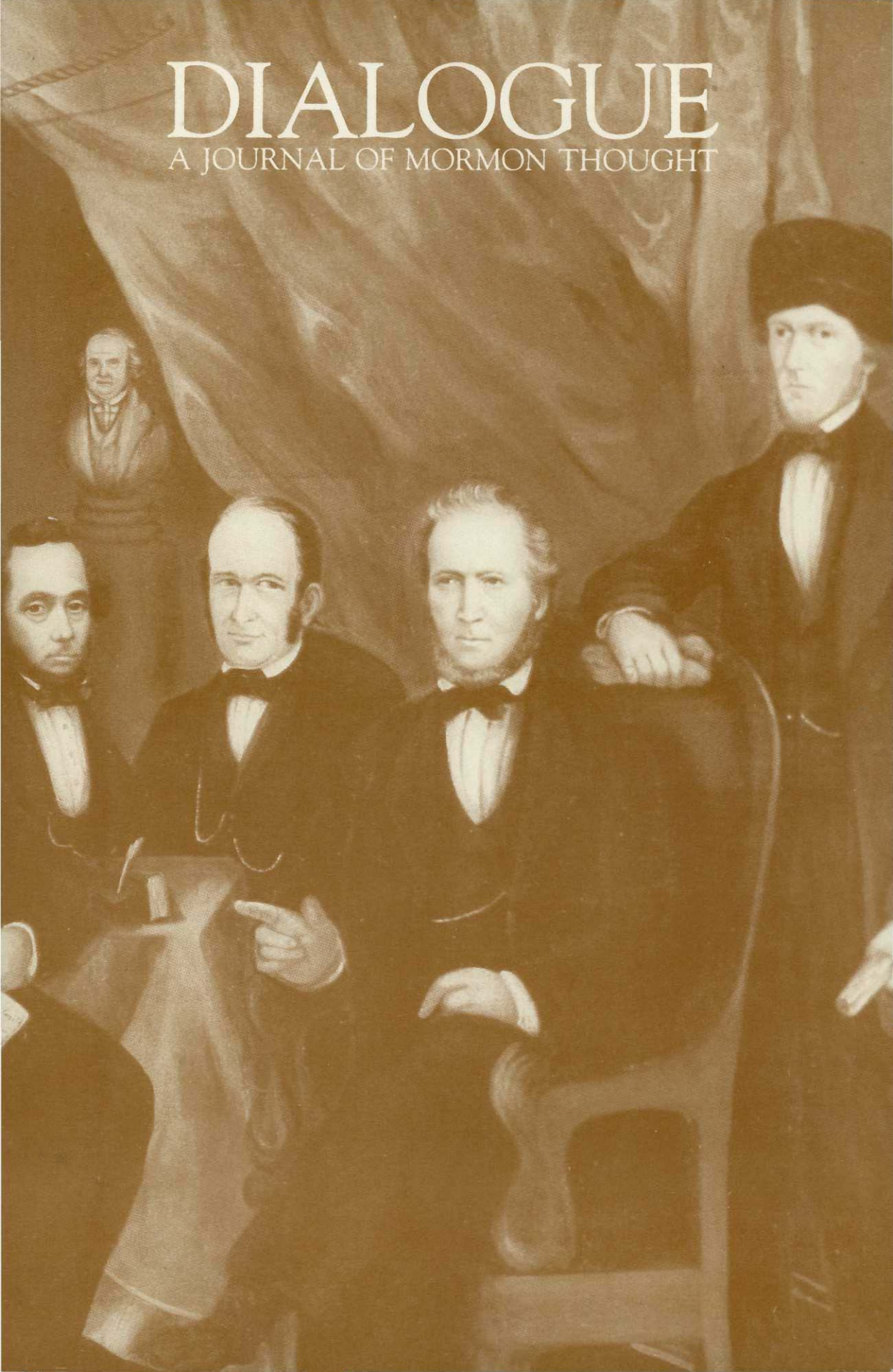
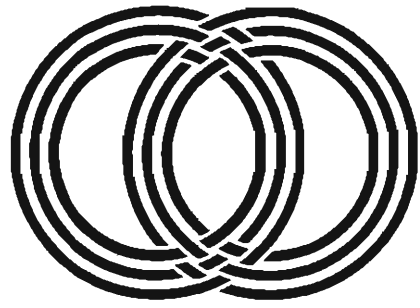
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

ART CREDITS

Cover, "Brigham Young and His Friends," *by Sarah Ann Burbage Long*, oil on canvas, circa 1864. Left: John V. Long, John Lyon, John W. Young, Edwin D. Woolley, George A. Smith, Lorenzo Snow, Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, and Daniel H. Wells. On display at the new Museum of Church History and Art. Used by permission, LDS Church, Arts and Sites.

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DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 1984

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DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including doublespacing all block quotations and notes. Send manuscripts to DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, 202 West 300 North, Salt Lake City, 84103.

LETTERS

Round Two on Biblical Criticism

Faulconer's critique (Letters, Winter 1983) of my article "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible" (Spring 1982) is welcome. However, possibly because of the technical nature of my presentation, Faulconer seems to have misunderstood my argument, thus needlessly polarizing the discussion.

For example, I used the relative degree to which each of my four groups employed harmonization as a touchstone for identifying fundamentalist presuppositions. Faulconer questions the utility and accuracy of this touchstone. I defined *harmonize* in the glossary at the end of the article as "the 'ironing out' of apparent contradictions in authoritative sources considered to be more or less inerrant" (p. 117). "Harmonizing" thus did not include general theological commitment to the idea of an underlying unity or harmony of the scriptures, as Faulconer suggests. Rather, I looked for practical manifestations such as the forcible "correction" and accommodation of texts, either through ignoring specific disharmonies or through impatiently imposed interpretation or textual emendation on dogmatic grounds.

Of course, I agree that a commitment to the revealed character of scripture necessarily implies some commitment to their overall unity and underlying harmony and that this commitment can take various forms, "from the naive to the dense and difficult" (Faulconer, p. 5). Such a commitment, however, does not necessarily require manipulating words, propositions, or external forms, unless one has made the presuppositions of fundamentalism discussed in my article.

Faulconer thus misreads my appeal to reject harmonizing as a rejection of the revealed character of scripture, and accuses me of aping one or two authors of my fourth group who in his opinion have emptied their faith of all its particular content and have lost religion altogether. But in calling for a rejection of harmonization and fundamentalism (as I defined them), I by no means called for a modernist rejection of revelation, nor intended to endorse all the particular stances of the different authors in Group IV, as varied as these are known to be. My discussion of LDS beliefs about restoration (pp. 113–15) speaks as much against modernism as against fundamentalism. I agree with Faulconer that modernism tends to reduce religion to ethics and philosophy, but I was not arguing that point. I was focusing on an ideological problem that I see as more immediately threatening to our community — the fact that fundamentalism tends to reduce religion to dogma and apologetics. Both extremes ought to be shunned.

Faulconer's remarks about hermeneutics are misguided. I am well aware of the literature and do not agree that it supports his ideas any more than it supports mine — unless, of course, one believes that the literature has demonstrated conclusively that a text contains only such meaning as its readers can impute. Although some authors do so believe, others have preferred to see a dialectic between the horizon of the text in its original setting and the horizon of the text as perceived by the reader (Gadamer), or a hermeneutic circle in which the reader goes to the text with presuppositions, that in turn must be questioned and undermined by the text itself (Moltmann). Faulconer's insistence upon the revealedness of the scriptural text (in my view accurate) is simply incompatible

with his denying the text any meaning other than that given it by the reader. In such a denial, revelation itself becomes something merely attributed to a text by its readers, without any connection to an act of God in the production of the text.

Unfortunately, the solipsistic and nihilistic tendencies in Faulconer's position — if this is indeed what he intended — have also apparently caused misreadings of the literature he cites in his critique. My complaint with Barlow was *not* that he simply believed that an LDS exegesis should reflect LDS faith presuppositions in the same way that Raymond Brown's or Edward Schillebeeckx's reflects theirs. Neither Brown nor Schillebeeckx makes exegetical decisions on the basis of Roman Catholic dogma. Rather, their faith influences their commentary on a much more subtle and intrinsic level — what they believe the text *means* as opposed to what it *meant*. Some of their fundamentalist co-religionists consequently accuse them of modernism. Barlow was not proposing a subtle and intrinsic influence of LDS faith upon LDS exegesis. He was proposing that LDS claims about the historical meaning of the Old Testament when it was written and during its history of interpretation, ought to be based in the extrinsic and propositionally formulated orthodoxy of current Latter-day Saintism, regardless of what the texts in their original languages actually say and how these sayings relate to their ancient near-Eastern context. But because I took exception with this idea, Faulconer mistakenly assumed that I believe that LDS faith should have no influence on our scripture study, ignoring the end of my paragraph on Barlow, where I indeed suggested on what level I thought our LDS faith should affect our exegesis. It is unfortunate that Faulconer has also misconstrued Brown in the process, whose *The Critical Meaning of the Bible* (New York: Paulist, 1981) discussed many of the same issues my article addressed.

Faulconer also misunderstood the specific points that I saw as valuable in the "New Mormon History." Some kind of chimerical objectivity or freedom from presuppositions in general were not among them. Martin Marty, addressing the Mormon History Association in Omaha, called for a recognition of the limitations of the critical method, not for its abandonment, nor for its being subsumed into a denominationally oriented scholasticism. The "second level naivete" described by Ricoeur and supported by Marty is not at all the same thing as the "primitive naivete" of the fundamentalist tendencies Faulconer defends. (See Martin E. Marty, "Two Integrities: An Address to the Crisis in Mormon Historiography," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 3–19.)

Faulconer further made several minor objections to my choice of diction or my use of a typology. He is quite correct for I prefaced the article with serious precautions about typologies. However, his protest about my typology's "artificiality" misunderstands the purpose and limitations of typological analysis in general and ignores my own stated reservations. His claim that I was unfair to Group I by describing its strengths in language "calculated to show them as weaknesses" overlooks the fact that one can see the theoretical strength of a position while not sharing it or desiring to partake of its peculiar idiom. His claim that I glossed over Group IV's general lack of ready adaptability to popular religious needs and usages appears simply to complain that I did not polemicize on the subject as he does in his critique, since I did, in fact, mention the problem and suggested ways in which this weakness might be overcome. His claim that I overlooked the differences between devotional and scholarly exegesis again disregards my stated reservation that many authors in the typology "do not write exegesis or scriptural commentary *per se*, but use scriptures in a theological or apologetic endeavor" (p. 100). His complaint that I noted Group II's "lack of credibility" as a weakness, but did not note a similar weakness in Group IV similarly overlooks the fact that I de-

scribed this weakness of Group IV in much more pointed terms as an "implied charge of heresy" (p. 108).

Faulconer may have a point when he criticizes my inclusion of Group III's failure to produce commentaries as a weakness, since, as he suggests, the problem may be hesitant publishers — not the group's stance. On the other hand, publishers may be aware that fundamentalist audiences would not like the critical leanings of Group III books while critical audiences would not care for their occasional waffling on sensitive issues. Faulconer's final minor objection complains that I was less hard on Group IV's linguistic weaknesses than upon those of Group I. His characterization here is simply inaccurate. Group III is the strongest in this regard; Group I is the weakest. Group IV's relative linguistic weakness is not necessarily connected to its overall approach to biblical interpretation. This is not the case with Groups I and II, since generally the more competence is gained in languages and critical philosophical method, the more various accommodations are made in hermeneutical stance, that are characteristic of the less fundamentalistic side of the spectrum. I agree fully with Faulconer that a critic should be philogically competent to evaluate the claims made by others. However, various members of *all* four groups ought probably improve their skills.

In short, Faulconer's critique has misread my article and has misapplied the pertinent literature on hermeneutics. It has misunderstood how the faith of competent biblical scholars of other denominations affects their exegesis.

Anthony A. Hutchinson
Silver Spring, Maryland

Agnostic Irresolution

I was disappointed with Sterling McMurrin's interview (Spring 1984). Notwithstanding his being a "leading philosopher and educator" within the Church, his discussion lacks a premise vital to any theological topic: he neither affirms nor denies God's existence. Because of that agnostic irresolution, the entire interview fails to persuade the reader to believe any of his "heresies," whether they concern Church history or "Mormon orthodoxy."

Since Joseph Smith's "Lectures on Faith," the Church has taught that faith in God is the "foundation of all righteousness." In spite of that teaching, McMurrin asserts that the Church causes its members to "tie their own religious faith to its own controlled interpretations of its history" (p. 20). However, he later admits that "The Church hasn't settled on a single treatment of history but has been involved with several approaches" (p. 21). I find it difficult to believe that a church could indoctrinate its people with a historical dogma if it has not yet establihsed a definitive version of that dogma. I also find no evidence in McMurrin's discussion or my own experience to cause me to believe that my faith hinges on a purely historical framework. The Church taught me that faith centers on God and Christ, and I developed that faith "by study" as well as prayer. Knowing that God exists, I rely on him to teach me theology. Inasmuch as that theology includes a study of his dealings with humankind, I investigate those histories to learn about God. However, I find that such a study "will increase unto more ungodliness" if improperly motivated. Both scholars and saints learn history, not only to gain social identity, but more importantly, to learn its archetypal truths. A pursuit of history that despairs of discovering those truths would be relatively insignificant. Were there hope of reviving Shakespeare from the grave for a few minutes of conversation, I'm sure that most scholars would exploit the opportunity. How ironic that a philosopher would not satisfy his soul by discovering God's existence before discoursing on his nature! McMurrin reminds us that "religious faith should be faith in God and in one's fellowmen," but his arguments display no such confidence, either in God's ability to guide

His followers or in the "leaders'" ability (and desire) to seek that guidance (p. 20).

Another example of McMurrin's ambivalence occurs on pages 20 and 38 of the spring issue. At first, McMurrin agrees with the interviewer's assertion that we have "much to fear from history." Later, however, he cites B. H. Roberts's saying that "to write exact history and yet not destroy faith it is necessary 'to frankly state events as they occurred . . .'" (p. 38). If an honest recounting of our history will not "destroy faith," what have we to fear? The Church justly concerns itself that its members learn the basic events of its history. A member of the Church discovers deity's nature through the fundamental Mormon historical events, and, as the proverb says, "familiarity breeds contempt," or confidence. The same is not true, however, of the history of human imperfection in the Church. But "faith" can only seem to be unsubstantiated fanaticism to an agnostic. McMurrin needs to reconcile his statements about centering faith in God with his negation of Christ's divinity and his uncertainties concerning God's existence. Any of those whom Church history has inspired to discover God for themselves are more competent theologians than Brother McMurrin, for they know that God exists. I am confident that when the Church prepares itself for additional study, God will give us other histories. But until we have ascertained his existence, a philosophical discourse on his nature, workings, and servants means nothing. To thus rely on unaided intellect when studying theology is to allow the scribes, with the priests, to "drive out the prophets" and to replace religious righteousness with unripened reason.

Todd Morley
Roseville, California

A Group of the Like-Minded

Please accept this donation as a token of appreciation for the great enrichment DIALOGUE has brought to my religious life. After several years of pondering many paradoxes and perplexities of Mormon history, including changes in doctrine and practice, I began a personal search to try to resolve these matters to my own satisfaction. However, in attempting to discuss what I felt to be vital and important issues with many Church and family members, I often found only suspicious hearts, closed minds, and a disturbing degree of ignorance regarding the magnitude of our problems.

It was finally through publications such as yours, coupled with several long talks with some other "Liahona" Mormons, that I resolved in good conscience to stay in the Church. I shall always be grateful for the stimulation and challenge, the knowledge and insight, and the overall depth of thought in the essays and writings of DIALOGUE. Finally, I had found people who were knowledgeable and unafraid to honestly confront difficult issues.

I do not believe my story is unique; indeed I am sure it has been experienced by thousands of people. But I wonder how many leave the Church or become inactive because they haven't been able to find anyone with whom they could really talk.

Some of us in western Washington decided, therefore, to locate other readers of such publications as DIALOGUE so that we could support each other and help spread their circulation to the many who could benefit from them. With this in mind, I recently asked for subscriber lists from DIALOGUE and *Sunstone* and invited readers in the Seattle area to form a discussion group. We have agreed upon the following statement of objectives:

1. To discuss in-depth topics that relate to the gospel, the modern Church, and to Mormon culture.

2. To provide a forum where thoughtful questions are encouraged rather than suppressed and to cultivate an atmosphere where members feel free to say what they think and feel without fear of recrimination.

3. To form new and supportive friendships among people of similar mindsets and

to greet each other as equals, regardless of ecclesiastical rank or title.

4. To share knowledge and expertise, particularly on the more troubling aspects of our religion, in the hopes that we may help one another.

5. To serve as a means of helping some reconsider who may have withdrawn from activity and belief in the Church by realizing that there are others who also struggle in some ways but who have chosen to follow a course of faith and activity for sound reasons.

6. To help spread such publications as DIALOGUE and *Sunstone* and to help give them the legitimacy in the Church they deserve.

7. To do all of the above through the guidance of the Holy Spirit and with the objective of building knowledge and strengthening faith.

So far our successes have been moderate but steady, and we continue to grow in numbers.

Patrick L. McKenzie
Bellevue, Washington

Von Däniken Correction

In the third paragraph of my review of Erich Von Däniken's *Strategie der Götter und Das Achte Weltwunder* (Winter 1983), is one sentence: "In previous European books dealing with pre-Columbian archeology, he briefly mentioned the Book of Mormon, but only to deny its claim as a historical record." The books in question are not Von Däniken's but those of other authors.

The sentence should read: "In previous European books dealing with pre-Columbian archeology, the Book of Mormon was only briefly mentioned, but only to deny its claim as a historical record."

Peter C. Nadig
Duisburg, West Germany

Service for LDS Choirs

The Foundation for Sacred Art Music was established in 1980 to publish choral music for LDS worship services drawn from the great musical literature of the past. To date, composers represented include Palestrina, Charpentier, Mozart, Schubert, and Pittoni, with texts consonant with LDS doctrine. Most of the works now available are designed for Christmas and Easter services, although individual movements are appropriate for any occasion which requires sacred music. All of the works are within the musical ability of most ward choirs. Parts for a small musical ensemble are also available for most works.

To receive a list of publications, examination copies of particular works, or to support the endeavors of the Foundation, write to Ruth Stanfield Rees, editor, The Foundation for Sacred Art Music, 10316 Cheviot Drive, Los Angeles, California 90064, (213) 202-8057.

Call for Papers Association for Mormon Letters

Candadai Seshachari, chair of the program committee for the 1985 annual symposium, invites proposals or abstracts on any topic related to Mormon letters. The deadline for proposals/abstracts is 15 September 1984. If the proposal is approved, the completed paper will be due by 5 January 1985. Send proposals/abstracts to Candadai Seshachari, 4763 Monroe Blvd., Ogden, UT 84403. The annual symposium will be held on 19 January 1985, in Salt Lake City. For membership information, write Stephen Sondrup, 1346 S. 1800 E., Salt Lake City, UT 84108.

From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure

D. Michael Quinn

In more than 150 years, Mormonism has experienced a series of interrelated and crucial transitions, even transformations. This study describes five of these linked transitions as individualism to corporate dynasticism, authoritarian democracy to authoritarian oligarchy, theocracy to bureaucracy, communitarianism to capitalism, and neocracy to gerontocracy.

These changes in Mormonism, headquartered at Salt Lake City, are particularly important to understand in view of the demographic significance of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. At present, the LDS population is 5.5 million, and membership is doubling every fifteen years. The LDS Church is the largest religious organization in the states of Utah and Idaho, the second largest in Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming, the third largest in Alaska and Montana, the fourth largest in New Mexico, the fifth largest in Colorado, and the fifth largest separate religious organization in the United States as a whole. Even outside the United States itself, Mormon demographics are important: the LDS Church is the fourth largest in Tonga and Samoa, and has growing significance in Latin America and elsewhere.[1]

In June 1830, a Protestant minister of Fayette, New York, observed with alarm the organization and growth of Joseph Smith's new church within his own parish. After estimating that the "Mormonites" had converted between

D. MICHAEL QUINN is professor of American history at Brigham Young University. *This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association in May 1980, Canandaigua, New York. Commentator James G. Clawson gave suggestions for expanding the paper to include perspectives from current organizational theory. Due to the limited space of an essay, these revisions and expansions will appear in the book-length study for which this paper is only a partial overview, but the discussion and examples have been updated to 1984.*

[1] *Deseret News 1984 Church Almanac; World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1984*, pp. 350–51, 544, 580; Bernard Quinn, et al., *Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1980* (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 1982), pp. 10–11, 13–14, 18–21, 23, 25, 26, 27; *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1981 ed., 24:180.

5 and 7 percent of the township's total population in the space of only three months, he found one solace: "Past centuries have also had their religious monstrosities, but where are they now? Where are the sects of Nicolaites, Ebionites, Nasoreans, Montanites, Paulicians, and such others which the Christian churches call fables. They have dissolved into the ocean of the past and have been given the stamp of oblivion. The Mormonites, and hopefully soon, will also share that fate." [2] Reports of Mormonism's death, to paraphrase Mark Twain, have been greatly exaggerated, but the nature of Mormonism's change through growth has been underestimated.

One of the earliest transitions centered on the question of individualism. Although the various manuscript accounts of Joseph Smith's visionary experiences with Deity contain some differences of emphasis and detail, they agree on one essential: the Sacred Grove was not a shared experience — it was solitary, supranatural, and not subject to verification by independent witness or analysis. The Sacred Grove of Joseph Smith's experience did not contain nor imply a church, a community, and certainly not an ecclesiastical hierarchy.[3] Until 1830, Mormonism was an individual with a vision of himself and his relationship to God and God's revelation to him through angels, the Bible, and emerging new scriptures. This was so even though that one individual moved in a circle

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[2] D. Michael Quinn, trans., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (July 1973): 331.

[3] For texts of the various recitals of the First Vision by Joseph Smith himself and of early second-hand accounts of it, see Paul R. Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts Relating Joseph Smith's Early Visions" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965); Dean C. Jessee, "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 275–94; Jessee, "How Lovely Was the Morning," DIALOGUE 6 (Spring 1971): 87; Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: The First Vision in Its Historical Context* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), pp. 155–77; Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), pp. 5–6, 75–76, 199–200, 213, 666. In addition, scholarly analyses of the significance of the First Vision have appeared in (chronologically) Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Knopf, 1945), pp. 21–25; James B. Allen, "The Significance of Joseph Smith's 'First Vision' in Mormon Thought, DIALOGUE 1 (Autumn 1966): 29–45; Wesley P. Walters, "New Light on Mormon Origins From the Palmyra Revival," DIALOGUE 4 (Spring 1969): 60–81; Richard L. Bushman, "The First Vision Story Revived," DIALOGUE 4 (Spring 1969): 82–92; James B. Allen, "Eight Contemporary Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision: What Do We Learn From Them?" *Improvement Era* 73 (April 1970): 4–13; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 1971 rev. ed., pp. 405–12; Marvin S. Hill, "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," DIALOGUE 7 (Winter 1972): 78–80; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1977), 41–54; Marvin S. Hill, "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision and Its Impact in the Shaping of Early Mormonism," DIALOGUE 12 (Spring 1979): 90–99; Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), 1–44; and Marvin S. Hill, "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," DIALOGUE 15 (Summer 1982): 31–46. None of these interpreters has explicitly stated the interpretation here presented of the First Vision as it relates to the organization of the LDS Church. To acknowledge that there was no provision for an organization of a church in any account of the First Vision counters the hostile interpretations of Brodie and Walters that the First Vision was "evolutionary fantasy" or after-the-fact explanations of Mormonism. Marvin Hill is engaging in anachronistic interpretation, unsupported by the contemporary vision accounts, when he writes, "The vision informed Joseph Smith that none was right and that the true church would have to be restored" ("A Note," p. 95). Donna Hill (p. 105) comes closest to my interpretation by stating, "To the converts, Joseph's Church was not only based upon the *Book of Mormon*, but the book was its reason for having come into existence."

of other individuals with their own experiences, visions, revelations, and confirmations that had been triggered through personal or vicarious contact with him.

In a narrow sense, that same process continues to the present in Mormonism, but it does so through the structure of a church organization, which did not exist for several years of Mormonism's gestation period. Joseph Smith said his First Vision occurred in 1820, yet in the 1970s there were no massive sesquicentennial celebrations of that event or of any of the other events of Mormonism during its nonchurch existence, when it was revelation, doctrine, testimony, conversion, priesthood, and saving ordinance, but not structure. By contrast, 1980 witnessed extensive publicity and celebration of the Church's 150th anniversary.[4] Because structure is a central issue of Mormonism, this paper gives priority to administrative power rather than doctrine and personal conversion.

Although Joseph Smith, Jr., was proclaimed a prophet, seer, and revelator when he organized a new Church of Christ on 6 April 1830 in New York State, the Mormon hierarchy as an institution of leadership can be dated from 8 March 1832, when Joseph Smith ordained two men, Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon, to be his counselors in presiding over the Church with its few hundred members.[5] It is this jurisdiction over the whole membership of the Church that distinguishes the Mormon hierarchy from other officers with subordinate jurisdiction who had functioned from the first day of the new Church's existence. By the mid-1830s these men were termed "General Authorities"; and from 1832 to 1932, a total of 124 men served in that capacity. About 100 more General Authorities have served in the hierarchy since 1932.

By 1835, all of the officers and councils of officers (called "quorums") existed in the Mormon Church as they have down to the present; but the jurisdiction of Church officers in 1835 was very different from what it is today and, in fact, from what it was when the founding prophet died in 1844. Figure 1 shows the jurisdiction of the Church as described in the revelation of 28 March 1835, known as section 107 in the Utah Doctrine and Covenants. By a process of slow evolution, Joseph Smith gave increasing responsibility and administrative powers to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, until by 1844 the Quorum of the Twelve was *de facto* the second most powerful body in the Mormon Church after the First Presidency.[6]

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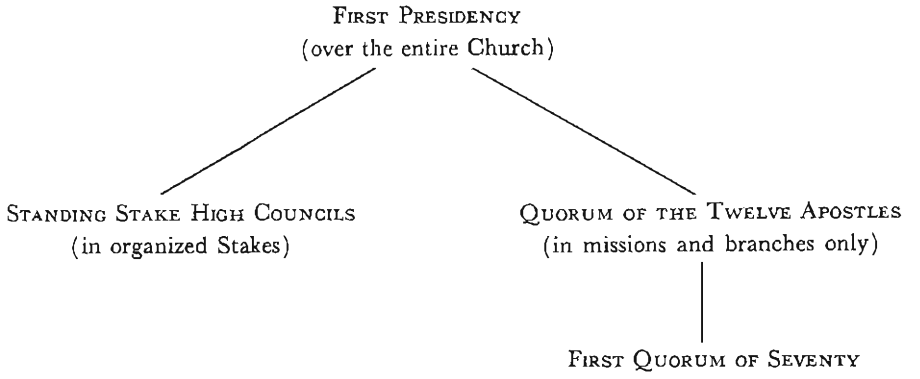
[4] For a quick comparison of the relative importance given by Church leaders to the two sesquicentennial occasions, see *Improvement Era* and *Deseret News Church Section* for 1970, particularly for April–July 1970, and compare with *Deseret News 1981 Church Almanac*, pp. 13–41, especially for 27 Oct. 1979, 1 Jan., 10 March, 26–28 March, 3 April, 5–7 April, 13 April, 13 June, 12 July, 19 July, 24 July, 2 Aug. 1980. Also see *Ensign* and *Deseret News Church Section* for 1980, particularly for January–July. A similar disparity occurred in the quiet observance of the centennial of the First Vision in 1920 compared to the dramatic publicity and celebrations of the centennial of the organization of the Church in 1930.

[5] D. Michael Quinn, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 23–25; Quinn, "Jesse Gause: Joseph Smith's Little-known Counselor," *BYU Studies* 23 (Fall 1983).

[6] T. Edgar Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve," *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds.

Figure 1

JURISDICTION OF PRIESTHOOD COUNCILS IN THE 1835 LDS CHURCH



Because Joseph Smith had provided too many precedents and possible authorities for avenues of succession to his office in the event of his death and because he had not published for the benefit of Church members a clearly stated outline of the order and precedence of presidential succession, there was a succession crisis following his death. For most members of the Church, this crisis was resolved permanently when several thousand Mormons voted on 8 August 1844 to accept the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles as the First Presidency of the Church. For other Latter-day Saints in 1844, the succession crisis was not resolved for as long as sixteen years later; and for still other Mormons of 1844 it was never resolved.[7] Several religious groups today continue to affirm the prophetic mission of Joseph Smith through different avenues of succession. By the time Mormon Church headquarters became Salt Lake City, the Quorum of the Twelve and its administratively autonomous First Presidency had clarified the jurisdictions of the hierarchy as shown in Figure 2.

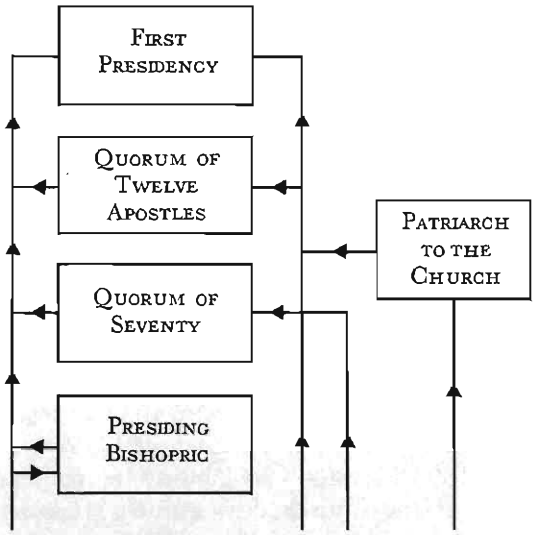
From the 1820s to the 1830s, Mormonism moved from being a collection of individuals whose equally valid personal revelations revolved around Joseph Smith's theophany to being a church membership with vaguely defined obligations to Joseph Smith as president and to his evolving hierarchy. It became necessary to establish a working relationship between the converted individual of Mormonism and the corporate structure of Mormonism. An immediate problem in the new Church was that individuals who had supranatural, revelatory experiences of their own could not see that these were in any way inferior to the theophanies and revelations of Joseph Smith. This view posed no threat to pre-1830 Mormonism, but it invited disaster to the newly restored Church

(Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1972), pp. 167–205; Quinn, "Evolution," 26–31; Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981).

[7] D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187–233; Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 301–41; D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," DIALOGUE 15 (Summer 1982): 69–92.

Figure 2

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
ORGANIZATIONAL DIAGRAM



Arrows point in direction of
higher authority and jurisdiction.

of Christ in which Joseph Smith was designated by revelation on 6 April 1830 as "*a* [not "*the*"] seer, a translator, [and] a prophet" (D&C 21:1; italics added).

Joseph Smith responded to the problem by dictating a revelation in February 1831 in which the Lord stated that only Joseph Smith and his successors could give commandments and revelations to the Church (D&C 43). A countervailing principle, however, had already been established in a revelation through Joseph Smith that "all things shall be done by common consent in the church, by much prayer and faith" (D&C 26:2). Religious autocracy in Mormonism was moderated by the requirement for the individual Mormon to obtain personal confirmation and to participate in group voting to accept or reject the propositions of the hierarchy.[8]

In the nineteenth century when Mormonism was most compact and cohesive as both church and society, the individual had tremendous leverage in challenging the decisions of the Mormon hierarchy, even at the most crucial administrative levels. In 1843, Joseph Smith instructed an assembled conference of thousands of Church members that he wanted them to vote against the continued presence of Sidney Rigdon as a counselor in the First Presidency. Instead, the assembled multitude voted to retain Rigdon in his position.[9]

[8] D. Michael Quinn, "Echoes and Foreshadowings: The Distinctiveness of the Mormon Community," *Sunstone* 3 (March/April 1978): 13–14.

[9] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), 6:49.

Joseph F. Smith as president of the Church in 1904, publicly informed non-Mormons that during the previous fifty years, Utah local members of the Church had frequently set aside administrative decisions of the General Authorities through the law of common consent. In one case, he said, President Young asked the ward membership to release their aging bishop, Jacob Weiler, and sustain a new bishop, "but when the proposition was made to the people they voted it down; they preferred their old, trusted, and tried bishop, and voted down the proposition [presented to them by Brigham Young] to remove him and put in a new one." In another case, President Young presented a man to be the new president of a stake: "When his name was presented to the conference they voted him down; they rejected him; and of course that is a matter that pertains to the presidency of the church. They preside over all these matters, and it is their duty to install presidents of stakes. But President Young's proposition was voted down. The people were consulted as to their choice for president, and another man was chosen and sustained as the president of the stake, and not the one who was proposed by President Young." Similar examples occurred at other stake conferences of the Church presided over by members of the Quorum of the Twelve.[10] Even with a matter of such dramatic importance as the 1890 Manifesto prohibiting the continued practice of polygamy, the members of the Church demonstrated amazing public resistance to the propositions of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Contemporary diaries indicate that most of the thousands of persons in the Salt Lake Tabernacle refused to vote for or against the Manifesto when it was presented, and therefore the document was "sustained unanimously" only by the minority of the audience that voted at all.[11] This independence of the membership of the Church in regard to the dictates of the Church leaders was encouraged by the strong-willed and often-embattled President of the Church Brigham Young:

> Some may say, "Brethren, you who lead the Church, we have all confidence in you, we are not in the least afraid but what everything will go right under your superintendence; all the business matters will be transacted right; and if brother Brigham is satisfied with it, I am." I do not wish any Latter-day Saint in this world, nor in heaven, to be satisfied with anything I do, unless the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, the spirit of revelation, makes them satisfied.[12]

The popular vote against new stake presidents and bishops chosen previously by council meetings in Salt Lake City was apparently the reason the First

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[10] Testimony of President Joseph F. Smith and Apostle Francis M. Lyman in U.S. Senate, *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904–07), 1:355, 356, 474.

[11] Melvin Clarence Merrill, ed., *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family: Material obtained from the autobiography, diaries, and notes of Marriner Wood Merrill* . . . (N. pub.: By the author, 1937), p. 128, diary entry for 6 Oct. 1890; Thomas Broadbent Diary, p. 24, 6 Oct. 1890, in Miscellaneous Diaries and Journals, Volume 10, typescript, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

[12] *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855–1886), 3:45.

Presidency and Twelve addressed the question: "Shall the Priesthood nominate and the people accept, or shall the people nominate?" They concluded, "It is quite proper for the brethren before making appointments to consult with the local authorities and be sure to select men for position whom the people will be glad to sustain." George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, added, "If we try to force matters contrary to their will, a rebellion is apt to ensue. We should never over-reach our influence, or disaster will result." [13] In practice, this was accomplished by the visiting apostles convening a special priesthood meeting at which those present voted in secret ballot for the man they wanted as bishop or stake president, and the apostles typically selected the man who received the most votes.[14]

As the Mormon Church membership became more diffuse in the twentieth century, less cohesive geographically, and more significant internationally, the potentials for this limited democracy within authoritarian Mormonism seemed awesomely centrifugal, and there was a gradual diminishing of emphasis upon individual prerogative while authoritarianism increased. Nevertheless, for the first seven decades of the twentieth century, the three highest echelons of the Mormon hierarchy contained prominent spokesmen for the importance of individual prerogative. In the early 1900s, B. H. Roberts of the First Council of Seventy publicly criticized his ecclesiastical superiors; and from 1921 to 1953, the Quorum of the Twelve's most noted "intellectual" was John A. Widtsoe, who could publish a series of meditations on gospel questions that included the following statement about sustaining votes: ". . . but the men and women thus nominated must be confirmed by the people. Without such confirmation the nominees cannot act, and other choices must be made, as has occasionally happened. . . . Every person may vote freely, for or against a name; and should do so according to his convictions. The voting is not a perfunctory act, but one of great importance." [15] Moreover, Hugh B. Brown, in the last year of his service as a counselor in the First Presidency, told the youth of the Church at Brigham Young University, "We are not so much concerned whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall have thoughts," and on another occasion defined Church loyalty in this manner: "While all members should respect, support, and heed the teachings of the Authorities of the Church, no one should accept a statement and base his testimony upon it, no matter who makes it, until he has, under mature examination, found it to be true and worthwhile; then his logical deductions may be confirmed by the spirit of revelation to his spirit because real conversion must come from within." [16]

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[13] Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 1 Oct. 1891, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[14] Ibid., 20 June 1891; Marriner W. Merrill Diary, 23 April 1900.

[15] John A. Widtsoe, *Gospel Interpretations: More Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), pp. 67–68.

[16] B. H. Roberts letter published in *Salt Lake Herald*, 7 May 1908; Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), pp. 271–72; "Pres. Brown Addresses BYU," *Deseret News Church Section*, 24 May 1969, p. 13; see Hugh B. Brown, "An Eternal Quest: Freedom of the Mind," DIALOGUE 17 (Spring 1984): 77–83; Hugh B. Brown, "Testimony," *Relief Society Magazine* 56 (Oct. 1969): 724.

After 1969, the office of the Church president was filled, first by doctrinaire theologian Joseph Fielding Smith, and then by rigorous administrator Harold B. Lee. Their brief presidential terms seemed to coincide with a rapid end to the institutional support previously expressed about the need for both individualism and authority.

With momentum gradually building to a new orthodoxy, members of the Mormon hierarchy began instructing the Latter-day Saints publicly that "sustaining votes" indicated whether the individual was accepting the Lord's will and reflected upon the person casting the negative vote rather than upon the person being voted against. For example, in April Conference 1972, a General Authority explained: "To sustain is to make the action binding on ourselves and to commit ourselves to support those people whom we have sustained. . . . If for any reason we have a difficult time sustaining those in office, then we are to go to our local priesthood leaders and discuss the issue with them and seek their help." Two years later, an article by a Brigham Young University professor of religion in an official Church magazine explained that a person needs help who has voted against an officer who is presented for sustaining vote because "he has placed himself in opposition to those who have been called to positions of responsibility in the Lord's Church." [17] Despite their acknowledged preference for willing obedience, the earlier authorities sought to maintain a balance between the prerogatives of freedom for the individual and the necessities of obedience for the institution. Recent General Authorities have shifted the weight of emphasis from one side of the balance to the other.[18]

In this respect, Mormonism can be seen to have changed from an authoritarian democracy to an authoritarian oligarchy. In the earlier years of Mormonism, an overt tension, officially encouraged by the hierarchy, kept a balance between individual prerogative and authoritarian decree. In contemporary Mormonism, the trend is definitely toward an insistence upon unexamined obedience, with the assumption that any tension will be felt only by the marginal member of the Church. This transition is not peculiar to Mormonism, but is a manifestation of the "Iron Law of Oligarchy" as defined by German sociologist Robert Michels in 1911. No matter how democratic in philosophy a movement may be and no matter how idealistic its leaders may be, Michels observed:

> . . . every system of leadership is incompatible with the most essential postulates of democracy. . . . It is organization which gives birth to the dominion of the elected over the electors, of the mandatories over the mandators, of the delegates over the

[17] Loren C. Dunn, "We Are Called of God," *Ensign* 2 (July 1972): 43; Alma P. Burton, "All in Favor, Please Signify!" *Ensign* 4 (March 1974): 16.

[18] The *Ensign* since 1970 contains numerous references by General Authorities to conference addresses as "marching orders." E.g., Carlos E. Asay, "Look to God and Live," *Ensign* 8 (Nov. 1978): 54. Representative examples of sermons by General Authorities who emphasize the traditional message of obedience to Church authority without the previously traditional emphasis upon the importance of individuality are Spencer W. Kimball, "Listen to the Prophets," *Ensign* 8 (May 1978): 76–78; "Pres. Benson Outlines Way to Follow Prophet," *Deseret News Church Section*, 1 March 1980, p. 14; N. Eldon Tanner, "The Debate Is Over," *Ensign* 9 (Aug. 1979): 2–3.

> delegators. Who says organization, says oligarchy. . . . Large-scale organizations give their officers a near monopoly of power.[19]

Because the Mormon Church was organized and authoritarian from the day of its inception in 1830, no one should be surprised at the dissipation of Mormonism's democratic undercurrents.

Other tensions developed within the central oligarchy of Mormonism, the five presiding quorums of the Church, which have been designated here as the Mormon hierarchy. The revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants established broad areas of jurisdiction for these bodies of General Authorities, yet inevitable jurisdictional conflicts have surfaced periodically in the last 150 years. These conflicts did not constitute apostasy, but instead involved administrative tensions between faithful and devoted General Authorities.[20]

A persistent area of tension, redefinition, and adjustment has involved the financial role of the First Presidency and the financial role of the Presiding Bishopric of the Church. Every few years from the 1830s nearly to the present, the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve have concluded that the Presiding Bishopric was administering things that were the financial prerogative of the First Presidency. There would be an adjustment and redefinition circumscribing the financial responsibilities of the Presiding Bishopric; and then, in the next few years or decades by a slow process of accretion, the Presiding Bishopric's primary mission of "temporal" administration overlapped and sometimes seemed to subordinate the financial role of the First Presidency to the extent that another consultation-adjustment-redefinition occurred. The cycle has been a persistent one.

Another area of tension centered on the size and implications of jurisdiction in the office of Presiding Patriarch. The Presiding Patriarch was the only quorum of the hierarchy consisting of a single person, and the prestige of that office was heightened by the fact that the Patriarch to the Church was sustained as a prophet, seer, and revelator, as were the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The Presidency and Quorum during much of the nineteenth century were haunted by the memory of William Smith, the Prophet's last surviving brother, who insisted almost as soon as he was ordained Presiding Patriarch in 1845 that the office made him President of the Church in the absence of an organized First Presidency. Whenever a Patriarch to the Church after 1845 tried to magnify his presiding office, the Twelve and Presidency recoiled in apprehension that a vigorous Patriarch to the Church might wield too much authority and dare to challenge the automatic apostolic succession that has existed since 1844. But when individual Patriarchs to the Church after 1845 seemed to lack administrative vigor, the Quorum and Presidency criticized them for not magnifying their office. Essentially the situation was unresolvable, until 1979 when the First Presidency and Quorum of the

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[19] Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, Eden and Cedar Paul, trans. (New York: The Free Press, 1972), pp. 364–65, 16.

[20] Unless otherwise noted, this discussion comes from my "Jurisdictional Conflicts in the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932," seminar paper, Yale University, 1974.

Twelve Apostles announced that the existence of organized stakes, each with a stake patriarch, throughout most of the areas of the world where Mormons resided, removed the necessity for the office of the Patriarch to the entire Church. When the incumbent Patriarch to the Church was retired and given emeritus status without the appointment of a successor, the hierarchy resolved more than 130 years of tension.

The situation of the First Quorum of the Seventy was similar but at the opposite end of the size spectrum. At its full complement of seventy men, the Quorum of Seventy was almost five times larger than the combined size of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Doctrine and Covenants specified (without clarification) that the full Quorum of Seventy is "equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or Apostles just named" (D&C 107:26). This posed disturbing possibilities when Joseph Smith's death removed the apex of the hierarchy — the First Presidency — and left the Quorum of the Twelve and the full Quorum of Seventy. Even after the conference of August 1844 accepted the Quorum of Twelve as the acting Presidency of the Church, the Apostles seemed dwarfed administratively by the First Quorum of Seventy which was six times larger than the Quorum of Twelve and which had a revealed, but unexplained, equivalence of authority with the Twelve. In September 1844 Brigham Young simply vacated the First Quorum of Seventy by removing its subordinate sixty-three members to serve as presidents of sixty-three local quorums of Seventy. This action shifted the ambiguity of D&C 107:26 from a practical administrative problem to merely a theoretical one, and Brigham Young's act amounted to removing a possible rival to the supremacy of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

This left the first seven presidents of the First Quorum to serve in the anomalous position of the First Council of Seventy, without a quorum in existence over which they were the technical presidents. In the 1880s, the 1920s, the 1930s, and the 1940s, the First Council of Seventy, asked the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve to organize the full First Quorum of Seventy so that the First Council would have its own quorum as provided by the revelations. The Presidency and Quorum refused because of the unknown potentials of administrative difficulties in restoring to existence a mammoth body of administrators who might be led to challenge the prerogatives of administrative supremacy that have always existed in the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve.[21]

Only the enormous growth of Church population in the 1960s and 1970s made it seem necessary to increase the number of General Authorities by beginning to fill up the First Quorum of Seventy in October 1975. The First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve adopted four policies, however, as insurance against an unwanted assertiveness of the First Quorum of Seventy. In October 1976, they began rotating the seven presidents of the Quorum of Seventy back into the general membership, and in September 1978 they established an emeritus status for General Authorities by retiring seven older members of the

[21] See also William G. Hartley, "The Seventies in the 1880s: Revelations and Reorganizing," DIALOGUE 16 (Spring 1983): 79–83.

Seventy (six of whom were *younger* than some members of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve at the time). In April 1984, the First Presidency also announced that new appointees to the Quorum of Seventy would serve for less than ten-year periods, at the same time affirming that calls to the Quorum of Twelve were for life tenure. These unprecedented alterations have made it virtually impossible for men within the First Quorum of Seventy to develop the seniority and continuity of leadership necessary to project the semi-autonomy implied in the Doctrine and Covenants and traditionally feared by the uppermost echelons. The fourth policy has been implemented at the local level and further diminishes the ecclesiastical status of the First Quorum of Seventy: contrary to 150 years of precedent, Church headquarters has now instructed local leaders that the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve are the only echelons of the General Authorities to be presented for sustaining vote of the membership of the Church in local conferences.[22]

The final tension within the Mormon hierarchy is the most significant because it exists between the two policy-making bodies of the Church: the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Since 1847, the First Presidency has always been created by the Quorum of the Twelve, and therefore the Presidency has conducted its direction of the Church with the advice and consent of the Twelve. Difficulties have arisen when apostles have concluded that the First Presidency or the President of the Church himself has acted too independently of that advice, consent, or even knowledge of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Although these administrative tensions between the organized First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles have often surfaced and been resolved in the space of a single meeting, day, week, or month, there have been occasions of prolonged, unresolved tensions. For example, the three periods in which the Quorum of the Twelve allowed the First Presidency to go unorganized (1844–47, 1877–80, 1887–89) resulted from the unwillingness of at least a portion of the apostles to organize a First Presidency they feared would ignore the Quorum of the Twelve in the decision-making process. In one case, there was a ten-year administrative impasse between the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, from 1932 to 1942, on the question of the man to be appointed as Patriarch to the Church. The Quorum of the Twelve had voted to recommend one man for the office and the First Presidency had recommended another. Neither side was willing to retreat from its position for a decade, and the office of Presiding Patriarch remained vacant until the Quorum of the Twelve finally relented.

All of these tensions are manifestations of a universal inability for humans to exercise power of any kind without disruptions of personality or jurisdiction. A shared testimony, devotion, and love greatly reduce and moderate, but do

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[22] *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac; Deseret News* (8 April 1984): A-1. Up until about 1976 the preprinted list of General Authorities to be sustained at ward and stake conferences included all the authorities, but then Church headquarters began sending out preprinted sheets listing only the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, with instructions that the other presiding quorums were to be presented simply as "and all other General Authorities as now constituted," or words to that effect.

not eliminate, such tensions within the general quorums of the LDS Church.

As Mormonism changed from an individualistic movement to an increasingly organized church, the Mormon Church manifested in the composition of its General Authorities features of dynasticism and corporation. In the sense of dynasticism, family interrelationships became a social subsystem of the Mormon hierarchy by the mid-1830s. In the corporate sense, men were advanced as LDS General Authorities in conscious representation of significant ethnic populations within Church membership.

At the most obvious, the importance of family interrelationships can be seen in the fact that 23.6 percent of the men appointed to the Mormon hierarchy between 1832 and 1932 were sons of other General Authorities. Revelations dictated by Joseph Smith and subsequent pronouncements by his successors in office have indicated that men have the right (or at least the predisposition) to preside in the LDS Church by virtue of their familial lineage.[23] Although only the office of Presiding Patriarch was restricted to patrilineal succession, all other echelons of the Mormon hierarchy demonstrated intricate family interrelationships. Figure 3 shows in italic capitals the names of appointees from one extended family. In the Mormon hierarchy, relationships as distant as fifth and sixth cousin were recognized and honored, and the men often referred to one another as "kinsmen" or "cousins." [24]

Moreover, General Authorities used marriage to bring into the hierarchical family men who were unrelated by kinship, as well as to reinforce distant cousin relationships. For example, Joseph Smith married in polygamy the sister of his fourth cousin, Apostle Willard Richards, and contracted a similar marriage with the sister of Brigham Young (who was Joseph Smith's acknowledged sixth cousin). The marriage of children also aligned General Authorities to one another. For example, recent LDS President David O. McKay entered the hierarchy as an apostle in 1906 without being related by kinship or marriage to any other General Authority, yet in 1928 his son married the niece of Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, who was President McKay's successor in the presidency.

The historically dynastic character of the Mormon hierarchy is further indicated in Figure 4. Although the degree of kinship penetration was extensive for the entire hierarchy, it is also evident that familial relationships were most extensive within the most powerful echelons: the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. This study has not probed as extensively the familial relationships of the General Authorities since 1932, but it is my hypothesis that the degree of family interrelationships has remained high in the

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[23] D&C 68:21, 86:8, 107:39–52, 113:18; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 16 Feb. 1847, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives); John D. Lee, *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846–47 and 1859*, Charles Kelly, ed. (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1938), pp. 79–81; "A Family Meeting in Nauvoo," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (July 1920): 107–8.

[24] D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832–1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), p. 40.

Figure 3

PATRILINEAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE MORMON HIERARCHY, 1832–1932
FROM ONE EXTENDED FAMILY (YOUNG, RICHARDS, SMITH, AND LYMAN)

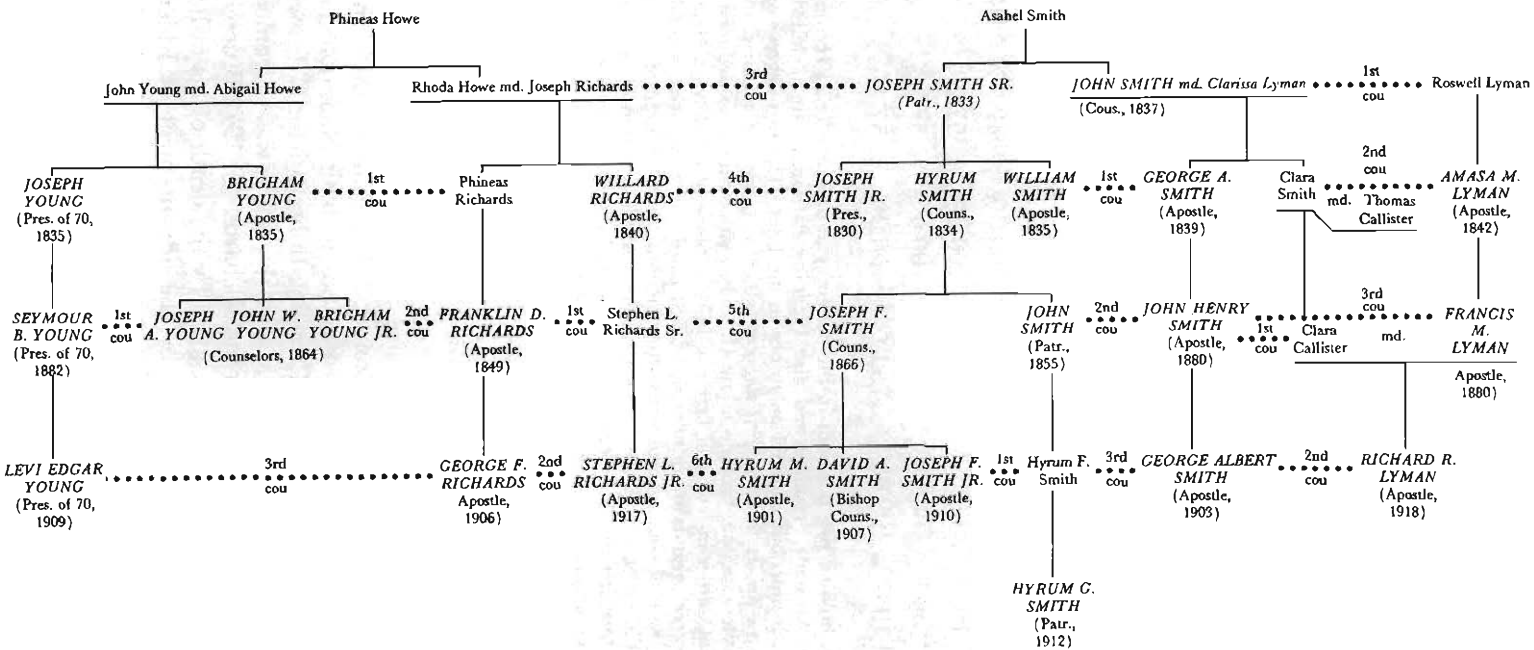

Figure 4

PERCENTAGE OF HIERARCHY RELATED WITHIN SECOND DEGREE OF TOTAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS TO OTHER GENERAL AUTHORITIES, LIVING OR DEAD, 1832–1932†

Years	First Presidency	Quorum of Twelve	Presiding Patriarch	Council of Seventy	Presiding Bishopric	Total Hierarchy
April 1833	0.0%	*	*	*	*	0.0%
April 1844	75.0%	75.0%	100.0%	71.4%	*	70.8%
April 1855	100.0%	91.7%	100.0%	57.2%	0.0%	79.2%
April 1866	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	66.7%	96.6%
April 1877	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
April 1888	*	93.3%	100.0%	85.0%	100.0%	92.3%
April 1899	100.0%	75.0%	100.0%	42.9%	100.0%	73.1%
April 1910	66.7%	75.0%	100.0%	57.2%	66.7%	69.3%
April 1921	66.7%	66.7%	100.0%	57.2%	66.7%	65.4%
April 1932	100.0%	75.0%	100.0%	57.2%	66.7%	72.0%

† Men holding two positions in the hierarchy at one time (e.g., Hyrum Smith in April 1844, as Assistant President and also Presiding Patriarch) are included in the tabulation for each unit, but counted only once in the total. The two degrees of total family relationships are as follows: *first degree:* father, son, brother, nephew, uncle, first cousin, stepfather, stepson, brother-in-law (including situation where two men marry sisters), son-in-law, father-in-law, and first cousin or nephew of a wife of a General Authority; *second degree:* grandson, grandnephew, first cousin once removed, second cousin, grandnephew of wife of General Authority, the situation where children of the appointee have married children of one of the General Authorities, the situation of an appointee having married a former wife of a General Authority, and the situation in which the appointee's wife is a granddaughter of a General Authority.

* The hierarchical unit was not in existence on the date specified.

upper two quorums and has diminished greatly in the First Quorum of Seventy for reasons to be discussed later.

Surname differences obscure many of the family relationships that exist among recent General Authorities. For example, Marion D. Hanks of the Quorum of Seventy is fourth cousin to both N. Eldon Tanner, formerly of the First Presidency, and to Presiding Bishop Victor L. Brown, who were themselves first cousins. In 1971 Marvin J. Ashton was welcomed into the Quorum of Twelve by his uncle LeGrand Richards. In 1972 Bruce R. McConkie filled the vacancy in the Twelve caused by the death of his father-in-law President Joseph Fielding Smith and by the advancement of Elder McConkie's first cousin once removed Marion G. Romney to counselor in the First Presidency. In 1981 Neal A. Maxwell filled the vacancy in the Twelve caused when his wife's first cousin once removed Gordon B. Hinckley became a counselor in the First Presidency. In the First Presidency of recent years, President Harold B. Lee's first wife was a first cousin once removed of his First Counselor N. Eldon

Tanner, and President Spencer W. Kimball's wife is a first cousin of his First Counselor Marion G. Romney.[25]

Much as a corporate board of directors represents significant minority blocks of stockholders, the appointment of General Authorities to represent significant ethnic populations of the LDS Church has continued from the 1830s to the present. As the American-born Mormons were supplemented by tens of thousands of Latter-day Saints from Canada and Great Britain, twelve Canadian and British General Authorities served from 1837 to 1938, and five from 1960 to the present. In the nineteenth century, the Scandinavians were the second most important ethnic group in Utah; and from 1862 to 1952 there was a Scandinavian seat among the General Authorities. The idea of ethnic representation was conscious as indicated in 1883 when the First Council of Seventy "met with the Twelve in the Council House to try and select a suitable Scandinavian brother to occupy Bro. Van Cott's place in our council." [26]

As the population of the international church has accelerated since the 1960s, the newly expanded Quorum of Seventy has become the vehicle for representing diverse ethnic and foreign populations of Mormons, rather than the tight-knit Quorum of the Twelve Apostles which had non-American members from 1838 to 1975. Since that latter year, the following ethnic and non-American populations have become represented by appointments to the Quorum of Seventy: the Hawaiians with Adney Y. Komatsu, the French and Belgians with Charles A. Didier, the Navajos with George P. Lee, the Dutch with Jacob deJager, the Germans with F. Enzio Busche, the Japanese with Yoshihiko Kikuchi, the English with Derek A. Cuthbert, the Canadians with Ted E. Brewerton, and the Latin Americans with Angel Abrea.[27]

Of course, the result of this representation of American ethnics and non-Americans in the First Quorum of Seventy will be to diminish still further the family interrelatedness of the Seventy. This is being compensated for by also advancing to the Seventy's Quorum men who are descendants of former Church presidents and apostles (e.g., M. Russell Ballard, who is a grandson of Apostles Hyrum M. Smith and Melvin J. Ballard and a great-grandson of President Joseph F. Smith) or by advancing men whose wives are similarly descended (e.g., G. Homer Durham, whose wife is a daughter of Apostle John A. Widtsoe and a great-granddaughter of Brigham Young).[28]

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[25] George S. Tanner, *John Tanner and His Family* (Salt Lake City: John Tanner Family Association, 1974), 350–53; Doyle L. Green, "Elder Marvin J. Ashton," *Ensign* 2 (March 1972): 15; Lucile C. Tate, *LeGrand Richards: Beloved Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), p. 315; Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., and John J. Stewart, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1972), p. 209; Lura Redd, *The Utah Redds and Their Progenitors* (Salt Lake City: N. pub., 1973), pp. 483, 522; "Elder Gordon B. Hinckley Called to First Presidency, Elder Neal A. Maxwell to Quorum of Twelve," *Ensign* 11 (Sept. 1981): 72; Hinckley family records; *Descendants of Nathan Tanner (Sr.)* (Salt Lake City: Nathan Tanner Family Association, 1968), pp. 75, 78, 316, 434, 465; and Caroline Eyring Miner, *Miles Romney and Elizabeth Gaskell Romney and Family* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1978), pp. 163–64, 223–25.

[26] Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 14 April 1883.

[27] *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, pp. 81–87, 94–106.

[28] *The Descendants of Joseph F. Smith* (1838–1918) (Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1976), p. 95; "Elder G. Homer Durham," *Ensign* 7 (May 1977): 100; "Brigham Young Genealogy," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 11 (July 1920): 132.

For nearly fifty years, another obvious characteristic of the Mormon hierarchy was its theocratic nature. Nauvoo, Illinois, became the pattern for Mormon political hegemony, where Joseph Smith was president of the Church, trustee-in-trust for Church finances, almost sole real estate agent, mayor of the city, chief justice of the municipal court, lieutenant general of the militia at Nauvoo (which had under arms only 1,500 fewer men than the entire U.S. army at the time), and who just prior to his death was a candidate for the U.S. presidency. At the same time, other General Authorities constituted more than two-thirds of the Nauvoo City Council. The venomous anti-Mormon rage of Illinois's older residents is understandable since theocratic Nauvoo was the second largest city in the state and held the balance of power in every state election until the Mormons were driven out.

Once established in Utah, the Mormon hierarchy's political activity is demonstrated in part by Figure 5 showing General Authority membership in the Utah Territorial Legislature. In the legislature's powerful upper house, the hierarchy constituted nearly 77 percent of the membership in 1865. Even after the federal government's dogged attack on Mormon theocracy in the 1880s, the Mormon hierarchy was able to maintain a defiant persistence of public control of politics. This control was mirrored in the territory's capital, Salt Lake City, and in other areas of political significance to the hierarchy, where individual General Authorities were sent to oversee the political life.[29]

Beyond the obvious presence of the Mormon hierarchy in public office, the General Authorities were essentially able to create politics in their own image through giving instructions to obedient local leaders, who then passed on the word to local voters. Between the organization of Utah as a territory in 1850 and the arrival of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, with its influx of a

Figure 5

MORMON HIERARCHY IN UTAH TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE, 1851–1890

Year	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858
Council	38.5%	46.2%	38.5%	30.8%	38.5%	30.8%	46.2%	46.2%
House	20.0%	23.1%	28.0%	24.0%	11.5%	11.5%	15.4%	19.2%
Year	**1859**	**1860**	**1861**	**1862**	**1863**	**1864**	**1865**	**1866**
Council	53.8%	38.5%	53.8%	53.8%	69.2%	69.2%	76.9%	69.2%
House	8.3%	12.0%	12.0%	15.4%	19.2%	19.2%	19.2%	23.1%
Year	**1867**	**1868**	**1869**	**1870**	**1871**	**1872**	**1873**	**1874**
Council	69.2%	53.8%	53.8%	53.8%	53.8%	38.5%	38.5%	23.1%
House	23.1%	26.9%	23.1%	26.9%	26.9%	26.9%	26.9%	24.0%
Year	**1875**	**1876**	**1877**	**1878**	**1879**	**1880**	**1881**	**1882**
Council	23.1%	30.8%	30.8%	36.4%	36.4%	30.8%	30.8%	50.0%
House	24.0%	19.2%	19.2%	19.2%	19.2%	11.5%	11.5%	11.5%
Year	**1883**	**1884**	**1885**	**1886**	**1887**	**1888**	**1889**	**1890**
Council	50.0%	23.1%	23.1%	8.3%	8.3%	0	0	0
House	7.7%	0	0	4.2%	4.2%	0	4.2%	0

[29] Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy," pp. 158–187.

significant non-Mormon minority, the vote against candidates sponsored by the General Authorities was never more than 6 percent: in 1851 there were no contrary votes, in 1864 only .1 percent contrary, and in 1869 only 45 total votes against Church candidates out of 11,000 cast in the territory.[30]

However, when the Mormon hierarchy was forced in 1890 to surrender the symbol of Mormon distinctiveness — polygamy — that act was a prelude to the acceptance of political pluralism. Shortly before 1890, the First Presidency became convinced that the survival of Mormonism in the United States required the good favor of the Republican Party, and therefore (despite official statements of nonpartisanship) the First Presidency encouraged Republican members of the hierarchy to promote the GOP and tried to discourage Democratic members of the hierarchy from being so vocal. The preponderance of Republicans in the hierarchy is shown in Figure 6. These trends continued to the present, but often alienated those General Authorities and rank-and-file Mormons who campaigned and voted in defiance of subtle or open pressures of the Mormon hierarchy along particular political lines.[31]

Contemporary with the transitions in Mormon theocracy were economic developments that represented long tensions between communitarianism and capitalism within Mormonism and within its hierarchy. Although it is generally recognized that Joseph Smith's revelations commanded economic equality among the Latter-day Saints (epitomized in the United Order of Enoch and the Law of Consecration), it is less well known that other revelations indicated that God was willing for his Church leaders to be supported in their ministry and that there was divine authorization for these leaders to acquire and enjoy material wealth. (D&C 70:15–18) The General Authorities themselves felt the tension between these two imperatives, but the resolution with regard to the hierarchy's personal wealth tended more to the disparities of capi-

Figure 6

PERCENTAGE OF REPUBLICANS IN THE MORMON HIERARCHY AT ELECTION TIME, 1891–1931*

	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916	1921	1926	1931
All Hierarchy	60.0	50.0	61.5	57.7	65.4	65.4	61.5	65.4	60.0
First Presidency	100.0	100.0	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	0	33.3	0
Quorum of Twelve	50.0	60.0	83.3	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0
Presiding Patriarch	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Council of Seventy	66.7	28.6	42.9	42.9	42.9	42.9	42.9	42.9	28.6
Presiding Bishopric	0	0	0	0	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Out of necessity, this statistical chart maintains the national party identification for men who were basically apolitical despite affiliation with a particular national party. Moreover, from 1918 onward the president of the Church was a registered Democrat who had become a Republican in everything but name by 1931.

[30] Ronald Collett Jack, "Utah Territorial Politics: 1847–1876" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1970), pp. 69–70, 99, 101, 104, 106, 108, 110–11, 116–17.

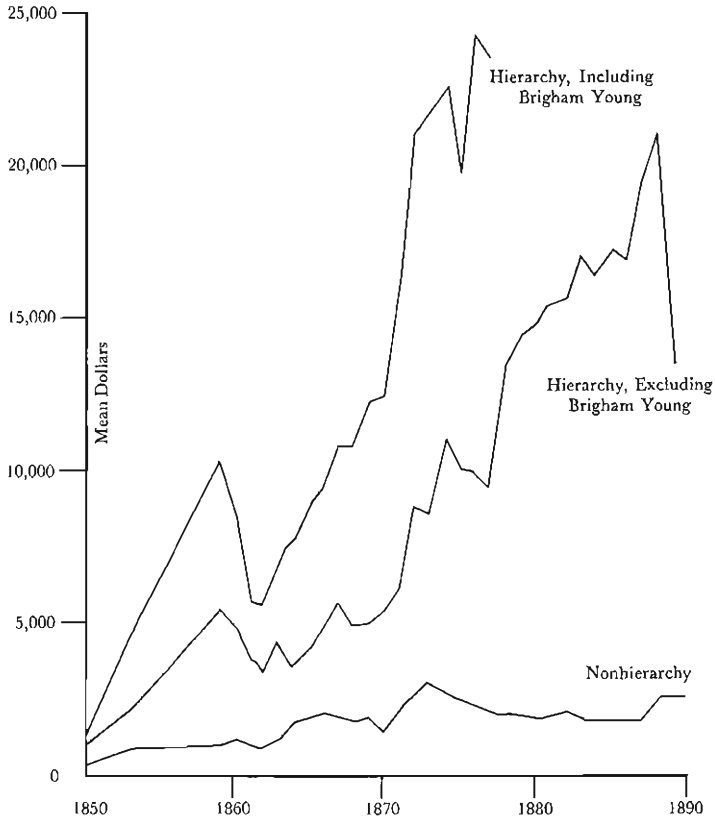
[31] Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy," pp. 228–66.

talism than the equalities of communitarianism (Figure 7). Within the hierarchy itself there were great differences of economic wealth of the echelons (Figure 8).

Wealth did not come automatically to the General Authorities by virtue of their position; and in fact it can be demonstrated that in the nineteenth century, the rate of economic growth for a new appointee tended to stagnate or even decline during the first years of service in the Mormon hierarchy. Nevertheless, a man's tenure as a General Authority increased his potential for wealth, particularly if he was given access to the institutional outlets of the Church for corporate business leadership (Figures 9 and 10). Wealth tended to correspond to the echelon of the hierarchy in which the man served but was also influenced by the talents and personal inclinations of the individual.[32]

Figure 7

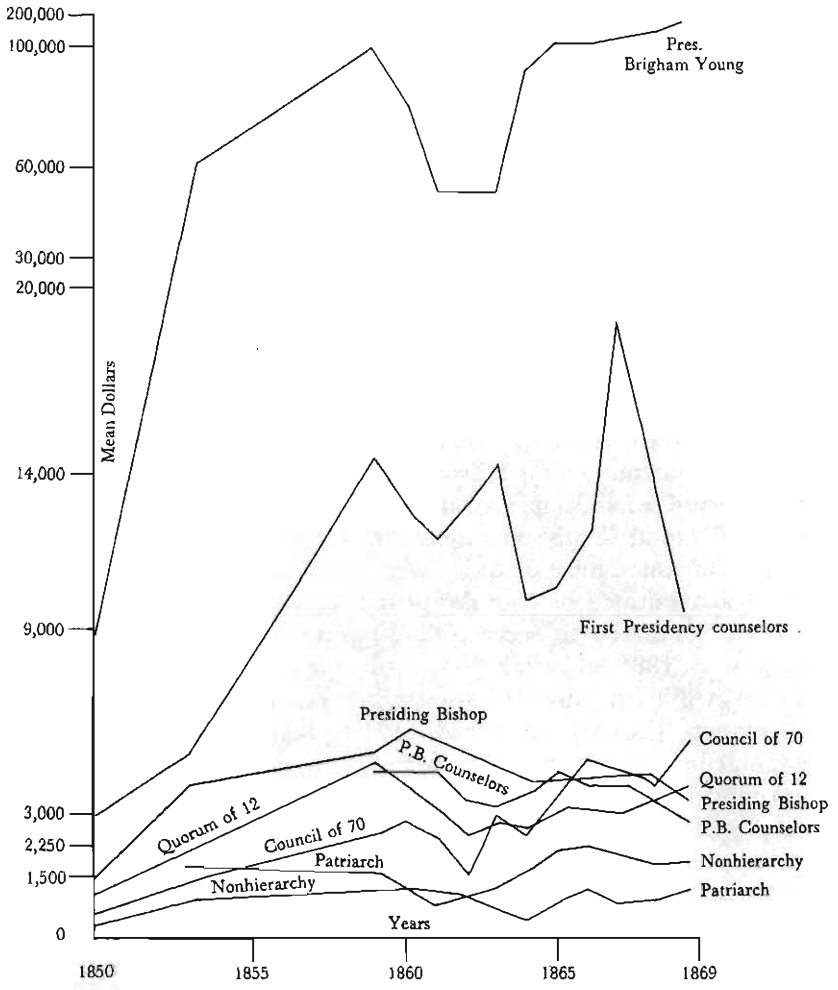
SALT LAKE COUNTY ASSESSED VALUATIONS, 1850–89



[32] Ibid., 81–157.

Figure 8

COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF THE HIERARCHY, 1850–69
SALT LAKE COUNTY ASSESSED PROPERTY VALUATIONS



As the Mormon hierarchy's political power was eroded by the U.S. government's campaign against Mormon theocracy, the hierarchy successfully and ironically retained its hegemony by adopting America's free enterprise system with a vengeance. When the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act was about to disincorporate the LDS Church and seize its assets, the President of the Church gave the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve *carte blanche* authority to engage in business enterprises. The Mormon hierarchy had been engaged in business enterprises since the days of Joseph Smith, but now the extent of this activity eclipsed all former efforts.[33]

[33] The data presented here on business activity are a brief review of ten years of research that is still in process.

Figure 9

NET WORTH OF DECEASED GENERAL AUTHORITIES, 1854–1913
(PER CAPITA)

President of the Church	$137,729.04
First Council of Seventy	89,480.93
First Presidency counselors	83,711.80
Presiding Bishop	52,961.52
Presiding Bishopric counselors	15,132.47
Quorum of Twelve Apostles	6,913.54
Patriarch to the Church	.....

Although the hierarchy was briefly involved in two banking institutions in 1837, from 1871 to 1932 General Authorities served as officers and directors of at least thirty-four banks and nearly forty other investment and mortgage companies. The hierarchy became involved in a utility company as early as 1845 but from 1872 to 1932 governed twenty-five utility companies. From the arrival of the transcontinental railroad in Utah in 1869 until 1932, General Authorities served as officers and directors of forty-six railroad companies. From the 1870s to 1932, the hierarchy directed the business affairs of eighty-five mining companies, most of which were involved in gold and silver mining. The Church inaugurated its own short-lived insurance company in 1871, and the hierarchy continued to serve eight insurance companies as officers and directors between 1886 and 1932.

Included within the diverse business interests of the Mormon hierarchy were newspapers, books, radio broadcast, telephone, telegraph, construction, brick manufacturing, dairy products, amusement parks, film companies, cemeteries and mortuaries, garment industry, hotels and apartments, irrigation and agricultural concerns, livestock, lumber, iron and steel production, manufacturing and merchandising, laundries, ice storage, warehouses, jewelry retailing, and real estate.

Figure 10

NET WORTH AT DEATH OF MEN WHO WERE GENERAL AUTHORITIES BEFORE 1932 AND DIED, 1914–72
(PER CAPITA)

President of the Church	$238,419.06
First Presidency counselors	83,365.75
First Council of Seventy	52,373.40
Presiding Bishop	.....
Presiding Bishopric counselors	.....
Quorum of Twelve Apostles	42,332.79
Patriarch to the Church	250.00

Many of these business enterprises were ill-founded and ephemeral, but others continued for decades, even to the present. Moreover, the LDS Church as an institution sometimes held strong minority stock or even majority stock in companies in which the General Authorities themselves were not represented in directorships or management.

The Mormon hierarchy's commitment to free enterprise and capitalism, in the twentieth century in particular, preserved the hierarchy's regional hegemony within the Great Basin of the American West, but it had far more important consequences for the Church as a whole. The commitment to religious capitalism removed Mormonism from being a pariah in America and enabled the Mormon Church to command respect and wield influence in the terms that Americans always have understood and admired. Mormons were no longer regarded as repulsive zealots but as the capitalists next door. The growth of Mormonism as an inward-directed community of communitarian ideals horrified nineteenth-century Americans and resulted in hostile legislation, but the hand-in-hand financial and population growth of the LDS Church as a worldwide institution intrigues twentieth-century Americans and has resulted in (often laudatory) articles in *Reader's Digest*, *Fortune*, *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Wall Street Journal*.

The concommitant financial and population growth of the LDS Church gave rise to the transformation of Mormonism from theocracy to bureaucracy. This was first manifested at the turn of the century when the General Authorities became the mainstays of the general boards that governed the various auxiliaries of the Church, and then headed various committees to oversee a welter of administrative functions and activities. Within several decades, the numbers of large committees and general boards had so increased that the General Authorities could no longer provide a significant portion of the membership of each one but were only represented as the most prestigious and powerful members of such boards and committees.

By the time the LDS Church completed its twenty-six-story administration building in Salt Lake City in 1972, the bureaucracy of the Church had become so large that there were too many major departments for each of the General Authorities to govern directly. In addition, there was a mitosis of committees and subcommittees, each of which was of interest to a hierarchy beginning to realize that the geometric population growth of the Church was reflected in a geometric growth of the bureaucracy. Now, the hierarchy would have to run to keep abreast of important developments that the momentum of the bureaucracy was creating.

The recent efforts of the hierarchy to maintain its formerly tight control over the administration of the Church and the Church bureaucracy have been directly related to the previously discussed emphasis on unquestioning rank-and-file obedience to Church directives. All these manifestations derive from the same source: an inherent fear of the centrifugal tendencies of enormous Church growth.

Less than two decades after World War II, two members of the First Presidency expressed deep concern about the effects of growth on the hierarchy.

J. Reuben Clark, Jr., a counselor in the First Presidency for more than twenty-eight years, predicted that the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve would increasingly have to make decisions about matters in which they had little or no training and experience and would therefore depend upon technically trained and experienced bureaucrats. The result, he feared, would be abdication by necessity of the hierarchy's decision-making in many areas in which technocrats would virtually make decisions that the General Authorities themselves could make only as counseled by the technocrats.[34]

David O. McKay, as president of the Church in the 1960s, believed that even those committees and departments of the Church bureaucracy presided over by General Authorities tended to diminish the importance of quorum decisions by the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. "Be careful that you do not take away from the constituted authority of the Church the divine right by ordination and by setting apart and leave that to some committee," President McKay warned the apostles. Then he added, "If we do that we will be running this Church by Committees, just as the Government has been running the country by Committees, and as it is being run now by Committees. You are the constituted Authority." [35]

A few current statistics indicate the extent to which the concerns of Presidents McKay and Clark may apply today. *The General Church Offices Telephone Directory, 1984* lists 2,971 employees in twenty-two departments.[36] Thus, excluding the paid employees of the regional arms of these departments and excluding the specialized paid-bureaucracies of Church functions (e.g., Brigham Young University), the LDS Church central bureaucracy at Salt Lake City has one employee for every 1,834 Latter-day Saints throughout the world. By contrast, the U.S. Federal Government statistics show that in the greater Washington, D.C., area alone there is one federal bureaucrat for every 726 persons of the total U.S. population, and that the number of federal white collar workers nationally is one federal bureaucrat per 108 persons of the total U.S. population.[37] But, unlike the federal government, the LDS Church func-

[34] D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), p. 106.

[35] David O. McKay, Diary, 22 Dec. 1960, LDS Church Archives.

[36] In addition to the staff of the five presiding quorums, the departments of the central bureaucracy are Auditing, Budget, Church Educational, Correlation, Curriculum, Finance and Records, Genealogical, Historical, Information Systems, International Mission, Investments, Materials Management, Missionary, Personnel, Physical Facilities, Presiding Bishopric Administrative Services, Presiding Bishopric International Offices, Priesthood, Public Communications, Security, Temple, and Welfare Services. For more information about the LDS bureaucracy, consult James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), pp. 595–608. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1980), pp. 262–94; Randall Hatch, "The Mormon Church: Managing the Lord's Work," *MBA*, June 1977, pp. 33–37; David J. Whittaker, "An Introduction to Mormon Administrative History," DIALOGUE 15 (Winter 1982): 14–19; and Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Battling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel," DIALOGUE 15 (Winter 1982): 69–78. The estimated ratio of bureaucrat-per Latter-day Saint is quite conservative in view of the fact that there are LDS bureaucracies not included in the roster of the General Church Offices: see Whittaker, "Introduction," p. 16.

[37] U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1984* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), p. 333, Table 536, "Paid Civilian Employ-

tions primarily through the unpaid services of a lay ministry of Church administrators (general, regional, and local). By adding the number of these unpaid Church administrators to the number of employees in the central Church bureaucracy, there is a ratio of one LDS Church bureaucrat/administrative officer per each 58 Latter-day Saints throughout the world.[38] The value judgment one attaches to these comparative data depends upon one's point of view, but the existence of a large bureaucracy in the LDS Church is one of the facts of Mormonism's present and future.

Nearly all of the transitions of Mormonism discussed up to now relate to a final transition: the transformation of Mormonism from a neocracy to a gerontocracy — from the rule of youthful as well as inexperienced leaders to the rule of leaders who are of advanced age and long administrative experience.

This transformation of Mormonism at one level is obvious. At his death in 1844, Joseph Smith was thirty-eight years old, after leading the Church for fourteen years. No president of the LDS Church in this century has been younger than sixty-two. Joseph Fielding Smith was ninety-three years old when he began his presidential service of two-and-a-half years in 1970, and Harold B. Lee was seventy-three years old at the beginning of his nearly eighteen-month presidency in 1972. President Spencer W. Kimball in 1984 is eighty-nine years old. The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had a mean age of about 28.5 years when Joseph Smith first ordained the men in 1835. Despite the death of two apostles, one age ninety-six and the other age eighty-three, the mean age of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles was 66.9 years in January 1984. The administrative realities of the age factor in the Mormon hierarchy are indicated by the opening sentence of *Newsweek*'s recent article about a very different leadership group: "Only in a gerontocracy could it be said of a leader of 69 that he died young." [39]

Because General Authorities have had life tenure throughout most of the history of the LDS Church, it was inevitable that even the twenty-year-olds in the hierarchy would grow old and infirm in Church service. The LDS Church's nineteenth-century emphasis upon a youthful hierarchy was best expressed by Brigham Young in April 1860 (when the mean age of the Quorum of the

ment in the Federal Government," excludes employees of the CIA, NSA, and temporary Christmas help of the U.S. Postal Service. The table lists 312,000 white collar employees of the Federal government for the greater Washington, D.C., area, and 2,092,000 white collar employees for the entire nation. This compares to the 1980 U.S. population of 226,545,805 (ibid., p. 6).

[38] *The Directory of General Authorities and Officers, 1984,* pp. 5–17, lists 56 General Authorities, 12 international area directors, 440 Regional Representatives, and 26 temple presidencies. According to Church headquarters, as of December 1983 total estimated Church membership was 5,450,000 residing in 1,458 stakes of the Church with 9,326 wards and 2,677 branches, and in 178 missions of the Church with 353 districts and 2,007 branches. From the foregoing, I arrived at the conservative estimate of 90,916 Church administrators on the basis of three per mission presidency, four per district (presidency and clerk), three per branch (rather than the ideal of president, two counselors, and clerk), five per ward (bishopric, clerk, and executive secretary), and nineteen per stake (presidency, clerk, executive secretary, twelve high councilmen, and two alternate high councilmen), and three per temple. Any active Latter-day Saint knows that the administrative officers of the above units are more numerous than the numbers I have assigned for this computation.

[39] *Newsweek,* 20 Feb. 1984, p. 34.

Twelve Apostles was 47.5 years): "The 12 are getting old now, and let others do the preaching abroad." [40] Brigham Young and every president of the Church until the death of Joseph F. Smith in 1918 responded to the graying of the hierarchy by choosing men under forty years of age for nearly 66 percent of the new appointments to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The subject of age and experience versus youth and inexperience was the specific question when a new apostle was chosen in 1859:

> O[rson] Pratt — "I would like to know on what principle men are to be selected: whether we are to suggest men of experience who have been tried and proven in many responsible positions, or those who are young, & have not been called to important trusts in the Church, or if any qualifications are needed."
>
> Pres. Y[oung] — "I will answer your question Bro. Pratt to my own satisfaction. If a man was suggested to me of good natural judgment, possessing no higher qualifications than faithfulness and humility enough to seek to the Lord for all his knowledge and who would trust in him for his strength I would prefer him in preference to the learned and tallented." [41]

In a period in which the Mormon Church was sending apostles on prolonged proselyting and colonizing missions and in a period of confrontation with government authorities, a continual renewal of the hierarchy with youthful appointees seemed absolutely necessary.

In 1918, Heber J. Grant became president of the Church. As an ardent businessman, he had realized even as a twenty-five-year-old apostle that business success and activity with non-Mormons were the means to win acceptance and protection for the growing Church. Heber J. Grant developed extensive business relations with non-Mormons throughout the nation, and in the process saw the success of the political and social transformation already described. As an apostle, Heber J. Grant tried to counter the negative image of Mormonism by carrying personal letters of recommendation from non-Mormon bankers and other influential businessmen of Salt Lake City, Chicago, San Francisco, and New York; and he later told a general conference of the Church, "There is nothing that so completely rebukes the falsehoods against our people" as the praise given to the LDS Church by non-Mormon millionaires. And President Grant always regarded the high point of his public relations effort as the occasion when he spoke to more than 300 businessmen at the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, "which I have been informed is the second greatest dinner club in the United States, the Gridiron of Washington standing first." [42]

The needs of Church leadership had changed; and to Heber J. Grant and his successors in the Presidency, it seemed obvious that the Church needed men seasoned in all fields, but especially in business experience, in the Quorum of

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[40] Brigham Young Office Journal, 11 April 1860, LDS Church Archives. The age calculation does not include thirty-three-year-old George Q. Cannon who was appointed an Apostle while on a mission, but was not ordained into the Quorum of Twelve Apostles until after April 1860.

[41] Historian's Office Journal, 23 October 1859, LDS Church Archives.

[42] *April 1927 Conference Report*, pp. 6–7; *October 1934 Conference Report*, p. 5; *April 1921 Conference Report*, p. 7.

the Twelve to insure the continued respect and cooperation of national leaders in the Church's financial, social, and demographic growth. Such business and administrative experience required greater age. Of the men advanced to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles since 1919, only one has been under forty years old; and even that man, Thomas S. Monson, had extensive experience as a young business leader and Church administrator. Therefore, contrary to a common wisdom, the increasing age of the Mormon hierarchy has not indicated a decline in the vitality of Mormonism but instead has reflected a transformation of the goals and methods of Church leadership.

Nevertheless, just as the enormous growth of the Church has brought other changes, it has also made the Mormon hierarchy acutely concerned with the disadvantages in a gerontocracy of even capable men. The elderly presidents of the Church have chosen their counselors from the Quorum of Twelve's complement of men also in their fifties to seventies. Although the experience of such counselors is invaluable to the Church President, that experience has often been handicapped by physical infirmities. During the 1940s, only J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency was well enough to conduct business in the First Presidency's office for months at a time; and for the last five years of his presidency, Heber J. Grant was unable to attend most of the important weekly meetings of the Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in the temple.[43] In more recent decades, there have been members of the First Presidency whom advancing age has rendered incapable of walking, talking, or seeing. Aside from the deep personal tragedy of such disability coming to men who have unselfishly devoted their lives to Church service, there is the administrative reality that under such conditions the General Authorities are even less able to keep control of the centrifugal tendencies of tremendous Church growth, and therefore they become even more reliant on a bureaucracy of trusted secretaries, administrators, and technocrats.

At the turn of the century, when Church membership was less than 230,000, John W. Taylor startled his fellow apostles with his blunt statement to the Davis (Utah) Stake Conference about the administrative problems involved in the leadership of an eighty-eight-year-old Church president, the oldest to serve up to that time: "He made some remarks which were scarcely proper concerning the mental and physical condition of Pres. Woodruff, who was unable, he said, to do the work of the Church without the help of his counselors, 'As well might a baby be placed at the head of the Church as Pres. Woodruff without the aid of Presidents Cannon and Smith.' " [44]

Because Spencer W. Kimball and his associates in the hierarchy became aware of the difficulties that faced the LDS Church from the combination of life tenure, gerontocracy, and mounting administrative pressures, in 1978 they instituted a retirement for General Authorities whereby men are given "emeritus" status and can thereby be replaced by relatively younger new General Authorities. Thus far, this retirement approach has been applied only to the

[43] Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, pp. 83–86, 90–91.

[44] Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 3 Dec. 1895.

lower echelons of the hierarchy. Retirement to emeritus status in the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles involves momentous questions of apostolic succession to the office of President of the Church. An emeritus status in either of those two highest quorums of the Church will indicate that the Mormon hierarchy has concluded that the enormous growth of the Church, which the president of the Church has described as the "greatest problem the Church faces," requires fundamental changes in the 150-year-old structure of the hierarchy itself.

The Sacred Grove of Joseph Smith's experience has a serenity that does not exist in a church of increasing growth, institutional proliferation, and fundamental transitions. If we are inside Mormonism looking back, we may yearn for the seeming stability of an earlier generation or an earlier century. If we are outside Mormonism looking in, we may marvel at what appears to be the establishment of a new world religion. Whatever our point of view, we cannot understand what we are presently experiencing or observing of Mormonism without a thoughtful look at the path that has led from the Sacred Grove.

Career Apostates: Reflections on the Works of Jerald and Sandra Tanner

Lawrence Foster

For more than two decades, Jerald and Sandra Tanner have devoted their lives to exposing and trying to destroy Mormonism. They have succeeded in upsetting Mormons of various persuasions, largely because of their abrasive writing style, a style which is most nearly reminiscent of FBI undercover agents reporting back to J. Edgar Hoover on the terrible continuing threat of the world-wide communist (read: Mormon) conspiracy. Yet the Tanners have been more than simply gadflies; in curious and often indirect ways, their work has also been a factor helping to stimulate serious Mormon historical writing. In addition to publishing many hard-to-find Mormon historical documents, their criticisms have highlighted issues that professional Mormon historians, operating from a very different perspective, have also sought to address.

Despite the importance of the Tanners in these and in other ways, to date I know of no fully convincing scholarly assessment of their activities and significance. Mormon scholars have tended to shy away from public discussion of this controversial topic; anti-Mormon supporters of the Tanners have produced little but uncritical praise; while non-Mormons who know anything about the Tanners have wondered what all the fuss was about.[1] As a non-

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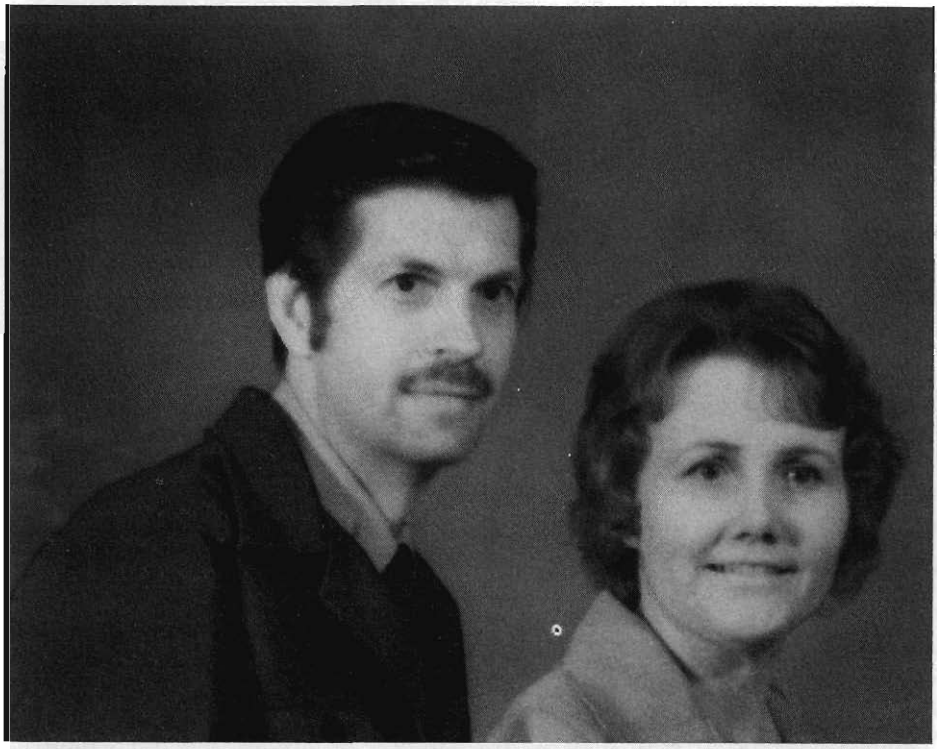
[1] Only two published critiques of the Tanners are worthy of scholarly attention. The most balanced assessment is Ian Barber, *What Mormonism Isn't* (Aukland, New Zealand: Pioneer Books, 1981), which unfortunately is largely unknown and virtually unobtainable in the United States. The best-known critique, by an anonymous "Latter-day Saint Historian,"



Mormon scholar who has spent nearly a decade of intensive work in Mormon history without becoming either Mormon or anti-Mormon, I believe that I am in a particularly advantageous position to suggest some new perspectives on the Tanners and to present a balanced analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their work.[2] On the one hand, I agree with many of the Tanners' criticisms of the inadequacies of much Mormon historical writing until recently. On the other hand, I am equally critical of the narrowminded Protestant fundamentalism which the Tanners have substituted for the Mormonism that they decry. The reflections which follow seek to raise a few of the many intriguing questions suggested by the life and work of these "career apostates" —

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is *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to MORMONISM — SHADOW OR REALITY?* (privately printed, 1977; reprint ed. Sandy, Utah: Mormon Miscellaneous, 1983). Jerald and Sandra Tanners' rejoinder to the anonymous critique appeared in both an original and an enlarged edition in 1978 as *Answering Dr. Clandestine: A Response to the Anonymous LDS Historian* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Company). The critique and its rejoinder are discussed in the text of this article. In their chief work, *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?* 4th ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Company, 1982), in the preface (unpaginated) and on pp. 369–369C, Jerald and Sandra Tanner discuss what they see as the inadequacies of the criticisms by Barber and by Robert L. Brown and Rosemary Brown, *They Lie in Wait to Deceive: A Study of Anti-Mormon Deception*, ed. Barbara Ellsworth (Mesa, Ariz.: Bownsworth, c1981). A relatively balanced journalistic account on the Tanners was presented by Wallace Turner in his *The Mormon Establishment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), pp. 154–63.

[2] For some of the scholarly and religious perspectives which have informed this analysis, see Lawrence Foster, "A Personal Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 16 (Autumn 1983): 87–98.

individuals who have devoted their lives to the task of trying to destroy a faith in which they once deeply believed.[3]

This article will investigate three main topics. The first has to do with the Tanners' sense of personal mission. Many people leave Mormonism; few devote their lives to trying to destroy it. What has made the break so profound and deep for the Tanners? A second issue concerns the historical significance of the Tanners. How has their research, publication of documents, and polemicism affected the development of serious Mormon historical studies? A final question concerns how the Tanners' activities and Mormon reactions may illuminate the development of the Latter-day Saint movement as a whole. Are the Tanners a purely idiosyncratic couple or do they reflect fundamental problems with which the Mormon movement must grapple if it is to become truly a world religion rather than an isolated sect from the Intermountain West?

I shall argue that the Tanners reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of the very Mormonism which, rather paradoxically, they are trying to destroy. Their life and work can tell us much about the dynamics of dissent in exclusivistic religious movements.

I

The distinctiveness and depth of the Tanners' sense of mission can best be understood by looking initially at the nature and scope of their activities since they first began producing literature critical of Mormonism in 1959. The most widely known apostates in Mormonism or in other religious movements usually make one dramatic break, produce one great exposé, or go on one major speaking tour before gradually sinking from sight or moving on to engage in other activities. Whether the break be basically idealistic in motivation, as in the case of a William Law or a T. B. H. Stenhouse, or primarily opportunistic, as in the case of a John C. Bennett or an Ann Eliza Webb, apostates seldom sustain a broadranging and historically valuable career of exposure over many years.[4] Similarly limited is the historical contribution of missionaries from other religious traditions who are devoting their lives to trying to convert Mormons to another faith. Such missionary anti-Mormons tend to be obviously self-serving, with little regard for history except as a polemical device to try to turn Mormons into Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, or members of some other tradition.

Jerald and Sandra Tanner's career is more complex than either the typical apostate or anti-Mormon patterns. Not only have they been unusually persistent and dedicated, producing a continuing stream of documents and polem-

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[3] The concept of the "career apostate" was developed with regard to the tenacious Shaker apostate Mary Dyer in Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* or *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*, pp. 51–54, based on research conducted in 1974. A précis for a paper applying the concept to Jerald and Sandra Tanner was written in 1975.

[4] For an incisive analysis of the role of dissidents and apostates in Mormonism, see Leonard J. Arrington, "Centrifugal Tendencies in Mormon History," in Truman G. Madsen and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *et al.*, *To the Glory of God: Mormon Essays on Great Issues* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972), pp. 165–77.

ical pieces, but the caliber of their writing has in recent years been higher than that typically found in this literature. The sheer volume of their writing is impressive. A recent bibliography which Scott Faulring prepared of their publications from 1959 through 1982 lists more than 200 items. These range from Jerald Tanner's first one-page broadside, *Does the Book of Mormon Teach Racial Prejudice?*, to their massive study, *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?*, with more than 600 closely argued pages. Reprints of Mormon historical and religious writings, important manuscripts, and anti-Mormon exposés comprise forty-four of their publications. And forty-nine of their items are polemical pieces of twenty pages or more which debate virtually every significant topic in Mormonism which has surfaced during the past two decades.[5] The Tanners were productive during the restrictive 1960s when primary Mormon historical publications were often difficult to secure; they continued to be active during the halcyon days of the more liberal 1970s which saw the great flowering of Mormon historical writing; and they show every indication of continuing their publication throughout the 1980s, at a time when serious Mormon scholarship has been forced increasingly on the defensive.

The roots of this extraordinary career lay in Jerald Tanner's early disillusionment with Mormonism. He had been reared as a Mormon who, in his words, "believed that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God and that I belonged to the only true church."[6] During his teens, however, he began to feel personally at loose ends and to question the inconsistencies in the historical record of Mormonism. His initial questioning in 1958 did not cause him to reject Mormonism entirely. Rather, he joined Pauline Hancock's group, headquartered in Missouri, which believed in the Book of Mormon but renounced nearly all other beliefs which distinguish Mormonism from fundamentalist Protestantism. Jerald began holding evening religious meetings in Salt Lake City, while learning to be a machinist during the day.

Sandra McGee entered the picture in 1959 when she attended one of the meetings that the nineteen-year-old Jerald was holding. Prior to that point, she had grown up as a fairly conventional Mormon in the Los Angeles area, al-

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[5] Scott Harry Faulring, "Bibliography of Modern Microfilm Company, 1959–1982," included in his 487-page "An Oral History of the Modern Microfilm Company, 1959–1982" (Oral History Project, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1983), is a key source for any serious work on the Tanners. In quotations from it here, punctuation has been standardized. A similar bibliography is also in preparation by H. Michael Marquart. Jerald and Sandra Tanners' own writings, cited in these bibliographies and throughout this paper, are the most important source for this analysis. Also of special interest is the transcript of the interviews with Sandra Tanner by Scott Faulring, conducted between 24 January 1981 and 5 March 1982, in "Oral History." The 317-page transcript, as corrected by Sandra Tanner, provides a thorough, year-by-year presentation of the Tanners' activities as they perceived them. Perhaps the best brief presentation of the concerns underlying the Tanners' work is found in the interview with Sandra Tanner by James Vincent D'Arc on 19 September 1972, included in Faulring's "Oral History," pp. 360–83. An interesting but misleading analysis which naively links the Tanners and professional Mormon historians is Richard Stephen Marshall, "The New Mormon History" (B.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1977). A nearly complete collection of the Tanners' writings, as well as the Faulring "Oral History," is available in the University of Utah Library Special Collections. I am grateful to the staff of the library for their help in researching this article.

[6] Tanner and Tanner, *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), p. 568.

though she had been independent-minded, questioning what she had been taught. When Sandra met Jerald in Salt Lake City, she was, as she put it, initially more interested in him than in his religion. "It seemed that the only way I was going to get him, though, was through his religion." [7] Two months after their first meeting, they were married.

From that point, their joint career gradually developed. Four months after their marriage, Sandra converted to evangelical Protestantism. The couple began putting out fliers, then pamphlets, books, and historical documents, explaining their position and trying to work through their own understanding of Mormonism and where it had gone wrong. From the very beginning, the Tanners' concerns were not simply doctrinal but also social. Jerald's fierce opposition to Mormon racism, for example, has been a recurrent motif throughout his career and has contributed to many of his most important researches into Mormon religious documents such as the Book of Abraham.[8] The Tanners' publication in 1961 of the complete edition of *A Book of Commandments* (1833), the earliest book of Joseph Smith's revelations, marked their first venture into making vital and hard-to-find Mormon historical and religious documents available to a larger audience. Much of the motivation behind such publication appears to have been the polemical one of embarrassing present-day Mormons by showing the inconsistencies and changes in Mormonism since its earliest years. The larger impact of such publication efforts, however, has been to help some Mormons become more aware of their rich heritage and to encourage scholarly attention to the fascinating early days of the Mormon movement.[9]

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[7] As quoted by Jack Houston, "The Jerald Tanners vs. Mormonism," *Power for Living*, 15 June 1970, p. 3.

[8] A recent presentation of the Tanners' attack on Mormon racism is in *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), pp. 262–93. Among the many writings on this topic published by the Tanners, see Jerald Tanner's three analyses *Does the Book of Mormon Teach Racial Prejudice?* (1959), *The Priesthood* (1962), and *Solving the Racial Problem in Utah* (1962); Mark E. Petersen, *Race Problems as they Effect the Church* (1963); Jerald Tanner, *The Negro in Mormon Theology* (1963); Jerald Tanner, *Will there be a Revelation Regarding the Negro?* (1963); and Jerald and Sandra Tanner's three studies *Joseph Smith's Curse upon the Negro* (1965), *The Negro in Mormon Theology* (1967), and *Mormons and Negroes* (1970). These publications are highly repetitious, but their sheer number suggests the importance that this topic has had for the Tanners.

[9] Several Mormon historians have told me that they are grateful that key published Mormon writings have been made available to a wider audience through the Tanners' reprints. Also see Marshall, "New Mormon History," p. 51. Among the Mormon printed and manuscript documents which the Tanners have made available are *A Book of Commandments* (1833); *The Times and Seasons* (6 vols.); *The Evening and Morning Star* (2 vols.); Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," in *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 219–40; *The Elders' Journal* (1837–38); *The Pearl of Great Price* (1851); *The Messenger and Advocate* (3 vols.); *The Millennial Star* (vols. 1–7); Lucy Smith, *Joseph Smith's History by his Mother* (1853); Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (1855); *Orson Pratt's Works; Pamphlets by Orson Pratt*; *Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*; *Orson Spencer's Letters* (1891); *The Millennial Star* (vol. 15); *Joseph Smith's Kirtland Revelation Book*; *Joseph Smith's 1832–34 Diary*; *Joseph Smith's 1835–36 Diary*; *Joseph Smith's 1838–39 Diaries*; *Lucy Smith's 1829 Letter*; and *Clayton's Secret Writings Uncovered — Extracts from the Diaries of Joseph Smith's Secretary William Clayton.*

In addition to Mormon religious or historical writings, the Tanners have printed many accounts by ex-Mormons, apostates, or others whose writings they view as damaging to the

Another important transition in the Tanners' career came in 1964 when Jerald quit his machinist job to devote his full time to their anti-Mormon publishing. That work has always been conducted on a shoestring and threatened with closing, due to Jerald's ill health and the recurrent shortages of funds. The Tanners carry on their publication activities from their large and somewhat ramshackle old house at 1350 South West Temple in Salt Lake City, across from the Derks Field Stadium, where they also maintain their bookstore. They named their organization the Modern Microfilm Company because of their initial short-lived use of microfilm, but they soon switched to the more convenient photo-offset process which they have used until the present. Also in 1964, the Tanners put out the first of more than fifty issues of their flier, the *Salt Lake City Messenger*, an occasional publication which for nearly twenty years has provided a fascinating, albeit polemical, perspective on the latest Mormon controversies, new discoveries in Mormon history, and the state of various anti-Mormon research and activities.[10]

Last but by no means least, 1964 also saw the first publication of the Tanners' major work, *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?* It had appeared previously in briefer form under another title and would later be enlarged in 1972 and 1982 for a final total of more than 600 pages.[11] *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?*, which has sold some 50,000 copies to date in its various editions and its 1980 abridgment, incorporates the Tanners' most important research, discoveries, and allegations which have appeared in their other publications.[12] The 1980 abridgment of the book, entitled *The Changing World of Mormonism*, was published by the Moody Press in Chicago, suggesting a

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Church. These include David Whitmer, *An Address to Believers in Christ*; John D. Lee, *Confessions of John D. Lee* (1880); R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (1914); Frank J. Cannon, *Under the Prophet in Utah* (1911); John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (1839); Josiah F. Gibbs, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1910); William S. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel* (1904); Stanley S. Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case*; M. T. Lamb, *The Golden Bible* (1887); Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews* (1825); *Revealing Statements by the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon*; *The Temple Lot Case in the Circuit Court of the United States Western District of Missouri* (1893); *Temple Mormonism* (1931); *John Whitmer's History; Why Egyptologists Reject the Book of Abraham*; *Senate Document 189* (1841); William Swartzell, *Mormonism Exposed* (1840); *The Reed Peck Manuscript*; E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (1834); John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (1842); T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (1873); and Brigham H. Roberts, *Roberts' Manuscripts Revealed.*

[10] The first issue appeared in November 1964, and the latest issue to date, March 1984, is number 53.

[11] The first edition of what would later become *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?* appeared in 1962 under the title, *Mormonism: A Study of Mormon History and Doctrine*, with 262 pages. The 1964 edition of *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?* contained 430 pages, the 1972 edition, 587, and the 1982 edition, more than 600. In the 1982 edition, the Tanners have tried to retain as much of the earlier pagination as possible, by reprinting earlier pages and using letters (5A, B, C, and so forth) for their "Updated Material." They have also completely rewritten chapters 8 and 22, covering "The First Vision" and "Fall of the Book of Abraham," respectively. The other major polemical works by the Tanners are *The Case Against Mormonism* (vol. 1, 1967, 191 pp.; vol. 2, 1968, 182 pp.; and vol. 3, 1971, 165 pp.), and *The Mormon Kingdom* (vol. 1, 1969, 172 pp.; vol. 2, 1971, 169 pp.). Much of this material was incorporated into subsequent editions of *Shadow or Reality?*

[12] *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), Preface.

possible move by the Tanners toward more mainstream evangelical anti-Mormon work.[13] Also suggestive of a possible shift in direction was the decision of the Tanners, which went into effect in 1983, to become a nonprofit corporation and change the name of their organization from the somewhat anachronistic Modern Microfilm Company to the Utah Lighthouse Ministry, Inc.[14]

Why was the Tanners' disillusionment with Mormonism so deep and their hostility toward it so sustained? A key factor was Jerald Tanner's reaction to his initial naive and unrealistic understanding of Mormonism. As a youth, he appears to have believed that Joseph Smith was perfect and that the Latter-day Saint Church had all the answers and could do no wrong. When his research increasingly showed him that Joseph Smith had flaws, that the eternally true (and some assert, changeless) Church had in fact changed, and that Mormon leaders had sometimes made mistakes, even very serious ones, he was furious. He felt that he had been cheated — sold a bill of goods — that the Church had willfully lied to him about matters of the highest importance. Not only did the emperor have no clothes, but the Mormon Church had sold them to him! The anger, even fury, that emerges from much of the Tanners' writing, with its frequent obtrusive underlining, LARGE CAPITALS, and LARGE CAPITALS WITH UNDERLINING, along with sharp attacks on the personal motives of Joseph Smith and other Church leaders, seems to be crying out for the Mormon Church either to prove that it is perfect or else cease making its exclusivistic truth claims.[15]

Sandra Tanner summarized this aspect of their feelings toward Mormonism when she observed:

> I see the Mormon Church leadership failing to come to grips with the problems in their own history. They won't even admit there are problems. . . . Certainly there are problems in the history of any group of people you get together to do anything, . . . but the difference is, Mormonism is claiming they are *The* Church that God's directing, as opposed to all the other ones just doing it on manmade ability. So when you make that kind of a distinction, one expects a better performance record. . . . They are not just saying that they are a nice church down the street that's doing a little better job than the Baptists, they're claiming to be the only true one and that the very sincere Baptist minister is totally wrong. . . . When they make those

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[13] The complete title is *The Changing World of Mormonism: "A Condensation and Revision of MORMONISM — SHADOW OR REALITY?"* The book is 592 pages long and has gone through several printings so far.

[14] The reasons for the name change and application for nonprofit status are given in *Salt Lake City Messenger*, March 1983. A card enclosed with that issue indicates that the request for tax-deductible status has now been approved by the Federal Government.

[15] Sandra Tanner indicates in Faulring, "Oral History," p. 58, that they have used underlining and capitalization for emphasis because they "have found that the average reader cannot read a page of material and digest it to come up with the most important point. . . ." Clearly, however, such emphasis also suggests the intensity and bitterness of the Tanners' feelings. In *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), preface, the Tanners note that they have replaced their earlier machinery with typesetting equipment which allows them to use three different styles of type for their updated material — i.e., regular type for their own statements, bold type for quotations, and italics for book titles. This change will make reading their writings considerably less distracting in the future.

kinds of specific claims, I expect their history to conform with the kinds of claims they make for it.[16]

Yet there was surely more to Jerald Tanner's hostility than a purely intellectual disillusionment with his childhood understanding of Mormon truth claims. Many people who have become intellectually disillusioned with Mormonism have nevertheless continued to express appreciation for the Mormon lifestyle and the culture which the Church has helped to create. While the Tanners do make perfunctory acknowledgment of Mormon social strengths, their overall tone is far more bitter than that of the average ex-Mormon. Perhaps this is because Jerald's social as well as intellectual contacts with Mormonism appear to have been disappointing. As described in the Faulring interviews with Sandra Tanner, Jerald's family life seems to have been filled with stress. Both he and his family appear to have been isolated from many positive aspects of Mormon culture. His father developed a drinking problem, and Jerald himself, during his teenage years, began to drink so heavily that for a time he feared that he might become an alcoholic. Some of Jerald's Mormon friends also were outsiders who drank and did not conform to the ideal pattern which the Church has sought to develop.[17] Quite possibly Jerald's failure to find satisfying social contacts in the Mormon Church contributed to the deep bitterness which he eventually developed toward it. In comparison, Sandra Tanner, whose social experiences with Mormonism while growing up were positive, expresses a more balanced understanding of the personal appeal of Mormon culture, even when she criticizes specific Mormon truth claims.

Whatever the roots of Jerald's disillusionment and bitterness may have been, the factors which have sustained the Tanners' anti-Mormon activities over more than two decades also call for explanation. Of prime importance was the cooperative relationship which developed between Jerald and Sandra Tanner. Neither individual alone could have been as effective; together they have compensated for each other's weaknesses and have developed a remarkably strong partnership. Jerald, an intense and almost painfully shy man, is primarily responsible for the research and writing. His own drive, more than any other factor, sustains their operation. Whether Sandra would even have become an active anti-Mormon had she been by herself is open to question. On the other hand, Jerald would hardly have been effective by himself either. Sandra, a warmer and more outgoing personality, takes major responsibility for dealing with the public. Whereas Jerald is often socially inept and strident in his writing, Sandra conveys real warmth and caring that only close associates have the opportunity of experiencing with Jerald. Together the Tanners have reared a family and have developed an unusual career for themselves, a career with far more intellectual challenge than the machinist position that Jerald initially intended to pursue.

Accidents of history also helped the Tanners' career of exposure to develop. Jerald had the good fortune of beginning his anti-Mormon writing and pub-

[16] Faulring, "Oral History," pp. 158–59. Interview of 17 Sept. 1981.

[17] Ibid., pp. 9–11. For Jerald Tanner's discussion of his teenage drinking problems, see his *Is There a Personal God?* (1967), pp. 19–20.

lication at a time when Mormon intellectuals were already independently becoming increasingly self-conscious about their past and seeking to understand it better. In the early 1960s, most nineteenth-century Mormon publications could be found in a few major libraries, but only dedicated and assiduous scholars were able to locate and work with them. When the Tanners began publishing complete and scrupulously accurate reproductions of classic early Mormon documents which were in the public domain, that publication opened up the possibility of serious home study. A small but significant market began to develop among Mormons who wanted to be able to explore their own past, even though they might resent the Tanners' other, purely polemical tracts. Yet support was often tenuous. On at least one occasion, in 1966, the Tanners considered giving up their publication work and instead going to Africa as missionaries.[18] They nevertheless remained, largely because their own career and polemicism increasingly tied them to Mormonism, albeit as critics not believers.

To understand the Tanners' career, their approach must be compared to that of four other types of people who have sometimes sustained an unconventional relationship with Mormonism. One group with whom the Tanners have often been erroneously linked is the professional historians, whose chief goals have been to reconstruct the Mormon past and help modern Mormons better to appreciate their distinctive heritage.[19] Second are the "closet doubters," individuals who have quietly bracketed their points of uncertainty or disagreement with Mormonism while continuing to be active and creative participants in the Church, primarily for social reasons.[20] Third are the embittered ex-Mormons, who have given up not only Mormonism but all other religious belief, convinced that if Mormonism is not "true" then no religion is.[21] Fourth

[18] Faulring, "Oral History," p. 83.

[19] Much has been written on the concerns of professional Mormon historians. Leonard J. Arrington's articles, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," DIALOGUE 3 (Summer 1968): 56–65, and "Reflections on the Founding and Purpose of the Mormon History Association, 1965–1983," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 91–103, provide the best starting point. A retrospective assessment of the concerns and accomplishments of the professional Mormon historians under Leonard Arrington's leadership is Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," DIALOGUE 16 (Autumn 1983): 9–20. The most incisive non-Mormon analysis of the recent development of Mormon historical writing is Martin E. Marty, "Two Integrities: An Address to the Crisis in Mormon Historiography," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 3–19. Also see Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past: Reflections of a Non-Mormon Historian," *Sunstone* 7 (Jan.–Feb. 1982): 41–45.

[20] See D. Jeff Burton, "The Phenomenon of the Closet Doubter," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.–Oct. 1982): 34–38. For Sandra Tanner's discussion of this issue, see the interview with her conducted by James V. D'Arc on 19 Sept. 1972, in Faulring, "Oral History," pp. 366–68.

[21] This is one of the most disheartening phenomena associated with exclusivistic religious traditions such as Mormonism, Roman Catholicism, and the Southern Baptist Convention. When individuals become disillusioned with the claims of such groups, they frequently come to view all religion as a childish fraud, an expression of unmet psychological needs, or a self-serving means of social manipulation. For an analysis arguing that a mature, nondogmatic religious faith is possible, see Gordon Allport, *The Individual and His Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1950). Also see William James's classic study, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, first published in 1902, and Huston Smith, *The Religions of Man* (New York: Harper, 1958).

are the ex-Mormons who have converted to an alternative religious faith and are actively trying to convert Mormons to that faith as well. These four groups differ widely in background and motivation, yet sometimes they all have been assumed to fit into one mold.

Despite some similarities with each of these groups, the Tanners have close affinity with only one of them. Unlike the Mormon historians who try to understand the Mormon past so that the Church can more effectively deal with the present, the Tanners seek to use every bit of historical evidence they can find (even if it would seem objectively favorable to Mormonism) to attack the Church. The Tanners also have little in common with the "closet doubter," since the Tanners now feel that they already "know" that the Mormon Church is "false" and hence are only collecting evidence to support that predetermined position. Likewise, the Tanners differ from those disillusioned ex-Mormons who have rejected not only Mormonism but all religious truth. While the Tanners do retain from Mormonism a belief that a religion is either "true" or "false," they are convinced that they have located ultimate truth in their new faith — which happens to correspond to fundamentalist Protestantism.

The institutional embodiment of the Tanners' faith is a relatively small evangelical Protestant denomination of some 200,000 members worldwide known as the Christian and Missionary Alliance. The Tanners and their three children have been active in that church in Salt Lake City for over a decade. Jerald serves as an elder in the church and is involved with various social outreach activities. When the Tanners write about their own religious convictions, as in *A Look at Christianity*, they avoid discussing their specific institutional affiliation and instead focus, in typical Protestant fundamentalist fashion, on the importance of conversion, being "born again." [22] By contrast to the often-harsh rhetoric of their attacks on Mormonism, in person they can be kind, even gentle individuals. Disciplined, hardworking, and committed, they might seem to be almost an ideal model for Mormon missionaries — except that they have devoted their lives to trying to destroy the Mormon Church.

II

What have the reactions of Mormon scholars been toward the Tanners, and what significance has their work had for the development of Mormon historical studies? To say that Mormon intellectuals have been ambivalent about the Tanners would be an extreme understatement. While many Mormon scholars are disturbed by some of the same Latter-day Saint weaknesses that the Tanners also criticize, the scholars' dissatisfactions derive from an almost wholly different perspective than that of the Tanners. Many Mormon historians, for example, dislike the way in which the conservative element of Mormon leadership has frequently made access to the Church's own records

[22] The primary statements of the Tanners' own religious beliefs are Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *A Look at Christianity* (1971); Jerald Tanner, *Is There a Personal God?* (1967); Sandra Tanner, *The Bible and Mormon Doctrine* (1971); and Jerald Tanner, *Fighting Among Christians* (1979). The Tanners' religious conversion experiences are described in several sources but are most accessible to the general reader in *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), pp. 567–69.

difficult for even its finest and most loyal scholars and has in subtle and far-from-subtle ways controlled, rewritten, or even suppressed candid scholarly studies of the faith.[23] If Mormonism is, as it claims, the true religion, then its history, if properly understood, should support that status. Many of the finest Mormon historians thus believe that the full truth, if fairly and honestly portrayed, would best serve the long-term interests of the Church.

By contrast, the Tanners are critical of what they term the Mormon "suppression" of documents and evidence for a very different reason: they believe that the full record of Mormonism, if it could be made available, would utterly refute the Church's truth claims and lead to the destruction of the faith. At every point, the Tanners see fraud, conspiracy, and cover-ups. They always assume the worst possible motives in assessing the actions of Mormon leaders, even when those leaders faced extremely complex problems with no simple solutions. And the Tanners judge the validity of Mormon beliefs not so much within the context of the Church's own framework as by contrast with a normative Christianity which early Mormonism emphatically rejected and claimed to supercede.

Such radically different approaches lead to radically different uses of identical evidence by historians and by the Tanners. In general, the primary goal of the historians has been to understand and appreciate the remarkably complex and multi-faceted movement that constitutes Mormonism. Toward that end, Mormon historians, like historians in all fields, seek to sift through all pertinent evidence in order to reconstruct the fullest possible picture of the past and its significance for the present. Both positive and negative factors are candidly considered in trying to come to a realistic understanding of Mormon development.

By contrast, the Tanners sound like high-school debaters. Every bit of evidence, even if it could be most plausibly presented in a positive way, is represented as yet another nail in the coffin being prepared for the Mormon Church. There is no spectrum of colors, only blacks and whites, good guys and villains in the Tanners' published writings. Even when the Tanners backhandedly praise objective Mormon historical scholarship, they do so primarily as a means of twisting that scholarship for use as yet another debater's ploy to attack the remaining — and in their eyes insurmountable — Mormon deficiencies.

All too often, the Tanners' work thus simply provides a mirror image of the very Mormonism that it is attacking. The Tanners have repeatedly assumed a holier-than-thou stance, refusing to be fair in applying the same debate stan-

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[23] Examples of such control abound. The pathbreaking narrative history by James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, was published in a very large edition — 35,000 — by the Church-owned Deseret Book Company in 1976 and sold out in three years the original printing. To date, the Deseret Book Company has not reprinted the book or allowed it to be reprinted by any other publisher. On a somewhat larger scale, Deseret Book's contracts for the sesquicentennial volumes on the history of the Mormon Church were also terminated in 1981 and the authors of those volumes were paid a fee proportionate to the degree of work completed and permitted to seek publication elsewhere. For a judicious discussion of the recent restrictiveness regarding the use of Church records, see Linda Ostler Strack, "Access to Church Archives: Penetrating the Silence," *Sunstone Review* 3 (Sept. 1983): 4–7.

dards of absolute rectitude which they demand of Mormonism to their own actions, writings, and beliefs. Whereas the Mormon Church, for example, has frequently argued that the end (supporting Mormonism) justifies the means (withholding or suppressing evidence), the Tanners have, in effect, simply reversed the argument while continuing to use the same true-false framework. They argue that the end (destroying Mormonism) justifies the means (publishing anything which they believe could prove damaging to Mormonism).

This ends-justifies-means approach extends not only to reprinting older published Mormon or anti-Mormon works which are now in the public domain or to reproducing archival material without authorization. It also includes publishing contemporary scholarly work of living individuals without their permission. As my own interview with Jerald and Sandra Tanner on 10 May 1982, indicates, they genuinely appear not to see themselves in violation of United States copyright law or Christian ethics when they published a scholarly paper without any attempt to secure the permission of its author.[24] Behavior such as this has caused even some Mormon scholars who are critical of Mormon Church restriction of access to documents and writings to become frustrated and angry about the Tanners' methods.

The Tanners' own writing style is also essentially a mirror image of that of unsophisticated Mormon writers. The stereotypical Mormon thesis in history or religious studies, for example, begins with a ringing affirmation of faith in the Mormon Church, is followed by a long and poorly digested presentation with obtrusive block quotations and little analysis, and ends (no matter what has been said previously) with yet another ringing affirmation of faith in Mormonism. The Tanners' basic format, by contrast, begins with a sharp attack on Mormon perfidy, is followed by numerous long quotations inter-

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[24] The paper in question was D. Michael Quinn's "On Being a Mormon Historian." It was originally presented before the student history association of Brigham Young University as an eloquent response to attacks on Mormon historians which had been made by Mormon apostles Ezra Taft Benson and Boyd K. Packer. Although Quinn decided not to publish the paper immediately, he did circulate some copies to interested individuals. One copy eventually came into the hands of Jerald and Sandra Tanner who published it without any effort to secure Quinn's permission.

In my interview with Jerald and Sandra Tanner on 10 May 1982, I repeatedly pressed them on the legality and the ethics of such unauthorized reproduction and sale of a scholarly paper. They emphatically denied any implicit or explicit wrongdoing on their part by such publication. Jerald Tanner indicated that he believed that any paper which was being circulated by its author, even to a relatively limited circle of individuals and without charge, was subject to their publication unless it had been formally copyrighted and registered with the Library of Congress. He indicated, moreover, that he considered that Quinn had been "selling" his paper because he had asked one individual from whom they secured the paper for $2 (presumably to cover the cost of xeroxing and mailing). Not being an expert on copyright law, I moved on to the ethics of their action, even if they felt that on the most narrow legalistic technicalities that they could get away with such actions without being sued and convicted. Astonishingly, they also found no moral inconsistency between their professed Christian beliefs — which presumably included the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you" — and their actions. Later, however, they in effect acknowledged such an inconsistency when I asked them if they would have published another controversial paper by a leading Mormon historian. In that case, they indicated that they did not and would not have done so because he was a "friend" and to do so might have embarrassed him. Until the Tanners are prepared to abide by accepted standards of scholarly behavior and of common courtesy, they can expect little sympathy from serious historians.

spersed with purple prose, and ends (no matter what has been presented) with a ringing denunciation of the vile delusion of Mormonism. One cannot help but be reminded of James Thurber's parable of "The Bear Who Let It Alone," the moral of which was "You might as well fall flat on your face as lean over too far backward." [25]

Yet if the Tanners' own work falls short as history, it nevertheless has helped stimulate historical studies. Jerald is a brilliant analyst of detail, with an almost uncanny ability to spot textual inconsistencies which call for explanation. His analysis showing that a pamphlet denunciation of Mormonism attributed to Oliver Cowdery was, in fact, a clever forgery, is only one example of research and analysis which would do credit to any professional historian.[26] By compiling most of the major published sources bearing on controversial topics in Mormonism, the Tanners have highlighted issues which need to be resolved. For example, I found their study of Mormon polygamy very useful as a compilation of primary evidence on that topic when I was preparing my study, *Religion and Sexuality.* Although my own conclusions ultimately were very different from those of the Tanners, their prior search of the literature saved me much time and alerted me to issues I would need to resolve.[27]

The impact of the Tanners' publication of primary Mormon printed documents also must not be underestimated. Those who began their scholarly work on Mormonism during the more open period of the 1970s may find difficulty realizing the problems which earlier scholars encountered in gaining ready access to basic Mormon publications. Even essential early journals such as the *Evening and Morning Star, Messenger and Advocate, Elders' Journal, Times and Seasons,* and *Millennial Star* were all but unavailable to the general public until the Tanners began their republication. That republication and the controversy associated with it in turn stimulated further efforts by other publishers and even the Mormon Church itself to reprint its own writings. Yet without the goad provided by independent critics of the Church, such activity might well have proceeded more slowly, if at all.

A third and much more problematic impact of the Tanners on Mormon scholarship has come through their unauthorized publication of Mormon archival materials. Although such publication has been relatively infrequent, it has generated some of the most sensational cases and has produced the greatest distress among both Mormon scholars and the hierarchy alike. Usually the Tanners have published brief extracts or short documents such as letters. In themselves, these documents are interesting but usually not particularly sensational — until the Tanners' unauthorized publication generates controversy.

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[25] James Thurber, *The Thurber Carnival* (New York: Delta, 1964), p. 253. Original italics removed.

[26] Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *A Critical Look* (1967).

[27] Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy* (1967). It is interesting that the Tanners have not seen fit to reevaluate their harsh assessment of the origin of Mormon polygamy based on the more moderate and well-informed conclusions of recent scholarship. Their basic approaches to many other topics in Mormon history have remained virtually unchanged over the years, despite the important new scholarly findings which require reassessment of their earlier caustic beliefs.

The precise channels through which the Tanners have secured copies of some of the documents have understandably remained secret. In cases in which their general methods are known, however, the techniques by which their materials have been acquired appear to leave much to be desired, ethically speaking.

The most problematic recent case involved publication of extracts from the Nauvoo diary of William Clayton, Joseph Smith's private secretary. Typed extracts from the diary which had been made legitimately by Mormon historian Andrew Ehat were photocopied and distributed without his knowledge or permission by a third party. When the Tanners secured the items, they proceeded to publish them despite the strenuous objection of the historian. On March 21–23, 1984, Justice A. Sherman Christiansen of the U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City heard the suit against the Tanners brought by Ehat. Ehat had charged unfair business practices and asked for damages. The decision awarded him $15,960 in damages: $960, which was the amount of profit the Tanners admitted making, $3,000 for the estimated reduction in market potential of Ehat's thesis in which he had cited the Clayton diary, and $12,000 in general damages for "loss of reputation and other intangibles." The judge also denied the defendant's request for punitive damages and agreed to hear further argument on Ehat's restraining order which would have prohibited their further use of the material. The Tanners announced plans to appeal the case to the Tenth Circuit Court and, if necessary, to the U.S. Supreme Court. Even if the verdict had been otherwise, such publication of stolen notes violates standards of ethical scholarship and increasingly hinders legitimate efforts to secure access to vital documents needed for serious research.[28]

Despite the Tanners' extensive publication record and the hostility that they have aroused over the past two decades, to date virtually no serious public analyses of their work have appeared. When the Tanners' arguments have been attacked in Mormon publications, as has occurred on many occasions, their names and the titles of their writings have almost never been cited. Indeed, until very recently even independent Mormon scholarly journals such as DIALOGUE and *Sunstone*, which discuss all manner of controversial issues, have largely avoided mentioning the Tanners by name, much less analyzing their work explicitly.[29] What accounts for this reluctance to discuss the Tanners?

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[28] Gordon Madsen, Ehat's attorney provided details on the court case. The Tanners' assertion is: "We have never stolen any document or film, neither have we encouraged nor advised any person to steal from the Mormon Church." *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), p. 576. Yet even if the Tanners have not personally stolen documents, they have nevertheless been willing to publish documents such as the Andrew Ehat notes on William Clayton's diary which other people have stolen. On the details of the theft and publication, see *Seventh East Press*, 18 Jan. 1982, pp. 1, 11. The Tanners' perspective on the suit is presented in *Salt Lake City Messenger*, Nov. 1983, pp. 1–4. Similarly, the Tanners have published an account of the Mormon temple ceremonies which they obtained from a former temple worker who violated his solemn pledge to maintain secrecy about the ceremonies. *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), pp. 462–73. By engaging in such actions, the Tanners clearly are a party to unethical activity themselves.

[29] A few exceptions should be noted. Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner's article "The Source of the Book of Abraham Identified" appeared in DIALOGUE 3 (Summer 1968): 92–98. More recently, the Tanners' views are discussed in Marvin Hill, "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," DIALOGUE 15 (Summer 1982): 31–46, and in

The Tanners' answer is simple: The Mormon Church is afraid of them. In their view, it has been engaged in a "conspiracy of silence" because it cannot answer their objections.[30] The Tanners argue that if the Church were to try systematically to answer their objections, it would realize the error of its ways and collapse. By failing to deal with them directly, the Church, in the Tanners' opinion, is providing yet another proof of its underlying fraudulence and repressive mind control.

This interpretation fails to deal with many complex factors which have contributed to Mormon reticence about discussing the Tanners in print. The most obvious point is that neither conservative nor liberal Mormons think that the Tanners are really serious about wanting a truly open discussion or considering approaches which differ from their own chip-on-shoulder anti-Mormon mindset. On the one hand, the Tanners have repeatedly demanded that Mormonism live up to standards of rectitude impossible for any human organization to achieve or else give up its truth claims. On the other hand, the Tanners simultaneously tell the Mormon Church that even if it were somehow able to live up to its impossibly high standards, it still would be false because it is not normative Christianity as they understand it.

In short, probably nothing that the Mormon Church could realistically do in the foreseeable future would satisfy the Tanners. They have set up a logically closed system within which they can refute Mormonism to their satisfaction either if it is true to its original distinctive mission or if, as now appears to be happening, it increasingly seeks to moderate its historic uniqueness and adopt a position closer to the Protestant fundamentalism which the Tanners themselves espouse. The Tanners seem to be playing a skillful shell game in which the premises for judgment are conveniently shifted so that the conclusion is always the same — negative. For example, the Tanners could attack the Mormon Church for its racist policy on the participation of blacks prior to 1978; but after that date, when the policy was courageously eliminated, they turned around and attacked the Church on the grounds that it is supposedly all-knowing and changeless on matters of principle.[31]

Faced by such resolute unwillingness to consider anything Mormonism does in a positive light or to engage in a constructive dialogue about differing approaches, the Mormon Church as an organization has understandably chosen to ignore the Tanners as much as possible. By the Tanners' own admis-

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Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past: Reflections of a Non-Mormon Historian," *Sunstone* 7 (Jan.–Feb. 1982): 41–45. In a letter to me on 28 May 1983, Lester Bush explained why DIALOGUE ultimately decided not to review the Tanners' books *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* and *The Changing World of Mormonism* despite their hope to make such a review: "We simply had no desire to be drawn into a sensational debate based on fragmentary data and in no way governed by any notion of intellectual responsibility."

[30] Although the idea is the Tanners', the phrase is that of the antebellum abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who was a key figure in bringing the question of the ethics of slavery into public discussion. The Tanners have attempted to use similarly abrasive and offensive methods to try to force the Mormon Church to pay attention to them and to their arguments.

[31] *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), pp. 262–93. The Tanners express pleasure that the policy itself was changed (a social interpretation), but they argue that such change serves to further undercut Mormons claims to possess true religious authority (a doctrinal interpretation).

sion, their following is a small, albeit loyal, one.[32] The Church sees no advantage in lowering itself by engaging in vitriolic polemic with virtual unknowns and thereby giving them publicity. A much more effective approach is to try to stand above the battle. Furthermore, as the knowledge somehow percolates through the Church that there are still nasty apostates somewhere attacking the true faith, average Mormons are thereby encouraged to further support the Church.[33]

The reluctance of Mormon intellectuals to discuss the Tanners in writing has more complex roots. Initially, serious historians were just getting into the relevant primary material and trying to make sense of it themselves. While these scholars had a better understanding of some of the difficult issues that the Tanners highlighted, their understanding was at first very tentative and certainly not sufficiently developed to go into print. The historians also had problems of their own as their research began leading them into a slow but major reconstruction of Mormon history (and most recently, theology) which itself posed a substantial challenge to the conventional wisdom of present-day Mormonism.[34]

The difficulties which Mormon intellectuals have had in addressing the Tanners' arguments directly are most vividly suggested in the exchange which ensued when an anonymous "Latter-day Saint Historian" published a sixty-three-page critique of their work in 1977 entitled *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to MORMONISM—SHADOW OR REALITY?* Couched in the form of a reflective personal letter to a friend who is represented as a recent convert to Mormonism troubled by reading the Tanners' work, the pamphlet skillfully assesses some of the limitations of the Tanners' perspective on Mormonism. Equally revealing of the Tanners' strengths and limitations was their own rejoinder, first published in February 1978 and then enlarged in November 1978, entitled, *Answering Dr. Clandestine: A Response to the Anonymous LDS Historian.*[35]

The Latter-day Saint historian's critique of the Tanners begins by expressing a personal faith that questioning and assessing the evidence supporting belief is "a legitimate part of the process of spiritual understanding."[36] The

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[32] Interview of Sandra Tanner by James V. D'Arc, 19 Sept. 1972, in Faulring, "Oral History," p. 377.

[33] Sociologists refer to this phenomenon as "boundary maintenance." For a fascinating study utilizing this concept, see Kai Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

[34] I am indebted to Lester Bush's letter to me on 28 May 1983, for this line of interpretation.

[35] The Tanners point out, in their rejoinder to the anonymous historian, that the critique is a very curious one. No author's name, no publisher, and no copyright are indicated — all of which creates difficulties in ascertaining authorship. The Tanners' enlarged rebuttal of November 1978 reprints the first twenty-two pages of their original rejoinder and then adds an additional thirty-four pages, including the final comments of Wesley P. Walters, pp. 52–56. The critique and rebuttals will be cited hereafter as *Distorted View of Mormonism* and *Dr. Clandestine*, respectively.

[36] *Distorted View of Mormonism*, p. 1.

main point of the pamphlet is that the Tanners' analysis is deficient from an historical perspective because, rather than trying to describe and analyze the full complexity of historical events, the Tanners' writing, like that of Mormon apologists, only presents one side of the picture. Moreover, their picture is logically flawed because they fail to apply the same "inflexible standards of criticism" which they use on Mormonism "to the rest of sacred history." [37]

> . . . Jerald and Sandra Tanner have read widely enough in the sources of LDS history to provide that [larger] perspective, but they do not. Although the most conscientious and honest researcher can overlook pertinent sources of information, the repeated omissions of evidence by the Tanners suggest an intentional avoidance of sources that modify or refute their caustic interpretation of Mormon history.[38]

After looking briefly at some of the other logical and stylistic inadequacies of the Tanners' writing when viewed as professional history, the account then presents an important, if rather apologetic, analysis of several complex issues in Mormon history, including Joseph Smith's First Vision, the process of revelation in Mormonism, and the "translation" of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham.[39] Returning to its larger theme that the Tanners are guilty of using a double standard of evaluating evidence, the pamphlet concludes:

> The Tanners proclaim themselves as crusading Christians against a monstrous anti-Christ yet much of that which they ridicule about Mormon history and scripture is fundamental to Judeo-Christian sacred history and scripture. The Tanners' attack on Mormonism is really a manifestation of their rejection of institutionalized religion. . . .[40]

The Tanners' response to this critique initially focused not so much on the substance of the criticism as on the question of authorship. With typical polemical flare they began their rejoinder by dubbing the anonymous author "Dr. Clandestine," devoting their first ten pages of the original twenty-two to a furious assault on the cowardly character of the dastardly individual who would make such an attack on them *anonymously*. Then they identify the probable author anyway.[41] Reading their polemic, one is amused at the exaggerated sense of self-importance that the Tanners' rejoinder reveals. They spent nearly half their original pamphlet before addressing the substance of the criticisms that had been raised against their work. The tone is suggested by the dramatic subheadings with which they start: "From Ambush," "A Cover Up," "The Church's Fingerprints," "Tracking the Mysterious Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc," "Stonewalling," "Cover Up Breaks Down," "A Fictitious Letter?" and "Honest Works Anonymous?"

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[37] Ibid., p. 6.

[38] Ibid., p. 17.

[39] Ibid., pp. 28–62.

[40] Ibid., p. 62.

[41] The Tanners convincingly link the anonymous critique to D. Michael Quinn and the LDS Church Historical Department, but they do little in their initial rebuttal to address the many complex criticisms which form the substance of the pamphlet. Both the LDS historian's critique and the Tanners' rejoinders are, to say the least, among the curiosities of Mormon polemical literature.

One wonders if the Tanners were not revealing their own confusion and thin skin in replying to what appeared to be a mild-mannered Clark Kent as though he were really a Superman in disguise. How could anyone who had unleashed the volume of invective that the Tanners have on the Mormons react with such outrage and seeming surprise to a generally fair, if critical, analysis of their own efforts? The Tanners' own response would seem to be the best possible vindication of the argument of their anonymous critic that they lack a sense of balance and perspective.

In contrast to their unconvincing character assault on the author of the anonymous critique, the Tanners' response to specific criticisms of their work score a number of valid points, although in general the Tanners are much more adept at identifying the trees than seeing the forest. In the original edition of their rebuttal, for example, the Tanners convincingly establish their own meticulousness in gathering data and presenting it accurately.[42] They also show that their interpretation of one specific case which their critic challenged was, in fact, supported by their evidence.[43] And they argue that their mission cannot properly be construed as a "rejection of institutionalized religion" unless one is prepared to assert that Pauline Christianity is inherently anti-institutional.[44]

Curiously, however, the Tanners try to defend themselves against the charge that they are guilty of using the "straw man" approach as a debater's ploy, by showing that the historian who criticized them had also, in one instance, been guilty of the same error.[45] (Two wrongs hardly make a right). Even more curiously, they in effect concede that they do not dare to apply the same scholarly standards of evidence to their analysis of the Bible that they do to Mormon writings because to do so, in their opinion, would be to destroy the credibility of the Bible (a view which only makes sense if one adopts the Tanners' narrow Protestant fundamentalist approach to religious truth).[46]

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[42] *Dr. Clandestine*, pp. 10–11. The data in question had to do with the 1831 revelation relating to polygamy.

[43] Ibid., pp. 11–14. The Tanners show that the various references to Joseph Smith's 1826 trial for "glass looking" are, in fact, compatible rather than contradictory as their critic had charged.

[44] Ibid., p. 16. The Tanners point out that they have been actively involved with a church in Salt Lake City for nine years and even hold offices in it, hardly an indication of their rejection of institutionalized religion. On the other hand, many of the Tanners' attitudes clearly are anti-institutional, at least when viewed from the extremely institutional perspective of conventional Mormonism. Sandra Tanner declared, for example: "I don't believe that Christ set up a temporal, literal church structure as such as the Mormons can see, the only true church. To me, the true church is the body of leaders in Christ, and when a person has made a definite dedication of his life to follow Christ and has asked for forgiveness for his sins and in a very meaningful, real sense committed himself to follow Christ and his ways and teachings, then that makes him part of the Church of Christ." Interview of Sandra Tanner by James V. D'Arc, 19 Sept. 1972, in Faulring, "Oral History," p. 368. Normative Christianity of the sort that Saint Paul so heavily influenced has a strong anti-institutional thrust. The Tanners are closer to this tradition than is Mormonism.

[45] Ibid., pp. 14–16. The Tanners are in full form as debaters here, turning the argument of their critic back on him rather than frankly admitting their own failings.

[46] Ibid., pp. 16–20. This is the Achilles' heel of the Tanners' rebuttal. For a treatment of the weaknesses of the type of Protestant fundamentalism which the Tanners have adopted,

Although the Tanners sometimes fail to engage their anonymous critic convincingly on the larger interpretive issues, they cut to the heart of the disagreement when they conclude: "Many of the liberal Church scholars like Dr. Clandestine feel that there are problems in the Church but that they must be straightened out gradually. They believe that we are moving too fast. We, of course, do not agree with this thinking and feel that it would take forever to get things straightened out at the rate that most of them are moving." [47]

The Latter-day Saint historian's critique and the Tanners' response to it highlight difficulties that Mormon scholars have in candidly and openly addressing the weaknesses of the Tanners' position. As the Tanners correctly argue in their response to "Dr. Clandestine," the primary reason that the pamphlet was produced anonymously was that if their historical critic had put his name to it, he would probably have gotten into trouble with more conservative Church leaders.[48] Historians such as the Latter-day Saint critic are often as profoundly frustrated as are the Tanners by the historical naiveté of some Church leaders. The Tanners have made a career of attacking such naiveté as though it constituted the essence of Mormonism. In effect, some of the less well-informed Church leaders are providing the very rope by which the Tanners are trying to hang them. Such leaders have confused the truth of Mormonism with their limited understanding of the truth of Mormonism. Many historians are frustrated that their Church, which could have such a strong case to present to the world, has instead often deliberately chosen to make its case in weaker and less defensible ways.

Latter-day Saint historians, in their role as constructive rather than destructive critics of the Church, have great difficulty dealing with a two-front controversy with Church conservatives, on the one hand, and the Tanners, on the other. In order to make an effective refutation of the "straw man" view of Mormonism which the Tanners have conveniently chosen to attack, the historians must also gently point out to Mormon conservatives that their understanding of the faith is incomplete. Conservatives, in turn, have often argued that the historians and the Tanners are bedfellows, when this in fact is not the case at all. The result, in the opinion of many Mormon historians, is that the

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see the discussion later in this article. In the enlarged edition of *Dr. Clandestine*, the Tanners produce further evidence linking the anonymous pamphlet to the Church Historian's Office. They also discuss other historical data which they believe constitutes a damning indictment of the Latter-day Saint movement. This latter line of interpretation only makes sense, of course, if one accepts the Tanners' naive view that any errors or inconsistencies in Mormon claims refute the truth of the whole movement. Applying such a superficial standard of judgment to any religious movement would allow one to claim to have "refuted" it. Writers who use such narrow approach for judgment actually do no more than show that they have failed to understand the movement that they are criticizing.

[47] Ibid., p. 21. It is to be hoped that the Tanners are wrong in this assessment. The prospects for continuing development of more realistic attitudes toward the Mormon past among the general membership of the Church do not appear bright for the immediate future. On the other hand, if at some point the Church's policy of correlation could be used to present a more realistic view of the past instead of simply embedding clichés of the present more deeply in the Mormon psyche, much could yet be done to effect long-range constructive change.

[48] Ibid., pp. 7–9, 40–43.

Tanners' long-term impact has been to damage rather than to advance serious Mormon historical scholarship. Although the Tanners' efforts to stir up controversy during the 1960s may have had a constructive role at a time when access to important records was too restricted, their irresponsible actions which continued into the 1970s, when records were generally available to reputable scholars, has served as a convenient pretext which Mormon conservatives have used to justify closing off access to vital Mormon records once again.

III

What has the larger significance of the Tanners been for the development of Mormonism and for understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the Latter-day Saint movement as a whole? Religious dissidents often highlight aspects of a religious movement which we might otherwise overlook. They bring to light problems in a faith which need to be resolved and understood before a realistic assessment of a group's strengths and weaknesses can be made. Although it is easy to dismiss religious dissidents simply as troublemakers or disturbed individuals, they can also play a highly creative role in prodding a faith to clean up its own house and be true to the best in its testimony.

"Career apostates" provide a particularly illuminating angle from which to view religious movements. Such individuals can be seen as occupying a curious midpoint in the spectrum of religious involvement, a continuum ranging from (1) believers of all varieties, through (2) seceders from a religion, (3) career apostates, (4) converts to an alternative religious faith, and (5) founders of new religious movements. Caught betwixt and between the end points of the spectrum, career apostates remain in a sort of limbo, unable either to be satisfied believers in their original faith or to break cleanly with it and develop a positive alternative synthesis of their own. Like the unfortunate divorcés who continue to squabble over the financial settlement and custody of the children, rather than moving on to make a new and more happy life for themselves, career apostates tend to define themselves more in terms of what they are against rather than what they are for. Yet their personal ambivalence also may reflect an ambivalence at the heart of the movement with which they maintain such an intense love-hate relationship.

Circumstances play an important role in determining the way in which religious dissidence, including career apostasy, develops. Using the case of Roman Catholicism, for example, one can see a spectrum of responses by the institutional church which helped define the nature of the religious dissidence it faced. At one point, those with an intense sense of religious vocation could be constructively channeled into monastic orders. At another time, similar individuals could be branded as heretics and burned at the stake. And at still other times, individuals such as Martin Luther could break free entirely from the parent body and successfully form a new religious synthesis of their own. Much depended, in each case, on how the parent organization responded to

the challenge. Either an extreme authoritarian approach or an extreme laissez-faire style could be equally conducive to stimulating dissidence.[49]

Protestantism has been particularly prone to religious dissidence of all kinds. By replacing loyalty to an all-inclusive church organization with an emphasis on individual interpretation of the Bible as the ultimate basis for religious authority, the Protestant movement encouraged fissure, as different individuals found very different messages in the same biblical record. In the United States alone, where the splintering has been most pronounced, there are today at least 1,200 distinct religious organizations, the majority of which claim to base themselves on the same biblical record.[50]

Mormonism, reacting against the cacophony of religious claims in nineteenth-century America, sought to return to an authoritative Church structure with similarities to that of Roman Catholicism.[51] A major goal of Mormonism was to create a New Israel, a total culture stressing salvation by works rather than the more conventional Protestant emphasis on the Pauline concept of salvation by faith. At the same time, however, Mormonism retained the Protestant emphasis on individual Bible interpretation and, in fact, went still further by developing the concept that continuing revelation, including new scripture, was possible in different dispensations. The result, rather paradoxically, has been that the authoritarian Mormon movement has produced more splintering and diversity than that found in any comparable Protestant group, with the exception of the Baptists. At latest count, more than 150 identifiable Mormon factions have emerged during the first 150 years of the movement.[52]

The diversity within the Mormon movement is by no means necessarily a sign of weakness. Many students of religion have argued, in fact, that a key

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[49] There are very few "career apostates" because historical circumstances usually make sustaining such a position very difficult. On the broader implications of never passing beyond what has been described as a state of chronic "liminality," see J. Gordon Melton and Robert L. Moore, *The Cult Experience: Responding to the New Religious Pluralism* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982), pp. 59–60.

[50] J. Gordon Melton, *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 2 vols. (Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company, 1978) lists over 1,200 different religious groups currently active in the United States and summarizes their history and beliefs. Of these groups, some 800 have Christian roots.

[51] For two divergent perspectives on this early period, see Mario S. De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," DIALOGUE 1 (March 1966): 68–88, and Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351–72. It may not be accidental that two of the most perceptive non-Mormon students of Mormon history, Thomas F. O'Dea and Mario S. De Pillis, both came out of the Roman Catholic tradition, which also places a strong emphasis on church authority.

[52] Groups which have emerged from the Latter Day Saint movement are discussed in Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement*, 3rd ed., rev. and enl. (Bountiful, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982). The most detailed listing of such groups is Albert J. Van Nest, *A Directory to the 'Restored Gospel' Churches: A Survey of Churches and Groups that Have Based Their Beliefs and Teachings on the 'Restored Gospel' as Brought Forth by Joseph Smith* (Evanston, Ill.: Institute for the Study of American Religion, 1983). Van Nest identifies 167 past and present groups. It is worthy of note that, despite such fissure, more than 99 percent of all followers of Joseph

to the success of a religious movement is its ability to hold seemingly contradictory elements in tension within itself. This is true because reality is always more complex than our verbal understanding of it can be. The word *water*, for example, cannot convey the full characteristics of the substance that we know as water. Similarly, talking about religious experience or formulating credal statements of belief is not the same as having a religious experience oneself. As in the case of the blind men and the elephant, the full complexity of reality invariably eludes our limited understanding.

Both Christianity and its Mormon offshoot provide classic examples of religious movements whose success has been based, in part, on their ability to hold apparent opposites in creative tension. Christianity, to use only one possible illustration from the movement, maintains that Jesus Christ was simultaneously "wholly God" and "wholly man." While this is a paradox and a logical impossibility, it has proved a remarkably durable and effective belief — so long as both sides of the paradox are maintained. Similarly, one of the greatest non-Mormon scholars of Mormonism, Thomas F. O'Dea, argues that the great strength of the movement lies in its ability to maintain a creative tension between seeming opposites — hierarchical structure and congregationalism, rationality and charisma, consent and coercion, conservative family ideals and equality for women, political conservatism and social idealism, patriotism and particularism, and so forth.[53]

Thus, much of what the Tanners view as inconsistency and weakness in Mormonism may actually be an inevitable feature of the movement which can contribute to its success. If Mormonism were as onesided as the Tanners' analysis (and that of some of the more naive Church leaders whose perspectives the Tanners criticize), then the faith might well have had far less appeal. Like the leaders of many Mormon splinter groups, including the Mormon fundamentalists who practice polygamy, the Tanners have emphasized only one side of the paradox of Mormonism. They have assumed that Mormonism must be eternally true and unchanging when one of the most distinctive affirmations of the movement is its claim to receive "continuing revelation" — its ongoing effort to find new ways whereby principles believed to be eternally valid can better be understood and creatively expressed in the face of ever-changing temporal circumstances.

The Tanners assume that Mormonism is "false" because it deviates from Pauline Christianity. By the same reasoning, however, Christianity could be said to be "false" because it deviates from orthodox Judaism. If such a standard of religious truth were universally and consistently applied, it would negate the possibility of religious development and creative change. As Jesus observed, "new wine must be put into new wineskins" (Matt. 9:17). Mormonism under Joseph Smith claimed to be a new revelation which included

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Smith belong to one of the two main groups: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headquartered in Independence, Missouri.

[53] Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 222–57.

yet also superseded all previous human truth in a new synthesis for the "dispensation of the fulness of time." [54] Whatever one may think of this assertion, it must be taken seriously in any balanced analysis of the Mormon movement.

Yet if the Tanners' understanding of the dynamics of Mormon development is incomplete, their criticisms do highlight disagreements within the movement which must be handled constructively if Mormonism is to remain healthy. Since World War II, Mormonism has experienced a phenomenal four-fold increase in membership. Many converts have come from the Baptist churches and from other Protestant fundamentalist groups whose underlying beliefs are sharply opposed to those of earlier Mormonism, including Mormon notions of the Godhead and continuing revelation. Faced by the onslaught of such new members and the Mormon desire to convert Protestant fundamentalists, the Church has increasingly backed away from or even begun denying some of its earlier testimonies. A certain ossification and rigidity of belief have begun to develop as present-day Mormon leaders try to move away from the free-wheeling speculation of earlier years. Mormons are increasingly talking about and suffering expulsion for "heresy," a concept which was largely absent from early Mormonism.[55] It is supremely ironic that a present-day Mormon leader could include among his list of the "seven deadly heresies" of Mormonism at least one belief which was firmly held by major nineteenth-century Mormon leaders such as Brigham Young.[56]

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[54] Joseph Smith did make certain public relations gestures to try to downplay his divergence from traditional Christianity, yet the core of his message consisted of the assertion that he was helping to introduce a new dispensation which would include yet supersede all previously valid human truth. Because he and his followers radically reinterpreted the meaning of many common Christian terms, many Mormons today are unaware of how great Smith's departures from normative Christianity really were. On the distinctiveness of Mormon beliefs, the best treatment is Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965). Terminology differences are also discussed in Sandra Tanner, *The Bible and Mormon Doctrine* (1971).

[55] Changing conceptions of heresy, both in mainstream Christianity and in Mormonism, are discussed in Michael Hicks, "Do You Preach the Orthodox Religion: Thoughts on the Idea of Heresy in the Church," *Sunstone* 6 (Sept.–Oct. 1981): 29–34.

[56] In his speech of 1 June 1980 at Brigham Young University, Bruce R. McConkie identified as "Heresy No. 6" of the "seven deadly heresies" of Mormonism the belief in the Adam-God doctrine. This doctrine was, however, advocated publicly by Brigham Young as an important belief of the Mormon Church. See Gary James Bergera, "The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict Within the Quorums, 1853–1868," DIALOGUE 13 (Summer 1980): 7–49, for details on Brigham Young's belief in the Adam-God doctrine, *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), p. 178C for extracts from the McConkie speech. If one were to follow McConkie's line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, one would have to conclude that Brigham Young was guilty of "deadly heresy"! It is difficult to imagine that any apostate or anti-Mormon statements could possibly be more damaging to the faith of sincere Latter-day Saints than some of the ill-informed and intemperate assertions made recently by Mormon leadership. For a more balanced assessment of the Adam-God doctrine and its significance, see Van Hale, *What About the Adam-God Theory?* (Bountiful, Utah: Mormon Miscellaneous, 1982).

Even more disturbing than the McConkie statement was the assertion, made in a speech at Brigham Young University 26 Feb. 1980, by Ezra Taft Benson, that the word of a living prophet of the Mormon Church supersedes all prior scripture, including the Bible and the standard works of Mormonism, as well as the words of any prior prophets of the Mormon Church. Quoted in *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), p. 185B. This astounding assertion strongly

In the face of such misunderstanding or misrepresentation of the record of Mormonism by some Latter-day Saints, the Tanners have sometimes played a positive role. Every organization, especially if it is highly authoritarian, is dependent for its ongoing health and vitality on its critics, both internal and external. Such individuals, whatever their motives may be, often provide essential information which might otherwise be overlooked, blow the whistle on errors and excesses, and in general help force the organization, whether it be religious or secular, to live up to its ideals and to keep honest, fit, and trim. In the secular sphere, for instance, Ralph Nader has made inestimable contributions to the health and vitality of American business, even though many businessmen have an intense personal aversion to him. By repeatedly, effectively, and with incontrovertible evidence, alerting the public to illegal, shoddy, and dangerous business practices, Nader has spurred many different enterprises to improve their products, making them safer and more competitive.

Jerald and Sandra Tanner have functioned in certain respects with regard to Mormonism in much the same way that Ralph Nader has functioned with regard to American business. While it is arguable that the Tanners' criticisms have been motivated purely by polemical intent and not, as in the case of Ralph Nader, by shared belief in basic principle, their criticisms nevertheless have not been without positive impact. The Tanners have challenged the Mormon Church, if it really believes in its own ideals, to live up to those ideals. They have challenged the Mormon Church, if it really believes in its own history, to find out what that history was. They have challenged the Mormon Church, if it purports to be a universal church, to correct its sectarian provincialisms such as its former policy of excluding blacks from full church membership. While such challenges obviously have not been popular and the Tanners have generally failed to give the Church due credit when it has met them, nevertheless through such challenges the Tanners have prodded the Church, however haltingly and imperfectly, to begin to develop a more realistic sense of itself.

The complex love-hate relationship which the Tanners have sustained so long with the Mormon Church must not be forgotten. By devoting nearly twenty-five years of their life to attacking Mormonism, the Tanners have borne the most eloquent possible witness to the importance which they ascribe to the Mormon faith, even though they view it as being mistaken. In discussing their motives, the Tanners quote a powerful letter from Duane Stanfield which explains why some "apostate Mormon and anti-Mormon critics" of the Latter-day Saint Church devote so much time and energy to their cause:

> I would say it's because they feel the truth is important; in fact nothing really matters in life but the truth. They feel that they had found the truth, and they gave it their heart, mind, and strength; and then found themselves to be, as they felt, in error. And when you have been deceived on such a scale, you want others to know about it, just

suggests a disturbing imbalance in the thinking of some individuals at the upper levels of the Mormon Church today which may lead to disastrous policy mistakes. So long as excesses in claims to authority and control are present within Mormonism, there will be ample work for individuals such as Jerald and Sandra Tanner to do.

> as one so dedicated and committed wants others to know about the [Mormon] Gospel.[57]

Mormonism appears to have disappointed the Tanners because they found it unable to provide them with a sense of total religious security, a faith which had all the answers. Instead, the Tanners have turned to Protestant fundamentalism for such security. Yet the painful irony is that if the Tanners had put the same effort into analyzing Protestant fundamentalism that they have into analyzing Mormonism, they would have realized that Protestant fundamentalism is also a historically limited movement which ultimately cannot provide them with the total religious security which they are seeking.

Far from being the unique and eternal message of true Christianity in the way that the Tanners see it, Protestant fundamentalism is itself an historically limited interpretation of Christianity. It developed out of a nineteenth-century counterreaction to new currents of thought, including the higher biblical criticism and new scientific and anthropological knowledge. Such knowledge appeared to undercut a monistic interpretation of truth. In response, Protestant fundamentalists increasingly demanded rigid adherence to certain specific beliefs such as the "inerrancy" of the Bible and the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. They also rejected or radically reinterpreted scientific knowledge such as that pertaining to evolutionary biology in order to shore up their literalistic interpretation of biblical stories such as the six-day creation account in Genesis.[58]

The result, in the view of many Christians, was that the Protestant fundamentalist movement tended to lose sight of the forest for the trees. Christianity had traditionally adopted a more flexible approach to truth than that put forward by the fundamentalists. To use only one classic example, Saint Augustine once observed with considerable eloquence:

> It often falls out that a Christian may not fully understand some point about the earth, the sky, or the other elements of this world — the motion, rotation, magnitude, and distances of the stars; the known vagaries of the sun and moon; the circuits of the years and epochs; the nature of animals, fruits, stones, and other things of that sort — and hence may not expound it rightly or make it clear by experiences. Now it is too absurd, yea, most pernicious and to be avoided at all costs, for an infidel to find a Christian so stupid as to argue these matters as if they were Christian doctrine; he will scarce contain his laughter at seeing error written in the skies, as the proverb says.[59]

Similarly, nineteenth-century Protestant fundamentalists could spend inordinate amounts of time arguing whether Jonah actually could have been

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[57] From a letter to DIALOGUE, Winter 1968, pp. 10–11, as quoted in *Shadow or Reality?* (1982), p. 573.

[58] For the best historical treatment of the development of Protestant fundamentalism in America, see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[59] From Saint Augustine, *De Genesis ad Litteram* [*On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*], as quoted in *Quarterly Newsletter of the Georgia Committee of Correspondence for Integrity in Scientific Education*, April 1983, p. 14. Galileo often quoted from Saint Augustine's book in defending himself against charges of infidelity to the Bible.

swallowed by a "great fish" and emerged alive three days later, while missing or downplaying the larger message of the book of Jonah.[60] Like the biblical Pharisees, whom Jesus so roundly excoriated, such literalists could "strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." [61] They were incapable of realizing that deep faith was possible without narrow literalism, a point which has most recently been illustrated in Raymond E. Brown's masterful and inspiring analysis of the birth narratives of Christ, *The Birth of the Messiah*.[62]

The Tanners, like many of the Mormon conservatives whose views they criticize, have not yet developed a faith which is sufficiently inclusive to encompass the full depth and richness of a mature Christianity.[63] Yet if the Tanners' perspective remains limited, their efforts nevertheless call attention to real challenges which the Mormon movement must meet if it is to remain healthy and vital. There are great dangers in being either too rigid or too openminded. Too-great rigidity limits our ability to seek truth wherever it may lead us. Too-great openminded risks leaving us with no vital beliefs or standards by which to judge our complex experiences. If Mormonism is to remain strong, it must continue to achieve a balance between its paradoxical polarities, especially between faith and works.[64] Only time can tell whether Mormonism will be able to live up to its full potential, creatively combining seemingly opposed elements into a compelling new synthesis reflecting that higher truth which is always beyond full human comprehension.

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[60] See the section on the Book of Jonah in F. C. Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and D. G. Downey, *The Abingdon Bible Commentary* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 787–90.

[61] Matt. 23:24. The significance of Jesus' parables, to use only one example, never depends on whether the stories are literally true, but rather on the underlying moral message.

[62] Raymond E. Brown's *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979) is a breakthrough interpretation which has been praised by Christians of widely divergent persuasions. Similarly powerful on the Resurrection is Norman Perrin, *The Resurrection According to Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977). Another analysis of accounts of the Resurrection is Reginald H. Fuller, *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980). If the Tanners and their supporters wish to be taken seriously, they must use consistent standards in evaluating both Mormonism and their own faith.

[63] A lengthy analysis could be written on the limitations of Protestant fundamentalism when it is viewed as the sole valid approach to Christianity. For a lively parable suggesting a starting point for moving toward an understanding of mature Christianity, see Nels F. S. Ferré, *The Sun and the Umbrella* (New York: Harper, 1953).

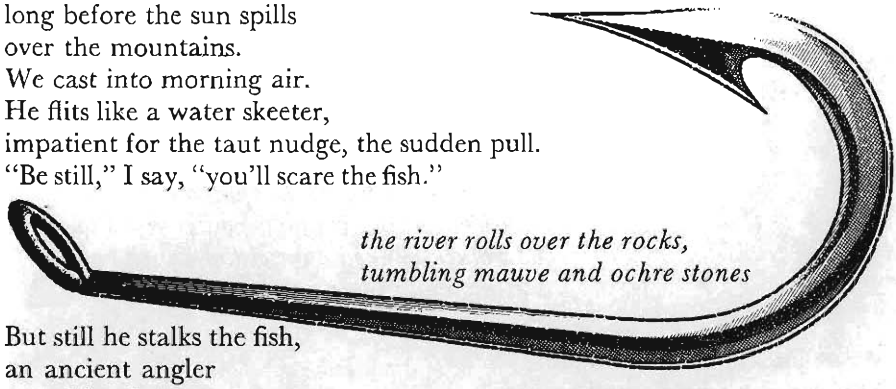
[64] On the inevitable tension between structure and anti-structure in all human societies, see Victor F. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969). See also Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, pp. 245–47.

Fishers

(fishing with my son on the Upper Weber)

Robert A. Rees

In the last days of summer
we walk through tall grass
to the river
long before the sun spills
over the mountains.
We cast into morning air.
He flits like a water skeeter,
impatient for the taut nudge, the sudden pull.
"Be still," I say, "you'll scare the fish."



the river rolls over the rocks,
tumbling mauve and ochre stones

But still he stalks the fish,
an ancient angler
crouching in wet grass.
"Where are all the fish?" he asks.
"Here, where the current slides away;
there, by that big rock"

there, where the shards of morning
break deep on stippled stones,
where clouds wash over wild and watery weeds

Shadows recede against the mountains.
He asks, "Where do fish come from?"
"Some have lived here for many years;
others are planted each spring
by the hatchery."

they swim from secret pools in the sky,
from starry rivers among the spheres, like birds
that fly through seas on fluent wings

"Have there always been fish?"
"As long as anyone remembers,
long before your grandfather and your great-grandfather,
long before the Indians were here."

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ancient fish swim down the headwaters of time,
from old lakes deep as skies, where
Indians wait for rain
on a seamless shore

Still the fish ignore our hooks
and still he wonders,
"What do fish bite?
What do they like to eat?"
"Sometimes corn or salmon eggs;
night crawlers are usually best,
although they love insects."

insects with frail iridescent wings
swim in the wind — mayflies and moths,
bumblebees and beeflies, golden-eyed lacewings
and black-winged damselflies dance before
shifting and sliding rainbows

"What kinds of fishes are there?"
"Mostly trout here — rainbows and a
few browns. Over in the lake there
are bluegill and perch."

sturgeon old as stone,
walleyed pike and yellow perch,
black bass, mackerel, and blue pickerel,
brown trout, rainbow trout, and silver salmon
glide and turn in the crystal night,
their scales catching slanted sun

"Did you use to go fishing with Grandad?"
"When I was a boy, we'd get up
at three in the morning
and drive over Mt. Hood
to the Deschutes River where we'd
catch trout as big as your arm."
"Who's best, you or Grandad?"
"Grandad's pretty good.
He can catch fish where no one else can."

our ship sails over the mountain toward the
dawn where, in the morning mist, deer
run before us as in a dream;
at the river my father watches the wind and the

water for signs I cannot discern, and suddenly a
giant trout jumps into the air to greet us,
his mottled body silvers the sun
before my startled eyes

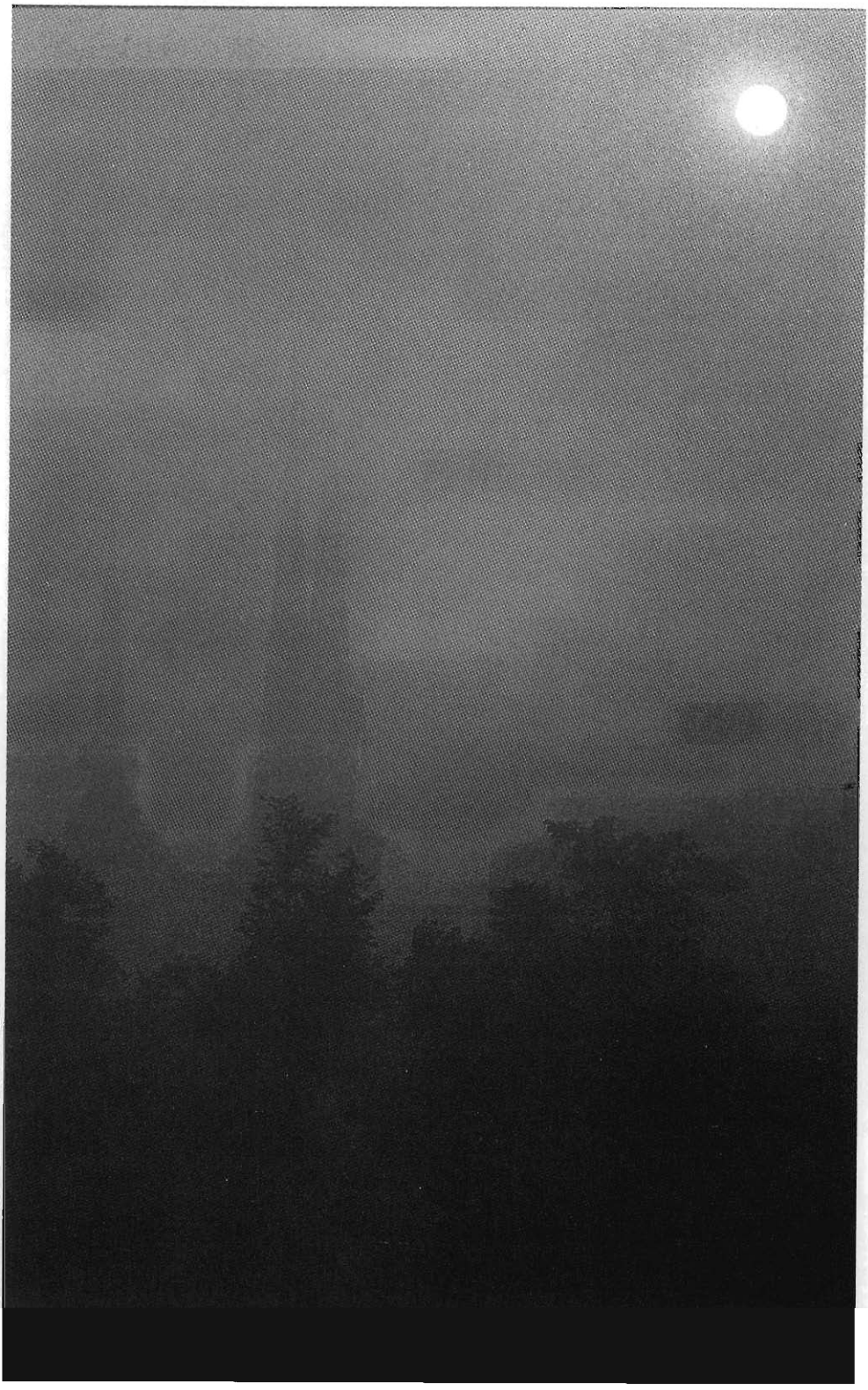
"But the greatest fisher of all
lived a long, long time ago. They called him
the Fisher King, and the fish of all the
waters listened for his voice, and when
he called them or when he sang his song,
they came right up to him."
He arches his eyebrow: "Really?
That's just a story, isn't it, Dad?"
"Maybe, maybe not."

fish leap before him as he walks
on the waves, and whales praise him
from the great green sea;
he casts his net into the brine and
heaves it brimming into the boat,
and at the psalming of his voice,
the fish dance joyfully about his feet

"Dad! Look! I've got a bite!"
His pole arches against the sun
and dips into the river.
"Hold him! Reel in, reel in!
That's it, don't lose him! Steady now."
The stippled trout flops
wildly at his feet;
he watches it with wonder.

When the sun reaches its zenith
my son and I turn from the river and
walk toward the mountain
through summer air filled
with the incense of sage.
His fish in one hand, he reaches up
and puts his other in mine.
"Thanks for taking me fishing, Dad," he says,
"I love you."
And a fish leaps in my breast

and into the sky, arching over
all streams and all seas,
a rainbow over the broken world



The Mormon Concept of God

Blake T. Ostler

The conflict between the God of religious worship and the god of philosophical inquiry has plagued Judeo-Christian theology since the union of Greek philosophy with Hebrew religion in the first centuries of the Christian era. The conflict in this union arises from the most basic religious needs. In response to our finitude, we refuse to worship anything less than the absolute, yet we employ modes of worship such as prayer that presuppose a personal, finite being as the object of our devotion. Understandably, this conflict remains even in Mormon thought. For while Mormonism espouses an unrefined finitist theology, it is tempted to return to the Catholic/Protestant understanding of an absolute God, against which it rebelled in its origins. The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that such an absolutist concept of God entails insuperable difficulties while the finitist concept of God avoids these problems and is more adequate to the Judeo-Christian understanding in general and essential to the Mormon revelation in particular.

The very act of worship may appear paradoxical. Kneeling before deity symbolizes both an intimate I-Thou relationship and the infinite distance interposed between God's infinite being and our finite, precarious existence. Theologians of traditional Catholic/Protestant theology insist that God must be absolute to be the adequate object of faith. If God were conditioned in any sense (thus in some respects finite), he could not be trusted unconditionally. For what is conditional may fail us if the conditions happen to be unfavorable.[1] Theologians since Anselm have insisted that God must be the greatest conceivable being, for anything less is not worthy of our devotion, awe, and re-

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[1] Charles Hartshorne, *The Divine Relativity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Press, 1948), p. 22.

spect.[2] More recently, Paul Tillich realized that the truly absolute must be beyond predication; it is even improper for one to say that "God exists." The only assertion that one can properly make of God is that he (it?) is "being itself." Being itself is our "ultimate concern," and worship of a person, even one denoted "God," is idolatry for Tillich.[3] Theologians have preferred the absolute to the personal because, as Sterling McMurrin observed, "their god must have the whole world in his hands for they do not propose to take their problems to a god who has problems of his own." [4]

It is absurd, however, for persons to take their problems to an absolute being who literally could not care less about human affairs, a being to whom human existence could not possibly add or have meaning. Indeed, I believe that Christianity is based on the fundamental premise that *our problems are God's problems.* The theologians have never successfully bamboozled the masses into praying to the God of theology. In prayer, we seek a God who is responsive, loving, and personal — and rightly so, for personality, however illusive its definition, is the highest attribute we know.[5] Yet the absolute cannot possess a single attribute of personality, for as Karl Barth noted, the absolute is "Totally Other Than" persons.[6]

The absolute necessarily possesses the qualities by which it is characterized unconditionally and perfectly. Traditionally, the absolute is defined as unrelated (and therefore as transcending interpersonal relationships); as impassive (and therefore incapable of compassion); as immutable (and therefore unchanging in response to our needs and petitions); as "Pure Act" (and therefore untouched by influences); as timeless (and therefore incapable of acting or being acted upon). Hence, notwithstanding innumerable attempts by theologians to understand the living God of Sinai in terms of impersonal absolutes derived from Greek metaphysics, a person seeking to enter into a relationship with deity cannot consistently maintain that God is absolute in the classical sense.

It is precisely here, in Mormonism's understanding of the relationship of God to persons, that its greatest contribution to religion can be made. Herein also lies its greatest philosophical strength. Although Mormonism lacks a systematic theology, it affirms at least a few remarkably coherent propositions about the nature of God, mortals, and the universe. In contrast to the unrelated and unconditioned absolute of traditional theology, the Mormon deity is related to and hence conditioned by an eternal environment which, because it is not totally his creation, is not absolutely subject to divine fiat.

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[2] Anselm, "Monologium" Ch. 4 and "Proslogium" 2 in *St. Anselm, Basic Writings*, trans. S. N. Deane (LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court Press, 1966), Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part 1, Questions 2, 3.

[3] Paul Tillich, *The Courage To Be* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Press, 1948), p. 172.

[4] Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), p. 139.

[5] W. H. Reade, *The Christian Challenge to Philosophy* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1951), p. 125.

[6] Karl Barth, *The Humanity of God* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1960), p. 139.

The importance of this fundamental departure from traditional theology can hardly be overstated. In contrast to the static, timeless, and immutable *Being* of scholasticism, the God of Mormon revelation is a dynamic being among beings involved in the process of time, who intervenes in history to bring order out of chaos and value out of discord. In contrast to the self-sufficient and solitary absolute who creates *ex nihilo* (out of nothing), the Mormon God did not bring into being the ultimate constituents of the cosmos — neither its fundamental matter nor the space/time matrix which defines it. Hence, unlike the Necessary Being of classical theology who alone could not *not* exist and on which all else is contingent for existence, the personal God of Mormonism confronts uncreated realities which exist of metaphysical necessity. Such realities include inherently self-directing selves (intelligences), primordial elements (mass/energy), the natural laws which structure reality, and moral principles grounded in the intrinsic value of selves and the requirements for their growth and happiness. Because of these fundamental assertions, Mormonism is in a far better position than orthodox theology to explain how God may be both the adequate object of faith and the intimate Thou encountered in prayer. However, Mormons have rarely appreciated the strength of their doctrine of God, nor have they realized how essentially their view differs from Catholic/Protestant theology.

This essay employs the tools of philosophical analysis to examine the meaning of Mormon assumptions about the nature of God. The major assumption of this philosophical approach is that a proposition like "X created a perfectly round square" doesn't suddenly make sense simply because "God" is substituted for "X." A collection of meaningless words is meaningless even if God is the subject of the predicate. While there is much that we do not and cannot understand about God, our ignorance does not give us license to talk nonsense. Intellectual integrity demands that we face the implications of our beliefs. Hence, this essay treats the logical implications of various concepts Mormons have proposed concerning God's omniscience, omnipotence, and the adequate object of worship.

Omniscience

Concepts of Free-Will

The idea that God is all-knowing, or omniscient, is essential to the Judeo-Christian concept of God. The Hebrew-Christian scripture is replete with statements affirming God's knowledge of all things and predictions of future events. Passages in the Old and New Testaments do not give definitional statements of God's knowledge, however, and I believe it is a mistake to treat them as such. From the time of Origen and Augustine, the two greatest thinkers in the Christian tradition, theologians have confronted problems which arise if God knows everything. What is the point of prayer if God already knows what is best for us and is committed to bringing it about? How can human actions be free if they are determined beforehand?

In the history of Christian thought, a controversy developed between those who emphasized God's omnipotence and omniscience at the expense of human

freedom, such as Augustine, Luther, and Calvin, and those who emphasized human freedom and moral responsibility despite God's knowledge and power, such as Pelagius, Luis de Molina, and Arminius.[7] These conflicts in Christian doctrine have led to various ideas of human freedom and divine foreknowledge. The problem of reconciling human free-agency with divine foreknowledge depends upon the particular idea of freedom espoused. Those who insist on God's absoluteness have generally adopted a weakened form of human freedom compatible with determinism. The most thorough work on free will is Jonathan Edward's *Freedom of the Will*, an impressive work in the Calvinist tradition demonstrating that if free will is considered as the ability to do what one pleases but not necessarily to please as one pleases, then foreknowledge and free-agency are compatible.[8] The problem for such thinkers is not the incompatibility of free-agency and divine foreknowledge but the problem of evil and whether such an idea of freedom is a sound base for moral responsibility.

Traditional theology has often come perilously close to denying moral responsibility altogether as a result of its absolutistic emphasis. For example, the Augustinian doctrine of prevenient grace (the notion that man can will only evil unless grace irresistibly turns his will to God) denies man any moral responsibility whatsoever, including the responsibility of initiating a redeeming faith in Christ. This doctrine, defended by Aquinas, Luther and Calvin, was logically associated with the notions of original sin and predestination.[9] In the doctrine of prevenient grace, observed Sterling McMurrin, "Christian orthodoxy took its stand on a principle that guaranteed the utter moral and spiritual

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[7] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. 5, Chs. 9–11; and *De Libero Arbitrio Voluntatis*, Bk. 3, Ch. 3; Martin Luther observes, "If we believe it to be true that God foreknows and foreordains all things; that He cannot be deceived or obstructed in His foreknowledge and predestination; and that nothing happens but at His will (which reason itself is compelled to grant); then, on reason's own testimony, there can be no 'free-will' in man, or angel, or in any creature." *De Servo Arbitrio*, in J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, *Luther, On the Bondage of the Will* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1957), pp. 784–86; John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (London: Westminster Press, 1961) 3.13.6: "Since God foresees future events only by reason of the fact that he decreed that they take place, they vainly raise a quarrel over foreknowledge, when it is clear that all things take place rather by his determination and bidding." Pelagius, *Pro Libero Arbitrio* Chs. 10–14; Luis De Molina, *Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis . . . Concordia* 6; Arminius, *Opera: Declaratio Sentimentii* Bk. 1, 247.

[8] According to Edwards, freedom is "the power, opportunity, or advantage, that anyone has, to do as he pleases. Or in other words, his being free from hindrance or impediment in the way of doing, or conducting in any respect, as he wills." See Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards*, ed. B. Franklin (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), p. 152. In contrast, de Molina maintains: "That agent is free which can act and refrain from action or can do one thing while being able to do its opposite." *Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis*, p. 14.

[9] Augustine, *De Predestinatione* 100.107; *De Corroptione et Gratia* 14; *Enchiridion* 100.2; In *De Gratiae et Libero Arbitrio*, Augustine explains that before the fall Adam was in the position of *posse non peccare*, able not to sin. After the fall, however, mankind is in the position of *non posse non peccare*, unable to not sin. We can do no good unless we are freed from our bondage to sin by God's grace, which returns us to Adam's state of being able to not sin. He states, however, that God turns the wills whenever he wants to and the will cannot resist God's grace. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Qu. 23, Art. 5; Luther, *De Servo Arbitrio*, 614–20; Calvin, Institutes, Bk. 2, ch. 1.

impotence of man as a necessary corollary of its absolutistic concept of God." [10]

Mormonism especially reflects the Arminian revolt against Calvinism, emphasizing human freedom and individual responsibility for salvation. Though man is dependent on Christ's atonement in an essential way, Mormonism rejects every form of predestination and reprobation and repudiates irresistible grace and arbitrary election. Mormonism espouses the stronger Arminian idea of freedom of choice among genuine alternatives, the freedom of choice between good and evil. Man is not only free to choose evil in accordance with his depraved character as Augustine maintained, but he is free to desire the good and to freely change his character. Such a choice, if genuine, is undetermined in advance.

However, when freedom is conceived in this stronger way a major problem arises if God foresees precisely what must happen. For if I am morally responsible for an action, I must also be free to refrain from doing that action. But if God knows what my action is before I do it, then it is not genuinely possible for me to do otherwise. For it cannot be the case that God knows Jones will rob a 7-11, for example, and that Jones in fact refrain from robbing that 7-11. Because divine foreknowledge is necessarily infallible (indeed, any true knowledge is infallible), any proposition about the content of divine knowledge entails a logical truth and precludes all other possibilities. The statement, "God knows that Jones will rob that 7-11 on 8 August 1995," logically entails that Jones will rob that 7-11 on that date. Hence, Jones is not free *not* to do as God knows he will, in fact, do. Hence, Jones is not morally free.

The conclusion in the above argument logically follows from its premises.[11] If the premises are accepted as sound, then foreknowledge and free-agency in the stronger sense of freedom of alternative choices are not logically compatible. Such notables as Augustine, Origen, and Elder James E. Talmage have attacked this form of argument. They observed that God's knowledge of the future does not *cause* future events to happen; rather, future events give rise to God's foreknowledge.[12] To the argument of the Pelagians that without

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[10] McMurrin, *Theological Foundations*, p. 70.

[11] Stated formally:

1. If I am free with respect to X, then I have a genuine option to do or refrain from doing X.
2. If an option is genuine (i.e, not merely apparent), then both doing and refraining from doing X must be logically possible.
3. God exists and has foreknowledge (i.e., for all X, if X, then God knows that X).
4. Whatever God knows (infallibly believes) is true.
5. Hence, if God believes that I will do X, then it is analytic that I will do X (3, 4).
6. If it is analytic that I will do X, then refraining from doing X is not logically possible (5).
7. Hence, I do not have a genuine option to do or refrain from doing X (2, 3, 6).
8. Hence, I am not free with respect to any morally significant action X (1, 2, 7).

[12] Augustine, tran. Marcus Dods, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. 5, Ch. 10. "Our wills, therefore, *exist as wills* and do themselves whatever we do by willing, and which would not be done if we were unwilling. . . . It is not the case, therefore, that because God foreknew what would be in the power of our wills, there is for that reason nothing in the power of our wills. . . . Therefore, we are by no means compelled, either, retaining the prescience of God, to take

freedom to choose among genuine alternatives of good and evil there is no genuine free will, Augustine responded that whatever is willed is willed *freely* and that God's foreknowledge of this willing makes it no less free.[13] Jonathan Edwards demonstrated to his Arminian contemporaries that the *power* to conduct oneself in accordance with one's desires is compatible with the idea that one did an action while having power to refrain from doing it. The mere fact that God foreknows this action, argued Edwards, does not entail that one is powerless not do to it.[14]

The account of free will given by Augustine and Edwards, however, fails to provide a meaningful concept of freedom. If the idea of freedom is to have any significant meaning, then the phrase "I did X *freely*" must add something to the phrase "I did X." The crux of the matter is simply this: in every instance where it can be said that I had the power to do other than I in fact did, if one adds the proposition of God's foreknowledge, I could have done otherwise only *had God's foreknowledge been different* — but with this assertion we must retract the proposition and replace it with *could not have done other-*

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away the freedom of the will, or, retaining the freedom of the will, to deny that He is prescient of future things." Origen, *Peri Euches* (On Prayer), Bk. 8, Chs. 3–4: "And among all the things God foreordains in accordance with what He has seen concerning each deed of our freedom, there has been foreordained according to merit for each motion of our freedom what will meet it from providence and still cohere with the chain of future events. And so, *God's foreknowledge is not the cause of everything that will come to be, even of our freedom when we are made active by our own impulse.* . . . Our individual freedom is known to Him and consequently foreseen by Him . . . and what He wills him to have is decided beforehand." James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Winchester, Mass.: University Press, 1915), p. 28, note 1: "Can it be said that a father's foreknowledge is a cause of the son's sinful life? . . . [God] foresees the future as a state which naturally and surely will be; not as one which must be because He has arbitrarily willed that it shall be."

[13] Augustine, *De Libero Arbitrio Volantatis*, Bk. 3, Ch. 3 "We do not deny that God foreknows all that is to be, and that notwithstanding we may will what we will. For when he foreknows our will, it will be that very will that He foreknows. It will therefore be a will, because His foreknowledge is of a will. Nor can it be a will if it is not in our power." In distinction from a power of alternative choice, Augustine taught that the will is free when it acts purely from within itself and is not compelled to act from without. "No man is compelled by the power of God to evil or good; but that he wills the good is a grace of God." *Contra duas epistolas Pelagius*, Bk. 1, Ch. 2: "The Pelagians say that man's nature, which was made with free will, is sufficient to keep us from all sin, and to fulfil all righteousness; and that this is the grace of God, that we were so made that we could do this by our own will." Augustine, *De gestis contra Pelagius*. Pelagius insisted that men would be saved or damned by virtue of their own sins and not that of Adam because Adam's sin affected only Adam. Pelagius' ideas were condemned in a council at Carthage in A.D. 412. Mormonism is a modern-day Pelagianism of sorts.

[14] Edwards's *Works*, pp. 185–97. Arminius believed that the divine decrees were not absolute but conditional upon the exercise of free-will. Arminius claimed that the atonement made man free to choose good from evil, and that salvation depended upon man's free acceptance of grace. Arminius, *Opera: Declaratio sentimentii*, 16. Mormonism was especially influenced by the Arminian ideas of freedom and salvation. The idea of freedom as alternative choce was stated masterfully by Lehi in the Book of Mormon: "The Messiah cometh in the fullness of time, that he may redeem the children of men from the fall. *And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon* . . . men are free according to the flesh . . . to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity of the devil." (2 Ne. 2:26–27, italics added); see also 2 Ne. 10:23; Hela. 14:30–31.

wise, for God's foreknowledge is not different. This power to do otherwise is meaningless in the context of God's foreknowledge. "Willing" is not synonymous with "willing freely," for a free will entails choice among alternatives that are genuinely open. An alternative that can never be chosen is not genuine; it is mere appearance.

The answer given by Origen, Augustine, and Talmage fails to reconcile the problem of foreknowledge and free-agency because causation is neither mentioned nor implied in the premises of my argument above. The problem is not that God's knowledge *causes* me to will in a given way. The argument does not assert that acts are coerced by causes or anything else; it merely asserts that given God's foreknowledge, things occur as God knows they will *no matter what*. The problem is not one of determinism, or the notion that all events including human volitions are necessitated by antecedent causes. Rather the issue is one of fatalism, the notion that future events are inevitable. The fatalist asserts merely that of all the things that happen in the world, none are avoidable. They never were. Some of them only seemed so.[15] Human will is no match for such inexorable fate. If God knows the future precisely, then the future is fixed and so are human actions.

Elder Talmage also attempted to resolve the problem of foreknowledge and free-agency by an analogy suggesting that because parents can often accurately predict the actions of their children without necessitating fatalism, then so can God.[16] There are two problems with this solution. First, the analogy breaks down at the most crucial point of similarity. While the "knowledge" a parent has of his/her children does not suggest fatalism because the parent could be (indeed at times is) wrong, the foreknowledge of God entails fatalism because it is necessarily infallible. God cannot be surprised if he has absolute foreknowledge. Second, the logical implication of the analogy is that our future actions can be predicted without error on the basis of our past actions, that our character is so determined that we could not possibly change. The analogy is based on a hidden premise of soft-determinism, the notion that our choices are determined by our character and our character is determined by causal antecedents.

The soft-determinist attempts to solve the problem by rejecting the stronger concept of freedom (categorical or contra-causal freedom) and adopting a weaker form of freedom as the absence of external coercion.[17] Though Jones

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[15] Richard Taylor, *Metaphysics*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 65. Boethius saw the problem more clearly: "I cannot agree with the argument by which some people believe that they can solve the problem [of foreknowledge and free-will]. . . . For they say that it is not necessary that things should happen because they are foreseen, but only that things that will happen be foreseen, *as though the problem were whether divine Providence is the cause of the necessity of future events.* . . . Nevertheless, it is necessary either that things which are going to happen be foreseen by God, or that what God foresees will in fact happen, and either way the freedom of the human will is destroyed." *De Consolatione Philosophiae Prose III.*

[16] Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 28, n. 2.

[17] This notion of freedom is often termed "hypothetical freedom" because the alternative choices are in reality never exercised, but are only hypothetically possible. Such a notion

cannot choose otherwise given his character, Jones is free if he could have chosen otherwise *had he so chosen*. In other words, Jones is free to the extent that he is not externally constrained or impeded from doing as he desires to do. This concept of freedom is consistent with God's foreknowledge, for it does not require the possibility of choice among alternatives that are genuinely open. Even if Jones has only one course of action open to him, he is free to the extent he desires that course of action and is not externally coerced to do it. Hence, even if Jones is inherently depraved in nature and can do only evil, he is free if he desires to do evil.

The soft-determinists also correctly point out that the idea of freedom as indeterminate uncaused cause is incompatible with moral responsibility.[18] Indeterminism is the idea that human actions are not governed by laws of cause and effect but by chance and randomness. If my actions were not subject to causal laws, my arm could simply fly out and punch Jones in the nose, irrespective of my desires. We can hardly associate such random and uncontrollable acts with acts for which an agent is responsible. Hence, the soft-determinist claims that freedom requires causal determinism and that my actions flow from my character, but persons are never free to do other than they in fact do.

It is doubtful, however, that this weaker concept of human freedom adequately explains morally significant actions. It makes little sense to morally blame Jones for robbing that 7-11 if Jones could not refrain from doing so. We assess moral blame to a person only if he/she fails to do what we think he ought to have done. Hence, if we morally blame Jones for robbing that 7-11, we imply that Jones could have refrained from doing so even though he did not. *I may be free to do as I desire, but if I am not free but to desire as I do, I am not blameworthy for the results of those desires.* Moreover, a definition of freedom as the absence of external coercion assigns moral freedom to acts which are not, in fact, the result of a free choice. For example, the fact that a two-year-old is free to void his bladder without external constraint and whenever he desires does not amount to freedom. A person may be said to exercise free-agency in a morally significant sense only if he/she is ultimately responsible for his/her chosen act and if he/she could have chosen otherwise.

I believe that the traditional ideas of freedom must be refined if morally significant freedom is to be asserted. First, the concept of causal necessity, as determinists have often conceived it, is misleading in the context of human freedom. The fact that events are limited by causal patterns does not mean that human volition is necessitated in the sense that alternative choice is not

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is usually associated with David Hume, *An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) sec. 8. It is clear, however, that Augustine had enunciated this notion of freedom long before Hume. See also R. E. Hobart, "The Harmony of Free Will and Determinism" in David Berlinski, ed., *Philosophy: The Cutting Edge* (New York: Alfred Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 568–88. Sterling McMurrin also accepts the notion of freedom as absence of coercion, *Religion, Reason, and Truth* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), p. 216.

[18] For a treatment of this point in the context of Mormon thought, see Kent Robson, "The Foundation of Freedom in Mormon Thought," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.–Oct. 1982): 51–54. My thanks to Dr. Robson for his helpful suggestions and kind discussions.

possible. As the positivist philosopher A. J. Ayer noted, it has not yet been shown that human behavior is subject to natural law in the sense required of determinism.[19] Science long ago abandoned the vulgar view that compares causation to coercion—including the view that causes necessitate their effects—in favor of a more subtle view of causation dealing primarily with relations of events, especially in "sciences" like psychology which deal with human volition.

Second, the determinist has erected a false dichotomy, claiming that the only alternative to causal determinism is random indeterminism. There is a third notion of human agency that is neither the inevitable effect of a person's determined character nor merely a random occurrence. It is a notion of agency as "creative synthesis." Consciousness is a synthesis of unorganized stimuli into an integrated experience, and freedom inevitably arises from this creative act. Human freedom consists of a synthetic unity of experience not present in the stimuli from which consciousness arises. Freedom is created by "the actual self alive in the moment of free decision."[20] While a free act arises from the agent's character, it does not arise in a determined and wholly predictable way, for the character is itself partially formed and partially reformed in the moment of free decision. Charles Hartshorne, the process philosopher whose insights inspired this notion of freedom, states that "each of us adds to the world something that no wisdom could have wholly foreseen. This creating, this deciding of the otherwise undecided, this forming of the previously inchoate, is our dignity . . . each of us is an artist whose product is life or experience itself."[21]

I believe that this idea of agency as creative synthesis is consistent with the Mormon idea that persons freely shape their character over time. For unless choices both arise from and influence the agent's character, no such character development is possible. However, this straightforward sense of categorical freedom requires the possibility of choice among genuine alternatives and is, therefore, incompatible with infallible foreknowledge. In this view, Jones's choices are not determined until Jones chooses. If God knew in 600 B.C. that Jones would rob that 7-11 in 1995, however, then it is impossible for Jones to choose otherwise. Suppose Jones did in fact refrain from robbing the 7-11 in the moment of free decision? Then in 1995 Jones caused God to hold a false belief. Because it is pure nonsense to suggest that God knew something but was wrong about it, the possibility that Jones could refrain from robbing that 7-11 in 1995 is logically excluded. Because Mormonism is committed to the stronger idea of freedom entailed in alternative choice, it must reconsider the nature of God's omniscience.

One redefinition of omniscience has been suggested to solve the problem confronting omniscience and free-will in the absolutist tradition. Aquinas suggested that God knows timelessly and therefore does not have *fore*knowledge

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[19] A. J. Ayer, *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Random House, 1982), p. 16.

[20] Charles Hartshorne, *The Logic of Perfection* (LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court Books, 1962), p. 20; see also C. A. Campbell. *On Selfhood and Godhood* (London, England: Allen & Unwin, 1957), ch. 9.

[21] Hartshorne, *Logic of Perfection*, p. 20.

(or *before* knowledge), but absolute knowledge of past, present, and future simultaneously.[22] This suggestion proves even more problematic than the problem of foreknowledge.

Timelessness

The concept of timelessness derives from Platonism and was introduced into Judaism by Philo Judaeus and into Christianity by Boethius, a pagan philosopher, and by Augustine.[23] A timeless being, however, could not coherently do any of the things the biblical deity is said to have done, such as create a world, enter into a relationship with a human being, or respond to prayer.

If God were timeless, he could not be omnipotent. Indeed, a timeless being is necessarily impotent. For if something is produced or created, then it begins in time and therefore has position in time. If God cannot produce objects or states of affairs having position in time, he must be incapable of doing anything whatsoever, for production of a temporal state of affairs requires a relation to what is produced. Hence, if God is timeless, he could not have created anything at all.[24]

The proposition that God is timeless also logically entails that he is immutable and impassible, or unchanging and without passions. If God changes in any manner then he must be characterized at some time [t_n] differently from God as characterized prior to that time [at t_{n-1}]. Neither can God be influenced by prayer or any human action, for if God were influenced by prayer offered at a given time [t_n], he would have to be emotionally different at some time after the prayer [at t_{n+1}].

In relation to the idea of free-will, if God knows that Jones will rob that 7-11 in 1995, the idea of timelessness suggests not merely that Jones cannot refrain from robbing that 7-11 in 1995, but that he has already robbed it from all eternity. Indeed, in the same moment of reality, Jones is robbing the 7-11, repenting, and sitting exalted beside God. In fact, a timeless being could not know anything at all.[25] David Hume observed,

> Ought we never to abscribe to [God] any attributes that are absolutely incompatible with that intelligent nature essential to him. A mind whose acts and senti-

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[22] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Qu. 1, Art. 13. "His knowledge is measured by eternity, as is also His Being; and eternity, being simultaneously whole, comprises all time."

[23] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Prose 3, ch. 6; Augustine, *De Genesis ad Litteram* 8.26.48.

[24] Stated formally:

1. If God is timeless, he transcends temporal succession.
2. If God performs any action (such as create a world or respond to prayer), then he must bring about a state of affairs at some time t_n, different from a state of affairs prior to His action at t_{n-1}.
3. Thus, any such action entails temporal succession (2).
4. Premise 3 precludes premise 1.
5. Therefore, God cannot be both timeless and creator of a world or responsive to prayer (4).

[25] Norman Kretzman suggests that omniscience and immutability are incompatible attributes. Because a timeless being is immutable, a timeless being is not omniscient, for it could

ments and ideas are not distinct and successive, one that is wholly simple and totally immutable, is a mind which has no thought, no reason, no will, no sentiment, no love, no hatred; or in a word, is no mind at all. It is an abuse of terms to give it that appelation.[26]

Mormons have generally been aware that their idea of God requires that he be involved in process even though he may stand in a different relation to time than do mortals. For instance, Orson Pratt told the Reverend F. Austin: "God and all his magnificant works are limited to duration and time. It could not be otherwise." [27] B. H. Roberts told the Reverend Vander Donckt that in taking Jesus Christ as the revelation of the nature of God, there is necessarily a "succession of time with God — a before and an after; here is being and becoming." [28] However, the notion that God is timeless has recently been introduced into Mormon thought. Neal A. Maxwell of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, writes, "The past, present, and future are before God *simultaneously*. . . . Therefore, God's omniscience is not solely a function of prolonged and discerning familiarity with us — but of the stunning reality that the past, present, and future are part of an 'eternal now' with God" [29] (italics in original). The idea of God's eternity here appears to consist not in the Hebrew notion of God's eternal duration *in time* without beginning or end; but of transcendence of temporal succcession. In fairness to Elder Maxwell, we must recognize that his observations are meant as rhetorical expressions to inspire worship rather than as an exacting philosophical analysis of the idea of timelessness. Furthermore, in a private conversation in January 1984, Elder Maxwell told me that he is unfamiliar with the classical idea of timelessness and the problems it entails. His intent was not to convey the idea that God transcends temporal succession, but "to help us trust in God's perspectives, and not to be too constrained by our own provincial perceptions while we are in this mortal cocoon." [30]

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not know which states of affairs are now actual. "Omniscience and Immutability," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 43:14 (1966). Consider the problem formally:

1. A perfect being is not subject to change (i.e., is immutable).
2. A perfect being knows everything (i.e., is omniscient).
3. A being that knows everything knows what time it is (i.e., which states of affairs are now actual).
4. A being that always knows what time it is must be subject to change (i.e., to say of any being that it knows something different from what it used to know is to say it has changed in relation to the objects of its knowledge).
5. Hence, a perfect being is subject to change (2, 3, 4).
6. Hence, a perfect being is not a perfect being (1, 5).
7. Hence, there is not a being that is both immutable and omniscient (6).

[26] David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (New York: Hafer Publishing, 1948), p. 32.

[27] Orson Pratt, *The Kingdom of God*, Liverpool, 21 Oct. 1848, No. 2, p. 4. See Kent Robson, "Time and Omniscience in Mormon Thought" *Sunstone* 5 (May–June 1980): 17–23 for a general treatment of temporal referents in Mormon scriptures.

[28] B. H. Roberts, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1908), pp. 95–96.

[29] Neal A. Maxwell. *All These Things Shall Give Thee Experience* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979), pp. 95–96.

[30] I refer to this private conversation and to excerpts from Elder Maxwell's letter with his permission. He writes, "I would never desire to do, say, or write anything which would

The deity of Mormonism, in particular could not be timeless because he is corporeal and therefore has spatial position. If our idea of space entails a number of consecutive temporal positions, then even a perfected body must relate to time. Further, if matter is uncreated, then time is an eternal aspect of reality. Indeed, for Mormons spirit and matter are described as essentially the same, and therefore spirit also occupies space, has location and moves in spatio-temporal dimensions.[31] The Mormon God, like the biblical God, is described in terms distinctively human such as caring, judging, forgiving, responding, and freely choosing. Nelson Pike demonstrated, in what is probably the most thorough treatment of the idea of timelessness to date, that the idea is incoherent when applied to anything that possesses such human attributes, for all of these actions logically entail a succession of time.[32]

I believe that the idea of a God who is in no place and in no time is an idea of no God. If God is incorporeal in the sense that he lacks all spatial extension, then he also lacks temporal identity. He cannot consistently be conceived as a personal identity because he lacks all criteria of identity. There is no way to distinguish him from any other identity. If God does not have temporal identity or "bodily" extension, *person* has no cognitive content when applied to him.[33]

A Mormon Concept of Omniscience

Mormonism has often demonstrated an innate genius in dealing with the problems of God's omniscience. Indeed, Mormons have quite willingly modified their understanding of omniscience. The proposition elucidated by Orson Pratt that "God cannot learn new truths" was officially pronounced false doctrine by Brigham Young and his counselors in 1860 and again in 1865.[34] Brigham Young declared, "According to theory, God can progress no further in knowledge and power, but the God that I serve is progressing eternally, and so are His children." [35] Wilford Woodruff taught, "God Himself is increasing

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cause others unnecessary problems. . . . I would not have understood certain philosophical implications arising (for some) because I quoted from Purtill who, in turn, quoted from Boethius. Nor would I presume to know of God's past, including His former relationship to time and space." Elder Neal A. Maxwell to Blake T. Ostler, 24 Jan. 1984. My thanks to Elder Maxwell for his helpful and generous comments on this and numerous other subjects.

[31] "There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine and pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes; we cannot see it" (D&C 131:7–8). "The elements are eternal . . ." (D&C 93:33).

[32] Nelson Pike, *God and Timelessness* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 121ff. Much of my analysis of the problem of timelessness is indebted to Pike.

[33] Terence Penelhum, *Survival and Disembodied Spirits* (London, 1970), pp. 54ff.; Paul Edwards, "Some Notes on Anthropomorphic Theology" in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Religious Experience and Truth* (New York: New York University Press, 1961), pp. 241–50; See also Richard Swineburne's rejoinder in *The Coherence of Theism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 106–25.

[34] The 1860 statement is in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 2:214–23; the 1865 statement is in *Millennial Star* 26 (21 Oct. 1865): 658–60.

[35] Parley P. Pratt. *Journal of Discourses of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, England, 1856), 11:26. Hereafter cited as JD by volume and page.

and progressing in knowledge, power, and dominion and will do so worlds without end." [36] Lorenzo Snow taught, "We will continue on improving, advancing and increasing in wisdom, intelligence, power and dominion, worlds without end." [37] Mormon leaders suggested that just as God could not know the greatest possible integer because such a term is meaningless, so an absolute knowledge of truth is impossible because the realm of truth is dynamic.[38]

More recently, such insights have passed into disfavor among some Mormons. As early as 1929, a committee of review for B. H. Roberts's still unpublished manuscript "The Truth, The Way, The Life," cautioned him to amend his view that God progresses in knowledge and mastery of eternal laws.[39] In our own day, the view that God grows in knowledge has been termed heresy.[40] The reasons for this about-face in doctrine are complex, but the reluctance of some to accept a deity who may discover new laws and eternal truths is understandable, for he could discover laws that contravene his plan of salvation. Faith demands a more secure object of worship.

There is, however, a notion of omniscience that allows for preplanning and free-agency and yet does not reduce God to the status of a mere scientist forever learning new truths. Charles Hartshorne suggests that to know all things does not necessarily entail infallible foreknowledge.

> To know all that exists is not to know all that might exist, except as potentialities. . . . It is not even true that the omniscient must know details of the future, unless it can be proved . . . that the future has any details to know. (Of course, it will be fully detailed, but this does not imply that it has any detailed will-be's as part of itself now). Thus, there is no reason why perfect knowledge could not change, grow in content, provided it changed only as its objects changed, and added as new items to its knowledge only things that were not in being, not there to know previously.[41]

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[36] *Conference Report*, April 1914, p. 5; JD 6:120.

[37] *Conference Report*, April 1901, p. 2.

[38] Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 4 March 1860. "Prest Young said I corrected O. Pratt to day I did not say to him that God would increase to all Eternity. But I said the moment that we say that God knows all things comprehends all things and has a fulness of all that He will ever obtain that moment eternity seases you put bounds to Eternity & space & matter and you make an end and stopping plase to it." Cf. JD 1:93; 6:120; 11:286. Of course, I have extrapolated a bit of implicit logic from this statement.

[39] The committee queried: "What is the need of stating that God is progressing in knowledge? In other words, that there are laws and eternal truths, which he did not know? This will only lead to controversy & needless discussion and argument, and no purpose accomplished. In the judgment of the committee the statement should not be made. There are scriptures which contradict this thought." George Albert Smith to Rudger Clawson, 10 Oct. 1929; photocopy in possession of the author; original in Historical Department Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter LDS Church Archives. The committee consisted of George Albert Smith, Joseph Fielding Smith, Melvin J. Ballard, Stephen L. Richards, and David O. McKay.

[40] Bruce R. McConkie, "The Seven Deadly Heresies," speech at Brigham Young University, 1 June 1980: "What Is Our Relationship to Members of the Godhead?" *Church News*, 20 March 1982, p. 5. Elder McConkie's speeches make it clear that he understands that the Mormon diety has little in common with the God of the creeds. See also, Kent Robson, "Omnis On the Horizon," *Sunstone* 8 (July–August 1983): 21–23.

[41] Charles Hartshorne, "Alternative Conceptions of God," in William P. Alston, ed., *Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1964), p. 327.

B. H. Roberts also suggests that to have all knowledge does not necessarily imply "that God is omniscient up to the point that further progress in knowledge is impossible to him; but that all knowledge that is, all that exists, God knows." [42] Given human free-agency, it is impossible to know the future because the future is yet undecided; therefore, propositions about the future are neither true not false, but yet to be determined. Because omniscience must correspond to the objects of its knowledge, a notion of omniscience must be developed which allows for future, contingent possibilities.

In his *Dilemma of Determinism*, William James hints at such an idea of omniscience compatible with both categorical freedom and trust in God's predictions of the future as found in scripture.[43] I suggest these provisions of omniscience entailed in James's "master chess player" analogy:

1. God exists and is omniscient: for all X, if X is actual, God knows that X; if X is possible, God knows that potentially X.
2. God knows now all possibilities (all things).
3. God knows now what his purposes are and that he will achieve them.
4. God does *not* know now, in every case, precisely which possibilities will be chosen or become actual.
5. God knows now how he will respond to whichever contingent possibility occurs to insure the realization of his purposes.

This notion of existentially contingent omniscience suggests that God knows all things (including laws) now and possibly existing (1, 2). It also allows for free choices among alternatives (2, 4). This idea suggests that God knows all possible avenues of choices (2, 5), and coupled with an idea of adequate power entails that God's plans and declarations of future events will be realized (3, 5). Therefore, this concept of omniscience potentially describes an essential attribute of the adequate object of faith. In fact, this concept of omniscience expands the knowledge of God manyfold over that traditionally ascribed to him because it encompasses not merely the single, inevitable reality but the almost innumerable permutations of reality possible within the metaphysical foundations of the universe.

The idea of existentially contingent omniscience is consistent with the Mormon idea that all reality (God, mortals, and the universe) is in process or growing more complex through eternal progression. Such an idea of reality in process is analogous to Alfred North Whitehead's process philosophy, assuming that the future is becoming "a creative advance into novelty" and that all

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[42] B. H. Roberts, *Seventy's Course in Theology 1911* (reprint ed., Dallas: L. K. Taylor Pub., 1976), p. 70. Though scriptures are not intended as definitional statements, the notions of omniscience and omnipotence that I propose here are recognized with remarkable clarity in 1 Nephi 9:6: "But the Lord knoweth all things from the beginning; wherefore, he prepareth a way to accomplish all his works among the children of men; for behold, he hath all power unto the fulfilling of his words." Explicit in this scripture are the temporal nature of God's knowledgee and his preparation for the possible eventualities which will be brought about by the free choices of persons, as well as his active intervention and planning to bring about his predictions.

[43] William James, "The Dilemma of Determinism," *Unitarian Review*, Sept. 1884.

reality is never completed.[44] Creation is viewed in both Mormonism and process philosophy as an ongoing act of bringing order out of chaos and enhancing personal potential through increasing integration. In contrast, the idea that God infallibly foreknows the future requires a metaphysic grounded in the notion that reality is complete in God's knowledge and that freedom is mere appearance. Rejection of absolute omniscience is consistent with Mormonism's commitment to the inherent freedom of uncreated selves, the temporal progression of deity, the moral responsibility of humans, and consequential denial of salvation by arbitrary grace alone.

Perhaps the most significant consequence of such a view is that God becomes a partner with mortals to freely shape a future that has real possibilities, even for God. Human actions have moral significance in their future implications, and one may have faith that God makes a difference in human destiny. The classical idea of absolute omniscience reduces faith and hope in God to absurdity. For if God infallibly foreknows the future then prayer could not possibly influence him. Given the finality of reality in God's foreknowledge, even God is impotent to alter its course.[45] In contrast, the Judeo-Christian idea of prayer tacitly affirms that God can somehow make things better than they would have been had the prayer not been offered. Such prayer expresses hope for a better world and manifests faith that God can make a difference. I believe that such prayer is the very core of religious belief. Traditional theology often contends that God transcends such intimate interaction.[46] A relationship which precludes free response, however, is more *sub*personal than *trans*personal. It seems inconsistent and futile to me to praise and thank God for bringing about the inevitable and absolutely absurd to petition God to change the unavoidable. I am personally incapable of praying to a being who is the slave of an inevitable reality, for a notion of prayer that asks God to change things is irreconcilable with a concept of God which maintains that he cannot be influenced, respond, or alter reality from its inevitable course. If one prays as Christ prayed — petitioning the Father to bring about states of affairs — the logical implications of one's actions demand a concept of God radically different from that of traditional theology.

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[44] Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, David Ray Griffin & Donald Sherburne, eds., rev. ed. (London: Collier MacMillan, 1978), pp. 88–110; Floyd Ross, "Process Philosophy and Mormon Thought," *Sunstone* 7 (Jan.–Feb. 1982): 22.

[45] Stated in logical form:

1. God is omniscient: God has fully detailed and infallible foreknowledge of all future events.
2. If God foreknows that course-of-events$_a$ will occur, then course-of-events$_a$ will occur matter what.
3. If prayer is efficacious, then human petitions may influence God to bring about a course-of-events$_b$ that would not otherwise occur had the prayer not been offered.
4. God knows that course-of-events$_a$ will occur.
5. Hence, God cannot bring about a course-of-events$_b$ in response to prayer without contravening his foreknowledge (1, 2, 4).
6. Hence, prayer is not efficacious (3, 5).

[46] See my "Absurdities of Prayer to the Metaphysical Absolute," *Inscape* [Brigham Young University], Fall–Winter 1983, pp. 24–38.

Yet if God is free to change reality, why is there so much pain, suffering, and sin in the world? Perhaps traditional theology avoids a concept of a God that can make a difference in human experience because it brings the problem of evil so clearly into focus.

OMNIPOTENCE AND EVIL

The Classical Dilemma

The claim that God has unlimited power raises perhaps the most persistent problem an absolutist theology must contend with — the problem of evil. Stated simply, if God is all-powerful and all-good, then evil cannot exist. For if evil exists, then either God chooses not to prevent evil and is therefore not all-good or he cannot prevent evil and is therefore not all-powerful.

The concept of omnipotence has not traditionally been understood to mean that God can do whatever he pleases, but that he can bring about logically coherent states of affairs. God's power is not limited because he cannot do the logically impossible, for the logically impossible is merely a collection of meaningless words even though such words may make syntactical sense. For example, the proposition that God could create a four-sided triangle is mere babble.

Nevertheless, a perfectly good being must oppose evil if these words are to have any meaning. Hence, a perfectly good being prevents genuine evils, those evils without which the universe would finally, all things considered, be better. Irrespective of the particular ethical philosophy espoused, if genuine evils exist, then in principle the God of the orthodox tradition does not exist.[47] Whether such evils exist, however, is essentially a value judgment.

The fact remains that if God is unlimited in love and limited only by logic in creating his world, he could have logically created a world where babies are not born without faces and limbs; he could have prevented the extermination of six million Jews, the murder of five young boys, and the kidnapping of a four-year-old girl. If God could not make a difference in these instances, then he could not possibly be the object of our devotions and hopes, nor could we make a mockery of human dignity by worshipping a being who calls such things good.

The problem of evil is made greater in an absolutist theology where God created the cosmos *ex nihilo*. If God created the cosmos *ex nihilo*, then he is

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[47] David Ray Griffin, *God, Power, and Evil: A Process Theodicy* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), pp. 22–29. Stated formally:

1. God is omnipotent, omniscient and perfectly good (by definition).
2. An omnipotent being can bring about any logically possible state of affairs (by definition).
3. A world without genuine evil is a logically possible state of affairs.
4. God could unilaterally bring about an actual world without genuine evil (1, 2, 3).
5. A perfectly good being prevents all the genuine evil it can (by definition).
6. If there is any genuine evil in the world, then there is no God (1, 4, 5).
7. There is genuine evil in the world (i.e., things occur that the world would finally, all things considered, be better without).
8. Therefore, there is no God (6, 7).

completely responsible for all existing states of affairs both because he brought them about and because he could have had them otherwise. Thus, God is responsible for both moral evil (the evil brought about by mortals such as human suffering and sin) and natural evils (those evils which are not caused by persons, but by the physical universe which encompasses them — for instance, earthquakes, birth defects, and diseases).

Traditional theology has attempted some ingenious but inadequate explanations of the problem of evil. One explanation suggests that evil simply does not exist. Many Eastern religions and Christian Scientists believe that the existence of evil is mere illusion.[48] Yet it makes little sense to speak of the experience of pain as illusion; pain exists only as an experience, and the experience of pain is validated by the mere fact of being experienced. Augustine suggested that evil is privation of good, just as darkness is the absence of light. In this explanation, all that God creates is of necessity good, and evil is merely nonbeing, or the lack of God's creative activity.[49] However, an omnipotent being could overcome all darkness with light, and all nonexistence with existence. Christ could not have died for, nor Adam because of, sins which do not exist. Because Christian doctrine requires the recognition of evil, the denial of evil is also the denial of Christianity.

The Free-Will Defense

Augustine's free-will defense, recently refined by John Hick, F. R. Tennant, and Alvin Plantinga, claims that an all-good being prevents evils only if it can do so without thereby preventing some greater good not possible without the lesser evil.[50] In essence, this defense is the denial of genuine evil, for all evil is a necessary condition for a greater good, just as a penicillin injection is a pain that we choose to encounter because of its benefits. Hence, there are no evils without which, all things considered, the universe would finally be better.[51] The free-will defense asserts that freedom is a necessary condition for the development of moral virtue and evil a necessary consequence of human freedom.

In opposition to the free-will defense, J. L. Mackie contends that evil is not a necessary result of human freedom. Christians believe that Jesus, though tempted and free to sin, was spotless. If there is no logical impossibility in a person's freely choosing the good on one, or on more than one, occasion there is no logical impossibility in a person's freely choosing the good on every occasion. God could have created in the beginning only those individuals whom he

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[48] See also, D. T. Suzuki, "The Basis of Buddhist Philosophy" in Richard Woods, ed., *Understanding Mysticism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1980), pp. 126–45; Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures* (Boston, Mass.: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1917), pp. 165–66, 177, 261.

[49] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. 12, ch. 7; *Enchiridion* 4, 13–14.

[50] John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); Alvin Plantinga, *God, Freedom and Evil* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdman's 1974); Frederick R. Tennant, *Philosophical Theology* (London: Cambridge, 1930), vol. 2. The free-will defense claims that there are no "dysteleological" sufferings, or no evils without redeeming purpose.

[51] Griffin, *God, Power, and Evil*, pp. 199–201.

knew would freely choose the good. Thus, Mackie constructs the problem of evil:[52]

1. God is omnipotent, omniscient, all-good, and exists.
2. An omnipotent being can bring about any logically possible state of affairs.
3. An all-good being prevents all the evil it can.
4. That all free men do what is right on every occasion is a logically possible state of affairs.
5. God can create men such that they always do what is right (2, 4).
6. If God can create men such that they always do what is right and God is all-good, then any free man created by God always does what is right (1, 3, 5).
7. Hence, no free man created by God ever performs morally evil actions (6).

In response, Alvin Plantinga suggests that God cannot consistently create every logically possible state of affairs because some states of affairs are mutually exclusive. Thus, premise 2 is incoherent. For instance, it is logically possible that humans are not created by God. Hence, this concept of omnipotence suggests that God could create persons such that they are not created by God. Because premise 2 is incoherent, the notion that God can do anything logically possible must be refined. Plantinga claims that the fact that a person who always chooses good is logically possible does not entail that God could create such a person. Not even God could consistently create a person and bring it about that this person always chooses what is right. God may create persons who always do good, but not even God could consistently *cause* a person to choose *freely*.[53]

The free-will defense requires the stronger notion of freedom of alternative choice, for the weaker notion of freedom as the absence of external coercion is consistent with the fact that a person's acts are both foreknown and caused and hence this argument succumbs to Mackie's argument.[54] As a consequence, the free-will defense also requires a modified account of God's omniscience. Even if one concedes the stronger notion of freedom, however, one may still contend that an omnipotent being could have created morally virtuous persons in the beginning and foregone the necessity of evil. At the very least, he could have created persons with a strong bias toward good. The fact that a person's character is virtuous does not deprive him/her of the freedom to choose otherwise.

To this argument, Plantinga and F. R. Tennant respond that such a virtue is not genuine. Tennant claims that our concept of good has meaning only

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[52] J. L. Mackie, "Evil and Omnipotence," *Mind* 64 (April 1955): 254.

[53] Plantinga, *God, Freedom and Evil*, pp. 45–53.

[54] Richard Swineburne suggests that immutable prescience is not an essential attribute to the Christian Deity, and he is therefore willing to modify the foreknowledge of God to make room for free-will. *The Coherence of Theism*, pp. 144–45.

when related to such concepts as temptation, courage, and compassion.[55] The value judgment implicit in this response is cogently stated by John Hick: "One who has attained to goodness by meeting and eventually mastering temptations, and thus by rightly making responsible decisions in concrete situations possesses a virtue more valuable than would be one created *ab initio* [from the beginning] in a state of moral innocence or virtue." [56] Hick would add that God seeks a genuine relationship with his creations, and a genuine relationship cannot be coerced or created *ex nihilo*; rather, it must be entered into freely.

The problem of evil in its present state is an interesting challenge for Mormon theology. David Paulsen suggests that if tried moral virtue is somehow of greater value than untried virtue, then mortals who progress in moral virtue by entering into a state of probation must possess a potential virtue of greater value than that possessed by the absolute God who possesses virtue necessarily, and therefore without overcoming moral obstacles. Indeed, if Tennant is correct that moral goodness is meaningful only in a context of genuine temptations and trials, then calling the absolute God 'good' is contradictory. One could avoid the dilemma by asserting that God forged his divine character in eons past by means of a self-directed developmental process. Of course, Mormon thought posits such a developmental process for both the Father and the Son. This idea, however, is not compatible with Tennant's and Hick's concept of God.[57]

Moreover, the creation of a morally virtuous personality *ex nihilo* is not logically impossible. The assumption that evil is necessary to the development of a morally significant character limits God's creativity, not by logic but by the inherent nature of personality. Plantinga tacitly recognizes this limitation by positing a "creaturely essence" of possible persons. Plantinga claims that God could not have created just any morally virtuous persons he pleased to because his creating is limited by the essential nature of persons which necessarily preexists independently of whatever God may desire. Plantinga claims, moreover, that God could create only persons who suffer from "transworld depravity," and as a result, in every world where persons are significantly free, they commit some evil actions.[58]

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[55] Tennant, *Philosophical Theology*, pp. 188–89. Cf. Ninian Smart, "Omnipotence, Evil and Supermen," *Philosophy* (April/July 1961): 188–92.

[56] Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, p. 255.

[57] David L. Paulsen, "Divine Determinateness and the Free-will Defense," *Analysis* 41 (June 1981): 150–53.

[58] Plantinga, *God, Freedom and Evil*, pp. 49–53. Plantinga derives his theory of "creaturely essences" from Platonic identity theory. Thus, even God could not have created Zeno or any other specific individual without instantiating (i.e., bringing about in creation of possible worlds) those distinguishing properties essential to him, defining him uniquely as Zeno in every possible world. Plantinga tacitly follows Augustine here in assuming that depravity is entailed in the proposition that persons are created *ex nihilo* because not uncreated like God. See *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. 12, ch. 6: "Therefore, an inferior being does not make the will evil but the will itself, because it is a created will, wickedly and inordinately seeks the inferior being. . . . The person who talks of a man making his own will evil, whether because he is a nature or because he is a nature made out of nothing? He will learn that the evil arises not from the fact that the man is a nature, but from the fact that that nature was

Plantinga's response to the problem of evil, however, is not consistent with the notion of God he seeks to defend. The possibility that every "creaturely essence" suffers from "transworld depravity" would be realized only if God were faced with a limited number of creaturely essences or possible persons from which to choose. What presented God with this limited choice before the creation *ex nihilo*? As Mackie insists, there could be "no conditions on God's creating *prior to the creation and existence of any created beings with free will* . . . this suggestion is simply incoherent." [59] Of course, the dilemma could be escaped were Plantinga willing to reject the notion of *creatio ex nihilo* and accept the idea that God's creative power faces metaphysical limitations in the nature of self-directing selves. The option has been seriously considered by process philosophers, but Plantinga seems unwilling to so modify his concept of God. Hence, to save God's goodness from the quandary of moral evil, only a finite God analogous to the morally dynamic God of Mormonism and a notion of free entities analogous to the Mormon idea of necessarily preexisting intelligences are logically possible.

Other problems with evil in an absolutist theodicy deserve closer attention. First, if God is the source of moral evil, then he could arbitrarily make moral innocence created *ab initio* more valuable than tried moral courage because, in the absolutist view, moral good becomes whatever God commands. Indeed, if God is the source of moral law then he may also command that our entire moral duty consists of murdering six million Jews. If one objects, claiming that God could never command morally reprehensible acts because he is good, it must be recognized that God is subject to moral laws independent of whatever his will may be. The very assertion that he could not command such a thing depends upon the assumption of moral concepts existing independently of God's will and to which he is subjected. Hence, a solution to the problem of evil which assumes that God allows evil to seek moral ends is premised on the existence of moral laws independent of his will.

Second, the free-will defense cannot explain natural evils because it explains only evils that arise from the misuse of human freedom. Earthquakes, leukemia, and epidemic hunger are evils that simply cannot be explained in terms of human freedom. One may contend that natural evils are instrumental in the development of moral courage and Christian compassion . In some instances this may be true; however, just as often the human spirit is crushed and the character paralyzed under the excessive weight of natural evils. Hick attempts to explain natural evils in terms of eschatological bliss, the belief that all pains will be recompensed in an after-life.[60] Such a view may hold that God is finally generous but does not exonerate his failure to prevent devastating diseases and horrendous hunger throughout time. In addition, the free-will defense cannot explain the amazing disproportion between the trials and

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made out of nothing [ex nihilo]." Such reasoning is a *non sequitur*, however, for the proposition "X is created out of nothing" in no way entails that "X is morally depraved."

[59] John L. Mackie, *The Miracle of Theism* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1982), pp. 173–74.

[60] Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, p. 337ff.

temptations which leave some lives in relative peace and prosperity and others in pain and poverty, regardless of personal righteousness.

The Concept of Omnipotence

Ultimately, the classical concept of omnipotence is simply incoherent. A paradox arises if God can bring about any logically possible state of affairs: he could create a world he could not subsequently control. Obviously, if God cannot control what happens, he is not omnipotent. The objection that this paradox is a meaningless contradiction fails because it makes perfectly good sense to say that a mortal could create a machine he/she could not subsequently control. In fact, the paradox is analogous to the situation the free-will defense implies: God has created a world he cannot fully control because creation of morally free agents precludes complete control.[61] Plantinga's concept of omnipotence is of little help because it amounts to a tautology — it is true of all beings. His definition says "X is omnipotent if X is capable of performing any action A such that the proposition 'X performs A' is logically possible." Of course, the poor fellow who is capable only of blowing his nose is capable of performing any action A such that the proposition "the man who is capable of only blowing his nose performs A" is logically possible.[62] Further, the simple definition analogous to the classical definition of omniscience is also incoherent: "For all X, if X, God can bring about that X." This definition gives God power to do only what has already been done.

Finally, the orthodox notion of God is incompatible with the idea of omnipotence entailed in the free-will defense. The power to create a being that cannot subsequently be controlled and thereby to modify one's power is not an attribute that could consistently be possessed by an immutable being who remains unchanged in all respects and whose power is not conditioned by any other being.[63]

Satisfied that the orthodox (traditional Catholic/Protestant) theology is incoherent and incapable of solving the problem of evil, process philosophers reject the notion of *creatio ex nihilo* and posit a dynamic God who elicits order out of chaos and value out of disharmony. According to Alfred North Whitehead, the fountain of process philosophy, the world is charged with creative freedom of metaphysical necessity.[64] Because the world contains uncreated,

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[61] Mackie, *Miracle of Theism*, pp. 160–62. An omnipotent being can indeed create a world that it cannot subsequently control, but it can do so only at the cost of forfeiting its omnipotence. The free-will defense is a plausible defense only if God creates beings that he *cannot* control, not merely that he chooses not to control. For if God chooses to allow evil, he is culpable to the extent he could have prevented it.

[62] Anthony Kenny, *The God of the Philosophers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 75. Much of my analysis of the problems of free-will and omnipotence is indebted to Kenny.

[63] Ibid., p. 99.

[64] Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, pp. 130–35 and *Adventures of Ideas* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1933), p. 230. Other philosophers who maintain that God must be finite in some respects include William James, William Pepperell Montague, John Stuart Mill, Edgar Sheffield Brightman, Peter A. Bertocci, and Charles Hartshorne. Process philosophy has had a significant influence on a number of Christian theologians. See Delwin Brown, Ralph

self-determining "actual entities" who exert power independently of all other beings including God, perfect power is the optimal concentration of power which is compatible with the existence of other powerful agents.[65] Hence, God's power is persuasive rather than controlling as a result of the ultimate metaphysical structure of reality. If there are many centers of free power, then no world in which these independent entities are involved can be completely determined by any one of them. As David Ray Griffin noted in his brilliant exposition of a process theodicy: "Such a view greatly alters the problem of evil. Even a being with perfect power cannot unilaterally bring about that which it is impossible for one being unilaterally to effect. And it is impossible for one being unilaterally to effect the best possible state of affairs among other beings. In other words, one being cannot guarantee that the other beings will avoid genuine evils. The *possibility* of genuine evil is necessary." [66]

A Mormon Theodicy

Mormonism shares the basic insights of process philosophy primarily because of its pluralistic proclivity, materialistic emphasis, preference for process, and rejection of *creatio ex nihilo*. Mormonism also exalts the Christian vision that emphasizes the social nature of God as a being preeminent among beings. By definition, any power that God exerts is power in relation to something distinct from himself. Power is necessarily a relational concept, for to exert power is to exert power in relation to the object influenced. Hence, any coherent idea of power must consider the nature of the reality over which it is exerted.[67]

James, and Gene Reeves, eds., *Process Philosophy and Christian Thought* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1971).

[65] John B. Cobb and David Ray Griffin, *Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), pp. 14–29. The ultimate reality according to process theology is creativity continually producing new occasions of experience out of the manifold of the previous moment. To be actual is to be creative. Every "*actual entity*" is a momentary event charged with creativity. It exerts power in two important ways. First, it receives and synthesizes the data of the preceding moment, selecting what will be included or excluded from experience and used to create a new and unique actual entity which incorporates the experience of its past. In each new moment of the universe's life, a new wave of actual entities involves an element of creativity or self-causation, for each is partly determined by the past and part determiner of the future. Second, as a self-directing entity, it again exerts power. It synthesizes a new indeterminate reality in the act of passing from what it formerly was to what it now is. All actual entities, like God himself, are both acted upon and act upon all other realities in the universe. While God's experience of and influence on all other realities is optimal or perfect, the actual entities experience and influence others only imperfectly. To be actual is to exercise these two types of power. This notion of actual entity may coincide with the Mormon concept of intelligences. While intelligences are considered capable of the integration of experience necessary for consciousness and free choice, actual entities are not necessarily conscious though they are free. An intelligence is essential identity — hence analogous to the idea of a "defining essence" in Whitehead's thought. An actual entity becomes a "defining essence" when it endures as an identity over time. In the sense that it conserves its past in the way it actualizes the present, every actual entity conserves its identity over time. Like an intelligence, an actual entity exists of metaphysical necessity. See my "The Idea of Pre-existence in the Development of Mormon Thought" DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 14 (Spring 1982): 59–78.

[66] Griffin, *God, Power and Evil*, pp. 268–69; italics in original.

[67] Ibid., p. 265.

Perhaps the search for the maximum possible power, however, is as misdirected as the search for the greatest possible integer, for the concept of an almighty and all-good being requires only a minimally sufficient power to bring about the realization of his purposes. Such a power must be consistent with what is physically possible given the existence of other self-directing beings, moral principles, and laws defining mass/energy. A comprehensive and complete theodicy, or an explanation of the existence of genuine evils, can be expressed formally within a Mormon theological framework which recognizes this notion of power.

1. God is almighty, omniscient, all-good, and exists.
2. God is conditioned by the existence of coeternal realities such as:
   a. Intelligences (necessarily existing selves).
   b. Chaotic mass/energy.
   c. Moral principles.
   d. Physical laws defining time, space and matter.
3. God is almighty if he can bring about the optimal realization of potential among states of affairs (i.e., states of affairs consistent with there being other ontological realities).
4. A perfectly good being prevents all the evil and promotes all the good it can without thereby preventing a greater good.
5. Moral evils occur and God justifiably allows them because:
   a. Human nature is uncreated (2a).
   b. Humans are inherently self-determining and categorically free (2a).
   c. Humans are morally imperfect and potentially perfectible (2a, 2c).
   d. God's purpose in creation is to provide the opportunity for intellectual and moral development of persons (2a, 4).
   e. Moral opposition is necessary to moral development (2a, 2c).
   f. God did not create human nature either virtuous or depraved (5a, 5b).
   g. Humans sometimes choose evil (5b, 5c).
   h. God is justified in not contravening human evil choices (3, 4, 5d, 5e).
6. Natural evils occur and God is not blameworthy for them because;
   a. Chaotic mass/energy is uncreated (2b).
   b. The laws governing mass/energy are eternal and independent of God (2b, 2d).
   c. Some of these laws require that mass/energy be organized on causal principles (2d).
   d. Adverse physical circumstances may enhance moral and intellectual development of intelligences (2a, 2c, 5c).
   e. The nature of causal principles is such that many indiscriminant natural evils occur (6a, 6b, 6c).

f. God may justifiably allow some natural evils (3, 4, 6d).

7. Whatever evils occur are:
   a. Unpreventable by God consistent with individual autonomy.
   b. Unpreventable by God without thereby preventing a greater good.
   c. Unpreventable by God consistent with eternal laws.

Here Mormonism manifests its greatest strength in its ability to explain man's relationship to God and give meaning to life's challenges. In Mormonism, the concept of inherently free wills possessed by uncreated selves and the nonabsolutist notion of omnipotence absolve God from any complicity in the world's moral evils, while the uncreated, impersonal, and morally neutral environment of God mitigates his responsibility for physical evils.[68] Indeed, Mormonism views evil as a positive factor in human existence. The ultimate meaning of mortal existence is found in the struggle to overcome evil and refine the existential qualities of uncreated personhood. The moral gains made in mortality are genuine, and human actions make a real difference in human destiny. In Mormon thought, God is also confronted by the reality of evil and struggles endlessly against it in a continuing course of organizing the chaotic and enhancing the trivial. God shares humanity's moral struggle, feels genuine sorrow for human failures, rejoices in human moral triumphs and suffers when humans suffer. There is an earnestness in human experience because the possibility of genuine triumph entails the possibility of genuine defeat. God really loses when humans choose evil over good. Yet the chance at victory makes mortality an option that justifies its harsh conditions; we freely chose to encounter it. Mormons believe that they are truly laborers together with God, for God has not created evil nor the physical conditions from which it inevitably arises, nor would he allow evil could he end it without thereby making the victory impossible.

Some may object that this justification of the existence of evil limits God too much. They contend that putting the risk of human salvation in the hands of such a God makes the victory not only precarious but impossible. As H. J. McCloskey states, "The suggestion that God is all-good but imperfect, that he does not deliberately bring about these evils, that he is doing his best and cannot prevent them, is scarcely more comforting than the view that he deliberately arranges things so that these evils are part of the divine plan." [69]

However, the purpose of a theodicy is not to explain away evil, but to invest the human experience of evil with purpose and meaning. And the religion that can infuse value into human experience sufficient to make all that matters presently also all that matters ultimately meets its burden of religious

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[68] I am indebted here for much of my analysis to David Paulsen, "Comparative Coherency of Mormon (Finitistic) and Classical Theism," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1975); Sterling McMurrin, *Theological Foundations*, pp. 97ff; Kim McCall, "Mormonism and the Problem of Evil," *Century II* [Brigham Young University] (Sept. 1976): 32–50; and Truman G. Madsen, *Eternal Man* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965). I am also indebted for their many kind discussions on this and other subjects.

[69] H. J. McCloskey, "On Being An Atheist," in *Philosophy and Contemporary Issues*, John Burr & Milton Goldinger, eds. (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1972), p. 133.

significance. God's sheer omnipotence is adequate to give such meaning to human life, for the maximally valuable state entails not force per se, but meekness, longsuffering, and loving persuasion of other intrinsically valuable centers of freedom, where each agent finds happiness by increasing the happiness of others, increases its power by cooperation with others, increases its knowledge by sympathetic appreciation of the experience of others, and enhances its wisdom by working with others to achieve what cannot be achieved alone. In short, God's commitment to the highest good requires that he be socially conditioned. He is not satisfied with subjects; his very nature demands peers.

The Adequate Object of Worship

Concepts of Perfection

The most common challenge to the notion that God is socially related and in process is that such a being is not perfect. Because what we mean by "God" is a being that is perfect, it is impossible to solve the problem of evil by denying that God is perfect, for this in effect denies that there is a God. This challenge presupposes the very idea of classical perfection at issue. The value judgment underlying this idea of perfection was fostered by neo-Platonism which preferred Being to becoming, the One to the many, the timeless to the temporal, and the abstract Ideal to the concrete and material. The orthodox notion of static perfection is that God exists *a se*, or completely independently of any relation to all other beings.

The concept of aseity consists of two distinct notions. First, if God is absolute then those attributes which are essential to his godly status cannot depend on anything independent of himself. Otherwise, he would be limited by dependence on other beings; and if they ceased to exist, he would cease to exist as God. Thus, if God depended on any contingently existing thing, his godly status would be precarious. Moreover, because God must be the explanation of all other existence, he must be absolutely unrelated. For if it were necessary to refer to any other thing to explain God, he would not be the unexplained explanation of the cosmos. Second, the absolute must emulate all great-making attributes to their greatest potential, for anything potentially greater is not absolute. Hence, God must be completely actualized and therefore cannot progress in any manner, for unrealized potential is considered a defect. This line of reasoning is the basis for Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, or Thomas Aquinas's 'Actus Purus,' a being who is pure act though without any act conceivably left to accomplish.[70]

From these premises it follows that God is immutable and impassible. Aseity entails that God could not act to fulfill a need or enhance his status in any way. It also follows that creatures are simply superfluous to the Purely Actual God. Richard Taylor introduced a notion of "sufficient reason" which suggests that every positive action requires an explanation. Although his cri-

[70] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Question 3, article 8; *Aristotle*, Metaphysics, 9. 1074b–33a. See W. Norris Clarke, *The Philosophical Approach to God: A Neo-Thomist Perspective* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p. 85.

terion may never be proven, its validity is assumed by the very use of reason. Indeed, unless God acted fortuitously in creating, then Taylor's criteria is reasonable.[71] Consider the problem entailed in the classical idea of perfection:

1. If God possesses aseity and exists, then he is not dependent on anything nor lacking in any conceivable manner (i.e., God is self-sufficient).
2. A self-sufficient being cannot manifest a need nor be enhanced by any positive action (1).
3. Every positive action requires an explanation sufficient to account for it (Criteria of Sufficient Reason).
4. Creation of the cosmos is a positive action.
5. A self-sufficient being could not manifest a reason sufficient to explain why it preferred existence of the cosmos to its nonexistence (1, 2).
6. Hence, God did not create the cosmos (3, 4, 5).

The free-will defense suggests that God created persons out of his love for them in a desire to enter into a genuine relationship with them. Love presupposes, however, an object that exists in some way. If God created persons out of love for them, they must have preexisted (at least in his foreknowledge) and in a mode more real than the manner in which ideas exist in the minds of mortals. Indeed, if God desired our love in response to his, then he manifested a need *essential* to godhood, but clearly a need incompatible with the concept of an absolute being. What consistent meaning can be given to love when applied to a being that cannot respond, that cannot grow in happiness when others do or become sad when others experience sorrow? If God is loving he cannot be, like the Aristotelian and Thomist gods, satisfied with contemplation of his own perfection.

The Greek idea of static, absolute perfection must be replaced with the idea of perfection as a dynamic creativity that acts to enhance the happiness of others, and by so doing enhances its own happiness. As Keith Ward observes, "It is in fact extraordinary that Christian theologians have been so mesmerized by Greek concepts of perfection that they have been unable to develop a more truly Christian idea of God whose revealed nature is love."[72] The requirement that God must be unconditioned to be worthy of worship is unreasonable both because it is incoherent and because the being it describes is not available for religious purposes.

The Mormon Concept of Worship

Faith requires that the object of its hope is minimally sufficient to bring about the realization of the maximally valuable state of affairs. The Mormon God is the adequate object of faith because all individuals, indeed all aspects of reality, look to him for the realization of all that matters most ultimately. The Mormon God is thus the Optimal Actualizer. God makes all things possible,

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[71] Taylor, *Metaphysics*, pp. 103–105.

[72] Keith Ward, *Rational Theology and the Creativity of God* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p. 85.

but he can make all things actual only by working in conjunction with free individuals and actual entities. Hence, Mormonism does not shy from recognizing humans as cocreators in God's purposes. God needs us and we need him for the realization of all that matters most. We are truly co-laborers, for growth of any nature or realized potential is impossible without him.

The Mormon revelation also recognizes an immanent aspect of God's nature. Mormons refer to God's spirit to explain his influence or creative activity in the world. God stands in relation to his spirit as the sun stands in relation to the light emitted thereby, for it "proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space" (D&C 88:12). Hence, even though God is confined to space and time by virtue of his corporeal aspect, he nevertheless acts upon and experiences all reality immediately by virtue of his spirit. God sustains the cosmos and has controlling power in the sense that his spirit is manifest in the creative moment of becoming in each actual entity. When his creative influence withdraws, the material universe consumes itself in entropy and individuals atrophy, for his spirit is manifest in the "light which quickeneth your understandings . . . The light which is in all things, which giveth life to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed." [73] Though God cannot determine how free entities will actualize the optimal options offered, without God's continual loving persuasion there are no genuine options. Hence, we properly praise and thank God for sustaining life and promoting personal growth.

The adequate object of worship must possess power sufficient to compensate for the possible eventualities brought about by the free choices of all beings, otherwise God's power and knowledge would be insufficient to insure

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[73] D&C 88:7–13. The Mormon God may be described as a "dipolar deity," or a God who is characterized by two polar aspects in his attributes. It is quite consistent to describe him as a personal identity characterized by a corporeal aspect that is concrete, temporal, relative, and truly actual while also admitting that he has an immanent aspect that is abstract, eternal, omnipresent, and immediate. Process philosophy has championed a dipolar concept of deity. See Cobb and Griffin, *Process Theology*, pp. 47–48. The dipolar concept of God explains how God is one yet many. While he possesses a distinguishing personality, his nature does not exclude others from participating in his experience of all reality and promoting his purposes in a joint act of creation. In a very real way, he is in us and we in him, for our very experience of existence is mutually dependent. The Mormon God thus optimally or perfectly influences and is influenced by all reality. As Truman Madsen is fond of saying, "He is the Most Moved Mover." Such a notion of God entails that those actual entities that perfectly reflect his influence will participate as one in his experience and purposes, and God's dynamic experience grows towards a fullness as his creations enhance their enjoyment. Though any exegesis of Mormon scripture is tentative, it appears consistent with the Mormon revelation of God to consider the immanent aspect of God's spirit as eternal rather than emergent in time, and God's corporeal or concrete aspect as emergent through time rather than eternal. For the same light that is through all things and that quickeneth all things is "intelligence, or the light of truth, [which] was not created or made, neither indeed can be. . . . The glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth" (D&C 88:11–12, 17; 93:29, 36). Hence, the Mormon belief that God was once as man now is may mean that God once stood in relation to time and space as man now does, even as Jesus did, but was always very God in spirit or participation in divine experience and purpose. I may be guilty here, however, of reading Whitehead into Mormon scripture. See James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), pp. 220–23; Parley P. Pratt, *The Key to Theology*, p. 43.

the realization of His purposes. The Mormon plan of salvation, following the Anselmian satisfaction theory, is just such a provision, compensating for the free choices of Adam (humankind) by meeting the eternal requirements of justice and mercy through the atonement of Christ. Though God is conditioned by eternal principles, he utilizes other eternal laws and principles to nullify their effect without contravening their efficacy, analogous to the way a jet utilizes natural laws to lift tons of steel into the atmosphere, overcoming the natural law of gravity without revoking it. Hence, God is an invincible ally who can insure the realization of his purposes. This has always been the Mormon understanding of God's omnipotence and miracles.[74]

It should be noted that this concept of power appropriately places the emphasis on God as the object of religious worship and faith, for the point is not his unlimited power and knowledge, but his purpose and love. God need only possess power and knowledge sufficient to save, exalt, and insure the eternal lives of those who trust in him. His knowledge and power certainly exceed this minimal requirement, but he is not thereby a more adequate object of faith. Indeed, the classical definitions of timeless omniscience and unlimited power are quite irrelevant to one aspiring to understand his relationship to deity. Religious faith is more a function of intimacy than of ultimacy, more a product of relationships than of logical necessities. That is why faith in God should make all the difference in the world.

Some may object to the entire attempt to understand the adequate object of faith because the absolute transcends all of our categories of thought. For many, to be mystified is to be edified and a God understood is a God unthroned. There is something dishonest, however, about a theology which maintains that *reason* demands an absolute being as the adequate object of faith, yet commits treason against reason whenever it speaks of God. God is not a more adequate object of faith simply because we attach to him contradictory notions of power, knowledge, timelessness, and aseity — adding nonsense to religious awe. In fact, if God is a total mystery then we could never have any idea about the type of being it is, including whether it is an adequate object of faith. As David Hume's Cleanthes contended, "Religion would be better served were it to rest contented with more accurate and more moderate expressions. The terms *admirable, excellent, superlatively great, wise and holy* — these sufficiently fill the imaginations of men, and anything beyond, besides that it leads to absurdities, has no influence on the affections or sentiments. . . . If we abandon all human analogy . . . I am afraid we abandon all religion and retain no conception of the great object of our devotion." [75]

In this sense, a finite God is uniquely worthy of worship. According to Peter Appleby, "If God's goodness is radically different from human goodness, there is little reason for calling it goodness at all, and still less for praising it as faith is wont to do. The child who is totally ignorant of his parent's values has

[74] Paulsen, *Comparative Coherency*, p. 23.

[75] Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, p. 71; italics in original.

no reason for admiring them, and still less for trying to emulate them." [78] If the purpose of theology is to help mortals understand their relationship to God and the meaning of their experience in the world which surrounds them, then the least satisfying theology would be one that precludes a relationship between God and man, or which takes refuge in mystery when confronted with human existence and our experience of evil.

The problem entailed in prayer to a finite being while worshipping absolute being is not exclusively Mormon; rather, it is a question which Christianity in general must face. The only truly absolute being is a pantheistic being, the identification of God with whatever is real. Although Judeo-Christians have pushed their concept of God as close to pantheism as possible to insure the absolute status of God, they nevertheless shun pantheism in name because it contravenes the teaching of Hebrew scripture that God is distinct from the world and socially involved with humans. Christians have insisted that God is personal yet possesses none of the characteristics common to persons. They have insisted that he is absolute, but not quite *that* absolute. They have asserted that God is both personal and absolute yet what they propose is neither personal nor absolute. Therefore, Judeo-Christian theology fails to meet its own criteria of the adequate object of worship, for such a being is not the greatest conceivable being. In fact, it is not even a coherently conceivable being. Orthodox theologians must abandon their theology when they kneel to address deity, and they must abandon the deity they pray to when they speak of theology. The acceptance of two mutually exclusive ideas has led to a dilemma in logic: A god that is both conditioned and unconditioned, related and unrelated, temporal and timeless. If Mormon Christianity is to remain true to its early Hebrew and Christian roots, its theology must be of a personal and therefore finite God who makes a difference in human experience.

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[78] Peter Appleby, "Finitist Theology and the Problem of Evil," *Sunstone* (Nov./Dec. 1981): 53.

"Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?": The Book of Mormon Studies of B.H. Roberts

George D. Smith

Although B. H. Roberts has been characterized as a "defender of the faith," two of his most extensive analyses of the Book of Mormon — the 141-page "Book of Mormon Difficulties" (1921) and the 291-page "A Book of Mormon Study" (1923) — have been virtually ignored for over sixty years.[1] These provocative studies deal primarily with (1) conflicts between Book of Mormon teachings about Indian origins and archeological discoveries, (2) internal inconsistencies in the Book of Mormon, and (3) a comparison of Book of Mormon ideas with legends and beliefs popular in the area where Joseph Smith had grown up.

Since the mid-1940s, historians and apologists have debated the import of Roberts's summary of "parallels" between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith's treatise, *A View of the Hebrews*,[2] but only recently have Roberts's two

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[1] Although Truman G. Madsen does not discuss these works in his biography, *Defender of the Faith, The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), he devotes considerable attention to them in "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 427–45; and deals with them in the light of B. H. Roberts's commitment to the Book of Mormon in "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years: Still Witnessing for the Book of Mormon," *Ensign* 13 (Dec. 1983): 11–19. See also Thomas G. Alexander's review of *Defender of the Faith* in *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 248–50, which notes the omission of discussion on the Book of Mormon manuscripts.

[2] *A View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, Vermont: Smith & Shute, 1823, 2nd ed. rev. and enl., 1825). Ethan Smith was a pastor of a Congregational Church in Poultney. In *A View of the Hebrews*, he collected the comments of numerous authors and travelers who were convinced that the American Indians were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. In 1977, Arno Press, New York, a subsidiary of the New York *Times*, reprinted the 1823 edition as part of an America-Holy Land Studies sponsored by the American Jewish Historical Society and the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1964, Modern Microfilm Company (later Utah Lighthouse Ministry), Salt Lake City, photomechanically reproduced Roberts's own copy of the 1825 edition.

major studies been examined.[3] In 1979 and 1981, members of the Roberts family gave copies of these works to the University of Utah and Brigham Young University. Roberts's two studies, with descriptive correspondence, will be published this year by the University of Illinois Press.[4]

Some students of these Roberts works have concluded that he was expressing personal doubts that had crystallized after concentrated study of the Book of Mormon. Others have seen in his work a detailed and eloquent presentation of the questions an honest investigator might reasonably have after an open-minded study of the document — a "devil's advocate" stance. In either case, Roberts's examinations are important to the Mormon community because the Book of Mormon has seldom received such concentrated study from a General Authority, particularly a study that isolated major issues concerning the "keystone of our religion" which remain basically unresolved today.

It is particularly important at this time when a significant segment of scholars within the Mormon community has proposed a carefully developed hypothesis that the Book of Mormon covered a geographically limited area. This hypothesis, persuasive to many, seems to be a major modification in the traditional view, beginning with Joseph Smith and his contemporaries, that both American continents were Nephite and Lamanite territory. This view is still widely held; within the last few months, the *Church News* identified the estimated 177 million Indians of North and South America and Polynesians as Lamanites.[5]

This essay will summarize Roberts's two papers expressing concerns regarding Book of Mormon authenticity and his reasons for believing that the Church should deal with these questions. It will also consider where we have come in our search for answers to the questions he posed in 1922 and 1923.

Brigham Henry Roberts (1857–1933), a General Authority of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and widely respected orator, theologian, and historian, devoted much of his life to the study, analysis, and defense of the Book of Mormon. In both his three-volume *New Witnesses for God* (1895, 1909) and two-volume *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (1907, 1912), he developed the primary arguments used to support the authenticity

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[3] During the 1979 and 1980 Sunstone Theological Symposiums, Madison U. Sowell and I presented papers discussing Roberts's studies on the Book of Mormon. These papers were later published together, Sowell "Defending the Keystone: The Comparative Method Reexamined" and Smith "Defending the Keystone: Book of Mormon Difficulties," *Sunstone* 6 (May–June 1981): 44–54.

[4] On 27 Dec. 1979, the University of Utah Special Collections Library received Roberts's 1921 and 1923 papers and correspondence from Adele W. Parkinson, widow of Wood R. Worsley, a grandson of Roberts's first wife, Louisa. On 19 Jan. 1981, Virginia Roberts, widow of Brigham E. Roberts, another grandson of Louisa, gave the library personal copies of the papers. Under an exchange agreement, Brigham Young University Library received copies of both sets. The published volume, *B. H. Roberts: Studies of the Book of Mormon* will be introduced and edited by Brigham D. Madsen and prefaced by Everett L. Cooley. It includes a biographical essay on Roberts by Sterling M. McMurrin, a member of the Roberts family.

[5] "Children of Lehi — Where Are They? *LDS Church News*, 29 Feb. 1984, p. 3.

of the Book of Mormon. Called at age thirty-one to the First Council of Seventy in 1888 and made its president in 1924, Roberts represented the LDS Church at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions and the 1933 World Fellowship of Faiths, both in Chicago. He also served as president of the Eastern States Mission (1922–27) and compiled two major works of Mormon history: the seven-volume *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* primarily from Joseph Smith's records (1902–11) and the six-volume *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I* (1930).

Thus it is not surprising that when a nonmember posed several troubling questions about the Book of Mormon in 1921, B. H. Roberts was asked to respond. Nor is it surprising that Roberts met the challenge head-on, elaborating the issues in a 141-page report, "Book of Mormon Difficulties," which he presented to Church president Heber J. Grant and other General Authorities during an eight-hour meeting.[6]

"BOOK OF MORMON DIFFICULTIES"

The questions came from a Mr. Couch of Washington, D.C., a scholarly friend of William E. Riter, the twenty-year-old son of a Logan, Utah, pharmacist. Prior to serving an LDS mission, Riter had asked Couch to read and criticize the Book of Mormon. Observing that languages change slowly, Couch asked Riter to explain how the language spoken by the Book of Mormon people in the fifth century A.D. could have multiplied into the several hundred distinct Indian languages spoken by the Indians in the fifteenth century A.D. Couch also questioned Book of Mormon descriptions of horses, steel, "cimeters" (Persian sabres from the 16th-18th centuries A.D.[7]), and silk — all apparently nonexistent in the pre-Columbian Americas.

On 22 August 1921, Riter sent Couch's inquiries to author and scientist James E. Talmage of the Council of the Twelve, who passed them on to Roberts. Roberts approached the questions from many perspectives and consulted at least two friends[8] but, as his 29 December 1921 cover letter to "Book of Mormon Difficulties," acknowledges:

> . . . while knowing that some parts of my treatment of Book of Mormon problems in that work [*New Witnesses for God*] had not been altogether as convincing as I would

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[6] Apostle George F. Richards recorded in his diary, Wednesday, 4 Jan. 1922: "I made the talk at the temple meeting 9 A.M. and from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M., except while attending to sealing ordinances, was in a meeting of the presidency, the Twelve, and the Council of Seventy hearing Pres. B. H. Roberts present a paper of 141 typewritten pages he had prepared while considering five questions upon the Book of Mormon submitted by a Mr. Couch of Washington, D.C." Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter LDS Church Archives. See also, James E. Talmage, Journal, 4, 5, and 26 Jan. 1922, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[7] *Scimitar* or *scimiter* are English terms derived from the Persian *saber* or *shamshir*. Leonid Tarassukand, Claude Blair, eds., *The Complete Encyclopedia of Arms and Weapons* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), pp. 416, 419–21.

[8] Wesley P. Lloyd, Journal, 7 Aug. 1933, in possession of Lloyd family. Lloyd, a close friend of Roberts, served as Dean of Men, Dean of Students, and Dean of the Graduate

> have liked to have had them, I still believed that reasonable explanations could be made. . . . As I proceeded with my recent investigations, . . . I found the difficulties more serious than I had thought.

He then urged President Grant and the Council of the Twelve to continue the discussion: "I am most thoroughly convinced of the necessity of all the brethren herein addressed becoming familiar with these Book of Mormon problems, and find the answer for them, as it is a matter that will concern the faith of the youth of the Church now as also in the future."

"Book of Mormon Difficulties," written in three parts, was presented as an expanded study of Book of Mormon problems. By directly confronting problems and inconsistencies that careful readers might find in the Book of Mormon, Roberts evidently hoped to develop some answers that could be used in defending the LDS faith from future attacks.

In the first part of his paper, "Linguistics," Roberts examined the difficulties arising from claims that contemporary American Indians were descended from the ancient Hebrews. In the second part (untitled), Roberts discussed the apparent absence today of domestic animals, metals, grains, and wheeled vehicles mentioned in Book of Mormon descriptions of early Nephite peoples. In the third part, "The Question of the Origin of Native American Races and Their Culture," Roberts explored theories which traced native Americans to European, Asiatic, or Hebraic origins.

Roberts presented his report to Church leaders in an all-day meeting 4 January 1922 which continued the next day and also on 26 January.[9] At the end of that first day, James E. Talmage, an apostle, recorded:

> Brother Roberts has assembled a long list of points called "difficulties," meaning thereby what non-believers in the Book of Mormon call discrepancies between that record and the results of archaeological and other scientific investigations. As examples of these "difficulties" may be mentioned the views put forth by some living writers to the effect that no vestige of either Hebrew or Egyptian appears in the language of the American Indians, or Amerinds. Another is the positive declaration by certain writers that the horse did not exist upon the Western Continent during historic times prior to the coming of Columbus.
>
> I know the Book of Mormon to be a true record; and many of the "difficulties" or objections as opposing critics would urge, are after all but negative in their nature. The Book of Mormon states [that Lehi] and his colony found horses upon this continent when they arrived; and therefore horses were here at that time.

According to Wesley P. Lloyd, a Brigham Young University administrator and personal friend to whom Roberts related the experience some eleven years later, the Twelve "merely one by one stood up and bore testimony to the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon," but "no answer was available." [10]

School at BYU. See also Roberts to George W. Middleton, 11 Nov. 1921 and Roberts to R. V. Chamberlin, 3 Dec. 1921; letters in Roberts Collection, University of Utah and BYU libraries.

[9] Talmage, Journal, 4, 5, and 26 Jan. 1922.

[10] Lloyd, Journal, 7 Aug. 1933.

In a letter to President Grant five days after the 4 January meeting, Roberts expressed his disappointment over the outcome of the discussions:

> There was so much said that was utterly irrelevant, and so little said, if anything at all, that was helpful in the matters at issue that I came away from the conference quite disappointed. . . . While on the difficulties of linguistics nothing was said that could result to our advantage at all or stand the analysis of enlightened criticism. . . .
>
> I was quite disappointed in the results of our conference, but notwithstanding that I shall be most earnestly alert upon the subject of Book of Mormon difficulties, hoping for the development of new knowledge, and for new light to fall upon what has already been learned, to the vindication of what God has revealed in the Book of Mormon; but I cannot be other than painfully conscious of the fact that our means of defense, should we be vigorously attacked along the lines of Mr. Couch's questions, are very inadequate.[11]

On 6 February 1922, about one month after his letter to President Grant, Roberts, assisted by Second Counselor Anthony Ivins, and Elders John A. Widtsoe and James E. Talmage, wrote an optimistic response to Riter that minimized the difficulties Couch had raised.[12] Roberts stated that the problem of many languages deriving from one is "not that unsolvable." He said that oral language might change quickly and people speaking in different tongues may have come to North America during the thousand years from the end of Nephite history (A.D. 421) to the coming of Columbus (1492). Roberts also acknowledged the "possibility that other groups of people may have inhabited parts of the Americas, contemporaneously with the people chronicled in the Book of Mormon, though candor compels me to say that nothing to that effect appears in the Book of Mormon." [13] He did not respond to Couch's question about the lack of fossil evidence for such Book of Mormon animals as the horse.

"A Book of Mormon Study"

For Roberts, however, these concerns about Book of Mormon authenticity were far from resolved and President Grant approved a committee composed of Ivins, Talmage, Widtsoe, and Roberts to study these problems.[14] In his journal, James E. Talmage recorded meetings with Roberts in the home of James H. Moyle to discuss Book of Mormon questions through the spring of 1922.[15]

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[11] B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant, 9 Jan. 1922, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. The diary entries of Heber J. Grant for 4 Jan. 1922 and several following days, currently inaccessible to researchers (LDS Church Archives), may describe reactions to the Roberts presentation.

[12] See Talmage, Journal, 2 Feb. 1922, for the date of the meeting to assist Roberts in preparing the Couch letter.

[13] Here Roberts is referring to a position that was just beginning to emerge at the time: the idea that the Book of Mormon people were one of many groups of ancestors of the present-day Indians.

[14] B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant, 15 March 1923.

[15] Talmage, Journal, 29 March, 28 April, and 25 May 1922. It is possible that Roberts finished the paper in March 1922. He left on a mission later that year; a 1927 letter to Richard Lyman implies 1922, and the 1923 date was added by hand to the typed copy.

On 15 March 1923, Roberts addressed a second report, the 291-page "A Book of Mormon Study," to President Heber J. Grant and the Quorum of the Twelve. In his cover letter, Roberts defined his scope:

> You will perhaps remember that during the hearing on "Problems of the Book of Mormon" reported to your Council January, 1922 I stated in my remarks that there were other problems which I thought should be considered in addition to those submitted in my report. Brother Richard R. Lyman asked if they would help solve the problems already presented, or if they would very greatly increase our difficulties. My answer was that they would very greatly increase our difficulties, on which he replied, "Then I do not know why we should consider them." My answer was, however, that it was my intention to go on with the consideration to the last analysis.
>
> In writing out this my report to you of those studies, I have written it from the viewpoint of an open mind, investigating the facts of the Book of Mormon origin and authorship.
>
> [My purpose is] to make it of record for those who should be its students and know on what ground the Book of Mormon may be questioned, as well as that which supports its authenticity and its truth. . . .
>
> Let me say once and for all, so as to avoid what might otherwise call for repeated explanation, that what is herein set forth does not represent any conclusions of mine. This report herewith submitted is what it purports to be, namely a "study of Book of Mormon origins," for the information of those who ought to know everything about it *pro et con*, as well as that which has been produced against it and that which may be produced against it. I am taking the position that our faith is not only unshaken but unshakeable in the Book of Mormon, and therefore we can look without fear upon all that can be said against it.
>
> It is not necessary for me to suggest that maintenance of the truth of the Book of Mormon is absolutely essential to the integrity of the whole Mormon movement, for it is inconceivable that the Book of Mormon should be untrue in its origin or character and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints be a true church.

In the first part, Roberts considers the possibility that Ethan Smith's *A View of the Hebrews*, published in 1823 with a second edition in 1825, supplied the structural outline for the Book of Mormon, published in 1830. Ethan Smith's *A View of the Hebrews* describes the evidence for the conclusion held by many writers at the time that the lost tribes of Israel were "the aborigines of our continent." In fourteen chapters, Roberts compared similar elements in the two books, including the destruction of the civilized branch of a divided people, discovery of an ancient buried record, the "two sticks" passage of Ezekiel applied to the American Indian, the Urim and Thummim, the use of Egyptian writing, and the application of Isaiah 18 to convert the Indians.[16] Roberts felt that Joseph Smith probably had access to *A View of the Hebrews*.[17]

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[16] These similar ideas to Book of Mormon themes are found in *A View of the Hebrews* (1825 ed.): Indians from Hebrew tribes (p. 85 and passim); destruction of civilized branch (p. 172); buried record (pp. 115, 217–23); "two sticks" (pp. 52–54); Urim and Thummim (pp. 150, 195); Egyptian writing (pp. 182–85); Isaiah and converting Indians (pp. 228, 249–50). Although several Book of Mormon chapters quote Isaiah chapters, Isaiah 18 is not among them.

[17] *A View of the Hebrews* enjoyed widespread popularity; the first edition sold out and the second edition (pp. vi–vii) contained a letter of recommendation dated 4 Feb. 1825 from Rev. Jabez Hyde of Eden, Erie County, New York, further west than Joseph Smith's residence in Palmyra and several hundred miles from the publisher in Poultney, Vermont.

In the second part of "A Book of Mormon Study," Roberts considers evidence that the Book of Mormon was the product of a relatively unsophisticated imagination. He mentioned long journeys taken and large cities built in very short periods of time, noted that the Jaredite and Nephite migrations have parallel story lines, and that the anti-Christ episodes are repeated in nearly identical patterns. A call to the Eastern States Mission presidency later in 1922 interrupted Roberts's presentation of "A Book of Mormon Study" to the First Presidency.

In 1927, Roberts wrote Apostle Richard R. Lyman, including, "A Parallel," an eighteen-page condensation of parallels between the Book of Mormon and *A View of the Hebrews*. Roberts wanted Lyman to present the summary to the Council of the Twelve, perhaps to see how his longer work might be received. Roberts explained,

> I thought I would submit in sort of tabloid form a few pages of matter pointing out a possible theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon that is quite unique and never seems to have occurred to anyone to employ, largely on account of the obscurity of the material on which it might be based, but which in the hands of a skillful opponent could be made, in my judgment, very embarrassing.
>
> I submit it in the form of a Parallel between some main outline facts pertaining to the Book of Mormon and matter that was published in Ethan Smith's "View of the Hebrews" which preceded the Book of Mormon, the first edition by eight years, and the second edition by five years, 1823–5 respectively. It was published in Vermont and in the adjoining country in which the Smith family lived in the Prophet Joseph's boyhood days, so that it could be urged that the family doubtless had this book in their possession, as the book in two editions flooded the New England States and New York. . . .
>
> I submit it to you and if you are sufficiently interested you may submit it to others of your Council.[18]

It is not known if Roberts's questions were discussed in further council meetings.

THE OUTCOME OF ROBERTS'S STUDIES

Roberts's biographer, Truman Madsen, has suggested that "it is not clear how much of this typewritten report ["A Book of Mormon Study"] was actually submitted to the First Presidency and the Twelve." [19] However, on 7 August 1933, the month before Roberts died, Wesley P. Lloyd recorded his three-

[18] B. H. Roberts to Richard Lyman, 24 Oct. 1927. "A Parallel," still attached to Roberts's letter, is at the University of Utah Library.

[19] See Madsen, "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," p. 440; also his "B. H. Roberts After Fifty Years," p. 13, where he asserts that Roberts "had sent the entire 435 pages to President Heber J. Grant . . . on 15 March 1923." Since Roberts had quite clearly delivered the first 141 pages in 1922, Madsen seems to be first questioning whether Roberts had delivered the second paper, then assuming such delivery, and also assuming that the cover letter was to accompany his 1923 study. This conclusion is open to question. Roberts would refer to his manuscript as 400 pages long, both in a letter to Elizabeth Skofield (Madsen, "After Fifty Years," p. 13) and in his 1933 conversion with Wesley P. Lloyd (n. 8), apparently a rounded-off number. The manuscript of "A Book of Mormon Study" is actually 291 pages rather than Madsen's figure of 285, who apparently derives his total of 435 pages by adding the 285 pages in the second study, the 141-page first study, and the two cover letters totaling nine pages. Roberts also included several pages of abstracts which are not paginated, from contemporary and historical works pertaining to the subject.

and-a-half hour conversation with Roberts on problems of Book of Mormon authenticity. Lloyd had served a mission under Roberts and had come to know him well. As Lloyd recorded the event, Roberts had sent his 400-page thesis on the origin of the Book of Mormon "to Pres. Grant." [20] Madsen further adds that Roberts did not intend this study for "further dissemination." [21] However, Grant Ivins, BYU professor of comparative religion and son of Elder Anthony W. Ivins, wrote in a personal letter to a friend who wanted to know, among other things, if the Book of Mormon were "true" that Roberts had "wanted to publish this comparison, but the Church authorities would not sanction its publication." [22] Ivins's statement, which he reports as B. H. Roberts's without saying whether his knowledge is first-hand, supports the idea that Roberts *did* present his second study to the Church authorities and that he intended to publish it.

Little more was heard of Roberts's two studies for the next half century. However, in 1946, B. H. Roberts's son, Benjamin, discussed Book of Mormon parallels to *A View of the Hebrews* and distributed a list similar to his father's "Parallel." [23] The previous year, Fawn Brodie referred to parallels between the Book of Mormon and *A View of the Hebrews* in a footnote to her biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*.[24] These discussions of parallels, however, do not mention Roberts's 1921 and 1923 studies.[25]

In two 1959 *Improvement Era* articles, Hugh Nibley referred to Book of Mormon parallels with *A View of the Hebrews* but likewise did not mention

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[20] Lloyd, Journal, 7 Aug. 1933.

[21] For example, see Madsen, "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon," p. 440, and "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," p. 13.

[22] Grant Ivins to Heber Holt, 26 Dec. 1967; copy in Special Collections Library, University of Utah. Madsen cites B. H. Roberts to Elizabeth Skolfield, 14 March 1932, in which he says his "Book of Mormon Study" was "not for publication." "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," p. 13.

[23] Meeting of the Timpanogos Club, 10 Oct. 1946, in Salt Lake City, Utah. Subsequently, Mervin B. Hogan published the mimeographed list of parallels in *The Rocky Mountain Mason* (Billings, Montana), Jan. 1956, pp. 17–31. In 1963, Hal Hougey reproduced Roberts's parallels in a pamphlet entitled *A Parallel: The Basis of the Book of Mormon* (Concord, Calif.: Pacific Publishing Co., 1963).

[24] Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History; The Life of Joseph Smith* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 47n.

[25] The Historical Department Archives of the Church does not include either manuscript in its register of B. H. Roberts's unpublished works. Family copies were also apparently unavailable until 1979 although there is an unconfirmed report that Benjamin Roberts showed his copy to some researchers.

Perhaps Benjamin Roberts was the source of the "fragments" A. C. Lambert, a member of BYU's faculty, recalls seeing in 1925: "A few of us at BYU got a few fragments of the manuscript back in 1925, but were ordered to destroy them and to '*keep your mouths shut,*' and we did keep our mouths shut. I never got the fragments for my own meager files, which were kept private even then. B. H. Roberts came about as near calling Joseph Smith, Jr. a fraud and deceit as the polite language of a religious man would permit. The grandson who currently owns the manuscript died a few weeks ago as you may already have heard. I have not heard what will happen to the manuscript." A. C. Lambert to Wesley P. Walters, undated but postmarked Dec. 14, 1978, Special Collections, University of Utah library.

the two Roberts studies.[26] Several LDS Church histories have been written without citing either *A View of the Hebrews* or Roberts's studies. Screened by a committee of General Authorities, Roberts's own *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, published in 1930, omitted any mention of his two previous studies. Elder Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials of Church History* (1922), James B. Allen's and Glen M. Leonard's *The Story of the Latter-Day Saints* (1976) and Leonard J. Arrington's and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience* (1979) also do not mention the Roberts studies. Truman Madsen's biography also follows this cautious precedent. In a 1983 *Ensign* article on Roberts, he acknowledges "only two specific similarities," aside from the claim of Hebraic backgrounds, between the Book of Mormon and *A View of the Hebrews*: lengthy Isaiah quotes and reference to the Urim and Thummim. Then, misdating the second edition of *A View of the Hebrews* at 1835 instead of 1825, he erroneously asserts that this edition was "published long after the Book of Mormon began circulation," suggesting that when *A View of the Hebrews* was revised and enlarged, "it surely can also be claimed that Ethan Smith was aware of Joseph Smith's [book]." [27]

ARE ROBERTS'S QUESTIONS STILL RELEVANT?

At this point, we need to determine what Roberts himself may have concluded about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, and whether the questions he raised can now be answered. Was Roberts seriously and personally concerned about these questions or was he presenting a rhetorical case to Heber J. Grant and the Twelve in an attempt to arouse committed inquiry? From our perspective, are Roberts's concerns out of date or have his questions generally been answered? Let us deal first with the second question.

Roberts poses two general classes of questions, archeological and literary. Whereas certain issues deal with literary inconsistencies in the Book of Mormon and its possible derivation from contemporary source material such as Ethan Smith's *A View of the Hebrews*, archeological questions of Indian origins, languages, and lifestyles treat evidence which is constantly examined by specialists in the fields of archeology and anthropology.

For example, archeologists generally agree that North, Central, and South America were populated by waves of migrations across the 2,000-kilometer-wide Bering Strait land bridge from Asia during a 15,000-year span in the late Wisconsin Ice Age, ending about 8,000 B.C. No anthropologist disputes the evidence of bones from animal kills. Early humans left a clearly marked trail down and across the Americas. The majority of early native American populations evidently arrived by this overland route.[28] It is this scientific consensus of his time, still a majority opinion, that Roberts presented in his study.

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[26] Hugh Nibley, "The Comparative Method," *Improvement Era* 62 (Oct. 1959): 10; and ibid. 62 (Nov. 1959): 11.

[27] "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," p. 17.

[28] See Jessie D. Jennings, ed., *Ancient Native Americans* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1978). Jennings, Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the University of Utah and

A current minority school works with the possibility of transoceanic contacts among early cultures from the Old World and the New.[29] At one point, anthropologists were debating whether pottery found in Ecuador and Columbia dating back to 3,000 B.C. may have originated in Japan.[30] The possibility of transoceanic contacts would certainly allow early voyages such as those described in the Book of Mormon while accommodating the Bering Straits evidence. This view is, of course, closely related with the currently advanced hypothesis that the Book of Mormon records activities that took place in a limited geographical region. As John L. Sorenson argues in a lengthy examination that has circulated in typescript,[31] the Book of Mormon text describes foot journeys between Nephi and Zarahemla that took place in some twenty days (approximately 500 miles); a population of about 2,500 assembled in Bountiful in 3 Nephi 10–18 for the visitation of the Savior, and military units

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member of the National Academy of Sciences, here synthesizes the contributions of specialists in each major culture area in North, Central, and South America.

[29] Stephen C. Jett, "Pre-Columbian Transoceanic Contacts," in Jennings, ed., *Ancient Native Americans*, pp. 593–650. Jett concludes his survey of the evidence with a summary of professional opinion on transoceanic contacts: "Most scholars admit to the likelihood of sporadic accidental transoceanic contacts but tend to discount the possibility of significant extracontinental influences" (p. 639). Jett comments that the burden of supporting a transoceanic view was increased by unfounded efforts to prove a preconceived theory or religious viewpoint: "So many unfounded surmises, religious theories, and even fraudulent 'finds' had occurred by the early twentieth century that serious study of possible early Mediterranean-American relations became, through 'guilt by association,' even more of an anathema to scholarship than did consideration of possible transpacific ties" (pp. 623–24). See also Robert Wauchope, in *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[30] Betty J. Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada, "Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador; the Valdivia and Machalilla Phases" in *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 1 (1965). See discussion in Jennings, *Ancient Native American*, p. 602. T. Patrick Culbert, professor of anthropology, University of Arizona, observed that at one time about half the archeologists thought that the Valdivian pottery might be of Japanese origin; currently only about 10 or 15 percent consider it so (notes of a conversation with author, 12 Aug. 1980).

[31] "An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon," typescript, 1978, esp. Ch. 1. This study examines textual evidence for a Mesoamerican setting and summarizes information currently available on ancient Mesoamerican cultures that seems to illuminate the Book of Mormon. This work is undergoing final revision in preparation for publication. In 1954, Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith rejected a limited-geography thesis: "Within recent years there has arisen among certain students of the Book of Mormon a theory to the effect that within the period covered by the Book of Mormon, the Nephites and Lamanites were confined almost within the borders of the territory comprising Central America and the southern portion of Mexico; the Isthmus of Theuantepec probably being the 'narrow neck' of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon rather than the Isthmus of Panama. . . . This modernistic theory of necessity, in order to be consistent, must place the waters of Ripliancum and the Hill Cumorah someplace within the restricted territory of Central America, notwithstanding the teachings of the Church to the contrary for upwards of 100 years. Because of this theory some members of the Church have been confused and greatly disturbed in their faith in the Book of Mormon." *Deseret News*, Church Section, 27 Feb. 1954, pp. 2–3. One of the relatively few official statements on Book of Mormon geography is George Q. Cannon, "The Book of Mormon Geography," *Juvenile Instructor* 25 (1 Jan. 1890): 18, discouraging the creation and circulation of "suggestive maps" because of the lack of consensus of their authors, and stating that the First Presidency and Twelve have consistently declined invitations to prepare such a map.

at the end of the book numbering in the tens of thousands, rather than millions. Biblical references, a possible parallel, to "all the land," Sorenson concludes, seem to be a matter of Hebrew hyperbole rather than exact geographical descriptions. (See Josh, 11:23; Isa. 13:5; Jer. 1:18; Matt. 27:45; Luke 23:44).

Still, even though this geographical hypothesis would resolve some of the difficulties presented by the numerous Indian languages present and by the clearly contradictory evidence of the Bering Straits, it is not without its problems. From the inception of the Church, Joseph Smith in "revealed" statements taught that the New World Indians—presumably all—were descended from Book of Mormon peoples. Joseph Smith's quotation of Moroni's 1823 instructions calls the book "an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the sources from whence they sprang." [32]

On 4 Jan. 1833, Joseph Smith described "by commandment of God" his work on the Book of Mormon to N. E. Seaton, editor of a Rochester, New York, newspaper. Here he defines the Book of Mormon people as "the forefathers of our western tribes of Indians. . . . By it we learn that our western tribes of Indians are descendants from that Joseph which was sold into Egypt, and that the land of America is a promised land unto them." [33] Apparently in explication of Book of Mormon descriptions that the Jaredites settled "all the face of the land" (Eth. 1:33–34, 42; 2:17, 7:11), an unsigned *Times and Seasons* editorial for the period when it was under Joseph Smith's editorship, says they "covered the whole continent from sea to sea with towns and cities." [34] In his 1842 letter to John Wentworth, Joseph Smith further reaffirmed that "the remnant [of Book of Mormon peoples] are the Indians that now inhabit this country." [35] At conference in New York attended by the Quorum of the Twelve, 27 August 1843, Elder Orson Pratt identified the Book of Mormon as "a History of nearly one half of the globe & the people that inhabited it, that it gave a history of all those cities that have been of late discovered by Catherwood and Stephens [explorers of remains of early American civilizations]." [36] And at a 10 September 1843 conference in Boston at which seven of the Quorum of the Twelve were present, Elder Wilford Woodruff affirmed that the Book of Mormon record "contains an account of the ancient inhabitants of this continent who over spread this land with cities from sea to sea," a restatement of the contemporary understanding that the people of Nephi "did cover the whole face of the land, both on the northward and on the southward, from the sea west to the sea east" (Hel. 11:20).[37]

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[32] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 1:2.

[33] Ibid., 1:315, 326.

[34] *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Sept. 1842): 922.

[35] Quoted in Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 1:167.

[36] Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journals, Typescript* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 2:282.

[37] Ibid., 2:300. On 28 July, 1847, after the Saints had arrived in Utah, Brigham Young, speaking before the Quorum of the Twelve, stated that "our people would be connected with

Roberts asked essentially: Why is there no archeological evidence of Book of Mormon animals and objects? Current anthropologists are in apparent agreement that pre-Columbian Americans possessed no domestic animals such as horses, cows, sheep, asses, oxen, or swine, although dogs and llamas, not mentioned in the Book of Mormon, were domesticated fairly early. Ancestors of the modern horse became extinct in North and South America about 12,000 B.C., at the end of the Pleistocene era; the horse was reintroduced by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Although some Mormon scholars wish to defer judgment until more evidence is available, current evidence does not include the remains of horses.

Archeologists in B. H. Roberts's time also generally agreed that wheat and barley, found only in the Old World, did not grow in North and South America until European colonists brought them here. A recently reported discovery of "what looks like domesticated barley" in the ruins of the Hohokam civilization in Arizona may require a modification of this view.[38] Early Indians had corn (maize), beans, tomatoes, squash, gourds, peppers, and root crops (potatoes, yams, sweet potatoes). Only after contact was made in the 1500s did Old World crops travel to the New World and vice versa. In addition, New World peoples apparently used copper, bronze, gold, and silver, but not iron or steel. Roberts suggests the mention of steel in the Book of Mormon is another

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every tribe of Indians throughout America & that our people would yet take their squaws wash & dress them up teach them our language & learn them the gospel of there forefathers & raise up children by them & teach the children & not many generations Hence they will become A white & delightsome people." (Ibid., 3:241.) In 1875, Orson Pratt quoted his memory of Joseph Smith saying that "The Lord God made a promise to the forefathers of the Indians, about six hundred years before Christ, that all this continent should be given to them and to their children after them for an everlasting inheritance." *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1875), 17:299–301. Pratt further asserted that the Indians "have different languages, but the roots of each language indicate that they have all sprung from the same origin" (19 Feb. 1871, *Journal of Discourses*, 14:10). In 1954, Joseph Fielding Smith, then an apostle, reaffirmed that Nephites "spread over the face of the entire continent" and that "their descendants, the American Indians, were wandering in all their wild savagery when the Pilgrim Fathers made permanent settlement in this land." *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 1:151. The missionary program to the Indians identifies them as the fallen descendants of the early Book of Mormon peoples. See Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 17:299–301; 14:10. Other sources include Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (Liverpool: Brigham Young, 1866), pp. 94–109; George Q. Cannon's 6 April 1884 General Conference address in *Journal of Discourses*, 25:123–24; and Orson Pratt's 2 Dec. 1877 address, in *Journal of Discourses*, 19:170–74.

In 1966 Bruce R. McConkie, later an apostle, acknowledged: "It is quite apparent that groups of Orientals found their way over the Bering Strait gradually moved southward to mix with the Indian peoples." However, Indians are still regarded as "chiefly" Lamanites, whom McConkie considers to have come prior to the Bering Strait migrations, which archeologists date thousands of years earlier. (*Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966], pp. 32–33). Church historians Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton reflect this modified view, probably held widely, that the Indian population "apparently mixed with other groups from Europe and Asia [to become] the ancestors of the Indians of North, Central, and South America" but without discussion of proportions or order of arrival (*The Mormon Experience*, p. 14).

[38] Daniel B. Adams, "Last Ditch Archeology," 4 *Science '83* (Dec. 1983): 32, 30–31. The Hohokam, who vanished about 600 years ago, may have migrated from Mexico — the point is "hotly debated" — and built houses of a "kind of concrete made from a local mineral called caliche."

parellel with Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews.*[39] A hypothesis which Roberts did not consider but which is proposed by John W. Welch, director of FARMS (Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies), and others, is that the technology for hardening iron may have been lost. Nephi teaches his people to make steel (2 Ne. 5:15), but the last reference to steel is in Jarom 8, cited as 399 B.C.[40]

Small wheeled objects have been found near the Vera Cruz coast of Mexico, but there seems to be no evidence of wheeled vehicles or machinery in prehistoric America. Furthermore, the New World lacked draft animals to pull wheeled chariots even if they had existed. In Peru and Ecuador, the only places that had something similar to a draft animal, the llama, the "roads" were generally stepped footpaths, unusable for wheeled vehicles.[41]

Since we cannot disprove that which has not been found, the issue of whether a particular article or animal existed in pre-Columbian America remains unresolved. The proposed evidence for the horse and the wheel has not, however, been convincing.[42]

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[39] See John L. Sorenson, "A Reconsideration of Early Metal in Mesoamerica," *Museum of Anthropology Miscellaneous Series*, no. 45, 1982, University of Northern Colorado Museum of Anthropology, Greeley, Colorado; also available in the reprint series of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Box 7113, University Station, Provo, UT 84602. He summarizes metallic finds reported since the mid-1950s including some possible iron objects. The footnoted and annotated script for a FARMS filmstrip, "Lands of the Book of Mormon," pp. 19–20, states: "Between 1475 and 1125 *B.C.* on a recalibrated C-14 scale, magnetite and ilmenite (native iron) mirrors were being manufactured in the Oaxaca Valley. (Flannery and Schoenwetter, *Archaeology*, 23:2:149). A geological map is available in K. Flannery, editor, *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, New York: Academic Press, 1976, p. 318, figure 10.10 showing the procurement routes along the known sources of iron ore in Oaxaca Valley. Jane W. Peres-Ferreira's article, 'Shell and Iron-Ore Mirror Exchange in Formative Mesoamerica,' in the Flannery volume examines this early metal working in some detail." This time frame would correspond to Jaredite times when steel is mentioned in Ether 7:9.

[40] John W. Welch, "Memorandum," 10 April 1984. Needless to say, the evidence for metallic use in ancient America, though sufficiently tantalizing as to merit continued examination, has so far lacked the conclusiveness necessary to create a clear revision of the general scholarly consensus.

[41] Jennings, *Ancient Native Americans*, passim. Conversations with T. Patrick Culbert, professor of anthropology, University of Arizona, specialist in Mayan civilization and its collapse (12 Aug. 1980); William Hawk, professor of anthropology, University of Wisconsin (8 Aug. 1980); Richard S. MacNeish, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archeology, Andover (11 Aug. 1980); Michael D. Coe, anthropologist (12 Aug. 1980); William Ayres, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon (8 Aug. 1980); Betty J. Meggers, Research Associate at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (8 Aug. 1980).

[42] See Paul R. Cheesman, "The Wheel in Ancient America," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter, 1969). His *The World of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978) was criticized for "being inconsistent about his selection of evidence," using hearsay evidence, and making an inadequate case for the presence of horses among Indians. The reviewer noted that "hundreds of ancient skeletons of animals have been found along these roads but none of horses." The reviewer also noted a problem in using any science to prove a preconceived view: "I hope that the search for [the history of pre-Columbian America] will be continued by rational, somewhat skeptical men, who are searching for the truth. This important study must not be left to those who already possess the truth and must therefore confirm it to the point of distorting it." J. Henry Ibarquen, "Mormon Scholasticism," DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL

The admitted over-eagerness and lack of scholarly rigor of some in accepting highly selective Book of Mormon "proofs" has contributed to an embarrassing stereotype that more responsible scholarship must efface. Commenting upon Mormon attempts to provide archeological evidence for Joseph Smith's translations, noted archeologist of Mesoamerica, Michael D. Coe of Yale University, stated:

> Mormon archeologists over the years have almost unanimously accepted the Book of Mormon as an accurate, historical account of the New World peoples between about 2,000 B.C. and A.D. 421. They believe that Smith could translate hieroglyphs, whether "Reformed Egyptian" or ancient American, and that his translation of the Book of Abraham is authentic. Likewise, they accept the Kinderhook Plates as a bona fide archeological discovery, and the reading of them as correct. Let me now state uncategorically that as far as I know there is not one professionally trained archeologist, who is not a Mormon, who sees any scientific justification for believing the foregoing to be true, and I would like to state that there are quite a few Mormon archeologists who join this group. . . . The picture of this hemisphere between 2,000 B.C. and A.D. 421 presented in the book has little to do with the early Indian cultures as we know them, in spite of much wishful thinking. . . .
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> The bare facts of the matter are that nothing, absolutely nothing, has ever shown up in any New World excavation which would suggest to a dispassionate observer that the Book of Mormon, as claimed by Joseph Smith, is an historical document relating to the history of early migrants to our hemisphere.[43]

Perhaps in an effort to counter such blanket accusations, the New World Archaeological Foundation, organized in the 1950s by Thomas S. Ferguson and eventually taken over by the Church and based at Brigham Young University, responded with "considerable embarrassment over the various unscholarly postures" related to Book of Mormon-oriented archaeology. The Church Archaeological Committee instructed the NWAF employees that it "should concern itself only with the culture history interpretations normally within the scope of archaeology, and any attempt at correlation or interpretation involving the Book of Mormon should be eschewed." Dee F. Green, an archaeologist employed by the foundation in 1963, remembers that "it was made quite plain to me . . . that my opinions with regard to the Book of Mormon archaeology were to be kept to myself, and my field report was to be kept

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OF MORMON THOUGHT 11 (Autumn 1978): 92–94. John L. Sorenson echoed a similar criticism. Commenting on unprofessional writing that passes under the heading of archeology, Sorenson noted: "Two of the most prolific are Professor Hugh Nibley and Milton R. Hunter; however, they are not qualified to handle the archeological materials their work often involves. . . . As long as Mormons generally are willing to be fooled by (and pay for) the uninformed, uncritical drivel about archeology and the scriptures which predominates, the few LDS experts are reluctant even to be identified with the topic" ("Some Voices From the Dust," a review of Papers to the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on the Archeology of the Scriptures, DIALOGUE 1 (Spring 1966): 144–49.

[43] Michael D. Coe, "Mormon Archaeology: An Outsider View," DIALOGUE 8 (Summer 1973): 41, 42, 46. Since that time, the research of Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to Be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (Aug. 1981): 66–74, seems to have laid to rest the Kinderhook Plates as modern forgeries, even though they have been widely accepted as recently as 1962 in official Church publications as an uncompleted translation by Joseph Smith, in the company of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham.

entirely from any such references." [44] Drawing on the findings of the New World Archaeological Foundation, among other sources, including their own research, FARMS and the Society for Early Historic Archaeology have remained alert to point out areas where the findings of archaeology may correspond with Book of Mormon claims. *SEHA Newsletter* editor Ross T. Christensen, in discussing the 1953 find of a bas-relief considered by some to be a portrayal of Lehi's vision of the tree of life, expressed what is no doubt the hope of many colleagues: "If and when success in identifying a major Book of Mormon artifact in a Mesoamerican cultural context is confirmed, it is conceivable that Book of Mormon archaeological research could develop as a valid and vigorous branch of Mesoamerican studies . . . along lines similar to Near Eastern-biblical archaeology, for expanding our knowledge of early Mesoamerica and of Book of Mormon peoples and places." [45]

After reviewing the archeological issues that Roberts raised in 1921, one can see that the ensuing sixty years may have added more information but they have not fully resolved these questions. Whether Roberts was personally concerned or whether he was playing devil's advocate, his written conclusions leave little doubt that he was indeed concerned.

How did he deal with these questions? Madsen presents an extensive summary of Roberts's Book of Mormon-related activities and several quotations which suggest that Roberts accepted the authenticity of the Book of Mormon until his death. In recollections given to Madsen about fifty years later, one former missionary remembered how often Roberts said, "I have come to know the book is true"; another friend recalled Roberts concluding shortly before his death in 1933 that, "Ethan Smith played no part in the formation of the Book of Mormon." [46]

However, several missionaries and close associates of Roberts recalled a possible change of mind on the Book of Mormon. Mark K. Allen, secretary to the Eastern States Mission presidency just after Roberts, remembered his saying, "We're not through with the Book of Mormon. We've got problems. I could do Volume III of *New Witnesses for God* the other way and be just as convincing." [47] Another missionary in the Eastern States under Roberts remarked that Roberts had recommended that missionaries not talk about the Book of Mormon; that Roberts had instructed him "to use the Bible, to approach converts in their own language and avoid the criticism that so often

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[44] Dee F. Green, "Book of Mormon Archaeology: The Myths and the Alternatives," DIALOGUE 4 (Summer 1969): 76.

[45] *Society for Early Historic Archaeology Newsletter*, no. 156 (March 1984).

[46] Madsen, "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," pp. 11–19, Interview with Milo Marsden, 10 July 1983 and Jack Christensen, 25 April 1979.

[47] Conversation with author, 27 Aug. 1981 and 3 March 1984. Allen was secretary to Eastern States Mission President Rolapp until 1928. Madsen, citing a letter to him from Allen, 20 July 1983, quotes him as saying, "His [Roberts's] faith in the divinity of the book was strong, but he agonized over the intellectual problems in justifying it" and was "uneasy with attempts to build a case out of trivial coincidence and gratuitous parallels." "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," p. 16.

arose from using the Book of Mormon." [48] These interviews both affirming and denying Roberts's continuing faith in the Book of Mormon were recalled years later.

A month before Roberts's death in September 1933, Lloyd recorded a "very interesting" three-and-a-half hour conversation with Roberts. He tells of Couch's letter which Talmage gave Roberts

> . . . to make a careful investigation and study and to get an answer for the letter. Roberts went to work and investigated it from every angle but could not answer it satisfactorily to himself. At his request Pres Grant called a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and Bro. Roberts presented the matter, told them frankly that he was stumped and asked their aid in the explanation. In answer, they merely one by one stood up and bore testimony to the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon.

Roberts wrote to President Grant of his "disappointment at the failure" and then "made a special Book of Mormon study." Lloyd then records that Roberts

> . . . swings to a psychological explanation of the Book of Mormon and shows that the plates were not objective but subjective with Joseph Smith, that his exceptional imagination qualified him psychologically for the experience which he had in presenting to the world the Book of Mormon and that the plates with the Urim and Thummim were not objective. He explained certain literary difficulties in the Book such as the miraculous incident of the entire nation of the Jaredites, the dramatic story of one man being left on each side, and one of them finally being slain, also the New England flat hill surroundings of a great civilization of another part of the country. We see none of the cliffs of the Mayas or the high mountain peaks or other geographical environment of early American civilization that the entire story laid in a New England flat hill surrounding. These are some of the things which has made Bro Roberts shift his base on the Book of Mormon.[49]

While these statements do not establish definitively that Roberts no longer believed the Book of Mormon to be the literal record of an ancient people, they clearly indicate a deepseated ambivalence on the subject which seemed to increase toward the end of his life. As recorded in his two critical studies, Roberts's concerns with the Book of Mormon were substantive:

1. In "Book of Mormon Difficulties," he summarizes the language difficulty: "That the time limits named in the Book of Mormon — which represents the people of America as speaking and writing one language down to as late a period as A.D. 400 — is not sufficient to allow of these divergencies into the American language stocks and their dialects." The limited geography hypothesis would largely resolve this difficulty, but that hypothesis is another of Roberts's objections.

2. "If such other races or tribes existed then the Book of Mormon is silent about them. Neither the people of Mulek nor the people of Lehi or after they

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[48] Conversation, 1 Aug. 1982 and 3 March 1984, with Harold Ellison, former bishop, stake president, and missionary in the Eastern States Mission under B. H. Roberts 1925–26. For a slightly different version of these instructions, see Madsen, "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years," p. 16.

[49] Lloyd, Journal, 7 Aug. 1933. To my knowledge, Madsen does not discuss this source in print.

were combined, nor any of their descendants ever came in contact with any such people, so far as any Book of Mormon account of it is concerned."

3. Regarding the absence of domestic animals, grains, metals, and wheeled vehicles among early Indians, Roberts, at the end of Section II, quotes the scholarly consensus of the time that some of the articles mentioned in the Book of Mormon do not seem to have existed in prehistoric America, then spells out the implications of the issue:

> There can be no question but what the Book of Mormon commits us to the possession and use of domestic animals by both Jaredite and Nephite peoples; and to the age and civilization of iron and steel and of the wheel, and of a written language, by both these peoples. And they, with their descendants, constitute all the inhabitants of the New World, so far as the Book of Mormon informs us, except as to the Gentile races which by the spirit of prophecy it was foreseen would come in later times.
>
> What shall our answer be then? Shall we boldly acknowledge the difficulties in the case, confess that the evidences and conclusions of the authorities are against us, but notwithstanding all that, we take our position on the Book of Mormon and place its revealed truth against the declarations of men, however learned, and await the vindication of the revealed truth? Is there any other course than this? And yet the difficulties to this position are very grave. Truly we may ask "Who will believe our report?" in that case. What will the effect be upon our youth of such a confession of inability to give a more reasonable answer to the questions submitted, and the awaiting of proof for final vindication? Will not the hoped-for proof deferred indeed make the heart sick? Is there any way to escape these difficulties?

4. Returning to the problematic LDS teaching of Indian origins, Roberts, at the conclusion of Section III, surveys theories about the origin of the native Americans and summarizes the combination of events the Book of Mormon implies:

> But what is required is that evidence shall be produced that will give us an empty America 3,000 years B.C., into which a colony from the Euphrates Valley (supposedly) may come and there establish a race and an empire with an iron and steel culture; with a highly developed language of that period; then, after an existence of about sixteen or eighteen hundred years shall pass away, become extinct in fact, as a race and as a nation; this about 600 B.C., leaving the American continents again without human inhabitants.
>
> Then into these second time empty American continents — empty of human population—we want the evidence of the coming of two small colonies about 600 B.C., which shall be the ancestors of all native American races as we know them; possessing as did the former race, domestic animals, the horse, ass and cow; with an iron and steel culture, and a highly developed written literature, the national Hebrew literature in fact.
>
> Can we successfully overturn the evidences presented by archeologists for the great antiquity of man in America, and his continuous occupancy of it, and the fact of his stone age culture, not an iron and steel culture? Can we successfully maintain the Book of Mormon's comparatively recent advent of man in America and the existence of his iron and steel and domestic animal, and written language stage of culture against the deductions of our late American writers upon these themes?

In Roberts's own words, these concerns were answered in January 1922 with "faithful testimonies," an answer which disappointed Roberts and motivated his second paper, "A Book of Mormon Study."

Roberts presents his most somber assessments of problematic authenticity of the Book of Mormon in his 1923 study. His own comments follow, by part and chapter. In Part I, Chapter I, Roberts observes that Joseph Smith could

have based the Book of Mormon on legends and beliefs that were "common knowledge" in nineteenth century New England.

> It will appear in what is to follow that such "common knowledge" did exist in New England; that Joseph Smith was in contact with it; that one book, at least, with which he was most likely acquainted, could well have furnished structural outlines for the Book of Mormon; and that Joseph Smith was possessed of such creative imaginative powers as would make it quite within the lines of possibility that the Book of Mormon could have been produced in that way.

In Part I, Chapter IX, Roberts recognizes the "cumulative force" of many points of similarity which "menace" Joseph Smith's story:

> Did Ethan Smith's *A View of the Hebrews* furnish structural material for Joseph Smith's book of Mormon? It has been pointed out in these pages that there are many things in the former book that might well have suggested many major things in the other. Not a few things merely, one or two, or a half dozen, but many; and it is this fact of many things of similarity and the cumulative force of them, that makes them so serious a menace to Joseph Smith's story of the Book of Mormon's origin.

The expression of this thoughtful Church authority conveys to his readers today the attitudes which he held about these "difficulties." In his 15 March 1923 letter to President Grant and the Council of the Twelve, already cited, he asserts that the manuscript does not "represent any conclusions of mine" and that "our faith is not only unshaken, but unshakeable in the Book of Mormon." [50] Still, enough evidence exists to suggest that this statement may have derived from a sensitivity to his audience and a desire to assure them that the document was not presented in any spirit of attack. His "disappointment" at the apparent disregard of his document was no doubt partly occasioned by the lack of serious consideration given to a project upon which he had devoted so much care and scholarly attention. However, it is not impossible that part of that disappointment was also personal — that even the questions of a General Authority, honestly and carefully arrived at, did not merit sober and serious consideration.

Certainly it is not possible to determine beyond all question what Roberts himself believed about the Book of Mormon as his life drew to a close. Evidence about both positive affirmation and private doubts coexists. The scholarly evidence of the times did not present him with a great range of options and, despite the advances of the ensuing sixty years, impartial archaeological research has not made the "difficulties" disappear although it has supplied additional evidence and produced additional hypotheses — even though these hypotheses are not without their problems.

Roberts began his quest for truth armed with "unshakable" faith, but the issues he raised concern the foundation of the Church. Did Joseph Smith translate the Book of Mormon from gold plates that held the authentic record of an ancient people? After years of research on the Book of Mormon, this tenacious General Authority found serious "menaces" to its authenticity. Many of the questions that deeply concerned Roberts in these two incisive studies still remain without satisfactory answers.

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[50] B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant et al., 15 March 1923, University of Utah and Brigham Young University libraries.

Inner Dialogue: James Talmage's Choice of Science as a Career, 1876-84

Dennis Rowley

James E. Talmage was born to be a scientist. When he arrived in Utah in 1876 at the age of fourteen, he was attending Brigham Young Academy within a few weeks. During the next eight years, he finished the complete course of the academy, taking virtually every grammar, academic, normal, and scientific class offered and receiving every certificate and diploma awarded. For the next four years, he continued to take classes, teaching part-time for one year, full-time for three, and building a reputation throughout Utah Territory as a talented lecturer. In the summer of 1882, as a young twenty-year-old, he journeyed east to South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to complete an intensive one-year course in analytical chemistry at Lehigh University. He moved to Baltimore a year later to continue his scientific studies at Johns Hopkins University, then rejoined the BYA faculty in 1884. His academic emphasis had been an unbroken line toward his chosen profession.

Perhaps Talmage's interest in science was first quickened by his grandfather, James Edward Talmage, an herbal doctor in the village of Ramsbury, Wiltshire, England.[1] Young James lived with his grandfather from three to five while attending infant school, and visited often in later years, sometimes just to walk in the woods and visit, sometimes for weeks and months while James attended school in Ramsbury.[2] Occasionally he traveled with the older

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[1] See *The Contributor* 16 (Feb. 1895), p. 229, based upon an interview with James E. Talmage. He also said that his father followed the herbal profession "afterward."

[2] Most biographical accounts written about him refer only to his attending infant school in Ramsbury and subsequently the National School in Hungerford. However, his "Notes on English History" (see Talmage Papers, Brigham Young University Library, Box 9 Folder 1; hereafter cited as Papers), which he copied over to use as the basis for a lecture at Brigham Young Academy were clearly labeled, "Ramsbury, Wilts, 1872." Add to this his statement that he attended school in Hungerford only intermittently between the ages of five and twelve.

man.[3] In 1874, shortly after graduating from the National School in Hungerford, Talmage and his grandfather toured Wiltshire and Berkshire. On this tour, as in their earlier tramps through the woods and along the streams closer to home, they undoubtedly looked for herbs. In such settings, the elder James taught James his first simple botany lessons, awakening a love for nature that never died.[4] James gathered, identified, and labeled a collection of botanical and mineralogical specimens which he took with him to Utah two years after his grandfather's death in 1874. Later, as the first curator of the museum collections of the Brigham Young Academy, he added his personal collection to the holdings.[5]

James Talmage's English schooling appears to have contributed little to stimulate his interest in science. He was taught religion, geography, English history, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and perhaps physical education in the form of cricket. The daily regimen at all levels above infant school was prescribed and strict (as was the discipline), including forty-five minutes for religion, hymn singing, and catechism.[6] History and geography stressed the greatness of English accomplishments and were designed to instill pride in the empire and its heroes — political, military, and economic. Geography students were required to know the minerals and principal coal fields of England, but that was as close to science as any part of the basic curriculum came. Memorization and recitation were emphasized. Examination questions asked for description or simple recall rather than analysis or independent thinking.[7] It is possible, though unlikely, that James also took courses in algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, natural sciences, political economy, physical geography, English literature, French, Latin, or German.[8]

This education, not directly relevant to science, taught him the indispensable skills of hard work, a sense of order, and self-discipline. He also became precise in the use of language and developed a retentive memory. Many of these traits were reinforced at home where he helped his parents manage the Bell Inn. Hungerford was a prosperous resort and market town on the main east-west thoroughfare between London and Bristol, about an hour away from London by train. In its shops, lecture hall, and library, and from the passage of travelers in and out of the Bell and other inns, there was much to develop the powers of observation necessary to a successful scientist. Thus, when young

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[3] *The Contributor* 16 (Feb. 1895): 229.

[4] See Papers, Journal, Vol. 2, 4 April and 12 Dec. 1881; and the preface of *First Book of Nature* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1888). According to his son, Talmage frequently told his children stories of the elder James's influence. John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1972), p. 1–2.

[5] Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University. The First One Hundred Years* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1975) 1:169.

[6] The Hungerford National School had a boys cricket team. Whether James participated is not known. At Lehigh and Johns Hopkins he attended sporting events and made limited use of the gymnasium.

[7] See Examination Paper for Standard VI., Papers, Box 9 Folder 1.

[8] The decision to add any subject beyond religion, the three R's, singing and sewing for the girls was made by each local school.

James left England, though he had not yet consciously chosen to devote his life to science, the seeds had been planted.

The chief nurturer of the seeds was Brigham Young Academy's principal, Karl G. Maeser. Between August 1876 and June 1879, Talmage took about forty ten-week classes from Maeser ranging from arithmetic, rhetoric, and composition in the Grammar Department to natural philosophy, chemistry, and geology in the Academics Department.[9] In each class, Maeser did his best to carry out Brigham Young's admonition to teach nothing without the spirit. For example, he told his students in the "Theory of Teaching" that they must "introduce the subject [of religion] . . . wherever the opportunity offers"; and if the authorities prohibit a course in either theological or moral instruction, then "incidental instruction must be thrown in, for which numerous opportunities are presented. For instance, in the geography of South America the wide-awake teacher could instruct in regard to the history and travels of the Nephites and Lamanites. In the geography of the eastern states, the site of the burial of the plates etc." [10] In a similar spirit, Maeser taught Talmage about science and made science more attractive because he reinforced the spiritual mind-set Talmage had acquired in England.[11]

Maeser's first love was the art of teaching, and his greatest expertise was in the classics. However, he also had an adequate knowledge of the sciences.[12] With the proper textbook, he taught all of them at an elementary level.[13] Talmage's 1876 geography notes capture Maeser's typical mix of Mormon teachings and science and his tendency to oversimplify when teaching without a text (as he was in this instance):

THE CREATION

We have two sources by which we gain a knowledge of the creation viz. 1st Revelations in Scripture and 2nd by Geological discoveries. The 1st source viz Revelations in Scripture will be found in Genises (See Bible). We find there that God showed Moses six visions — I. He saw only mists huricanes & fearful commotion. II. Saw that the huricanes had ceased & also the waters had separated from the clouds, and rocks peeping out from the Oceans. III. He saw the rocks had been washed, powdered and decomposed which formed soil, which was green with small plants, & the waters had cooled off & had in them some small animals, IV. appeared as trees on the land with great animals in the water & in the air. V. He saw all kinds of monsters on land in water & in the air. VI. appeared to him in its perfect state with man in Garden of Eden. We cannot say how long a time elapsed between these great changes, but must have been millions of years. The Bible says God created the world in six days,

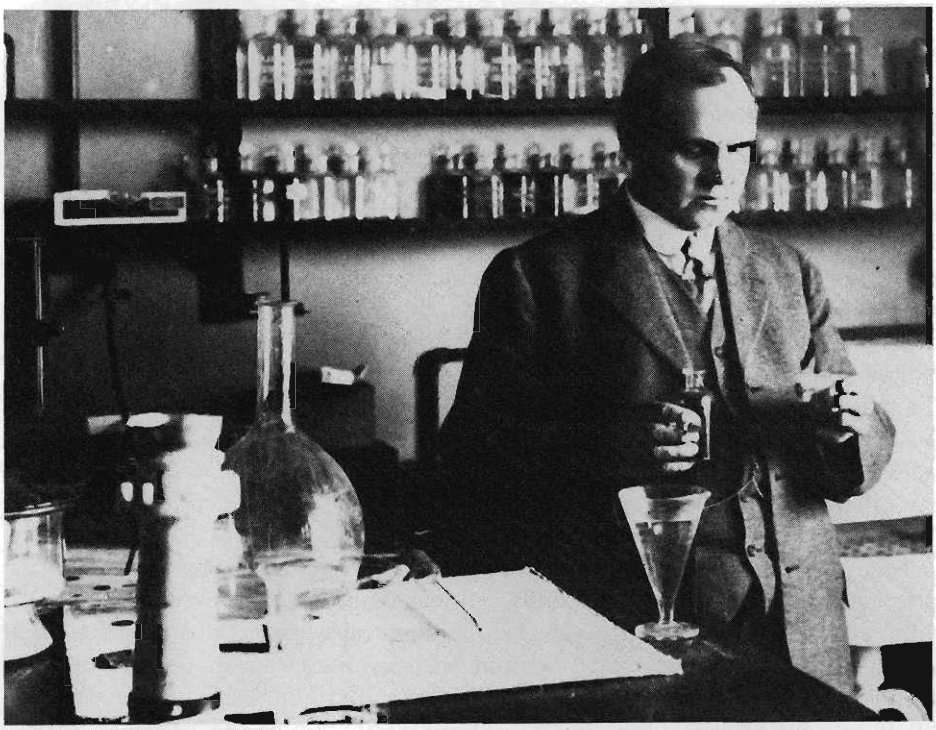
[9] For the number of classes Maeser taught, see Brigham Young University Archives, hereafter cited as UA, Register of Studies, which is not extant for the period of 1877–79, the Circulars, and the notes and examinations of Talmage in Papers, Boxes 9 and 10.

[10] Papers, Box 9 Folder 4, "Theory of Teaching," p. 41.

[11] *Talmage Story*, Ch. 1.

[12] BYU Centennial History 1:159; Douglas F. Tobler, "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828–56; The Making of Zion's Teacher," *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977): 155–75.

[13] Maeser taught his students that the teacher of primary and intermediate grades must have a thorough understanding of all the natural sciences even though "formally, in a common school these can claim no place." See Papers, Box 9 Folder 4, "Theory of Teaching," p. 93.



but this does not mean the time which we call days now, viz 24 hours it means simply 6 great periods. We also read of two creations spiritual & temporal. Whenever any Geological discoveries are made they verify the statements of the Bible though we must not take the Bible as a History it was never meant for it.[14]

In the Academic Department, to students planning to be teachers, Maeser stated that the aims of the natural sciences were:

1. To become acquainted with Nature.
2. To learn to utilize the elements of nature for the use and benefit of self and others.
3. To demonstrate the wisdom and goodness of the Creator.[15]

Maeser depended heavily upon "Steele's Series in the Natural Sciences" [16] in his lectures and examinations. Each volume reprinted a verse of scripture or a poetic verse about the Creator on the title page and there were abundant references to the "work of the Creator" throughout the text. They were also interestingly written, difficult enough to challenge the best students but simple

[14] Papers, Box 10 Folder 6, Geography Notes. Allowances must be made, of course, for any distortion of Maeser's teachings as they passed through Talmage's mind; however, all of Talmage's BYA notes are extremely valuable for the content of what Maeser actually taught in the early years as opposed to what he said ought to be taught in his 1898 *School and Fireside.*

[15] Papers, Box 9 Folder 4, "Theory of Teaching," p. 132.

[16] J. Dorman Steele, *Fourteen Weeks in Physics* (New York, Chicago, and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1878). Other titles in the series were physiology, zoology, chemistry, astronomy, and geology. Steele was an educator who achieved great success as a popularizer of science.

enough to be partially understood by the worst. There were regular encouragements to further reading for the eager students.

Maeser also encouraged interest in science outside the classroom. The earliest circulars of the academy spelled out plans for a museum and laboratory. In his term report of June 1877, Maeser reported on growth in the museum's botanical and mineral specimens, lamenting that they lacked organization and further lamenting the lack of a chemical laboratory and astronomical apparatus.[17] The museum or cabinet, established in October 1876, had grown from student/citizen donations and from at least one faculty-led field trip with twenty-one students to gather specimens from a nearby mountain.[18] Maeser and the other academy faculty used the specimens in their Pestalozzian "object-lesson" teaching. On 21 August 1878, Maeser appointed Talmage the first curator of the BYA Museum and added the laboratory as well, only a few pieces of equipment without a place to use them until October 1880. The honor probably reflects Talmage's interest, enthusiasm, and the donation of his personal collection.

During those first three years, Talmage learned a great deal of elementary science and developed increasing enthusiasm for it. By June 1879, he had taken courses in natural philosophy (physics), chemistry, physiology, astronomy, geology, and electricity. His examination answers in the sciences tended to be longer and more exact, written with assurance and accompanied by detailed drawings, while his test responses in other courses were merely adequate or very brief.[19] One algebra examination contains this response to two problems: "Absent when information covered." [20]

After he received his normal diploma in June 1879, Talmage began to teach full-time at the academy. His intellectual pace quickened and the pressures and influences in his life multiplied until he felt propelled toward a decision about his future in science. He taught his first science course, elementary physiology, in the spring of 1880. At that point Maeser had sufficient confidence in his student to recommend to a bishop and his wife that seventeen-year-old Talmage operate on their son, who had a bullet lodged in his thigh as a result of a hunting accident. Talmage and Maeser were boarding with them at the time on a tour of schools in southern Idaho, far from a doctor. Maeser's confidence was not misplaced. Talmage removed the bullet, the boy recovered nicely, and Talmage's self-confidence and interest in things scientific grew correspondingly.[21]

When Maeser informed Talmage that he would be teaching chemistry — along with two other science courses — in the fall of 1880, Talmage took a

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[17] UA, Register of Studies, June 1877.

[18] UA, 186 Folder M50 Vol. 1, p. 19.

[19] For example, compare the essay entitled, "What arguments have we that Joseph Smith was sent of God?," in Papers, Box 9 Folder 2, with "The Cotton Gin" and "The Microscope" in Papers, Box 9 Folder 3.

[20] Papers, Box 9 Folder 7.

[21] Journal, 28 July 1880.

three-week intensive course in qualitative analysis with Professor Thomas Hadley of Ogden. Hadley, an assayor, was an old friend of the Talmages who studied chemistry in England. He taught Talmage fundamental chemical analysis procedures and formulae. Neither Maeser nor George Coray, who had taught Talmage elementary experimental chemistry at BYA during 1879–80, had sufficient background in chemistry to supply this information, and Maeser supported Talmage's request to draw an advance on academy funds to complete the course.[22]

Until Talmage left for Lehigh, he taught virtually every science course offered at the academy. He also continued to teach penmanship, reading, grammar, Latin, and drawing — a total of eight classes during the first term in 1880, and ten during the second, plus the classes he took as a student. Apparently Maeser was not totally sympathetic with this desire to continue taking science classes while teaching full-time. Although he arranged Talmage's teaching schedule so his free periods coincided with the times the science classes were offered,[23] he did not reduce his teaching load or increase his salary despite Talmage's regular complaints that he was worth more money.[24] To his credit, however, especially in light of financial difficulties experienced by the academy in its early years, Maeser supported Talmage's growing demands for chemicals and scientific apparatus. Talmage records happily in his journal on 15 December 1881 that Maeser agreed to replace a new microscope because its magnification was not powerful enough for their needs. On January 21–22, 1882, after a successful public experiment by some of Talmage's students, he promptly requested another $150 worth of supplies while, as he put it in his journal, there was an "excess of good feeling" from Maeser and the board.

Without any lessening of the love and respect they felt for each other, the inevitable differences of the role shift from student to colleague began to develop. For example, to Maeser, education meant to draw out and cultivate "that contained in the mind, more than crowding new subjects continually into the mind." [25] In contrast, Talmage tried to learn everything he could about every subject he could with an emphasis on science. By early 1882, he proposed to take his insatiable appetite to the infidel and anti-Mormon east. Maeser could not approve. His aversion to eastern education was profound.[26] His concern for the spiritual safety of a beloved student must have been intensified by the academy's financial problems and his concern over the added cost of Talmage's activities.

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[22] Journal, August 1880; *Ogden Daily Junction* Aug. 23–24, 1880; Maeser to John Taylor, 23 July 1880, UA. Maeser correspondence, Box 1 Folder 2; U.S. Census for 1900, Utah, Salt Lake 3rd Precinct, Roll #1241684, 12 June, District 273, Sheet 12 page A; and Papers: Scientific Analysis in Box 10 Folder 2, Chemistry Tables in Box 9 Folder 8 and "Scraps" in Box 10 Folder 6.

[23] UA, Register of Studies, 1880–81.

[24] Journal, regular entries 1879–82, see e.g., 6 Nov. 1880, 17 June 1881, 25 Aug. 1881.

[25] Papers, Box 9 Folder 4, "Theory of Teaching," p. 7.

[26] BYU Centennial History 1: 215, 224.

However, Talmage found encouragement and financial support from other friends — probably George Coray and Joseph M. Tanner who encouraged him strongly after he was in the East and presumably earlier. Tanner, who wrote him regularly, was Talmage's immediate supervisor at the Academy, a man with an open and inquiring mind and a devotion to learning. Coray, the first person to teach and examine Talmage in the results of specific experiments, shared Talmage's interest in experimental science. Both Tanner and Coray would follow Talmage east, Coray to Cornell in 1883 and Tanner to Harvard in 1891.[27] Their combined financial support amounted to over half the cost of Talmage's year of study at Johns Hopkins University.[28]

Other supporters were Thomas Hadley and Joseph L. Barfoot, long-time curator of the Deseret Museum whom Talmage had met at the museum in February 1881. Thereafter they exchanged specimens and Barfoot helped Talmage with specimens at the BYA museum. Talmage credited Hadley and Barfoot with awakening his interest in nature.[29]

J. L. Townsend, a Payson pharmacist and taxidermist who also composed music and poetry, gave him a one-day course in taxidermy 4 April 1881; and Professor Richard A. Proctor, a famous English astronomer, gave public lectures in Salt Lake City, February 7–8, 1881, from which Talmage learned of the controversial theory about the birth, growth, decay, and death of worlds. On both occasions, he also commented in his journal about their personalities. He disliked Townsend's conceited nature (because it reminded him of his own conceit) and observed "that, though Prof. Proctor's theory is logical and fascinating, I am able clearly to see how he lacks that firmness, which one who has just claim by his Priesthood on the spirit of God will possess. Proctor says that the theory of the winding up scene being at hand is without foundation; that it is the 'Cracked-brain project of the nineteenth century;' as every century has been characterized by some such alarm. Prof. Proctor with us all will find out."

Interestingly enough, there is no direct evidence that either Maeser or Talmage were aware of the writings of Orson Pratt during Talmage's early years at the Academy. This is curious, for one would expect that Pratt, as the first Mormon scientist well-known to his own people, would have been one of Talmage's chief role models, not only as a scientist but also as a proponent of natural theology to which Talmage would later make significant contributions.

The encouragement of like-minded friends was important, but more important to Talmage was his appetite for information coupled with pressures from lecturing and teaching. Talmage combined full-time teaching with public lectures. Beginning with short talks before the BYA Polysophical Society, he soon began responding to invitations from bishops and youth groups all over Utah Valley and beyond. He spoke on a wide variety of topics including the Crusades, science and art, sketches from history, change, composition of water,

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[27] UA, biographical files for both men.

[28] Journal, 27 June 1884.

[29] See *The Contributor* 16 (Feb. 1895): 231.

sneezing, Milton's and Longfellow's poetry, the Norman Conquest (taken directly from his English schoolboy notes), electricity, language, how to teach the sciences, Roman history, the story of a rock, and the history of the earth.[30] Two favorites, which were repeated many times, were "Leisure Hours," which he once delivered to 400 people in Spanish Fork, and "Custom and Its Consequences," which he delivered to a "large congregation of young people" in Ogden and to packed tabernacles in St. George and Manti.[31] He was apparently an effective speaker even as a young man — he delivered Provo's Fourth of July oration in 1881[32] — but also seemed unwilling to refuse an invitation.

He felt insecure and inadequate when he began teaching science, though his classroom poise, dignity, and self-assurance covered such feelings. He completely reworked his class notes, rereading the texts, taking additional notes, and working at least partially through their bibliographies.[33] In the process, he first read British natural philosopher John Tyndall on sound and light and the *Manual of Geology* of U.S. geologist James Dwight Dana.[34] He rewrote his notes every night in preparation for the next day's lectures, getting by on four to five hours of sleep a night. Later he would confess that he had no inherent love for teaching,[35] a condition his feelings of inadequacy no doubt exacerbated.

His efforts in the classroom also seemed unappreciated. In late 1881, after a full year of teaching science, he lamented that the students seemed "to care for science but little" and that to many the very word was a "revolting name." [36] Not only did he feel wounded because of his love for the subject, but his continued teaching depended on student enrollment. Science courses were listed as optional and were not always well attended. If any of his courses were dropped, he would have been assigned to teach courses in other areas, thus losing preparation time for the science classes. Also, he needed the practical experience to get the advanced certificate, which in turn helped him obtain admission to Lehigh. He responded like a missionary, turning increasingly to classroom experimentation since his first year had taught him that "only experiments hold [the students'] attention." [37] Although he loved experimentation

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[30] Journal, frequent entries. See e.g., 29 Nov. 1878 (outline of lecture in pp. 479–84 of the volume in Box 9 Folder 5 of Papers) and 10 Feb. 1880 (outline in pp. 511–16 of volume in Box 9 Folder 5 of Papers).

[31] *Ogden Daily Junction*, 24 Aug. 1880 and Journal, 24 Aug. 1882.

[32] *Talmage Story*, p. 16.

[33] Papers, Box 10 Folder 3. See also Journal, 1 Sept. and 6 Nov. 1880; 17 June 1881.

[34] Papers, Box 9 Folder 5 and Box 10 Folder 3. It is not known which edition of Dana's manual Talmage used, either at BYA or later at Lehigh where he also used it in a class. If he used the 1874 edition, when Dana began to support evolution in much the same way Talmage subsequently did, then the likelihood of Dana having been an influence in helping to formulate the details of Talmage's stand is increased. See Bert James Loewenberg, "The Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *American Historical Review* 38 (1932–33): 698–701.

[35] *The Contributor* 16 (Feb. 1895) p. 230.

[36] Journal, 14 Nov. 1881, 14 Dec. 1881.

[37] Journal, 14 Nov. 1881.

and his Pestalozzian training from Maeser emphasized object-teaching, he seemed to resent the students' unwillingness to perform the mental labor of understanding a scientific principle without experimentation.

Although a laboratory had been established in October 1880, the equipment was inadequate, and his brief sessions with Hadley and Coray in chemistry left him on his own for any other subject. Presumably, his usual procedure, possibly with Coray's help, was to unpack the apparatus (unless he had constructed it himself), set it up, and try the experiment following instructions and illustrations in the textbook and the directions which accompanied the apparatus.

In a journal entry on 22 August 1881, he characterized himself as "impetuous, rushing and energetic," which may have resulted in some of his more colorful classroom experiments. On one occasion, he and his assistant Daniel Harrington prepared to demonstrate the functioning of the lungs of a small animal to a physiology class. Harrington recorded, "Of course, before these things could be shown, the cat must be killed. Talmage held the gunny sack securely, as he thought, while I had the axe in the air. At this moment a small hole in the sack tore open and the cat broke out and ran wildly off into the lot." The cat was recaptured, fortunately for science if not the cat, and Talmage demonstrated the great expandibility of the lungs by inflating them with a small tube.[38]

A more spectacular experiment was more serious:

> I was lecturing upon the "Composition of Water" and demonstrating the various properties of Oxygen and Hydrogen. While exploding a mixture of the gases in a cylinder, the latter burst with such a concussion as to extinguish all lamps in the room excepting those held in the chandeliers.
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> My feelings were difficult to describe as I realized the probable extent of the consequences. A scare ensued among the audience, but soon abated. One young lady was struck on the left side of the forehead by a flying fragment of glass; when she discovered traces of blood she fainted very nicely and I changed at once my occupation from that of a public lecturer to an attendant physician. She recovered, however, when 'twas found that the large amount of blood filling the bowl from which I was bathing her head came from my own hand. Two pieces of glass had struck the index finger of my right hand, one fragment burying itself in the knuckle joint. Another young lady had been struck on the left shoulder, the fragment piercing the clothes and inflicting a severe gash. Beside these, four or five were robbed of traces of skin, and all were severely scared.
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> After the circumstance I went back and completed the lecture, which act, I believe, did much to lessen the fear of the audience. . . . Fatal results may have followed . . . I chide myself for one thing: that I did not insist on all keeping the back seats.[39]

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[38] UA, 317, Papers, Box 9 Folder 5.

[39] Journal, 7 Dec. 1881. Still other experiments robbed him of time and money, while adding to his frustrations. Between April 1 and 11, 1882, while studying electricity, he tried eight times on as many days to partially duplicate Franklin's experiment "to test the results of the electricity of the atmosphere." Journal, 1 April 1882. He procured or built and subsequently lost or ruined a total of six kites and one balloon before giving up.

Six months later, when he had learned to take a few precautions, he recorded:

> June 6, 1882. Experienced another accident in the course of experimenting. A small wooden powder mortar, to be fired by the passage of electricity called an "Electric Bomb," had recently been procured by the Academy; and as I was demonstrating before the Physics class in the small Laboratory the bomb burst with terrific force, demolishing the Leyden Jars placed alongside to accomplish the experiment, and shattering the whole instrument into splinters. Luckily I had opened the window & placed the whole on a board shelf on the outside. The force of course was directed right and left, and no one was hurt.

Such dramatic and unpredictable lectures, not unnaturally, increased attendance. One week after the oxygen explosion, on 14 December, he noted in his journal: "The room became so crowded as hardly to afford standing room, and the rostrum upon which I had placed my apparatus was literally besieged. Such a crowded room interfered with my machine to a certain extent. This is my usual luck, my experiments are generally highly satisfactory when I perform them alone . . ."

His expanding reputation as an expert also brought mixed feelings. He liked the attention and publicity but also knew how few Utahns knew enough science to recognize an expert. Even more unsettling than the flattery were occasional questions about his competence to teach some of the science courses which had arisen, according to his journal, before 10 June 1881, when, in an effort to stem such criticism, he wrote examinations for an advanced normal certificate in the natural sciences. The certificate attested to his theoretical knowledge and practical ability to teach after a year's experience. On 13 November 1881, his journal records his intention of spending three hours every evening in his tiny laboratory. He was nineteen years old.

The encouragement of key individuals, the expectations of his students and public, criticism, his own desire to know, and the diminishing opportunities to learn more at the academy made up a complex mixture pressuring him toward further academic study. He was certainly saving money with some definite object in mind. On 4 September 1882, according to his journal, he arrived at Lehigh with $420 from his savings after paying for the trip, a remarkable feat considering that his teaching salary for the previous three years had been $1200 out of which he had to live and buy chemicals, apparatus, and books. He also paid his father $40 per term beginning in 1880 to help pay back money advanced for school expenses.

Talmage's journal becomes more introspective in the summer of 1880 after his first year of full-time teaching. The alluring but unshaped future is a consistent theme. On 7 July 1880, while touring schools with Maeser, he took detailed notes on classroom facilities and teaching methods in case he decided to take up teaching as a profession. Other entries are suggestive:

> Sept. 1, 1880. I really do not approve of the plan of saying beforehand what one intends doing, . . .
>
> Nov. 6, 1880. I do not like the vocation of teaching, that is, as a District School teacher, . . . Here in the Academy I am teaching all higher, scientific or philological branches; in order to do which I am necessitated to work up on the subjects myself,

thereby opening up to me a field of research which is almost as beneficial as regularly attending school. . . . I can see plainly that I will not be enabled to save the least means for a start in life. In fact cannot see my way clear for my future course.

Jan 24, 1881. Time passes so rapidly as hardly to be comprehended — half of the present school year gone already, and when I reflect thus I am spurred on to greater vigor in my researches and studies, realizing that such facilities will not last forever. . . . I reprove myself . . . for being so unsystematic in my course of study.

June 17, 1881. . . . if I would give way to selfish feelings I would today almost register a vow that I would not serve in the B. Y. Academy again unless I were well paid. . . . Then again I think and realize that the training I am receiving in teaching these higher branches benefits me as much, if not more than regular attendance at school would. Have been enabled to save nothing in the way of money during the year.

Nov. 13, 1881. I began to consider how my labors may be laid to greatest advantage during the coming winter months. . . . opportunities for study and research will not last long. I may be sent on a mission before winter or my occupation may be varied as to admit of but little time for private study.

Dec. 12, 1881. I want to do good among the young — probably lecture amongst the Improvement Associations, and encourage the study of nature. I have to give a first lecture on the subject of harmony between Geology and the Bible — a subject upon which so many of our people have mistaken ideas.

Increasingly explicit entries followed through the spring of 1882. Then, on 23 January 1882, he took a firmer but still tentative stand: "I have for myself harbored a vague idea of making an effort to raise sufficient means to pass a year in a prominent science school or college. . . . I may be counseled however to remain among my own people and as I hold myself as on neutral ground willing to follow counsel implicitly in this important step, I can only refer to such as a vague idea." This "vague idea" clearly referred to going away to school, not to learning more science, for twice in that same entry he writes that he is "desirous to follow scientific studies." On March 8 and 14, his future at the academy was cast in the conditional: "If I remain in charge of the Scientific Department," and "if I retain my position in the academy another year. . . ."

Finally, on 31 March, he wrote: "My desire to attend some leading institution for a time to train myself in scientific pursuits has been growing with me. A conversation with Bro. Maeser on the subject resulted in his heartily seconding my desires, and saying that he expected the project to be given me as a mission."

Maeser's enthusiasm was probably sincere, despite his deep-seated animosity toward eastern education. His suggestion that Talmage be called on a mission, though usual for the times, may have also been a protective attempt. He had been quite insistent that Talmage accompany him on his tour of northern Utah and southern Idaho schools in the summer of 1880 and again in 1881 through southern Utah, despite Talmage's reluctance.[40] He would have much preferred to remain in Provo and conduct experiments and study, but Maeser had extended the invitation in the form of a mission.[41] However, he made the best of

[40] Journal, 28 June 1881.

[41] Ibid., 17 June and 22 Aug. 1881.

both trips, taking notes, collecting specimens, making new friends with whom to exchange specimens, and cultivating his speaking ability.

Maeser may have intended Talmage to see the relative comfort of his position at BYA — and indeed Talmage came away convinced he did not want to teach in the district schools and haunted by the education needs of "his people." However, Talmage increasingly saw the mastery of higher science as his way of meeting those needs.

Possibly a key event in convincing Maeser that Talmage's faith could withstand an eastern education occurred on 8 March 1882, when Talmage used a newly acquired optical lantern and stereopticon slides to deliver an illustrated lecture to the Polysophical Society on "The History of the Earth." According to his script-like notes for the lecture (partially in shorthand), nineteen-year-old Talmage spoke warmly of the correctness and utility of the principle of uniformitarianism and proclaimed that studying the history of the earth as written in the rocks "cannot but lead us nearer the platform of God." Using time periods of undetermined length in place of days as Maeser had taught him, he matched the biblical account of the creation with the geological time scale, traced the history of the earth from its origins according to the nebular theory of Laplace up through the long pre-man period to the destructive glacial period which God had sent to bring "great and pleasing variety" to an earth that had known "comparative perfection" prior to that time. Then came man, "a new creation," being among other things the first among God's creatures who "reached toward the knowledge of himself and of his God." In ringing tones Talmage declared the reality of evolution which even "a glance at the past" will show and according to which "the simple forms have ever preceded the more complex." However, he noted that "the missing link between the form of man and that of the highest animal forms has never as yet been found." He closed by a reiteration of his central theme that science and religion were but separate paths of truth to the same God and that they were not in conflict: "This earth is but a great record, each continent but a page, each community but a paragraph, and each human being's body but a sentence." [42]

Maeser and the members of the academy board were so pleased that they asked him to repeat it on 15 March, which he did before a large and enthusiastic crowd. The views Talmage expressed were certainly not uncommon among the educated and the leaders of Mormon society at that time.[43] Although Maeser made a strong public statement against evolution in 1898, on that spring evening in 1882 he seems to have been at least partially convinced by the vision, eloquence, and stereopticon lantern, of young James Talmage. It was only two weeks later that Talmage had his conversation with Maeser about further study.

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[42] See original notes, partially in Pitman Shorthand, in Papers, Box 10 Folder 5. I am indebted to LaJean Purcell for the transcription of these notes.

[43] Davis Bitton, "Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History" DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT 1 (Autumn 1966): 111–33, and John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as Scientist* (Salt Lake City: YMMIA General Board, 1908).

While he awaited the first school catalogs to see if he had admission deficiencies, he cautiously wrote on 12 April and 8 May, that he was training an assistant and a teacher to take his place, *if* he left. Privately he seems to have felt fewer reservations and resolved, "Shall begin at once," when he learned he had deficiencies in algebra and German. He firmly turned down two job offers, one on 20 April as principal of the St. George schools with a provision of special attention to the scientific branches, and another on 25 April when the Gunnison Sugar Committee tried to hire him for its chemical plant during the approaching sugar season.

On 15 May, Talmage had an interview with Church President John Taylor. In his journal he wrote, "Visited Prest. Taylor at his residence; explained to him my desires. He kept me in a long consultation, asking many questions as to the purposes of my desired trip, and closed by giving his decided advice that I proceed to some leading institution there to pursue a course of study in the Sciences. Returned to Provo in afternoon and reported at once my intended withdrawal to the Principal." This meeting was significant. Even though Talmage was seeking confirmation for his decision rather than advice on the best course of action, President Taylor's disapproval would have been a serious — possibly decisive — obstacle.

As spring wore into summer, Maeser's encouragement seemed to wane. On 16 June, Talmage recorded in his journal: "My intended withdrawal as reported to the Faculty and Board, was kept very quiet, no public notice of the same in any report being made. The Principal informed me that such were his instructions, but declined to give me his reasons."

On 23 June Talmage recorded that "the Principal still informs me that I am expected back at the Academy when I conclude my studies in the East." And finally, in a testimonial Maeser wrote on behalf of the board and the faculty and gave to Talmage on 25 August just prior to his departure, he stated that they had yielded "only reluctantly" to Talmage's request for release and that they hoped he would return to them "in due time still more qualified to assist . . . in the advancement of the educational interests of . . . [their] Mountain Home." [44]

Talmage had spent a hectic summer of experimentation and study in preparation for school, taking time out only to help his father hay and to dig up another human skeleton from a nearby canyon to add to one he already had transferred from the lake shore to the laboratory.[45] He spent his time studying, rather than earning more money so he would reap the greatest possible return for the time he spent in the East. He rejected the urgings that he attend medical school and felt relief when his stake president counseled him to stick with science. "Such meets my wishes," he recorded, and added:

> I have many times contemplated my probable destiny and mission in life without obtaining a satisfactory conclusion; but I have for some time past felt an intense desire

[44] Journal, 25 Aug. 1882. Cf Maeser's advice to Talmage to remain at Johns Hopkins if he could (Journal, 13 Feb. 1884) after the academy fire. Perhaps Maeser was less concerned about Talmage losing his faith after having corresponded with him during almost two years.

[45] Journal, 3 July and 7 Aug. 1882, 26 Oct. 1881.

> to become familiar with the walks of Science for the Sciences have to be redeemed from their present position of infidelity & skepticism. The idea has been a favorite one for my meditations of late, and has formed the theme of my public speaking. I conclude that this great mission has to be performed by the Priesthood of God, and to lay a single stone in such a work *is perhaps my mission in life.*[46]

He arrived at Lehigh College in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on 4 September 1882, and like a man possessed, threw himself into his courses.[47] He took classes from leading men at both Lehigh and Johns Hopkins, copied the notes of professors and students for classes he could not take, and reviewed, studied, and audited classes so he could challenge lower-level courses by examination. He also spent long hours in the library reading Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, among others, and even longer hours in the laboratories exhilarated at performing virtually every experiment and analysis he had read about. In addition, he used every available opportunity to visit sites of scientific, cultural, and economic interest, collecting abundant specimens and on occasion conducting an experiment or two. Though he concentrated on chemistry, physiology and biology were strong seconds. He also took courses in geology, physics, mineralogy, metallurgy, astronomy, and botany.

In chemistry his interests ranged widely, benefiting from the industrial and agricultural emphasis at Lehigh and the organic and medical emphasis at Johns Hopkins. At Lehigh he took courses in agricultural and manufacturing chemistry, assaying, toxicology, and medical chemistry. At Johns Hopkins he took chemical physics, analytical chemistry, medical chemistry, the chemistry of the compounds of carbon, organic chemistry, and quantitative analysis. Students had to keep current with *Chemical News* and *The American Chemist*, which was co-edited by William H. Chandler of Lehigh, a man from whom Talmage heard a few lectures. At Johns Hopkins, Talmage records an invitation on 9 October 1883 to the regular meetings of the *Chemistry Journal*, a group organized to keep the faculty and upper level students aware of current research and writing. Both institutions were also interested in applied science and in the university's relationship with the industrial community. This concern led to some contract work, in which Talmage participated, and employment opportunities, both temporary and permanent, for students and graduates, some of which were offered to Talmage.

Laboratory work was his first and permanent love. After George Coray arrived in the East, he wrote to Talmage suggesting that they return to Utah after their schooling, pay off their debts, and "proceed to establish and build up a laboratory." Talmage replied that he could "make no promises for the future, though my heart's desire is to see a laboratory in Utah." [48]

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[46] Journal, 17 June 1882. Talmage's father is seldom mentioned in the journals, but he was among those who argued for medical school and also urged him to spend the summer studying.

[47] Information on Talmage's courses is drawn from numerous journal entries and class notes. In general, see Papers, Box 10 Folder 5 through Box 13 Folder 7 and Box 1 Folders 1–2.

[48] Journal, 24 Dec. 1883.

At Lehigh, Talmage gave a lecture entitled, "Chemistry and Life," based in part on his own laboratory research. In it he made the point that the term "organic chemistry" was a misnomer because any substance ceased to live when experimentation began. He reminded his audience that sometimes life must be sacrificed for the interests of science. Included in the lecture was a report on the amazing resistance of some animals, especially cats, to certain poisons that are deadly to man. Earlier, in his Toxical Analysis notebook he had entered the following:

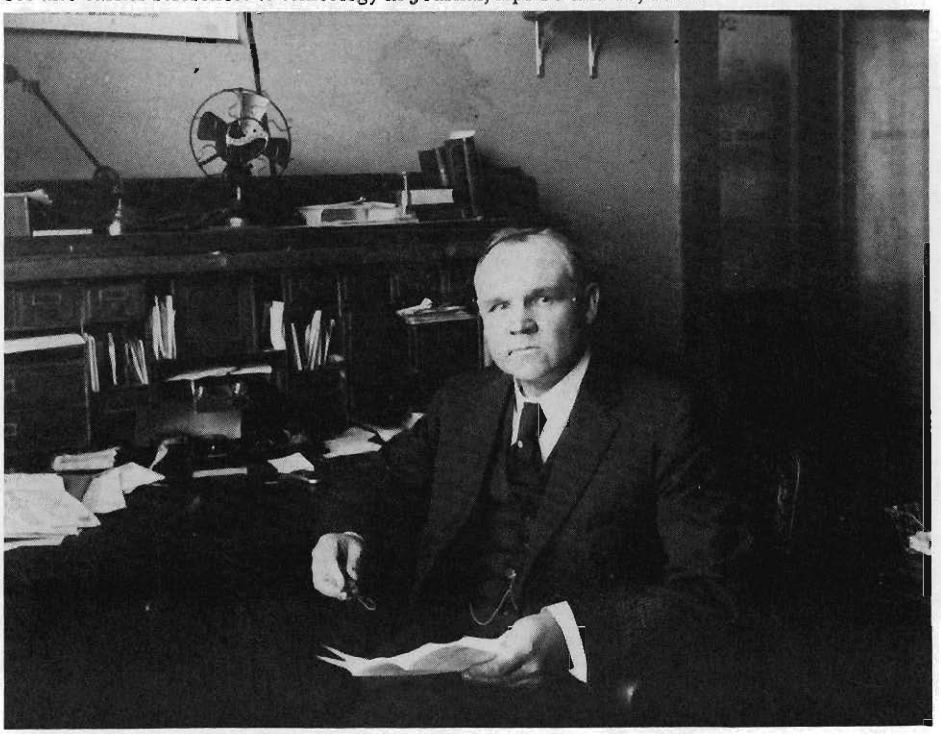
> Full-grown male cat
> Administered 0.3 grams white Arsenic (As_2O_3) April 10/'83 at 7:30 p.m.
> Second dose of 0.3 grm. at 9 p.m.
> Third dose, next morning at 10.
> Killed by force at 12:30.

Subsequently, he removed every organ for weighing, measuring, dissecting, and analyzing, recording the information in twelve pages of notes.[49]

During the summer of 1883, when he was preparing for Johns Hopkins by reading biology in the Lehigh library (including Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*) and gathering specimens, he went

> . . . fishing for frogs; caught a very large specimen and was anxious to preserve it for its skeleton entire. Did not know how to kill it there on the ground without torture,

[49] Journal, 26 April 1883 and Papers, Box 10 Folder 5, Box 11 Folder 6, "Analyses," pp. 3–15. Again, I am indebted to LeJean Purcell for transcribing the Pitman Shorthand. See also earlier references to toxicology in Journal, April 3 and 10, 1883.



unless by cutting off [its] head which would have spoiled the bones. So at a sudden gash I cut out its heart, liver, etc. The friend with me picked up the heart which was beating strongly; but as soon as I released the 'heartless' frog it turned off its back and took vigorous jumps for the water. Its leaps were 3–4 feet as measured. It saw us and tried to avoid us whenever we approached it; seemed entirely unhurt and continued its strong demonstrations for 1-1/2 minutes; having taken no less than 15 leaps in all directions; when I picked it up to prevent its getting into water; then it died suddenly.[50]

Such incidents reveal the depth of Talmage's commitment to laboratory work. For every student who has ever performed dissections in a biology course, an animal has to die. Since Talmage was a student in a time and place that lacked fully equipped laboratories, he early developed the habit of supplying his own specimens. The professionalism of his later career can only be fully understood in his student commitments.

Perhaps the best example of his commitment to experimentation occurred in the spring of 1884 while he was studying narcotics at Johns Hopkins. He recorded the following entries in his journal:

March 17. I have been engaged some time in the study of the effects of Narcotics upon the system, i.e. studying the same theoretically only. Today I found a gentleman who works in the same Laboratory as I, and who has for 2 years been addicted to the habit of eating Haschich or extract of *Cannabis Indica*. He was very willing to give me any data from his own experience; and gave me such.

March 18. . . . Three of us in the University have entered upon the study of the Narcotics in use.

March 21. The result of our work in research upon Narcotics has been tolerably satisfactory. We utilize my friend referred to above, with his Haschich eating experience — and find four or five others whom he knows have also an experience upon the subject. But the effects experienced by the different ones are so widely different that we can scarcely draw a conclusion. The opium habit is well explained by books, and the bad after effects of the same are sufficiently appalling to keep down experimentation upon the subject. But, the ill effects are reported very low in the Haschich or Hemp administration; and we have concluded to try effect of small dose upon ourselves

Of course, such a course is the proper one for the study of the effects of the drug, though I very much disliked the idea of doing such a thing, for as yet I have never known what it is to be narcotized either by tobacco, alcohol, or any drug. . . .

March 22. This being Saturday, was the day I selected to study practically the effects of Haschisch. This evening, after work and all was over, I took at 3 doses each an hour after the preceeding, 5 grains solid extract Cannabis Indica. At this writing — midnight — 5 hours since last dose, I have experienced no effect whatever. The effect is said to be widely different in different people.

March 23. Sunday. Spent quietly. Have had no result to be noted of my physiological experiment yesterday. . . .

April 5. . . . Took in all 15 grains. No effects.

April 6. Sunday. . . . Continued my experiment by taking 20 grains *Cannabis Indica* and the effect was felt in a not very agreeable way.

Talmage would lecture to the Brigham Young Academy faculty in September 1884 on "The Effects of the Narcotic Hashish on the Human System," but the

[50] Papers, Box 13 Folder 1, Journal, 1 Aug. 1883.

Faculty Minute Book does not record whether he mentioned the source of his information.

With an eye to the future, he shipped specimens home by the crateful. His journal records an incredible variety, including "the processes in the manufacture of tin cans," "the process of oil refining," and fossilized shark teeth, tobacco leaves, phosphates, lead, asbestos, zinc, iron, steel, chocolate, cork, fertilizer, rubber, ferns, minerals, vinegar, fossil shells and bones, pottery, paraffin, soap, candles, illuminating oil, iron ore, and even the complete skeleton of a monkey from the zoo in Druid Hill Park.

He also obtained an articulated human forearm, finger, some other bones, and a large piece of skin, from the university dissecting rooms with the aid of a student and the janitor. Although he disapproved of the callousness of the medical students and even the janitor, who apparently sold bones to the students regularly, he was even more surprised on 14 January 1884 when he was scraping the finger bones and preparing the skin for preservation. "A young gentleman of the University came to my room. . . . He is a classical scholar and I believe intends to study to become a Minister. Oh! the utter horror he expressed at what he saw me engaged in, was something intense. In fact, he could not rest in the room — was terrified. . . . He is 29 years of age and a fine scholar. What will not use and habit cause one to be?"

Perhaps most significant in its impact on Talmage was his opportunity to participate in original research at Johns Hopkins under the direction of Ira Remsen and Harmon N. Morse, both on the cutting edge of research in their fields. From 1872 on, Remsen wrote numerous books and papers covering a wide field of chemistry and was the founding editor of the *American Chemical Journal*, 1879–1913.

Harmon Northrop Morse, professor of inorganic chemistry, had published ten papers in the *American Chemical Journal* between 1880 and 1892 based on investigations conducted when Talmage was working in the laboratory. In addition, he invented equipment for reading gas volumes over water, determining the equivalents of metals, grading and calibrating liquid measuring apparatus, an electric furnace, and electric laboratory heating devices. Between Remsen and Morse, many original discoveries came out of the Johns Hopkins labs, including white phosphorous, saccharin, and a phenomenon that became known in the chemical world as Remsen's Law. Shortly before Talmage left Baltimore to return to Utah, he dejectedly described the work he had been doing with them:

> May 9 [1884]. . . . For nearly 3 months I have been engaged on a piece of original work in Chemistry — 'on the *oxidation of Cymene Sulphamide in alkaline solution*'. The labor has not been easy — great difficulty having been met in purifying the substances fit for analysis. Another line of investigation will have to be pursued: and the Professors told me today it would be impossible to do anything in less than another 3 months, and as the college closes in a month the subject would be better given up. I shall be unable to continue the labor at home for lack of material.

Despite Talmage's absorption in his studies, an odd theme of self-justification runs through his journals, a determination to prove that his choice

was correct and that Mormons could study in the East without losing their faith. Because his religious commitments meant that he was never totally free to follow his "selfish" interests in science, he frequently pondered how far he could go without being disloyal to his faith.[51] It is possible that had he been free, he would have rejected returning to Utah in a relatively short period of time without a degree.

From a practical standpoint, he was out of money by the spring of 1884, but he could easily have earned more in the East working as a chemist and, in fact, refused several job offers, one from the College of Western Maryland as a professor of chemistry which included an all-expense-paid year in residence as a student, to earn the necessary degree. At first he was tempted, even though chemistry was "but a minor study there anyway." Ultimately he declined, confiding in his journal that he did not value a degree so highly that he was willing to pay such a price in time. But, he did value a degree and had been willing to accept one from Western Maryland if they would confer it on the basis of June examinations.[52]

Another offer had come in the late summer of 1883, when he was attempting to decide whether to go to Johns Hopkins or stay at Lehigh. As money began to arrive for the next year of study from J. M. Tanner, George Coray, and members of the academy board, his mind turned strongly to home and his obligations there. Had Coray joined him at Lehigh, Talmage would almost surely have completed his degree there. When Coray went to Cornell instead and Maeser responded to Talmage's appeal for advice by telling him to make up his own mind after prayerful consideration, he made his final decision for Johns Hopkins but he felt "sadly alone" in the decision.[53] While he waited for classes to begin in Baltimore, he wrote three essays for Utah audiences, apparently to be used later and perhaps partly out of homesickness. In "Good for Nothing," he described how to the chemist there is no such thing as "dirt." It includes a moving passage about Adam being a great philosopher even though he lacked a college degree.[54]

He immersed himself as thoroughly in his studies at Johns Hopkins as he had at Lehigh. Then on 30 January 1884, he received word that Brigham Young Academy had burned to the ground. He was ready to begin his last term of schooling, but he was willing to leave for home immediately if called. Despite this prompt response, there are hints of ambiguity. A few weeks earlier he had written George Coray that "I . . . hope to come East again, when the cloud of debt will have passed off me." And one month after hearing about the fire, mentions "if" in connection with teaching again.[55]

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[51] Journal, see e.g., 9 Sept. 1883.

[52] Journal, 23 June and 8 July 1883; 28 March 1884. He also considered the possibility of approaching a North Carolina institution that would award a degree by academic record and examination; 2 May 1884.

[53] Journal, 17 Aug. 1883. See also 9 Sept. 1883.

[54] Papers, Box 12 Folder 9.

[55] Journal, 24 Dec. 1883, 29 Feb. 1884.

Apparently, however, Talmage never seriously considered staying longer. The Mormon or Utah question was a current issue. Talmage responded to dozens of inquiries about the Utah question, including at least two letters prompted by public lectures, each time defending his people and religion. He was offended in Baltimore by crime, drunkenness, poverty, and the practices of other churches. With the constant influence of letters from home telling of sick family members, giving him advice, sending news of the academy, and requesting assistance in procuring scientific apparatus, combined with other factors, it was nearly inevitable that he return home on schedule.

He could return home with the assurance that he had tested his choice in the big leagues of American science and that Mormons had nothing to fear from science. With rare exceptions, his professors had been warm, encouraging, and focused on the specific detailed facts of their science. He mentions Darwin only twice in the two years, on both occasions complaining about recent lectures on the subject by ignorant clergymen who were misrepresenting Darwin in particular and science in general.[56]

He returned as he had been instructed, "like a bee to the hive." [57] But he reentered with the firm intention of returning to the blossoms and nectar of science.

[56] Ibid., May 4 and 18, 1884; 16 March 1884.

[57] Ibid., 9 Sept. 1882; 9 Sept. 1883.

Relinquishing the Eleventh Hour

Ruth Bowen Thornton

. . . for the elect's sake those days
shall be shortened. Matt. 24:22

With solemn tenderness
You apportioned our times and seasons
(While Eden embroidered itself with emeralds),
And marble campanile chimed a day
Into a thousand years.

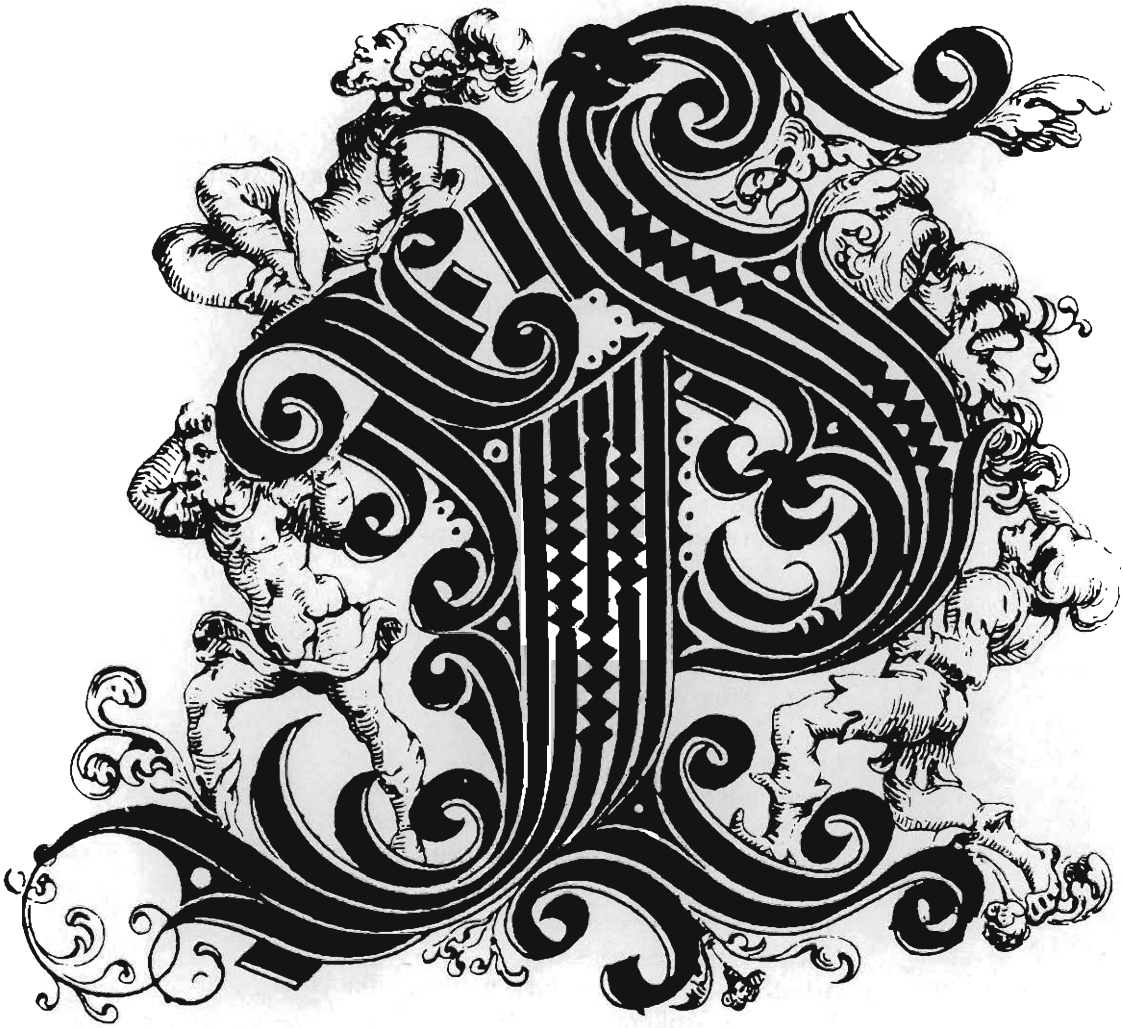
Seraphimed through bone gates,
We grew and, remembering your word, withdrew
Into our own keeping,
Poised in spirit's perfect self-suspension.

But light, too painfully loved, flickers
And narrows, as a twig sheathed
In a membrane of transparent ice,
Winter after winter, flows from itself needlethin.

Elohim, did the bright green of
Now-cindered star once feast on secret seed,
Venom-spored in summer sun,
Feast and whisper silent lies to your children?

And now, for our own,
Not for ourselves, we seek
A Father's blessing, to quicken our telestial labor
When days, stillborn in winter's grieving,
Linger as a thousand years.

RUTH B. THORNTON retires this summer after sixteen years with California State University, Fresno. She was on the staff of the vice president for academic affairs during this time as public affairs assistant, and editor of the CSUF General Catalog. *She is presently completing a B.A. in English at CSU, Fresno.*



The Challenge of Theological Translation: New German Versions of the Standard Works

Marcellus S. Snow

The 1980 publication of revised German language editions of the LDS Standard Works represents an important legacy for German-speaking Mormons. The story of how and why the new translations arose and how they differ from their predecessors is a fascinating one. Equally provocative is an examination of the problems of technique and philosophy that inevitably arise in theological translation. But even more important are the implications for Latter-day Saints today — issues that exceed the narrower questions arising from the translations themselves. A discussion of the origins, differences, and implications of these new editions is the purpose of this paper.

I first discuss the origin of the new Uniform Translation (*Einheitsübersetzung*) of the Bible into German and how it came to be the "official" LDS edition. The new German translations of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price are next compared to their predecessors. This is based on a word-by-word scrutiny of 10 percent of the chapters. Finally, some questions raised by the project are briefly explored. Parenthetically, my opinion is that the new translations are more accurate, felicitous in style, and current in usage; yet they remain faithful to underlying theological terms and concepts. They also draw more heavily on modern German idiom and less on the phraseology and terminology of Luther's German Bible, even though that work had as much influence on the evolution of theological thought and language among German protestants as has the King James Version in the English-speaking world.

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THE UNIFORM TRANSLATION AND THE GERMAN TRIPLE COMBINATION

The Uniform Translation (hereafter UT) of the Bible into German, a task undertaken by the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of Germany, was published in Stuttgart in 1980 by the Katholische Bibelanstalt. As a Catholic initiative, this effort had little to do with the Luther Bible and nothing at all to do with English, which was, of course, the source language for LDS translation of the Triple Combination into German. Yet, LDS translators were able to take explicit account of word choices and orthographic conventions used by the Bible translators. The result is a pleasing and unprecedented degree of uniformity and correspondence between the Uniform Translation, which has been adopted by the Church as its "official" German Bible, and the new German Triple Combination translation.

The Uniform Translation arose as the result of the Second Vatican Council. As time passed, individual excerpts were published, and ecumenical collaboration with the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church in Germany intensified, particularly in the translation of the Psalms and the New Testament. Recent biblical scholarship and contemporary German language are used in the Uniform Translation. In addition, this is the first time the Latin Bible translation, the Vulgate of St. Jerome, has not been taken into particular account in a German translation for Catholic readers. A prefatory statement in the Uniform Translation summarizes its intent:

> The German Bishops' Conference is convinced that the present translation of the scriptures satisfies the decisions of the Second Vatican Council to the effect that Catholic and non-Catholic Christians, as well as those with no church affiliation, should be offered a linguistically intelligible and secure scholarly access to the message of the scriptures. The Uniform Translation is edited in elevated contemporary German. It is not lacking in poetic beauty, exactitude of expression, or dignity of biblical depiction. We bishops confidently hope that the new translation will also give new impetus to a language of prayer appropriate to the times and that it will be helpful in the endeavor of providing new attention to a deeper understanding of the word of God in the German language area.

In January 1981, the LDS Quorum of the Twelve communicated its approval of the Uniform Translation to the Presiding Bishopric:

> The First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve have approved the use of the new German "Uniform Translation." This means that this will be the German Bible for the following purposes:
>
> 1. Our authors and translators will use it for the development of instructional material and other publications in the German language;
> 2. In the revision and translation of glossaries into German;
> 3. In concordances, indexes, and footnotes . . . with respect to the new cross-references in the Triple Combination, when these are included in the German version.
>
> You will certainly be glad to know that of all those previously translated, the new German Bible comes closest to the King James version and that it will be a wonderful help and blessing for our German-speaking Saints.[1]

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[1] 7 Jan. 1981, Quorum of the Twelve to the Presiding Bishopric. Excerpts of this letter were attached to a letter of 23 Jan. 1981, from Robert D. Hales, Executive Administrator

Shortly thereafter, Elder Robert D. Hales, executive administrator in Frankfurt, wrote Church leaders in the German-speaking area:

> The Saints in the German-speaking area have been recently blessed by two decisions reached by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve with respect to the Standard Works: first, the approval of the new German translation of the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price; second, the approval of the Uniform Translation as the official Bible of the Church for the German-speaking area.
>
> The translation of the Triple Combination took place according to guidelines published by the First Presidency regarding the translation of the Standard Works. . . .
>
> Since the Uniform Translation is not published by the Church, please keep in mind the Sixth Article of Faith: "We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly. . . ."
>
> In view of the above-mentioned decisions, all future doctrinal volumes and other publications of the Church in the German-speaking area will employ these new texts. We also request all priesthood leaders in that area to employ exclusively the new translation of the Triple Combination and the Uniform Translation of the Bible and to invite all members to do the same. Take the opportunity to talk about this matter in a priesthood or sacrament meeting and to enlighten the members about what is involved.[2]

Der Stern, the Church's official monthly publication for German-speaking members, used its "Church News" section to praise the Uniform Translation as a "text . . . which not only reads fluently but which one can really understand as well." Further, "the translators made every effort to translate the relevant original text they were dealing with, independently of their personal opinion." [3]

The new Triple Combination, the result of more than six years' work by translator Immo Luschin, former president of the Swiss Temple, is the first new German translation of these scriptures since the 1920s. It was completed recently enough to contain the two newest sections of the Doctrine and Covenants (137, 138), as well as the 1978 revelation on priesthood. In announcing the new translation in September 1980), *Der Stern*, again in its "Church News" section, reported that Brother Luschin had received this charge from the resident European General Authority (not named in the article) when he began his work: "Given all the difficulties confronting a translator of so unique a book of scripture, write so that simple people can read and understand the German text, and so that educated people can find joy in the clarity of speech." Brother Luschin himself observed, "I have neither the right nor the permission to change the style of the translator (Joseph Smith); to force ambiguous passages arbitrarily into unequivocal statements; to omit anything, for example

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for Europe, to "all regional representatives, stake, mission, and district presidents, patriarchs, bishops, and branch presidents in the German-speaking area." German versions of this correspondence are used. The status of the King James version among English-speaking Latter-day Saints is discussed briefly in the conclusion of this article.

[2] Robert D. Hales to Church executives, 23 Jan. 1981.

[3] "Zur Verwendung der 'Einheitsübersetzung' der Bibel," *Der Stern*, March 1981, p. 8.

on the grounds that one isn't allowed to use the same word twice in the same sentence in German; or to add anything." [4]

Brother Luschin reported that he translated the Triple Combination in the same order in which Joseph Smith had translated or received its contents: the Book of Mormon; Doctrine and Covenants 1–24; the Book of Moses; Doctrine and Covenants 133, then 25–123; Joseph Smith's autobiographical sketch in the Pearl of Great Price; the book of Abraham and the Articles of Faith; and finally the balance of the Doctrine and Covenants. He followed this pattern so that "the linguistic development and maturation which Joseph Smith had undergone during the second half of his life could be recapitulated." [5]

According to the same article, drafts of the translation were presented to a nine-member committee which included a General Authority and stake and mission leaders, as well as a professional editor and a proofreader. The committee, according to Brother Luschin, "made valuable references and suggestions, contributed significantly to the completion of the work, and have earned our sincere thanks."

As a preface to the detailed comparison of the old and new Triple Combination translations which follows, an excerpt from "Guidelines for the Translation of the Standard Works" issued by the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve in April 1980, will serve as a gauge against which this new translation may be judged.

> Only translations which very precisely reproduce the words, phrases, and sentence constructions, as well as the expressions and style of the author of the original, can transmit impartially the sense of what the Lord revealed in the language of the original. . . .
>
> It is a matter of opinion whether ordinary literature is translated in one way or in another. When the word of the Lord is involved, however, we stand on holy ground. Scripture is scripture; it is binding on us, and we do not have the authorization to water it down or to remove anything at all from its original meaning and purpose.
>
> As far as it is possible, the translation of the Standard Works from English into any other language must be a literal translation. These guidelines can be departed from only if the new language does not have words or phrases with which what appears in the English text can be literally rendered . . . thus, there may be an occasional case in which one can speak of a conditionally literal translation.
>
> The translation must contain the recurring expressions and also awkward sentence constructions. No attempt may be made to paraphrase in an explanatory way, to make alterations, or indeed to improve the literary ability and knowledge as expressed in the current English text versions.
>
> The translation . . . may not interpret, explain, or attempt to defend the content of the Standard Works.[6]

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[4] "Neu Übersetzt: Das Buch Mormon, Lehre und Bündnisse, Die Köstliche Perle," *Der Stern*, Sept. 1980, pp. 1, 2.

[5] Ibid., p. 2.

[6] "Guidelines for Translation of the Standard Works," First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, 17 April 1980, an excerpt of which is attached to letter of 23 Jan. 1981, from Robert D. Hales. German version.

New and Old Translations of the Triple Combination

For purposes of this study, I undertook a word-for-word comparison of at least 10 percent of the Book of Mormon (1955), Doctrine and Covenants (1958), and Pearl of Great Price (1958), by gross page length. The sample was non-random in that where possible I concentrated on chapters and sections which were relatively richer in doctrinal content.[7] It became progressively more difficult to detect anything new as the work came to an end, suggesting that my sample was large and representative enough to convey an authentic picture of the entire translation. This essay condenses and comments on the 267-page set of notes resulting from my study.

The following six sections present findings and examples from this comparison in various categories. For the balance of this article, the immediately previous translations will be referred to as OG (meaning the earlier German translation), with the current translations designated as NG (for new German), and the English text sources as E. Because of constraints of space, I have omitted a large number of examples and categories contained in an earlier draft, which I would be happy to furnish to interested readers.

Important Words and Phrases

Some sixty or seventy words and phrases having key doctrinal or theological import are consistently translated differently in NG as opposed to OG. This section contains what I consider to be the ten most important of these changes in descending order of importance:

1. Repent. *Busse*, the OG term, means more properly "penance," and *Busse tun* is "to do penance." This usage is firmly enshrined in Luther's Bible translation[8] and in earlier LDS German translations. *Umkehr*, the NG term, is very simply "turning around," and *umkehren* is the corresponding verb. This is a more positive and accurate representation of the process of repentance in LDS theology. *Der Stern* singles out this change for comment:

> In contrast to Luther's time, one understands by *Busse* today above all an imposed burden, a kind of punishment. That, however, is in no way at all contained in the English word "repentance." . . . with *Umkehr* one will no longer think of the paying off of sins already committed as imposed by a clergyman . . . but of the necessary change of mind that corresponds to the second principle of the gospel of Jesus Christ.[9]

2. Gentiles. OG uses *Nichtjuden* ("non-Jews"), while NG gives *Andern* ("others"). *Der Stern* justifies this quite curious new usage by claiming that

[7] The following chapters were examined and compared in their entirety: 1 Ne. 1, 8, 14, 22; 2 Ne. 2, 9, 21, 30; Jac. 4; Words of Mormon; Mosiah 3, 13, 25; Alma 7, 11, 32, 34, 40, 41, 51, 63; Hela. 6, 14; 3 Ne. 9, 13, 18; 4 Ne.; Morm. 9; Eth. 8, 12; Moro. 8; D&C 13, 20, 29, 70, 76, 84, 88, 89, 93, 107, 121, 132; Moses 1; Abr. 1; Joseph Smith — H 1; and Articles of Faith. The 1981 English versions of these scriptures were not consulted, since the earlier versions were those used for the new German translations.

[8] I used the 1961 printing based on the 1912 text authorized by the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church of Germany.

[9] "Neu übersetzt," p. 4, note.

"gentiles" refers to "all those who do not belong to the covenant people of the Lord." [10] Luther used *Heiden* ("heathens, pagans") to render the Hebrew *goyim* or the Greek *ethne*, but *Der Stern* notes that this is too restrictive for current gospel usage. While providing a clever way out of these difficulties, using *Andern* for "gentiles" will, I fear, cause difficulties in practical terms. I am, however, unable to offer a satisfactory alternative, except for a contrived circumlocution such as *Nichtbundesvölker* ("non-covenant peoples").

3. Savior, salvation. Luther normally used *Heil* or *Seligkeit* for "salvation," and always used *Heiland* for "Savior." OG generally follows this usage. All NG renderings are based on the verb *erretten*, meaning "to save." This modern German term sounds much more secular but is ultimately accurate as well. I for one will particularly miss *Heiland*, a lovely bit of Lutherian German with a unique meaning and usage. It has been replaced in NG by *Erretter*, literally "saver."

4. Celestial, terrestrial, telestial. OG originally used the German words *himmlisch* ("heavenly"), *irdisch* ("earthly"), and, somewhat heroically, *unterirdisch* ("subterranean"). NG, as well as the later revisions of OG, replaced these terms with the English words. The NG also uses "endowment" in the German text to replace OG *Begabung*. The use of English words in a German translation might suggest to some that German is unable to express certain subtleties of LDS theology.

5. Deacon. NG *Diakon* replaces OG *Diener*, which also means "servant." Thus, this change is for the better. Note that NG *Knecht*, generally used for E "servant," replaces OG *Diener* in that context. It is a more old-fashioned term and refers in particular to a servant on a farm or in a rural area.

6. Righteous, righteousness. NG usage of *rechtschaffen* and *Rechtschaffenheit* is superior to OG *gerecht* and *Gerechtigkeit*, since the latter can also mean "just" and "justice."

7. Wicked, wickedness. NG *schlecht* and *Schlechtigkeit* mean simply "bad" and "badness." Although this secular-sounding usage does not convey the moral tone of OG *bös/Bosheit*, it allows "wicked/wickedness" to be differentiated from "evil," since the latter also translates as *bös/Bosheit*.

8. Charity. OG *Liebe* means simply "love," whereas NG *Nächstenliebe* means "love of one's neighbor." The latter allows a finer distinction and removes tautologies in the OG translation of such statements as "charity is the pure love of Christ" (Moro. 7:47, 8:17).

9. Free agency. NG *Entscheidungsfreiheit* ("freedom of decision") is definitely superior to OG *freie Wahl* ("free choice") or *freier Wille* ("free will").

10. Atonement. NG *Sühne* ("expiation") occasionally varies with *Sühnopfer* ("expiatory offering"). OG *Versöhnung* is weaker, basically meaning "reconciliation" in a more secular sense. At issue here is the central LDS concept of the atonement, which can be either an expiation or a reconciliation, the latter following Paul's theological writings on Christ's sacrifice.

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[10] Ibid., p. 3.

Short, Specific, Obvious Errors

My selection from a much broader range of examples falls into two main categories. The greatest number of errors are omissions in OG or NG of words or phrases occurring in the English. My 10 percent sample disclosed forty-five such omissions in the OG Book of Mormon, nineteen in the OG Doctrine and Covenants, and none in the OG Pearl of Great Price. This would equal just less than one such error per page. NG, by contrast, has three omission errors in the Book of Mormon, three in the Doctrine and Covenants, and none in the Pearl of Great Price in my sample. The largest number of omissions in OG were of translations of short narrative and rhetorical words such as "in fine," "behold," "even," and "therefore." Many of these are awkward or archaic in English and were probably consciously eliminated in OG to give a more contemporary sounding translation.

More substantive and serious omissions in OG include "fiery indignation" (Alma 40:14); "in the land" (Alma 51:2); "the hearts of" (Alma 51:9); "in battle" (Alma 51:19); "they began to" (Hela. 6:17); "because of their wickedness" (3 Ne. 9:10); "did . . . work miracles" (4 Ne. 5); "promises" (4 Ne. 49); "loosed" (Morm. 9:13); "in the firmament" (D&C 76:71, 81); "with the voice" (D&C 84:98); "the voice of" (D&C 88:98); "ordinance" (D&C 88:140); and "in the Church" (introduction to D&C 93).

The complete list of omissions found in NG is as follows: "beloved" (Alma 34:28); "unto you" (3 Ne. 18:37); "with a firmness unshaken" (Morm. 9:28); "several" (D&C 20:61); "meekness" (D&C 107:30); and "To whom It May Concern" (D&C Official Declaration No. 1).

Questionable changes in words and phrases, comprising the second category of short errors, are for the most part obvious translation difficulties.

E "power over the flesh" (1 Ne. 22:23) becomes OG *zeitliche Macht* ("temporal power"). E "kingdom of heaven" (Alma 7:14) becomes *Reich Gottes* ("kingdom of God") in OG, while the correct *Himmelreich* is used in OG Alma 7:9. Alma 11:45 "raised to an immortal body" becomes OG *wird . . . zur Unsterblichkeit aufstehen* ("will be raised to immortality"), omitting the physical aspect of the resurrection.

In Alma 40:14–23, "soul/souls" is used in the way that "spirit" is used in LDS theology generally. OG translates "souls" in these contexts with *Geister* ("spirits"), the text, in effect, correcting Alma's discourse to Corianton instead of giving a literal translation. NG uses *Seelen* ("souls") unwaveringly here despite the unorthodox usage.

I question both OG and NG's use of "privileges" in Alma 51:6 with *Freiheiten* ("freedoms") rather than *Vorrechte*, the usual term. Likewise, rendering E "authority" in Alma 51:8 as *Gewalt* ("power, violence") seems unjustified, although both OG and NG do so. OG *Herz* ("heart") for E "soul" in Alma 51:14 is clearly wrong. "Necessity" in the introduction to 3 Ne. 18 becomes OG *Wichtigkeit* ("importance"). Likewise, E "ordained" in 4 Ne. 14 seems clearly mistranslated in OG as *erwählt* ("chosen"). "Repent" in D&C 20:37 and 84:76 becomes OG *bereuen* ("to regret"). The reference to church "business" in D&C 20:62 is mistranslated in OG as

Geschäfte, which implies strictly financial dealings. NG is truer to the context here with *Angelegenheiten* ("matters, affairs"). "Fault" in D&C 20:80 seems better rendered NG *Fehltritt* ("false step") than OG *Sünde* ("sin").

In D&C 68:1 "synagogues" seems odd in English and is rendered as *Versammlungshäuser* ("assembly houses") in OG but is literally translated in NG. D&C 76:105 "vengeance" is poorly rendered by OG *Qualen* ("torments"), as is D&C 84:76 "evil works" with OG *Übertretungen* ("transgressions"). In D&C 88:43, "planets" becomes OG *Himmelskörper* ("heavenly bodies").

The Word of Wisdom promise (D&C 89:20) is to "run" (and not be weary) and to "walk" (and not faint). This pair of verbs is correctly given as *laufen* and *gehen* in NG, correcting OG *rennen* which implies a foot race, and *laufen*, a South German dialect usage. *Laufen/gehen*, incidentally, is also used in the UT rendition of the parallel passage in Isa. 40:31.

"Salvation" (D&C 93:53) does not mean *Wohl* ("welfare"), as rendered in OG. "Pure" (D&C 121:2) is not OG *heilig* ("holy"). D&C 134:4 has "control" (of conscience), which NG erroneously reproduces as *überwachen* ("to monitor, supervise"), perhaps by a false analogy with *kontrollieren*, which means the same thing. OG is correct here with *einschränken* ("to constrain, limit").

D&C 135:2 "providence" is not the same as OG *Verheissung* ("promise"). Joseph Smith's autobiographical reference to his "weakness" (Joseph Smith — H 1:29) becomes magnified to NG *Untugenden* ("vice, bad habits").

VARIATIONS IN TRANSLATION WITH NO CONTEXTUAL JUSTIFICATION

NG is more consistent than OG in using the same German word throughout for a given English word (assuming no variation in context). One probable cause of this inconsistency in OG was the convention of German diction that no word be used more than once in a single sentence. This rule was not observed in the NG translation, making for much greater consistency in important theological terms and concepts.

E "wickedness," for example, often fluctuates in OG between *Sünden* ("sins," see 1 Ne. 14:12 for this variant) and *Bosheit* ("evil"), where NG consistently uses the more secular *Schlechtigkeit* ("badness"). "Salvation" is *Heil* in OG 2 Ne. 2:3 but *Seligkeit* in the following verse. NG always uses *Errettung*, a blander and more secular term. Conversely, OG renders both "justice" (2 Ne. 2:12) and "righteousness" (2 Ne. 2:13) as *Gerechtigkeit* ("justice"), while NG more correctly uses *Gerechtigkeit* and *Rechtschaffenheit* ("righteousness"), respectively. E "presence" (of God) is rendered in OG (2 Ne. 9:6, 9) as *Angesicht* ("face") but as *Gegenwart* ("presence" more generally) in 9:8, while NG uses *Gegenwart* consistently.

In OG, Alma 7:25, "spotless" is translated once as *fleckenlos* and twice as *unbefleckt* but as *fleckenlos* throughout in NG. "Restored" (of the body) becomes NG *wiederhergestellt* ("restored" generally) in Alma 11:44 but *zusammengefügt* ("put together") in the preceding verse, while OG has

wiederhergestellt in both verses. In many places E "mercy" fluctuates between *Barmherzigheit* ("mercy") and *Gnade* ("grace") (compare Alma 34:17, 18) in OG, whereas NG is correctly consistent with *Barmherzigkeit* throughout.

"Preach" in Hela. 6:5 is OG *reden* but *predigen* in the following verse, while NG has the more accurate *predigen* in both places. The verb "plot" appearing twice in Hela. 6:27 is rendered first as *verleiten* ("to lure, seduce") and second as *verschwören* ("to conspire") in OG, while NG has *verschwören* in both places.

"Multitude" becomes *Volk* ("people") in OG 3 Ne. 18:2, *Menge* ("mass, multiude") in OG verse 4, *versammelte Menge* ("assembled multitude") in OG verse 8, and *Volksmenge* ("multitude of people") in OG verse 17. NG uses *Menge* throughout. "Slay," used three times in Eth. 8:6, evokes *schlagen*, *töten*, and *erschlagen* in OG but *töten* for all three in NG. "Condemnation" in Moro. 8:22, 24 becomes *Verdammnis* ("damnation") in OG verse 22 but *Gericht* ("judgment") in OG verse 24. NG has the more secular and modern sounding *Schuldigsprechung* ("conviction") both places.

"Expound" becomes OG *auslegen* ("to interpret") in D&C 20:42, 46, but OG *erklären* ("to explain") in D&C 20:50, 59. NG gives the more inclusive *erläutern* ("to explain, interpret, comment on") in all four instances. In D&C 43:2–7 the word "appoint" or "appointed" appears five times and is translated by five different words in OG (*berufen*, *verordnen*, *betrauen*, *bestimmen*, and *auserkiesen*). NG uses only one verb: *bestimmen* ("to determine"). "Glory," appearing three times in D&C 76:70, is twice rendered as OG *Herrlichkeit*, the usual term, but once as *Klarheit* ("clarity, brightness, purity"), while NG is consistent with *Herrlichkeit*.

"Built" in D&C 84:4, 5, and 31 becomes OG *gebaut*, *errichtet*, and *erbaut*, respectively, while NG uses *erbaut* consistently. "Reprove" in D&C 84 becomes OG *zur Busse . . . rufen* ("to call to repentance") in verse 87 but OG *tadeln* ("to blame, reprove, reprimand") in verse 117, while NG has the more accurate *zurechtweisen* in both instances. In many places NG varies its translation of "ordinance" between *Verordnung*, which is the usual term and that employed generally in OG, and *heilige Handlung* ("holy action, deed, transaction"), a neologism (see D&C 88:139–40). "Officiate" is *amten* in OG D&C 107:9, 11, 33; *dienen* ("to serve") in verse 10; and *wirken* ("to effect, bring about") in verse 17. NG has the more narrow *amtieren* in each place.

"Presiding" in OG becomes *leitend* ("leading") in D&C 107:21, *präsidierend* in D&C 107:22, and *vorstehend* in D&C 107:33. NG has *präsidierend* for each. OG *Engel* ("angel") for "personage" in Joseph Smith — H 1:30 seems to be a rather serious mistranslation; OG *Gestalt* ("shape, form") for the same word in verses 17 and 18 seems better. NG uses *Gestalt* in all these instances.

Translators' Attempts to Clarify, Gloss, or Remove Ambiguities in the English Text

A scriptural translator faces very difficult choices. Often a meaning that can remain obscure or ambiguous in the original forces the translator to choose

between alternative meanings. As the following instances will bear out, NG is once again clearly superior to OG in handling the difficulties.

In 1 Ne. 22:4, the phrase "whither they are" is clearly bad English. OG translates "whither" by *wo* ("where"), which is correct German. But NG stays faithful to the original by using *wohin* ("whither"), which in this setting is bad German. NG, in addition to its greater consistency in rendering the individual words and phrases, also more faithfully reflects the underlying stylistic qualities of the original.

Throughout 2 Ne. 2, Lehi appears to be speaking to his son Jacob alone, but he addresses "my sons" in verse 14. OG reproduces this literally with *meine Söhne*, but NG, somewhat uncharacteristically, supplies *mein Sohn* ("my son"), telling us what the translator thought Lehi should have said (or perhaps what he thought Joseph Smith should have translated).

Critics of Joseph Smith often used to cite Alma 7:10, in which the birth of Christ is predicted "at Jerusalem," although "at," particularly in the English of the King James version, could mean "near" as well as "in." OG, unfortunately, renders "at" by *in* ("in") here, although it gives *zu* ("at, near") for "at" in Alma 11:4. NG uses *zu* in both places.

Alma 32:35 has the mixed metaphor "ye have tasted this light." OG transforms "tasted" with *wahrgenommen* ("perceived, observed"), while NG maintains the metaphor by using *gekostet* ("tasted").

Hagoth is described in Alma 63:5 as a "curious man." NG renders "curious" here as *wissbegierig*, implying a desire for knowledge. OG *kundig* ("skillful, versed, expert") is probably less wide of the mark, given many earlier references in the Book of Mormon to "curious workmanship" (of the Liahona, etc.). Later, the "curious" workmen in Hela. 6:11 are described in OG as *geschickt* ("adept, able, dextrous") and in NG as *kunstreich* ("artistic, ingenious").

The disciples of Jesus in 4 Ne. 1 had formed "a church of Christ." OG renders the indefinite article literally with *eine Kirche Christi*. NG, however, gives the definite article with *die Kirche Christi*, departing from the original, perhaps in a gratuitous effort to tell the reader that there is only one church of Christ. Actually, "church" is often used by Book of Mormon writers to mean a local congregation, and in many places "church" is rendered by both OG and NG as *Gemeinde* ("congregation, ward, branch") where this meaning is clear.

A very revealing passage is in Moro. 4:2, describing the practice of administering the sacrament: "And they did kneel down with the church. . . ." Likewise, D&C 20:76 instructs those administering to "kneel down with the church." Thus, it was apparently customary in both instances for the entire congregation to kneel with those administering the sacrament. OG, in a serious departure from English, has *in der Gemeinde* ("in the church") in Moro. 4:2, implying that then, as today, the congregation itself remained seated rather than kneeling. NG has *mit der Gemeinde* ("with the church") both places, which is surely as it should be. OG has *vor der Gemeinde* ("in front of the church") in D&C 20:76.

D&C 20:11 has "God does inspire men and call them to do his holy work." OG renders "men" by *Menschen*, which can mean individuals of either sex; but NG, with little contextual and even less theological justification, has *Männer*, which refers to males exclusively.

D&C 20:65 requires that "no person is to be ordained to any office in this church . . . without the vote of that church." OG renders "vote" as *Zustimmung* ("consent, agreement"), implying that a positive vote is necessary for ordination. NG, by contrast, translates "vote" as *Abstimmung* ("vote, show of hands"), implying that merely the act of voting is required for ordination, as opposed to a majority of the votes cast. The latter is perhaps more reflective of current Church practice.

D&C 29:36 has "the devil was before Adam . . . ," where from the context it is unclear whether "before" has a spatial or a temporal reference. OG supplies *vor* for "before," which could be either spatial or temporal. NG chooses to render "before" with *eher als* ("earlier than"), which resolves the ambiguity with some contextual justification.

The clause "I come quickly" occurs in D&C 68:35 and in many other places as well. OG gives *bald* ("soon") for "quickly," implying unambiguously that Christ's coming will take place soon. NG gives *schnell* ("swiftly") for "quickly," which suggests that Christ's coming will be swift at whatever time it occurs, sooner or later.

In D&C 70:17, "inasmuch as they have not sinned" is ambiguous. OG supplies *insoweit sie nicht gesündigt haben* ("to the extent that they have not sinned"), implying the possibility of some sin having occurred. NG has *da sie ja nicht gesündigt haben* ("since, after all, they have not sinned"), with the opposite meaning.

D&C 84:16 refers to the "conspiracy" of Cain, although it takes more than one person to conspire. Thus, either "conspiracy" is incorrectly used there, or extrabiblical information is being introduced. OG reproduces "conspiracy" with *Verschwörung*, its literal equivalent, but NG uses *Anschlag* ("attack, assault"), allowing logically for the possibility that Cain acted by himself.

One of the most interesting ambiguities is in D&C 87, Joseph Smith's prophecy about the Civil War. Verse 4 has: "Slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war." It is the slaves or the masters who "shall be marshaled and disciplined for war"? OG implies clearly that it is the slaves, NG equally clearly that it is the masters.

D&C 101:81 refers to "the parable of the woman and the unjust judge" (Luke 18:1–8). For "woman" OG has *Weib*, a somewhat archaic and Lutherian form for "woman." NG has *Witwe* ("widow"), which supplies too much to the translation, even though the woman in the parable is indeed a widow. *Frau* would be preferable.

Various Stylistic Differences

OG and NG consistently differ in at least three aspects of style. OG is more likely to employ older or archaic expressions and syntax, particularly

those used in Luther's Bible translation, while NG is more modern and secular in its choice of vocabulary and syntax; NG uses words of Latin and Greek origin much more frequently than OG, which shows a greater preference for native German vocabulary; and finally, NG has a greater tendency toward elevated or lofty expressions, while OG more often employs plain or ordinary speech. Examples of each follow.

Words and expressions no longer common in written or, particularly, in spoken German, many of them inherited from Luther, appear frequently in OG but are by and large replaced by more modern equivalents in NG. For "rejoice," OG uses *frohlocken* while NG has the more modern *sich freuen* (2 Ne. 9:52, 30:6) or *Freude haben* (D&C 121:5). The Lutherian *jüngster Tag* ("youngest day") for "last day" becomes the literal *letzter Tag* in NG (indistinguishable from "latter day"), while OG generally uses Luther's term. "Ascended into heaven" (3 Ne. 18:39) is given in OG by the very Lutherian *fuhr gen Himmel*, while NG has the modern *fuhr in den Himmel auf*. "Upbraided," a rather archaic term itself, is rendered by the older *getadelt* in OG but by the contemporary *gescholten* in NG (D&C 84:76).

Some structural differences also indicate trends in contemporary German that have intensified since OG appeared. For example, the final *-e* appearing optionally in the dative singular form of masculine and neuter nouns, particularly in written German, is almost always lacking in NG but is often present in OG (see W. of Morm. 13; Eth. 12:2; and D&C 76:11, 28). Also, Latin declensional forms of non-German names are common in OG, as in the Luther Bible, but are replaced by the more modern undeclined forms in NG to reflect current usage. *Jesus Christus* retains the Latin genitive *Jesu Christi* throughout OG and NG. This older usage continues in contemporary German and is used in the German name of the Church, among other places. The Latin dative and accusative forms, however, persist in OG but are not used in NG (see 2 Ne. 30:7; Jac. 4:4, 5, 11; W. of Morm. 2, 8; 3 Ne. 18:38; 4 Ne. 23; and Moro. 8:22). For some other biblical names, even the Latin genitive has disappeared in NG: OG *Pauli* and *Moses* become NG *des Paulus* and *des Mose* respectively.

Table 1 summarizes examples in which OG selected a word from the native German vocabulary, while NG rendered the same word from the English with one of Latin or Greek origin. These instances are particularly common in the Doctrine and Covenants, where archaisms in English are not as common as in the other three Standard Works. Counterexamples to Table 2 are OG *Kreatur* and NG *Geschöpf* for "creature" in Morm. 9:22, and OG *Kontinente* and NG *Erdteile* for "continents" in D&C 135:3.

Table 2 lists words and phrases in which NG employs style or language that could be termed elevated, or in some cases bordering on precious. While in most instances this makes for a more elegant and readable German translation, it causes NG to depart a good deal more than OG from the original flavor of Joseph Smith's translations and revelations, in which the language was often rough, quaint, and archaic even for his contemporaries, and of course more so for us today.

Table 1

Words of Latin and Greek Origin in NG

Location	*E*	*OG*	*NG*
2 Ne. 9:53; Alma 63:13; D&C 20:11, 70:8, 76:8	generation	Geschlecht	Generation
Jac. 4:6	prophecy	Weissagung	Prophezeiung
Jac. 4:13	prophesy	weissagen	prophezeien
Alma 51:9	soldiers	Krieger	Soldaten
D&C 20:7, 11	inspire	erleuchten	inspirieren
D&C 20:38, 39, 57, 58, 60	deacon	Diener	Diakon
D&C 20:40	emblems	Sinnbilder	Symbole
D&C 76:14, 28, 30, 49; 107:93; Articles of Faith 7	vision	Gesicht	Vision
D&C 76:39	triumph (noun)	Sieg	Triumph
D&C 76:70	firmament	Himmelszelt	Firmament
D&C 88:78	theory	Lehre	Theorie
D&C 88:80	mission	Sendung	Mission
D&C 121:8, 136:42	triumph (verb)	obsiegen	triumphieren
D&C 130:18, 19	intelligence	Weisheit	Intelligenz
D&C 131:7	matter	Stoff	Materie
D&C 136:12	organize	bilden	organisieren
Official Declaration No. 1	Commission	Ausschuss	Kommission

Table 2

Elevated or Lofty Language in NG

Location	*E*	*OG*	*NG*
Mosiah 25:12	displeased	unzufrieden	ungelhalten
Mosiah 25:20; D&C 29:7, 70:1, 2	hear	hören	vernehmen
Alma 7:1	to attempt	versuchen	sich unterfangen
Alma 32:32	to cast away	wegwerfen	fortwerfen
Hela. 14:23, 27	tempests	Stürme	Unwetter
4 Ne. 30	to rend in twain	sich spalten	zerbersten
Eth. 12:10	they of old	sie vor alten Zeiten	die Altvorderen
D&C 20:32	to fall from grace	von der Gnade fallen	die Gnade verwirken
D&C 20:38, 107:23, 25	duties	Pflichten	Obliegenheiten
D&C 88:93	together	miteinander	mitsammen
D&C 121: intro.	companions	Mitarbeiter	Gefährten
D&C 121:46	compulsory means	Zwang	Nötigung
D&C 132:20	subject (adj.)	untertan	dienstbar

TRANSLATION OF BIBLICAL MATERIAL

A number of segments of the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants contain material also included in the Bible. In the 2 Ne. 12–24 quotations of Isa. 2–14, Joseph Smith follows the King James translators almost word for word, albeit with some significant occasional omissions and additions. Likewise, OG follows the Luther translation closely for the same passages. NG, however, is quite independent of Luther's phraseology and is consistent with the style of NG elsewhere — more modern, more elegant, more apt to use words of non-Germanic origin.

Jesus' repetition of the Sermon on the Mount to the Nephites (3 Ne. 12–14/Matt. 5–7) differs in English only slightly from the New Testament version in the King James translation. Here, OG borrows slightly less than in the previous instance from Luther's translation, and NG is as usual quite independent of Luther.

Five passages from the Bible cited and interpreted by Joseph Smith in D&C 128 are reproduced in English virtually word for word from the King James version. In the first three (Rev. 20:12; Matt. 16:18; 1 Cor. 15:46–48), OG follows the Luther translation almost word for word. In the last two (1 Cor. 15:29; Mal. 4:5, 6), however, OG quotes directly from the 1931 Zurich Bible and provides an asterisked reference thereto. As usual, NG follows a more elevated and contemporary usage with no apparent dependence on the Luther translation.

Joseph Smith's "translation" of Matt. 23:29, 24 in the Pearl of Great Price, is, of course, an inspired revision of the King James text rather than a translation from the Greek original. The Prophet's many changes and additions to the King James version are important, but the unchanged portions follow the King James text very closely. Likewise, OG follows the Luther version of Matthew except in those places where English departs from the King James text. Once again, NG shows no particular dependence on Luther's translation.

SUMMARY

In each of the six categories of comparison just enumerated, NG emerges as clearly superior to its predecessor. This is by no means a criticism of the doughty and much-revised translation used since the 1920s by two generations of German-speaking members and missionaries. It was an adequate and useful translation, one which carried the message of the LDS scriptures to thousands of new converts and established members. Language does change, however, and the new translation is simply more attuned to current German usage. At the same time — and this doubtless reflects the immense amount of work and dedication lavished on it — NG reproduces the original English texts more faithfully and less obtrusively.

With a few exceptions (notably *Andern* for "gentiles" and *Erretter* for "Savior") I feel that the changes in translations of individual terms and phrases are for the better; and there is much more consistency in their usage.

Spellings of proper names in all four standard works now agree with each other, as well as with canons of orthography for ancient names generally.[11]

There are far fewer obvious errors in NG than in OG. For omissions, for example, I found sixty-four in OG and six in NG in my 10 percent sample. Attempts to clarify, gloss, paraphrase, or remove ambiguities are rare in both translations but are relatively more abundant in OG. NG is much less likely to employ archaic expressions (many of them borrowed from Luther's vocabulary) than OG, and is more likely than OG to use words of Greek or Latin derivation and to use elevated or lofty words and expressions. In translating biblical material in the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, OG usually follows Luther's translation closely where English versions follow the King James text almost word for word; but NG translates the biblical material directly from the English text into contemporary German with no conscious dependence on other translations.

NG more successfully fulfills the requirements by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve that translations of LDS scripture from English be as literal as possible, preserving ambiguities and awkward expressions where possible. More time and effort have apparently gone into the compilation of working concordances and into the proofreading and editing of NG. The word-to-word and phrase-to-phrase correspondence in crucial doctrinal and theological contexts is much tighter. The entrenched German stylistic convention of not repeating the same word twice in a single sentence is sacrificed more consistently in the interest of preserving that correspondence.

NG also emerges as a smoother, more polished document. Like many translations, it improves stylistically on the original, but unlike others, it remains extraordinarily faithful to the original. Occasionally, material is added, deleted, or changed, but only when the German language does not permit otherwise.

Some time ago I wrote:

> Translating a clumsy English phrase into (say) a clumsy Danish phrase which is equally clumsy in all senses of the word is an impossible task. One might justifiably contend that only the English translation of the Book of Mormon should be the repository of its stylistic curiosities, and that interested researchers should be referred to that edition for stylistic material. Most Mormons, however, would probably argue that a slick, highly readable foreign language edition of the Book of Mormon might fail to retain the internal linguistic persuasiveness of the original, much as a missionary very

[11] The Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price employ biblical names to refer both to persons and places mentioned in the Bible and to persons and places given biblical proper names. Very fortunately, the NG translation made use of the *Verzeichnis der Biblischen Eigennamen* (*Index of Biblical Proper Names*) published in 1972, which was also the basis of UT spellings (*Der Stern*, March 1981, p. 3). The OG employs biblical spellings which had generally been used in Luther's Bible translation. Also, in rendering all nonbiblical proper names into pronounceable German spellings, the NG translators followed the so-called *Loccumer Richtlinien* (*Loccum Guidelines*), which are "binding for the entire German language area and which reproduce the sounds of ancient languages in our pronunciation" (*Der Stern*, Sept. 1980, p. 3). As a result, several dozen proper names peculiar to the Book of Mormon have received new spellings in NG that facilitate the desired pronunciation according to German phonological rules and orthographic conventions.

> adept in his foreign language often encounters only suspicion on the part of his contacts, while his linguistically more unsophisticated companion inspires confidence and sympathy.[12]

After reading the excellent product of years of devoted and inspired translating by Brother Luschin and his collaborators, I am more certain that faithfulness to the original does not require the sacrifice of stylistic clarity and beauty.

The appearance of both the Uniform Translation and the new triple combination in the same year is extremely fortunate. Both are similar in terms of stylistic and orthographic convention, as well as translating philosophy.

I would like, however, to pose two questions relating to the Uniform Translation. The first is quite specific. As a Bible translated primarily for German-speaking Catholics, it contains the books traditionally included in Catholic Bibles translated into any language. These include several apocryphal books as well as those in the current King James version and other Protestant Bibles. The UT apocryphal books are Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, and Baruch. I was unable to find any information for LDS readers about the presence of apocryphal literature in the new Church-sanctioned Bible translation. Inclusion of the apocrypha in a book of scripture intended for Latter-day Saints appears to fly in the face of Joseph Smith's revelation recorded in D&C 91, which states that the apocrypha were not of sufficient important to be included in his translation of the Bible.

A second question regards the authority, if any, of the voluminous commentary which accompanies the Uniform Translation. The explanatory text preceding Isaiah, for example, states categorically that three separate phophets produced the book.[13] While this reflects the prevailing view of Old Testament students in recent years, many LDS authorities and some LDS scriptural scholars continue to maintain that Isaiah was the work of one writer, using Book of Mormon references to the "words of Isaiah" in partial support of that view. Other explanatory texts in the Uniform Translation, by contrast, tend to buttress LDS viewpoints. For example, a footnote to 1 Cor. 15:29 says: "Reference to the vicarious baptism on behalf of the unbaptized dead occasionally performed in Corinth."[14] Nevertheless, no advice seems to have been given to Church members about these and other explanatory texts.

The efforts of old German scripture translators were, at least according to Joseph Smith, worthy of praise and emulation. In a sermon he gave the month before his death, the Prophet, who knew more than a smattering of the German language himself, declared:

> The Germans are an exalted people. The old German translators are the most correct — most honest of any translators; and therefore I get testimony to bear me out in the revelations that I have preached for the last fourteen years. The old German,

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[12] Marcellus S. Snow, "Translating Mormon Thought," DIALOGUE 2 (Summer 1967): 52–53.

[13] UT, pp. 803–4.

[14] Ibid., p. 1281, note.

> Latin, Greek, and Hebrew translations all say it is true: they cannot be impeached, and therefore I am in good company.[15]

In his day, then, Joseph Smith held that the German translations — including most prominently, one presumes, Martin Luther's — were the "most correct"; more correct, it might be inferred, than even the King James version, which the prophet used in citing and translating biblical materials in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, and which was the basis of the revisions comprising his own translation of the Bible.

What, then, is the status of the King James version in the Church today? It is, to be sure, an exalted one — as the "official" LDS English Bible. So influential is the King James version, in fact, that the UT was selected for use by German-speaking Mormons precisely because it came "closest to the King James version."[16] There is a prevalent view today that the translators of the King James Bible, despite the relative paucity of manuscripts and the backwardness of the scholarly tools at their disposal, were inspired to produce an English text which agrees more closely than any other with "the gospel" — in particular, with newer scripture to be revealed two hundred years later.

There is no little irony in the fact that the Uniform Translation has been adopted because of its similarity to the King James version, while the translation that it replaced as the "official" Church Bible in German — that of Martin Luther — seems to have been considered by Joseph Smith as the "most correct" translation available in his day.

More than a few Church members have wondered, upon hearing children and even adults stumble over the pronounciation and meaning of the Elizabethan English of the King James version — however poetic — whether it is time for a more modern English translation to enter into general Church usage if only as a supplement for teaching and study. We may rightly congratulate but perhaps also envy the German Saints, who now possess a Bible translation in contemporary idiom that takes advantage of the latest biblical scholarship.

I use contemporary English Bible translations routinely, alongside the King James version, with my family and in Church activities. The New English Bible and Lattimore's translation of the four Gospels and Revelation are my favorites. More than once I have read from them in family evenings, Church talks, and lessons with no apparent spiritual damage to my listeners. Is it time to consider a new version of the Bible for English-speaking Church members?

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[15] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), 6:364.

[16] See note 1.

The Sweetness of Certain Things

J. Laurence Day

Even now, sometimes, he looks up from what he is doing and stares, unseeing, because some sound, some word, sometimes nothing at all, has brought her back. Her name whispers through his mind, and there is a break in the rhythm of his heartbeat. The thought may come while he is washing the car, or feeding his grandson, or sitting in church. It is there for an instant, then gone. Not dismissed, just not retained. But in that instant, there is gladness in knowing, a hoping that she is all right.

A bitterly cold wind swirled the papers that littered the Montevideo curb where an *onda* stood, its motor rumbling in the near-midnight air. Elder Ted Carlton automatically held his hat on his head as the gust blew past him.

"Mama mia," said Elder Jones. "Winter has come. Don't you wish you were flying to Paraguay instead of going to Tupambay on this goosey bus?"

"At least I'm going north," Carlton replied. I could've been sent to Paysandu. Elder Druby told me he about died of the cold last winter."

He didn't feel as cheerful as he sounded. After three months in Montevideo, he welcomed a chance to get back to the interior. But Tupambay! It hadn't had a baptism for more than a year.

The door of the bus opened and people began moving toward it. Elder Carlton picked up his overloaded briefcase and held out his right hand to Elder Jones.

"Thanks for seeing me off, Elder. Maybe we'll see each other again soon."

"Not in Tupambay, if I can help it. I'm hoping for Lima. President is sending four missionaries to open Peru soon."

"Well, good luck," said Carlton. Then he hefted his briefcase aboard and looked for his assigned seat. He found it, relieved that he wasn't sitting beside the woman with the whimpering baby who had preceded him aboard.

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That thought made him wince. He should have a more Christlike attitude. Especially now that he was a senior companion.

The motor roared. The driver steered the bus into the sparse traffic. Carlton stared at the leafless trees set in squares of dirt in the sidewalks. "The Fourth of July in Tupambay," he thought. Then he went to sleep.

It was after nine the next morning when the *onda* pulled into Tupambay, the roar reverberating against the whitewashed walls. Carlton got off, claimed his suitcase, and started walking.

He was halfway across the cobblestone plaza before he remembered he didn't know where he was going.

The little boys sitting near an ornately tiled fountain in the center of the plaza ran toward him.

"¡Che! Che nene. Vení."

"¿Lustre?"

"No gracias. Hoy no." Carlton didn't want a shoeshine. Especially not on Sunday. On the other hand, the boy was probably hungry. He was ragged and pinched looking.

"No, I don't want a shoeshine, but you can help carry my briefcase a ways if you want. I'll give you fifty centavos. I'm going to Calle Acevedo Diaz 451 — do you know the way?"

"Sí," said the boy. "It's not far."

As they walked, Carlton asked the youngster about Tupumbay. Carlton's Spanish was fluent, his accent relatively good. His first senior had come from a Texas border town — lazy but he spoke great Spanish.

Acevedo Diaz Street was about four blocks from the plaza. The branch was in a block of contiguous houses whose front doors opened onto the sidewalk. The only distinguishing mark was a brass plaque next to the door: *Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Dias.*

Carlton gave the boy sixty centavos and watched him scoot down the street, giving little skips of excitement every few steps. From inside came the sounds of an ancient pedal organ laboring through the opening of "Welcome, Welcome, Sabbath Morning."

Carlton left his suitcase, briefcase, and hat in the hall and, wearing his overcoat buttoned up, entered the unheated room. Remodeling had turned the living room and dining room of the house into a small chapel with room for a dozen wooden benches, the organ, and a moveable lectern. A picture of President McKay hung on a side wall, with a picture of Christ on the front wall above the two missionaries who sat facing the congregation. The ten people on the benches in front of Carlton had their coats buttoned up. Carlton sat down on the last bench. The cold, gray weather, the tiny branch with its huddled members, the knowledge that he would be in Tupambay for months and in Uruguay for another year and a half seemed unbearable. He wanted to go home — now. Carlton shivered involuntarily, then shook his head and tried to concentrate on the meeting.

After opening exercises he introduced himself to the members and the two junior companions who had been nervously conducting the meeting. The

lesson was given by a gray-haired woman, apparently one of the few stalwarts. When Sunday School was over, Carlton carried his stuff upstairs to the two large rooms where the missionaries lived. There were two single cots in each room, two writing tables, and two small closets. One room had a door that opened onto a small balcony overlooking the street. The rooms looked cluttered and untidy.

"I'm glad you're here, Elder," said Elder John Thompson, a tall freckle-faced farmboy from Ririe, Idaho. "That was scary trying to conduct Sunday School with *my* Spanish."

"You must be the senior?"

"I got in the mission a month before Elder Ballentine, but his Spanish is better than mine. I tried to get him to conduct, but he wouldn't."

"When is Elder Spencer coming in?" asked Ballentine, who had just come up the stairs. Elder Clifford Spencer, the other new senior, would be his companion and Tupambay's new branch president.

"Couple of days," said Carlton. "He's coming down from Paraguay and apparently had some last-minute things to do."

"Man, I'd like to go to Paraguay," said Thompson.

"So would I," said Ballentine.

"Well, you may get the chance. Meantime, what say we clean up?" asked Carlton. "Looks like the place has been ransacked." He grinned to soften the criticism.

"Crud, Elder," Thompson said. "This *is* cleaned up. You should have seen it before."

"I take it Elder Trout didn't run a very tight ship." Elder James Trout, the former branch president, had been transferred to Melo on the other side of the country. He was no longer a branch president.

"You could say that. You could also say he didn't run the ship at all. And Elder Brech was on his trunk the whole last month he was here."

"Well, let's turn that around. We can make this place really hum," Carlton said.

"I hope so," said Thompson.

"Let's start by cleaning up and making it look like the Lord's representatives lived here." Carlton knew he had laid that one on too heavy, but he let it go.

Elder Ballentine said he didn't think house cleaning was a proper Sabbath activity, but he cooperated. While they were working, someone knocked on the front door. Elder Thompson went downstairs, then came back up. "It was Nena. Laura wanted to borrow half a kilo of sugar."

"Who is Nena? And Laura?" asked Carlton.

"Laura Castillo. Her dad owns this building. The Church rents it from him. Laura and her husband, Cesar, live next door. They've got two little girls. Laura sends over cookies and cakes and stuff all the time. She's great. Nena is her maid, about fourteen."

"Are they members?"

"No."

"Do you call her Laura all the time?"

"Sure. Everyone does."

"Missionaries are supposed to call a married woman *senora*, and an unmarried one *senorita*, unless she's a member, in which case you call her *hermana*."

"Crud, Elder, you really go by the rules."

"That's right. That's what they're for."

"Crud," Thompson repeated. Then he went downstairs and started picking out tunes with one finger on the old pedal organ.

The next morning, Carlton rousted the two juniors out of bed at six for a Spanish lesson and scripture study. The two seemed to take perverse pleasure in mispronouncing the words and mixing up the Spanish syntax. Carlton took his own pleasure in quoting rules whenever he could.

After study, the missionaries ate a breakfast of hot chocolate, hard rolls, and jam. Then Elder Carlton announced a morning of tracting. The two junior companions flatly refused. People were suspicious enough of the gringos when they came two-by-two knocking at their doors. Going with three might even cause some complaints to the police. Carlton gave in on tracting but insisted that they spend the day visiting members.

Carlton met Laura Castillo on his third day in Tupambay. Elder Ballentine had suggested that weekly volleyball games might attract young people so they had started making a court in the backyard. They were packing the red dirt with a heavy roller they had borrowed from Laura's father when Laura came with a plate of cookies and stood under the bare grape arbor on the patio. Carlton noticed her first. It was cold, and Laura had a bulky, man's sweater over her own dark red pullover. She was wearing gray wool slacks and had a colored handkerchief tied around her head. She was taller than most Uruguayan women, perhaps five foot seven. She had light brown hair and green eyes, not what you'd expect from a Latin American woman. Her parents were German, immigrants who came before World War II to Tupambay. Johann Vogle, a carpenter, had become a prosperous building contractor.

The two junior companions saw the movement of Carlton's head, spotted Laura, and immediately trotted to the patio table. Carlton kept pulling the roller but he heard every word.

"Is that the one they sent to replace Jeemy?"

"Uh-huh."

"He doesn't seem very friendly," said Laura. "Or is he just shy?"

"No, he's gungho . . . er, that means . . . well, no, he's not too friendly." Elder Ballentine called to Carlton, "Elder, come and meet Senora Castillo."

Carlton dropped the handle and walked to the patio, wiping his hands on his levis.

"Senora Castillo," said Thompson, emphasizing *senora*. "This is Elder Ted Carlton, my new companion."

Laura held out her hand and Carlton shook it firmly. There was a trace of humor in her frank, green eyes. "The basketball team must miss you very much," she said.

"They did quite well without me, from what I've heard," said Carlton.

"Then you do play basketball? I was making a joke. It's just that you are tall even for a North American."

"Oh, I don't know," said Carlton smiling. "Around home everyone calls me Shortie."

"*Qué cosa!*" said Laura in mock horror.

Just then someone knocked at the front door. Elder Ballentine went to answer it while Carlton and Thompson took two cookies apiece.

Elder Ballentine yelled, "It's Elder Spencer. He hasn't got any money for the taxi." They all walked down the hall and out the front door. The taxi driver was leaning against the door of his ancient right-hand drive Ford with his hands in his pockets. Elder Spencer was standing amidst a pile of suitcases, bags, and boxes.

He grinned at them and shrugged. "I spent all my money getting down here from Paraguay and I'm broke until my check comes in."

"How did you come?" asked Ballentine.

"I flew to Salto and took the *onda*. I'm beat."

Laura met him, then excused herself. Carlton paid the taxi driver and the four of them carried Spencer's stuff upstairs.

Within days of Spencer's arrival, it was clear that he wasn't going to be the dynamic leader the branch needed. He avoided decisions. Whenever he had to make one, he fussed and worried and second-guessed himself. Yet he and Elder Ballentine spent so much time in "branch business" that they did almost no tracting.

Elder Carlton and his companion followed an unrelenting schedule — tracting all day, visiting members, and making callbacks all evening.

In the second weekly package *onda*-delivered from the mission home, there was a special announcement sandwiched between materials for the branch auxiliary programs, new missionary assignments, and mail from home. President Whitney informed the Tupambay elders that Elder Henry D. Moyle of the Council of the Twelve was coming. He was on an extended tour of the missions in South America and would arrive in Tupambay in three weeks. Elder Spencer was to cooperate with the Riochuelo Branch in preparing a conference under the direction of district president Elder Wallace Compton: a reception for Elder Moyle Saturday evening, a program afterward, and two conference sessions on Sunday.

Elder Compton and his companion came from Riochuelo two days later. The following three weeks blurred into planning the reception, printing programs, rehearsing musical numbers and folk dances, making costumes, and arranging publicity.

Then a couple of days before the conference, Carlton found out that the extra dishes somebody's aunt had promised for the reception didn't exist. Within a half hour, the caterer informed Elder Spencer that he had accepted a big wedding for the same day and would not be able to fill the branch's order.

Spencer came home from the caterer's and went straight to his room. He lay on his cot facing the wall and began picking at a place where the paint was peeling.

Carlton got the disastrous news from Elder Ballentine and walked into Spencer's room. "What are you going to do?" he demanded.

Spencer didn't look up. "Well, Elder, I don't know. We'll just have to try and work something out," he said, and went back to picking at the flakes of loose paint.

Carlton stormed from the room and strode downstairs, so enraged he wanted to break something. He walked out onto the sidewalk and slammed the great wooden door, heading rapidly up the sidewalk to the caterer's, forgetting that he didn't know where it was. As he turned the corner, he ran full tilt into someone, grabbed for the stumbling person, and then saw it was Laura Castillo. Electricity ran from his fingers to his armpits and he dropped his hands to his sides.

"Carlton, where were you going in such a hurry? I thought I had been hit by a truck. Is everything all right?" Laura was breathless.

"I'm sorry, senora. I must be more careful. I was walking too fast. I beg your pardon."

"It was nothing." She stared at him. "You are troubled. What is it?"

Carlton felt a flash of disorientation, almost vertigo. He stepped back, but her eyes were steady, unwavering. "We have a very important conference of the Church here two days from now and everything is going wrong."

"What things are going wrong?"

"Well, for one thing, the caterer just canceled our order after he'd accepted it three weeks ago. We'll have nothing to serve at a reception for one of our most important leaders. And the person who promised to provide dishes and cups and things to serve everyone now tells us that they really don't exist."

Laura's eyes glinted. "Perhaps I can help. Who is the caterer?"

"No, senora. I didn't mean to bother you. We'll work something out. Thank you. And I'm sorry I nearly knocked you down." Carlton turned to leave.

"Carlton, you believe in the Bible, don't you?" asked Laura. There was a breath of laughter in her voice.

"Yes, of course."

"The Bible says that we should help our neighbors."

"I know that, but . . . ."

"But you need help, and I can help. Don't you think I know how people in this town treat you Mormons? They are supposed to be Christians, these people. Their Christianity doesn't extend beyond the doors of the church. Now tell me who the caterer is."

"Garibaldi, I think his name is."

"I thought so. That snake. But he's the best in town. Leave him to me. Now, about the rest. Why don't you and Johnny come over this evening and we'll talk about it?"

"I really don't think we could impose. . . ."

"Carlton, were you born stubborn? Or is this just something you put on for my benefit?" She *was* laughing but it made him relax.

"You are very kind, senora. Yes, I am stubborn. But I don't think I am stupid. If you can get Garibaldi to renew our order, we will be deeply grateful."

"Why do you call me *senora* when the others have always called me Laura? Jimmy and I used to talk for hours about your country and your American customs. Americans are not a formal people, I believe."

Carlton felt the muscles in his shoulders tense. Woodenly he said, "I call you *senora* because that is the rule of the mission. We are here to teach the gospel, and we have certain rules to follow. Some don't always follow them, but I try to. They're for the good of everyone."

"Ah rules. And you are not supposed to speak in the familiar. Jimmy told me. But he did it. You know I just can't say *usted* instead of *tu*. It's so cold and formal," said Laura.

Carlton started to say, "But that's the rule, senora." Instead he said, "I understand how you feel." Somewhere deep inside him he felt suddenly light.

"Do you have a *novia*?" asked Laura.

"Yes. Yes . . . sort of. We have an understanding, but she is free to go out."

"How strange you Americans are. Does she write you?"

"Yes. Quite often."

"Jimmy got a 'Dear John' while he was here. He took it very hard. You call it 'Dear John,' no?"

"Yes. I may get one too. Tracy is dating regularly. Maybe Tupambay is an unlucky place for missionaries."

"It will be a lucky place for you. If you get a Dear John it will be because she isn't the one for you."

"That's what they say," said Carlton. "Senora, I must go. I shouldn't be out here on the street alone. That's a rule too. You see, I do break the rules."

"Oh, my. What will happen? Will you have to do penance? Will you have to go to confession?"

Carlton looked closely at Laura. He was pretty sure she was teasing him, but he decided to act as if she were serious.

"No, we have no confessional in our church nor penance either. We confess to God and try to right the wrong and not do it again."

"Well, that's better than going to the *cura* for forgiveness, when he's just a man like any other. Of course, I believe very little of any of it. I like the Bible, but that's about all."

"That's a great start. You probably believe more than you think you do."

"Perhaps."

"I must go. Thank you again, senora."

"Will you come tonight to discuss the rest?"

"Elder Spencer and Elder Ballentine will come."

Carlton had to knock on the door to get back into the branch.

Elder Ballentine was surprised. "Where have you been?"

"I was on my way to the caterer, but I didn't have the address."

"Alone?"

"Yes."

The next morning while the missionaries were cleaning the chapel, a message from the caterer arrived. The things they had ordered would be delivered on schedule. There had been a slight misunderstanding.

Twenty minutes later, a car drove up and the driver unloaded boxes of cups, plates, and silverware. Then a man from a flower shop came by. Some flowers had been ordered. Where would they be used? When he knew, he could send the most appropriate arrangement. Spencer stammered, "We haven't ordered flowers. We won't pay for them." The flowers were already paid for.

About that time, some members arrived to help the elders get ready for the program. Laura dropped by a little while later with Nena and promptly began washing windows. Some of the members were visibly disconcerted, not used to working side by side with people of Laura's social standing.

Laura was dressed in slacks and a soft gray sweater, hardly housecleaning attire. As Elder Carlton came in from the patio, he noticed how beautiful she looked before he could censor it.

"*Que tal*, Carlton," she said.

"*Buenos dias*, senora," said Carlton, "We're deeply grateful for all you have done."

"Oh, I haven't done very much, really. But I must tell you what happened with the caterer. It's delightful." Laura's smile twinkled, gleeful. "I went to his place right after I talked to you and asked him casually about your order. He huffed himself up and said, 'Those gringo *fallutos*. They'll get nothing from me, ever.' And I leaned forward and said very quietly, 'Senor Garibaldi, those gringo *fallutos* are my friends, and I think you are going to have to forget about that order my mother gave you for my sister's coming-out party. I think my mother will have it catered from Riochuelo.' And I started to leave the shop. You should have seen him falling all over himself to keep me inside while he smothered me with promises."

The conference was a great success. The chapel overflowed at both sessions. Elder Moyle was impressed with the reception and the program. When he saw Laura helping with the refreshments, he asked Elder Ballentine how long she had been a member of the Church. When he heard the answer, he stared hard at Elder Ballentine and instructed him to begin teaching her the gospel at once, that bringing Laura and her husband into the Church would do untold good for the branch. He added that it was important to fellowship as well as teach the Castillos.

The evening after the conference, Carlton and Thompson went to visit the Castillos. Cesar wasn't home, and Laura was putting the two little girls to bed.

"What a surprise," she said, "Come in and sit down. We'll chat as soon as I get these two night owls to sleep. Carlton, I can't believe it. You actually came to visit."

"It's not entirely a social call, senora. We wanted to thank you again for all you did to help with the conference, and to ask you to let us teach you and your husband about our church."

"You want to teach me? Jimmy mentioned some lessons from time to time, but I said I was too old to learn a new catechism, and Cesar thinks he's an atheist."

"It's not a new catechism," said Carlton stolidly, "It's the gospel of Jesus Christ, which offers peace of mind and salvation to all who embrace it."

Laura smiled kindly. "I already have peace of mind," she said. "And as for salvation, I'll leave that in the hands of God. He must know me. If I am worthy, he can take care of it. If I'm not . . . well then he can't."

"What you say is true, as far as it goes, senora, but it just isn't enough to live a good life. Please let us teach you." To his horror, he heard a quiver in his voice.

Laura stared at him. "Oh Carlton," she said. "If it means that much to you, of course you can give your lessons. Though I can't speak for Cesar."

It turned out that Cesar liked social calls and enjoyed playing volleyball with the missionaries, but he didn't want to study Mormon beliefs. In fact, he asked the missionaries to come during the daytime so that evening visits would be free of business. Carlton and Thompson came during the siesta which neither the missionaries nor, apparently, Laura observed, then stayed awhile to chat. After all, Elder Moyle had given them a special charge to teach *and* fellowship. They sometimes played chess with Cesar in the evenings. He never failed to show up on volleyball nights.

One afternoon, as the two arrived, Laura was outside hanging clothes. She called an invitation to sit down. Just as they did, Elder Thompson remembered a plate on which Laura had sent over a cake.

"I'll be right back." Thompson was out the door before Carlton realized the situation. He called after his companion and began to follow just as Laura came into the room.

"He went . . . he went to get the plate . . ." said Carlton.

Laura crossed the room, her eyes never moving from Carlton's face. As she walked she raised her hands, and Carlton's hands rose, too, seemingly by themselves. Laura took them in hers, raised one to her lips and kissed it lightly.

"*¿Cómo esta?*" said Carlton. It was the first phrase he had learned in Spanish and the only one that now came to mind.

"*Bien,*" said Laura as she smiled into his eyes. They stood motionless until they heard Elder Thompson returning. Then Laura released Carlton's hands and walked to the other side of the room. Carlton sat down.

"Here's your plate, senora," said Thompson as he came in, "I nearly forgot it."

The lesson that afternoon lacked its usual polish. Carlton found himself skipping questions or asking the wrong ones, while Laura gave answers to questions that hadn't been asked.

The following day, Carlton turned the teaching and fellowshipping of the Castillos over to Elder Spencer and threw himself into the proselyting effort. Surprisingly, he and Elder Thompson began to be successful. Doors opened as never before and people in Tupambay began to listen with interest to the young Americans. In visits to members, Carlton bore fervent testimony and urged inactives to put their lives in order. His obvious sincerity led to frequent confessions and tearful promises of repentance.

Carlton and Thompson soon led the mission in number of proselyting hours and were fourth in number of discussions given. Attendance at branch meetings increased. Even the name Tupambay acquired a new status throughout the mission.

But for all this, Carlton was in turmoil. He worried about his breach of mission regulations while he struggled to keep his mind occupied with gospel topics, memories of home, new approaches to lessons — anything but Laura.

About that time Elder Carlton and Elder Thompson asked a family they had been teaching to be baptized. When the Garcias accepted, a baptism date was set for the next Saturday morning at a small pond outside town. Other baptisms were also scheduled for the same time.

Carlton fasted for twenty-four hours before the baptism and spent most of the night on his knees. At the baptismal service, he insisted that the other missionaries perform the ordinances. The Garcias were disappointed but accepted his explanation that he had participated in several baptisms and wanted to give others the experience.

Laura attended the baptism at the invitation of Elder Spencer. She had joined the small group of church members and investigators who walked from town that warm spring morning to the woods north of Tupambay. On the way back she walked beside Carlton while Elder Thompson accompanied the Garcias. Carlton and Laura had not spoken alone since he had turned her instruction over to Elder Spencer.

"What are we going to do?" Laura asked as soon as they were by themselves.

"Do about what?"

"Do about the way we feel."

"Nothing."

"Nothing! We can't do nothing. I think about you all the time. I dream about you."

"I don't think about you at all," replied Carlton.

Laura, who had been looking straight ahead, turned her face quickly to his. Their eyes met and reluctantly Carlton continued.

"I don't think about you at all. I have invented a thousand ways to keep from thinking about you. Maybe when I've invented a thousand more I can keep you out of my mind for an entire day."

"You *do* care for me," whispered Laura.

"I can't believe this is happening," Carlton continued. "I'm a missionary. I could be sent home in disgrace. I've never felt this way about anyone!"

"I know," said Laura. "What are we going to do?"

"The only thing we can do. We'll avoid each other and keep our relationship formal. Sooner or later I will be transferred and the problem will be solved."

Laura stopped abruptly, "We will maintain a formal relationship. You will be transferred, and the problem will be solved. How very efficient you Americans are! Or is it your Mormonism? You can simply ignore untidy emotions and go on as if nothing had happened. Efficient and painless. How nice." Tears were brimming as she turned and walked rapidly down the road.

Carlton hurried after her. "Hardly painless," he said. "I know something of pain. Acting as if nothing has happened is exactly that — acting. I can never be the person I was because I love you very much. Only my faith has saved me from doing something very rash and very wrong."

"Your faith?" asked Laura, looking at him with sadness and longing. "Oh, Carlton, if you knew the sweetness of certain things, not even your faith could save you."

Carlton felt his face flush as warmth spread from his temples to his groin. This time it was he who turned and walked rapidly toward Tupambay, leaving Laura to wait for Elder Thompson and the Garcias.

In the following weeks Carlton did maintain a distance between himself and Laura, but his emotional involvement continued to affect his work. He drove himself and Elder Thompson — striving for more and more hours of service. And to his own surprise, he developed an almost tender regard for the ineffectual Elder Spencer. Although Carlton had never been openly hostile to the branch president, it was clear to Spencer as well as to the junior companions that Carlton did not respect him. Now, however, overwhelmed with the monumental nature of his own shortcomings, Carlton felt a need to help Spencer overcome his. He began seeking ways to encourage him and consciously tried to act as if Spencer were the best possible branch president. This coupled with the recent rise in the fortunes of the branch, had a remarkable effect. Spencer grew more self-confident. He began to get satisfaction from making decisions and seeing that they were carried out. The members and investigators responded positively to his efforts and in a short time, Elder Clifford Spencer became president of the Tupambay Branch in deed as well as in name.

That led Carlton, indirectly, to another meeting alone with Laura. Spencer had decided to reorganize some of the branch auxiliaries and catch the branch records up to date. So with newly acquired authority, he sent the two junior companions out tracting together while he and Carlton worked at the branch.

It was a warm spring morning so Carlton took the scribbled papers that constituted two months of branch history down to the patio. Elder Spencer was working upstairs when a quiet knock came at the front door. Carlton paused a moment, not sure anyone was there. Then he stood up, his heart racing, and walked down the hall. He knew it was Laura before he opened the door, but he had no time to think of what he would say or do.

Laura, standing on the sidewalk in a summery white blouse and flowered print skirt, was carrying a plate of cookies and iced cakes. She smiled, her eyes bright with mischief.

"Good morning, sir. I'm going into the catering business and have been told you give many parties. I thought if you sampled my wares, you might let me be your caterer."

"How nice," said Carlton, picking up on Laura's lead. "We will be happy to try a sample, but I should tell you right off that we give all our business to Garibaldi. He's such a kind, warm man and such a friend to the Mormons." They both laughed, and Carlton turned and yelled in English, "Elder, it's Senora Castillo. She brought some cookies and things. Can you come down?"

"I'll be down in a minute. Invite her in. There's some bottles of Crush in the icebox."

Carlton resumed his Spanish, "Come in, senora. Where is Nena? Is she coming over too?"

"Nena is at my mother's with the girls."

Carlton led the way to the patio. Their lighthearted exchange had taken away much of his tension. He motioned her to a seat at the table where he was working.

"I'm catching up the branch history. Do you read hieroglyphics?"

"Don't you have the gift of tongues?" Laura teased. "I thought all good Mormons did."

"No," laughed Carlton. Then the smile left his face, "How have you been?"

Laura watched him intently, "Wonderful and awful. Marvelous and terrible."

"Me too," said Carlton.

"I've driven poor Nena to distraction with projects and busy work. Anything to keep occupied. I've smothered Cesar with so much wifely devotion that he is threatening to go to his father's *estancia* for a little peace and quiet."

Carlton smiled, "And I've made Elder Thompson work so hard that he is undoubtedly the best-prepared junior companion in the mission."

"Well then, at least some good has come from all this," said Laura.

"I don't know if that's possible," replied Carlton. "I've always been taught that good cannot come from evil, that the devil can disguise himself as an angel of light. I keep waiting for something awful to happen."

"Ah, Carlton, what evil is there here? We love each other, but we have done nothing wrong. We didn't seek these feelings. If I am to believe in anything, I would rather believe in God than in the devil."

"You don't understand," said Carlton. "After the baptism you spoke of the sweetness of certain things. Thoughts keep slipping into my mind, and I find I don't want to get rid of them. I feel terribly guilty most of the time."

"I wish I had never said that," Laura cried. "It was just that you seemed so cold! I wanted to hurt you, too. I'm sorry now because I know you were right. It is the only way. You have your mission, your faith, and your future. I have my home, my hope, and my little girls. I can accept this and be at peace. Except, perhaps, for one thing."

"What is that?" asked Carlton.

"Will you ever kiss me? Just one kiss, nothing more?"

"No."

"Not ever?"

"No, not ever," said Carlton. Then to soften the words, he reached across the table and squeezed her hand before picking up one of the scraps of paper and continuing his work.

New missionaries arrived in Montevideo a couple of weeks later with a general shake-up following. Carlton's new assignment was Tres Arroyos, a new and thriving branch on the Brazilian border, where he would serve as branch president. Elder Thompson and Elder Ballentine were made senior companions, assigned to branches in Montevideo. Elder Spencer was called to Montevideo for special leadership training after which he would return to Tupambay with three new elders.

The night before the elders left, the branch held a traditional *despedida*, complete with songs, refreshments, and tears. The next morning Carlton helped his three friends load their belongings into two taxis and accompanied them to the *onda* terminal. His own bus didn't leave until later in the day. Each gave him an *abrazo*. Carlton could hear to the roar of the engine long after the bus had turned the corner and disappeared.

He stood in the plaza and thought of the Sunday morning so long ago when he had arrived in Tupambay. Then he forced himself to think about his new assignment. Finally, as his heart jackhammered, he allowed the thought to surface — he was alone in Tupambay.

He walked toward the branch, keeping his eyes straight ahead as he passed the Castillos' door. His head felt light, as if he were no longer in control. His heart raced. Finding the branch door ajar seemed inevitable, and he paused just a moment before stepping into the cool semidarkness.

Laura was standing at the far end of the hall, silhouetted against the light from the open patio door. She turned when she heard the front door close and silently walked toward him. As they embraced, Carlton was swept by feelings of joy, of wonder, of relief. They kissed, and Laura whispered, "*Te quiero, te quiero.*" Carlton, beyond rules, beyond stopping, bent to kiss her again, but Laura raised her fingers to his lips and leaned back against his embrace.

"No, *mi querido*. Just one. I asked only one. Now I must go before I break my promise to God."

She walked to the door and turned, "*Chau*, Elder Carlton."

"*Chau*, Hermana Castillo," said Carlton.

Then she stepped onto the sunlit sidewalk and pulled the door shut.

A Selected Bibliography of Recent Books on Mormons and Mormonism

Stephen W. Stathis

Scholarly as well as popular interest in Mormonism continues at an almost unprecedented rate. The Saints remain, as they always have, a peculiar people. Their history, as Winfred E. Garrison aptly observed, "bristles" with controversial issues that make it one of the "most interesting strands of American history." During the past century and a half they have survived fierce opposition and surmounted tremendous obstacles.

Early in their history Mormons were driven from state to state in search of an area in which they might worship in peace. Yet, as C. LeRoy Anderson dramatically points out in his recent study, *For Christ Will Come Tomorrow: The Saga of the Morrisites*, they have had little sympathy for those who left their movement and sought answers elsewhere.

Another milestone in candor is D. Michael Quinn's *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years*, which covers the sensitive and important problems that confronted the Church as it sought to become a world-wide denomination. Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, in capturing *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914*, have helped us to understand better why Saints once had horns.

Although Harold Schindler's newly revised edition of his classic biography of *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* has received mixed reviews, his exhaustive research and journalistic style still make it an attractive study. Destined also to have a significant impact on how Mormonism is viewed in the future are Conway B. Sonne's *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration*, Donald Q. Cannon's *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church 1830–1844*, and *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, a multi-volume typescript, handsomely bound, and prepared by Scott Kenney.

Then there is Dean C. Jessee's compilation, *The Writings of Joseph Smith*. For Jessee, who has devoted his entire career to establishing the integrity of these documents, it marks yet another major contribution to his already distinguished work.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT BOOKS ON MORMONS AND MORMONISM

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CALL FOR UTAH WOMEN PAPERS

To encourage historical research, writing, and publication in the areas of Utah women's history, the Utah Women's History Association announces its Fifth Annual Call for Papers.

Papers must relate to some aspect of Utah women's history. This may include individual or group biographies, histories of women's organizations, or histories of institutions or movements in which women played important roles or which significantly affected women.

This year's prizes will be $50 for first place and $25 for second place. Papers will be judged on the quality of research, style, organization, validity of interpretation, and reasoning. The author's name should appear only on a separate title page.

Papers should be typewritten, doublespaced, and should not exceed twenty pages. Three copies of the entries and a stamped, self-addressed envelope large enough to return the papers must be delivered or postmarked by 15 September 1984 to Elizabeth McKean, 2859 Chadwick, Salt Lake City, UT 84106. Announcement of selected entries will be made on 5 October 1984. Papers will be read in October.