "poetry" in our Mormon press. The best of them will germinate in your mind. They are well built for flight, like thistledown, for drifting across the window of your thought.

Unprickly View of a Thorny Issue

God and Government, The Separation of Church and State by Ann E. Weiss (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982), 126 pp., \$8.95.

Reviewed by Jay M. Haymond, Coordinator of Collections and Research, Utah State Historical Society.

THIS SMALL (126 pages) book written for juveniles, is one person's view of a thorny issue in America today. Mormons will be interested to read Ms. Weiss's first three chapters discussing historical events leading up to present problems in six areas regarding separation of church and state: schools, taxes, conflicting rights, special privilege, cults, and the religious Right.

Her balanced approach and treatment are noteworthy and commendable. She tells where she stands but is not overbearing about her point of view, certainly a virtue in authors. She reveals her background in the preface and presents her opinions, usually near the end of each chapter. Most often the author divides the present conflict between separationists and accommodationists. Separationists want a "higher wall" between government and religion, as mentioned by Thomas Jefferson when arguing for amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Accommodationists prefer to "keep" the church close to government for their "mutual benefit." Ms. Weiss makes clear the position of the Constitutional framers: they wanted to insure freedom for all to practice religion as fully as possible. After the Constitution was ratified some state governing bodies wanted more explicit language on "rights," especially including religion in a bill of rights to guarantee freedom from a state church—hence the provision for religion in the first amendment.

Ezra Taft Benson, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, in a speech at BYU in 1980 expressed an accommodationist view in general terms suggesting

that he saw it as the position of the Church.

In conclusion, let us summarize this grand key, these "Fourteen Fundamentals in Following the Prophet," for our salvation hangs on them.

First: The prophet is the only man who speaks for the Lord in everything.

Second: The living prophet is more vital to us than the standard works.

Third: The living prophet is more important to us than a dead prophet.

Fourth: The prophet will never lead the Church astray.

Fifth: The prophet is not required to have any particular earthly training or credentials to speak on any subject or act on any matter at any time.

Sixth: The prophet does not have to say "Thus saith the Lord" to give us scripture.

Seventh: The prophet tells what we need to know, not always what we want to know.

Eighth: The prophet is not limited by men's reasoning.

Ninth: The prophet can receive revelation on any matter temporal or spiritual.

Tenth: The prophet may be involved in civic matters.

Eleventh: The two groups who have the greatest difficulty in following the prophet are the proud who are learned and the proud who are rich.

Twelfth: The prophet will not necessarily be popular with the world or the worldly.

Thirteenth: The prophet and his counselors make up the First Presidency—the highest quorum in the Church.

Fourteenth: The prophet and the presidency—the living prophet and the First Presidency—follow them and be blessed, reject them and suffer.

(*BYU Devotional Speeches*
Feb., 1980), pp. 26–27

One of the most interesting chapters for me is on "cults." Weiss does not provide a satisfactory definition of a cult nor does she criticize cults as such. She points to the Reverend Jim Jones People's Temple as the dark side and warns against re-

peating that kind of demagoguery. She goes on to suggest except for the passage of time, other "established" religions would be classed as cults, Mormonism among them. Her second mention of Mormonism is in her chapter on taxes. She further observes on taxes that churches have the most favored tax advantage of any other type of group in America. Which takes us to the success of contemporary fundamentalist groups.

Weiss discusses our contemporary world as possibly being in a time of religious revival similar to the Great Awakening led by Jonathan Edwards or the Second Awakening led by Charles G. Finney in midnineteenth-century America. Her description of modern fundamentalist groups includes their Old Testament—oriented intolerance, anti-communist paranoia, and dogmatic support for military solutions to world problems. In fairness, Mormonism is saved in part from this category by the LDS First Presidency's MX statement which warns . . .

against the terrifying arms race in which the nations of the earth are presently engaged. We deplore in particular the building of vast arsenals of nuclear weaponry. We are advised that there is already enough such weaponry to destroy in large measure our civilization, with consequent suffering and misery of incalculable extent.

(*Ensign*, June 1981), p. 76

The Moral Majority, Christian Voice, Oral Roberts, and Billy Graham are all

mentioned in Weiss's spectrum of fundamentalist evangelical groups and preachers competing for minds and money in our midst. Political action is the most frightening aspect of these groups' work because the money generated by their Madison-Avenue approach to proselyting gives them leverage to multiply income and power beyond the scope their numbers deserve. Their political influence was demonstrated in 1980 when targeted "liberals" were turned out of office to be replaced by followers of one fundamentalist group or another. Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell converted his church meetings into political action committees where people in attendance received instructions on how to vote and influence congressional representatives. Critics advocate thinking of this family of advocates, not as religions but as interest groups like the National Association of Manufacturers, American Medical Association or American Bar Association who lobby for their own advantage, sometimes without thinking about the general good.

The author's presentation of these facts and positions is an attempt to inform rather than inflame. She is quite aware that regulation of any religion in any way is what the Founding Fathers wanted to avoid and that subsequent events have proven their wisdom. The book is a vindication of the framer's faith in democratic principles to leave the governing of religion to the people rather than their representatives.

The Klan in Utah

Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah by Larry R. Gerlach (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1982), 248 pp., \$17.50.

Reviewed by John R. Sillito, archivist and assistant professor of libraries at Weber State College. He is particularly interested in the history of the left in twentieth-century Utah.

For most of us, mention of the Ku Klux Klan conjures up visions of the Deep South—night riders in white robes, burning crosses, and, as the lyrics of "Strange Fruit," Billie Holiday's jazz classic, state, "Black body swaying in the Southern breeze/Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees." In reality, the Klan was a nationwide movement which combined fra-

ternalism, patriotism, Protestantism, and political activism. The Klan has been active in America at various periods and exists today. It was most active in the 1920s when its national membership exceeded two million, making it the "largest nativist-vigilante movement in American history."

As Larry R. Gerlach demonstrates in *Blazing Crosses in Zion*, the "Invisible Empire," particularly during these years, was "not alien to the historical experience of the Intermountain West in general [or] the Beehive state in particular." With the exception of Colorado, Gerlach asserts, the Klan was not "as influential in the Intermountain West as elsewhere," but it was "a force nonetheless."

Because the Klan was "a local institution organized in response to conditions peculiar to a generalized locale," studies of the Klan at the state and regional level are important. Such studies help us better understand the overall components of a social-political movement that was at once both national and local in character.

In Utah the Klan was organized in 1921 and grew slowly until "it enjoyed a tremendous spurt of growth statewide in 1924-1925 because of intensive organizational activities" (p. xvii). This was its peak in terms of visibility, influence, and acceptance. In 1926, internal dissent, incompetent leadership, media opposition, hostile public opinion, governmental attacks including the passage of "anti-mask" ordinances, and "the single most important factor"—the opposition of the Mormon Church—combined to bring about its decline.

Though the Klan in Utah was, in Gerlach's words, a "dismal failure" following an intense flurry of activity, it was not without impact. Many Utahns, particularly immigrants, believed that the secret order was a tangible threat to them. And, as Gerlach demonstrates, not without cause.

Gerlach's study sheds light on the chronological development of the Klan. Moreover, Gerlach explores the conditions

prevalent in the post World War I period that led a handful of Utahns to join the secret order; provides information on the kinds of people who made up Utah Klancraft during its flourishing and, perhaps most significantly, examines the impact that opposition from the LDS Church had on the chances of success for the Klan in Zion.

Gerlach observes that Utah Klansmen, with some exceptions, were not simply hell-raisers, but rather were "largely decent, generous and principled" individuals who believed that their actions, and their affiliations, were "anything but un-American." As Gerlach states, one cannot, no matter how reprehensible Klan ideology and practice might be, "dismiss the Klan as a band of simple minded fanatics," for there is "too much of the bigot and racist in each of us for such facile self-righteousness" (p. xxi).

Klan membership in Utah resembled patterns elsewhere. It was male, white, native-born, and Protestant. Like their counterparts throughout the country, Utah Klansmen were middle-aged and middle-class, not marginal.

Why then did these respectable men don hood and robe? "First and foremost" among reasons was nativism, xenophobia, and bigotry. Additionally, adherents of the Klan believed they stood for law and order, honest government, the chastity of women, traditional American morality, and social stability. They were knights in the battle against social disorder and rampant vice.

The Klan seized the fears of a generation of Americans living through a period of disillusionment, wrapped those fears in the flag, and offered tangible solutions to those who were "confused and afraid" of the trends they saw in American society. In particular, the Klan exploited the fears of some Americans who saw immigrants and blacks as advocating alien ideologies.

These fears also existed in Utah, yet the KKK failed in Utah, as it did elsewhere, because most people, even sympathizers, recognized that the Klan advocated

racism and violence in the name of loyal Americanism. At the same time, the Klan failed in Utah for a reason not prevalent anywhere else—the active, open, and clear opposition of the Mormon Church.

Mormon opposition to Klancraft, according to Gerlach, was motivated by “secular and sectarian” factors; but it was unmistakable and genuine. He notes:

In addition to anti-Klan editorials in the *Deseret News*, LDS leaders expressed their opposition to the Klan indirectly through law-and-order exhortations at church conferences and through notices of Klan activity in Utah and elsewhere in . . . the *Improvement Era*. For many Mormons the final word on the subject came during the church's semi-annual conference in October 1922. Following President Heber J. Grant's firm admonition to “sustain and live the law,” Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley specifically named the Ku Klux Klan in condemning secret societies formed in times of contention. (p. 36)

Nibley argued that organizations like the Klan had “undertaken to administer what they call justice independent of Constitutional law, and the rights of men.” Furthermore, Nibley asserted that the Klan had taken actions against “certain people” which have resulted in “disorder, turmoil, strife” as well as the breakdown of law. For Mormons, comments Gerlach, the message was clear: “avoid secret societies such as the Klan and render strict obedience to duly constituted laws” (p. 37).

The leaders of Utah Klancraft were placed in an ambivalent position toward Mormons. On one hand, Mormons were ideal potential members because they were “overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon, intensely patriotic, culturally puritanical and oriented toward social regulation.” Yet Klan leaders were also aware that in a strict sense Mormons were not technically Protestants and thus ineligible for membership. This ambivalence inhibited growth because it tended to reduce significantly the pool of possible numbers, particularly among the state's dominant faith.

Other western Klansmen were openly hostile to the LDS Church. At the 1923 “Imperial Klonsvocation,” for example, the Grand Dragon of Wyoming told his fellow Klansmen that in both Utah and the West, the LDS Church was an enemy “more subtle and far more cunning” than the Roman Catholic Church: Mormons were clannish, voted en bloc, opposed law which conflicted with their “peculiar” religious beliefs, were theocratic, and devoted ultimately to their prophet.

Klan insistence on the absolute separation of church and state further alarmed Mormons who were accustomed to hearing these code words used time and time again to oppose the Church. More importantly, Gerlach recognizes that “in a very real sense, Mormonism rendered the Ku Klux Klan superfluous in Utah” because the Church discharged effectively the “moral function” espoused by the Invisible Empire (p. 37).

The fact that the Mormon Church emerges from Gerlach's study not only as an opponent of the Klan, but as the major force in thwarting its growth in Utah is both important and ironic. It is important because it helps us understand that in early twentieth-century Utah no social, political, or economic movement had a chance to succeed without either the support or, at least, tacit neutrality of the LDS Church. It is ironic because Gerlach's attempts to fully explore Mormon opposition to Utah Klancraft were limited by his inability to gain access to key documents in the Church archives when he did his research in 1980. He notes that the Heber J. Grant papers were closed to him because they were being catalogued, and that “officials of the Historical Department” denied his requests to “examine two files in the correspondence of the First Presidency labelled ‘Secret Societies 1921–26’.” Gerlach may be too gentle concerning the policies of the Historical Department. I doubt whether any scholar at this point could gain access to the Grant papers, irrespective of their cataloging status. Moreover, access to the First

Presidency files Gerlach requested is, realistically speaking, unlikely since usage requires the permission of the First Presidency.

Not only does Gerlach's study suffer because he was denied access to these important documents, but as long as key materials are denied to scholars, efforts to chronicle Utah history and the history of the LDS church will be seriously hindered. A final irony is that if these documents were unavailable for fear they might be used to discredit the church, Gerlach's study, and the efforts of most scholars, suggest the opposite result.

Blazing Crosses in Zion examines a previously unexamined aspect of social history providing insight into the culture and politics of Utah during a crucial time. Moreover, it places that history within the larger context of the Klan in the Intermountain West and across the nation. While the book is sometimes repetitive and has a few minor errors of fact, Larry Gerlach asks new questions and addresses new areas of research. His work will undoubtedly give others incentive to undertake similar studies of other aspects of the contemporary Utah experience.

More on Kirtland

A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp 1830-1839: Vital Statistics and Sources, compiled by Milton V. Backman, Jr., 2nd ed. rev. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1983), 165 pp.

A History of Kirtland, Ohio, by Anne B. Prusha (Mentor, Ohio: Lakeland Community College Press, 1982), 130 pp.

Reviewed by Larry T. Wimmer, professor and chairman, Department of Economics, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

FOR MANY, KIRTLAND IS VIEWED as the genesis of Mormonism as a viable church and perhaps the best test case of Joseph Smith's prophetic claims and personal integrity. As such, interest in the history of Mormon Kirtland is not likely to wane soon. Two recent additions are diverse, not only in relationship to each other, but also in comparison to previous work on Kirtland.

Milton Backman's *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio*, . . . is an important contribution to our knowledge of Kirtland and will be a primary source of data for the serious scholar for years to come. His work reflects the increased interest in quantitative data and particularly genealogical records as primary-data

sources. His study is not, however, devoted to settling issues, but is primarily a careful enumeration of names and vital statistics of Mormon families most likely living in Kirtland sometime during the decade of the 1830s (80 of the 165 pages), lists of participants in Zion's Camp and Kirtland Camp (13 pages), shareholders of the Kirtland Safety Society (2 pages), and a very useful listing of the Kirtland land and tax records by Keith Perkins (33 pages).

Anyone seeking an accurate estimate of population for Kirtland or the Church during this period is aware of the many difficulties. No complete Church membership records exist and, as Backman notes, there are many visitors and temporary residents in addition to the usual problems of duplicate names, misspellings, etc. The result of Backman's study is clearly the most complete and accurate list available. Backman acknowledges that these lists and vital statistics are not complete or without error. They sometimes raise additional questions themselves. An example is the increase in the number of Saints in Kirtland and vicinity from 100 to 500 within two years of the departure of some 2,000 members for Missouri.

Anyone seriously interested in events surrounding Mormon Kirtland will of necessity consult this source and be in-

debted to Milton Backman, Keith Perkins, and others for their painstaking efforts in providing us a clearer window through which we may view Kirtland. It is, however, left to others to use these data to clarify and reconcile the many ambiguities and controversies which surround Joseph Smith and the Church in Mormon Kirtland.

Anne Prusha's *A History of Kirtland, Ohio* is an equally ambitious task as she seeks to provide the reader with a survey of Kirtland's history from about 1810 to 1970. Interest in this work on the part of Mormon historians is, of course, the opportunity to place Mormon Kirtland in context—a view of soon-to-be Mormon converts, supporters, or detractors both before

and after the decade of intense Mormon activity. Unfortunately, the results are not particularly satisfying.

Her survey of Mormon Kirtland stems primarily from four standard sources, the most recent being Max Parkin's 1966 "Conflict at Kirtland . . ."; and Mormon Kirtland accounts for almost one-third of the book, leaving only ten pages for the last half of the nineteenth century and fifteen pages for the first seventy years of the twentieth-century. Begun as a master's thesis at Kent State University, this brief book provides an overview of Kirtland's history, but for one at the cutting edge of Mormon history it does not offer, nor claim to offer, depth or new insight into Mormon Kirtland.

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