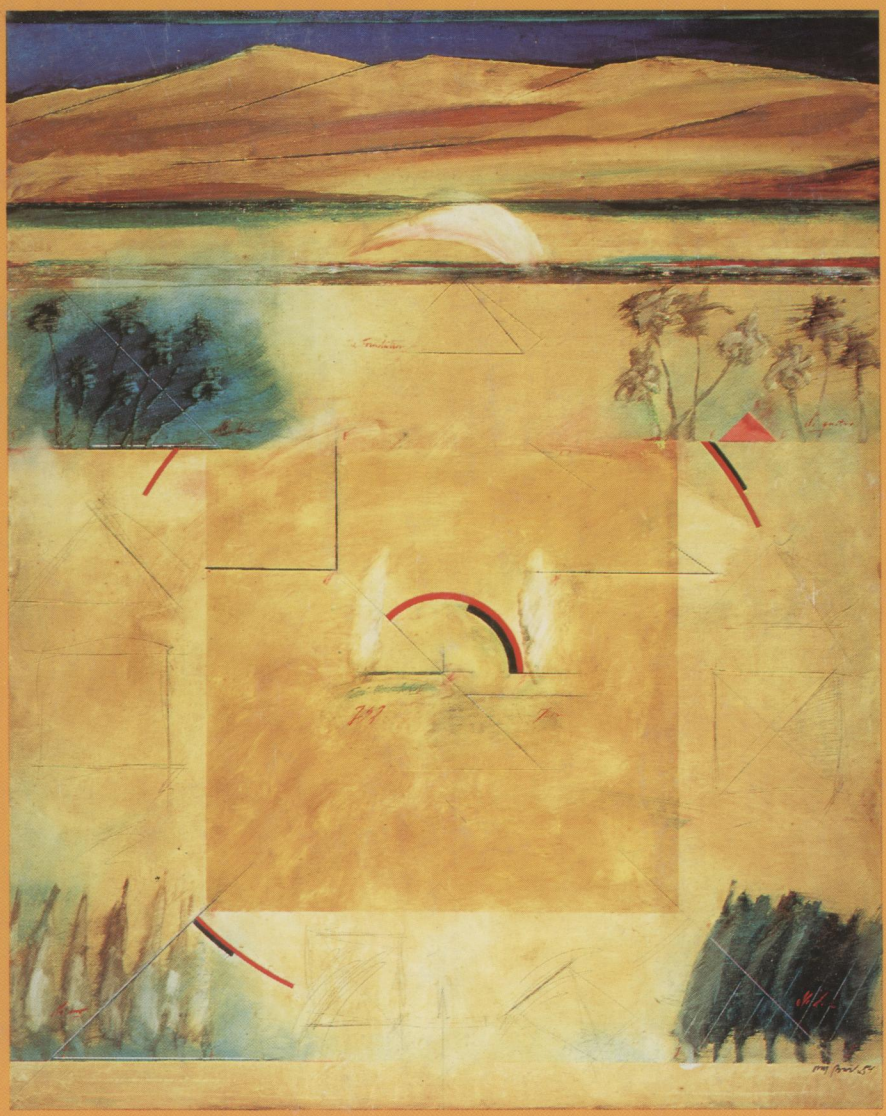
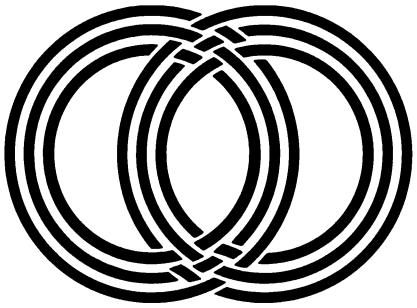
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





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A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

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This issue features art by Wulf Barsch, who was born in 1943 in Bohemia and graduated from Haubachstrasse, Hamburg, Germany, and Brigham Young University where he is associate professor of art. He recently published, in collaboration with Day Christensen, a collection of lithographs, The Book of Abraham. For more information about his work, contact him at Box 214, Provo, UT 84603.

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LETTERS

SUBMISSIONS POLICY

All submissions must be typed, double-spaced throughout (including block quotes and end matter), submitted in triplicate, and accompanied by return postage. The style for citations, notes, and bibliography follows the author-date style explained in *The Chicago Manual of Style* beginning on page 400 (13th ed.). A style sheet is available upon request.

We will withhold the names of authors on both articles and letters to the editor where appropriate; but we do not consider or accept anonymous or pseudonymous contributions.

Letters to the editor must be double-spaced. If documentation is required, it should follow the author-date citation style of the essays.

Remembering Elder Christensen

I knew him as Elder Christensen in Melbourne, Australia, in 1975. Melbourne, strangely enough, has one of the largest populations of Italians outside of Rome, but few were joining the Church. Steven F. Christensen was one of the first of a wave of foreign-speaking missionaries to arrive in Australia. I was his ward mission leader.

Though there were eighteen full-time missionaries in our Fairfield Ward, including the mission president and his staff, Elder Christensen soon became my favorite. He was suave, unusually calm and mature for a nineteen-year-old from Bountiful, Utah. And he loved to talk about Church doctrine and history.

My wife and I had him to dinner at least once a week. When encouraged he would tell stories of knowing General Authorities and selling them his dad's "Mr. Mac" suits out of the back of a van. We laughed: the entrepreneur was easy to recognize in Steve.

Though we never heard the story from him, rumor had it that when Spencer W. Kimball bought suits from "Mr. Mac's," Steven's dad refused to take any payment. President Kimball reciprocated by sending Elder Christensen money on his mission. If it was true — and my source was pretty reliable — he never mentioned it.

Besides his scriptures, he always carried a small tattered binder, tabbed from A to Z, which contained quotes of such a unique dimension that I spent a solid month copying its contents. It was an interesting volume, full of wisdom, rare quotes, and interesting doctrines from thinkers that included General Authorities, Euripides, Seneca, Montague, and Tennyson. Its entries were as diverse as the Apollo 11 commander's personal thoughts on walking on the moon and as Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. I thought to myself, "This

is a young man who is seeking very unique answers to common questions." He seemed to be building his own personal resource book, a traveling library of sorts.

No one, including the adult leaders in the stake, knew as much as Elder Christensen about the "whys" of Mormonism and its early founders. I could tell he loved early Church leaders, especially Brigham Young. He also held Alvin R. Dyer in high regard.

His sacrament meeting talks and casual dinner conversations were flavored with words from lesser-known Church leaders. As I watched Steve, I felt as if I were witnessing a young B. H. Roberts. (Years later he told me that Roberts was indeed his silent mentor.)

During my twelve years in various missionary positions, I never met a missionary who taught me more about the gospel. In that far-off corner of the globe, some 8,000 miles from Church headquarters, Steven F. Christensen taught me a principle that few in the Church have discovered. The primary goal of a full-time missionary must be to gain the trust of the members. Not only did he understand that principle, but he was so focused on that activity that I failed at first to see the end result. In some beautiful way, he was not using the members to get referrals, but he was using his referrals to get closer to the members. Then, acting as their facilitator, he was able to get even closer to the members, gain their trust further, and reinforce them when they did missionary work. Members felt totally confident that this missionary knew what he was doing. I admired his integrity, his sincerity. He did the job right, and referrals came openly and frequently.

Even more amazing was his intuitive understanding of Australians, a people known for being frank and hardheaded. He knew which foods to compliment, remembered the names of children, and could converse intelligently on virtually any subject. His Italian investigators were even fascinated with the way he spoke their language. When someone showed an interest in a particular subject, he would often return days later suggesting a book to read. He loved to find the sources of quotations he heard from the pulpit. Later he would provide the speakers with background information without causing offense and without resembling the American know-it-all style that Aussies despised.

I lost touch with Steve for awhile after his mission. He may have never known that the Deninos, Aquilinas, and Tuccis are still active members of the Church. There is now an Italian ward in Reservoir, Australia, and its bishop is one of his converts.

I saw him again in Bountiful just before his marriage. He said he planned to attend J. Reuben Clark Law School. At the time I expressed interest in his copy of a reproduction of the first edition of the Book of Mormon. He presented it to me as a gift when I left. When I ran for city council in Napa, California, he surprised me with a large package that contained three new suits, complete with fine French shirts. How he knew my precise size and sleeve length I'll never know.

It was only after his death, reading newspaper reports, that I learned how he became a bishop when he was only twenty-seven, and what his ward members remembered. He had run barefoot through the snow to tell one couple that their adoption papers had been approved. Aged widows and single women in his Centerville 13th Ward fondly remember how each Christmas he took them out to dinner at a local restaurant. He shoveled snow from neighbors' sidewalks and he retained his special touch with children.

His last public address, "Pillars of My Faith," at the August Sunstone Symposium, was typical. While nearly 1,000 people in the Westin Hotel Utah's ballroom waited to hear about the controversial "White Salamander" letter which he had purchased from Mark Hofmann and presented to the Church, he didn't even mention it. Instead he brought thunderous laughter with his tales about life as bishop.

The last time I saw his face was on the 10 P.M. news in Denver, Colorado, 15 October 1985. Stunned, all I heard was ". . . Steven F. Christensen . . . bombing death . . ."

Now, a year from his death, I reflect back to this entry in his quotebook: "Death is the liberator of him whom freedom cannot release; the physician of him whom medicine cannot cure; the comforter of him whom time cannot console" (Charles Caleb Coltin).

Len Austin
Laramie, Wyoming

Sex and Spirituality

Reading "Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo" by Richard S. Van Wagoner, "Woman's Response to Plural Marriage" by Kahlile Mehr (Fall 1985), and "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904" by D. Michael Quinn (Spring 1985) has set me thinking about "the principle" and its founding revelation.

These three articles reconfirmed that there was a revelatory base supporting "the principle." Revelation spans a continuum from self-delusion to theophany. At both ends of this continuum, it seems to me, it is difficult to separate feelings of sexual ecstasy from feelings of spiritual ecstasy. It is, perhaps, the confusion of sexual and spiritual feelings that led to the restoration of "the principle" and its attendant problems.

Just before his death, John Taylor married a woman fifty-one years his junior. His motive was obviously not the comfort of companionship for him in his last days on earth, for he had other wives. His grandson Samuel W. Taylor records that he offered the young woman "a seat among the Gods," and this vision:

> In robes of bright seraphic light; and
> With thy God, eternal—onward goest, a
> Priestess and a Queen — reigning and ruling in
> The realm of light . . .
> Josephine, the cup's within thy reach; drink thou
> The vital balm and live (*The Kingdom or Nothing* [New York: Macmillan, 1976], p. 375).

Taylor here illustrates what I consider to be a spiritual crime: a man's placing himself between a woman and her God. Her total obedience to him becomes her only hope of true salvation, which consists of her becoming a priestess and queen to him, her God. I wonder how often this promise-threat of exaltation was used as persuasion?

This unrighteous dominion is based on D&C 132:63: "But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world, and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified." This revelation defies justice on a number of points, not the least of which is the notion that man is God's follower; woman is his tool.

How could such notions come from men whose spiritual credentials were unassailable? A look at the experiences of others who have had equally profound and, to my mind, equally genuine contacts with the Divine may give valuable clues. First, the mystic Mechtild of Magdeburg, who was shown "heavenly things" by God, describes the experience of her soul at the Court of God in these words: "My body is in long torment, my soul in high delight, for she has seen and embraced her Beloved. Through Him, alas for her! she suffers in torment. As He draws her to himself, she gives herself to him. She cannot hold back and so He takes her to Himself. . . . She is engulfed in glorious Trinity in high union. He gives her a brief respite that she may long for Him. . . . He looks at her and

draws her to Him with a greeting the body may not know" (quoted by Frances and Joseph Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980], pp. 86–87).

Another more symbolic account is that of St. Teresa of Avila, who saw "an angel in bodily form, . . . very beautiful . . . . In his hands I saw a great golden spear, and at the iron tip there appeared to be a point of fire. This he plunged into my heart several times so that it penetrated my entrails. When he pulled it out, I felt that he took them with it, and left me utterly consumed by the great love of God. The pain was so severe that it made me utter several moans. The sweetness caused by this intense pain is so extreme that one cannot possibly wish it to cease, nor is one's soul content then with anything but God" (Quoted by Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* [New York: Pocket Books, 1976], pp. 299–300).

R. C. Zaehner, professor of Eastern religions and ethics at the University of Oxford, observed that the "raptures of the theistic mystic are closely akin to the transports of sexual union. . . . The close parallel between the sexual act and the mystical union with God may seem blasphemous today. Yet the blasphemy is not in the comparison, but in the degrading of the one act of which man is capable that makes him like God both in the intensity of his union with his partner and in the fact that by this union he is a co-creator with God" (quoted by Geoffrey Parrinder, *Sex in the World's Religions* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1980], p. 218).

As I see it, Joseph Smith's spiritual experiences led him to enthrone the sex act as a point of similarity, not difference, between God and human beings. Aided by his visionary experiences, he instituted a marriage rite that celebrates the eternity and holiness of the sex act: those who endure to the end will be gods and thus enjoy the sexual privilege forever and ever.

It is difficult for me to see polygamy, however, as reflecting any view of women but that of the ancient nomadic tribes that are the source of the early Old Testament's patriarchal myths. The synthesis of that ancient tribal view, accepted at face value as God's word, and Joseph's understanding of the eternity of sexual union, created the paradox of polygamy: what was unacceptable to his cultural values was, nevertheless, from God and hence must be accepted.

As St. Teresa could not admit experiencing sexual union in the presence of God except as symbolized by an angel and a spear, so Joseph found himself confronted by an angel with a sword. He reluctantly obeyed at first but he seems to have pursued this "obedience" with increasing zeal and passion as time went on. One must wonder what effect the ever-expanding circle of sexual unions he experienced had on his spiritual life. These unions were clearly part of his pursuit of godliness, his sincere imitation of God as he perceived God to be, based on his interpretations of his own spiritual experiences and his literal acceptance of Old Testament themes and texts.

He probably also felt, as a god in embryo, that he was exalting all the women to whom he was "sealed." Just as John Taylor sincerely offered exaltation to his Josephine, so many others may have felt inspired to offer exaltation to the women who awakened their desires. I have no doubt that they really felt that the Spirit was moving them and that they spoke as prophet to their households, even when the object of their desire may have been their stepdaughters. But the core spiritual experience had an erotic origin. I question whether this core was ever adequately recognized, even though the revelation in Doctrine and Covenants 122:61 plainly suggests that "desire" and not revelation is the basis upon which the selection of a multiple wife is legitimately based ("if any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another. . . .").

It is my belief that polygamy represents a misreading of true spiritual experience and revelation. Its origin lies in a

mixture of doctrines and feelings of males (the Old Testament is itself such a mixture) with the things of heaven as revealed by God. Its continuance was fueled by the mixing of desire, however motivated, with awe for the revealed word of God and genuine mystic experience. It is difficult not to see such a system as victimizing women as a group.

The eternal marriage revelation is a fine representation of a fundamental truth revealed by the experience of unity with God. By contrast, even allowing that nineteenth-century expectations of marriage may differ from twentieth-century expectations, plural marriage seems remarkably suited to damage or destroy the very depth of unity and intimacy that simulates what is felt while in the holy presence. If the thrill of total union with another being, a type of the mystical experience of godliness, cannot readily be replicated, the substitute thrill of unions with a number of other beings may seem appealing, even though it cannot possibly have the same result.

How many modern Latter-day Saints have a burning testimony of "the principle"? Most probably stop at 132:20 in their reading of D&C 132, as did the Sunday school lesson manual this past year. Reading the remainder of D&C 132 may result in at least the possibility that men could again learn to view women and children as property whose numbers determine the extent of his wealth or status, as in ancient times. The modern version of this view, of course, is that multiple wives and many children would determine the extent of a man's dominions in the eternities.

I am led to conclude that Joseph was not a false prophet — he just made a terrible, but honest, mistake and put all his human strength into living up to, and teaching others to live up to, what he fiercely believed was his origin and destiny: divine polygamy. We need not throw out Joseph. We need not throw out all his revelatory and inspired writings. We only need to search the Spirit as Joseph did, throwing out (continually) that which does not reflect truth as more light and knowledge comes to us. As a Church and as individuals, we will slowly but surely approach the divine nature. The worship of ancient and nineteenth-century ideas and ideals disguised as revealed truth is a hindrance and a stumbling block to the spiritual progress of the Saints.

Polygyny and women's spiritual equality are not reconcilable. Many of us feel the Spirit saying that sexism is not of God, Mother is just as much God as Father, and in time that fact will be reflected in the structure of the Church.

Abraham Van Luik
Richland, Washington

Artistic Achievements

In "Prometheus Hobbled: The Intellectual in Mormondom" (Spring 1985), Stanley B. Kimball urges intellectuals to be more active in carrying out Spencer W. Kimball's earlier call (prod?) (*Ensign* 7 [July 1977]: 5) for Mormons working in the arts to develop a superior culture. The charge by both Kimballs is to use our own intellect and talents to the fullest in glorifying God. Stan Kimball asks, "Why has the Church officially failed to carry out President Kimball's challenge?" He also asks why our culture so willingly accepts mediocrity.

I have shared this viewpoint in the past as an active Church member, musician, and composer. While I'm reluctant to wear the mantle of an intellectual, I would like to add a few comments from my perspective.

First, from the standpoint of someone who has done a fair amount of composing on assignment for the Church, I've come to the conclusion that it is not the Church's business as an organization to provide artists in the Church with money and direct support. Even the Tabernacle Choir must pay its own way from recordings and other media revenues. I find that most Church-

commissioned works of art are for functional purposes such as paintings and illustrations for its magazines, paintings and murals for its buildings, statues for its temples, and music for special occasions. If the commission turns out to be a fine work of art, all the better.

In 1978–79, Lloyd Hanson, my principal lyric writer and librettist, and I received a substantial cash commission from the Church, along with nine or so other writing teams, to create a musical for the Church's 1980 sesquicentennial celebration. The parameters for the commission were quite clear. The work had to be performable both by large stakes in high-density Mormon population areas and by the smallest of branches in the far-flung corners of the Church. One work from those ten or more created would be selected. The work finally chosen, *Within These Walls*, was selected as much for its flexibility as for its artistic merits. The screening committee, the Council of the Twelve and First Presidency, reviewed each script and heard the recording of the songs. The nine musicals not selected, ours among them, were returned to us for our own use, no strings attached.

Speaking of musicals, the Church-owned Promised Valley Playhouse recently sponsored a Church-wide search for a quality musical on par with *Fiddler On the Roof*, with a substantial subsidy promised for its production. I received the impression that Playhouse personnel intended to see a Broadway-quality musical that met Church standards all the way to New York as a means of promoting the Church and its artistic efforts. No entries were awarded the prize. So they're still looking, and so is Broadway, as witness the dearth of successful new musicals, except for those by the British team of Rice and Webber and the forward-looking musical plays of Stephen Sondheim.

Fine, well-written musicals are as much the result of luck, accident, and timing as finding the highly specialized talents needed to write and rewrite them. Even Broadway notables like Richard Rodgers, Oscar Hammerstein, and Leonard Bernstein, to mention only a few, have bombs among their hits. Rodgers and Hammerstein spent virtually their entire adult lives writing Broadway musicals. Imagine how high their output would have been had they been bishops or stake presidents as well!

A second fact of life regarding Church-commissioned art is the frequent policy of commissioning nonmembers rather than members. I have heard anecdotes and second-hand reports that nonmembers are more detached from the work and, hence, more responsive if the official committee decides to alter or not use a given piece of work. In contrast, so go the anecdotes, some Church members who have been commissioned to create an artistic piece get "bent out of shape" over changes, and become bitter or critical. When I did some writing for the Mormon Youth Symphony and Chorus, one of my arrangements just didn't work out and remains still unperformed. I'm sorry about that, but I'll find another use for it or rewrite it so it will be better suited for performance. Any institution must reserve the right to use or not use works it commissions. The Church is no different. Perhaps the difficulty lies in confusing a business transaction with an inspired process. Inspiration may or may not occur for the artist in carrying out the commission. It may or may not occur for the members of the review committee. If it does, in either case, fine, but inspiration is a private process. The process of the commission itself is a public one.

The brightest star on the financial horizon for musicians in the Church is the recently established million-(plus) dollar Barlow Trust, administered by the BYU Music Department. The Barlow Foundation has already given hundreds of thousands of dollars to both Church composers and to non-member composers and orchestras. If the Barlow Foundation works as intended, this funding source seems to me to be one answer, and a major one at that, to the question of funding artistic ventures,

supporting those who are developing their skills, and funding performances and recordings of works composed under its sponsorship. Then there's the matter of talent.

One can commission all the music, paintings, literature, poetry, statuary one wants, but there's no way to legislate or order masterpieces. Look at the history of Western music. Broadly speaking, the Germans and Austrians dominated serious music writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Bach family, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, etc. The Polish-born Chopin, a few Russians (notably Tchaikovsky) and some opera-writing Italians like Verdi are welcome exceptions. England went three centuries—from Henry Purcell in the seventeenth century to the twentieth century's Edward Elgar, Ralph Vaughn-Williams, Benjamin Britten, and William Walton — between major composers. A curse? Not eating the right foods? Too many people digging coal? I don't know. But talent is not manufactured like a tweed coat. Financial encouragement can make the expression of talent possible but it cannot create it.

What about the frequent charge of mediocrity? Mediocrity, like the poor, will always be with us. But only because Church members allow it. I think the popularity of the recently created Nauvoo statues for the Women's Pavillion in Nauvoo, with their clarity and life-like nature, shows that people appreciate art they can understand. I do not consider these statues to be mediocre just because they are popular. It has been my experience that if real excellence is present in artistic works and presentations, people are moved and respond to that work of art.

But if these artistic creations aren't available or are not well-presented, then people look elsewhere. The current trend in some sacrament services to present thinly-veiled popular music with a quasi-religious text is very strong. Many members seem to understand and relate to this music. I maintain that if the serious musicians and lyricists of the Church will make the finest music they can, that trend could be reversed. Left to no choice other than that of secular-like music, the vote goes to the lone candidate for office. I fault the serious musicians in the Church for often putting their energies elsewhere. They are "at the top of the wrong ladder," as Elder Boyd K. Packer so aptly put it ("The Arts and the Spirit of the Lord," *Ensign* 6 (Aug. 1976): 60–65).

I do not condemn pop music. It's just pop music's mental and almost physical association with secularism that I object to. A current Salt Lake radio station that plays essentially LDS-composed pop tunes is doing a real service to Church popular song composers. That's where such songs belong for the mass media market. More power to them. But even these songs need to improve in quality and variety if such a station is to survive. One major complaint of listeners and disc jockeys at this station is the sameness of the songs.

I appreciate Stan Kimball's position, but I think he blames the wrong people. Fostering "pure" art is not the function of the administrative Church, in my view. Members of the Church will usually recognize excellence, praise it, and seek after it when it appears in their midst. I *do* blame the artistic community, myself included. We need to be a little more humble about our artistic capabilities and creations. I think we should ask ourselves, "How can I learn to be better?" "How can I learn to serve the Church and its people in a more excellent way?" We need to be more willing to inspire with excellence and simplicity. We need the craft and the training, *as well as the Spirit.* We need to have faith that the good, given time, will invariably drive out the mediocre. If we are unable to create that good, we deserve mediocrity and should stop complaining.

In some ways, I see the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, with its directors and organists, as a model. This group is unequaled for its repertoire and high level of achievement, yet it is essentially a service

group for hundreds of national and world gatherings in Salt Lake City and elsewhere. Jerold Ottley and his associates have premiered new works, mostly by LDS composers, on their weekly broadcasts for eleven years. An LDS hymn is featured in every broadcast, even though its doctrinal implications may be unfamiliar to some members of its national audience. I'm proud of the fine work done by the Tabernacle Choir, the Mormon Youth Symphony and Chorus, various choral and instrumental groups at Church schools, and my LDS composer colleagues. If we are successful in creating "Mormon art" in any way, it will be because some have the talent and gift to write, the training and background skills to go with the talent, and the worthiness to claim inspiration from the Spirit in their work.

A. Laurence Lyon
Monmouth, Oregon

P.S. Since writing this letter, a new calling has been added to those of ward choir director and stake high councilor: a call to serve on the General Church Music Committee. My assignment, interestingly enough, is to head the Compositional Projects subcommittee for the Church. In consultation with Michael Moody, Church Music Division head, I am responsible to assign projects needed for priesthood, auxiliary, and world Church needs. As we've just made our first batch of assignments, I find that we are calling upon writers of lyrics and composers of music who are:

1. Active, dedicated members of the Church, who, through previous Church service in the arts, have demonstrated a consistent and reliable talent for writing music or song lyrics of a caliber that elevate and communicate with most Church members;

2. Writers who have in one way or another developed their talents to a high level in special ways, usually through extensive formal training or practical experience in their chosen areas of expertise;

3. Humble enough to allow their works to pass the close scrutiny of the various Church committees that must approve such writings, even if this means possible change or alteration.

I'm impressed with the abundance of fine artistic talent in the Church now. Many long-lasting, worthwhile projects are under way through Church sponsorship as well as through the LDS commercial church music industry. And we shall create our share of artistic works, given time — works that will mute the critics of the Church effort in the arts, works that will be a lasting legacy for many throughout the world, both inside and outside the Church.

Smith's Scholarship

In my opinion, the letter of George D. Smith (Summer 1985) reflects a lack of understanding of the Book of Mormon.

Smith attempts to criticize John Sorenson's "limited region" theory that the vast majority of Book of Mormon events most likely transpired in Mesoamerica. Smith suggests that Book of Mormon events include all of North and South America.

In support of his arguments, Smith states that Sorenson's "theory violates Book of Mormon characterizations of Hebrew migrations into a land 'where there never had man been' (Eth. 2:5)." There are at least two errors in this claim. First, the Jaredites were probably not Hebrews, although they were possibly Semitic. Abraham appears to have been the first Hebrew (Gen. 14:13). Second, Smith has misread Ether 2:5. This verse states the Jaredites (while in the valley of Nimrod in the Old World) were commanded to continue their journey "into the wilderness, yea, into that quarter where there never had man been." Considering the probable setting of these events, it is highly likely the Jaredites indeed passed through uninhabited territories while in the "wilderness." Ether 2:7 makes

it clear, however, that the Lord would eventually lead the people out of the wilderness and "that they should come forth even unto the land of promise."

Incidently, Smith's interpretation of Ether 2:5 is also inconsistent with LDS beliefs that the Garden of Eden and Adam-ondi-Ahman were actually located in North America — "the cradle of nations" (James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1964, p. 474.)

Another of Smith's arguments is that "Lehite populations" eventually covered "the whole face of the land (Hel. 11:20)." Again Smith interpreted this verse to mean that Nephites-Lamanites covered the entire American continent, even though the verse only mentions the Nephites. A careful reading of the Book of Mormon does not support this view.

Helaman 11:20 mentions that Nephites covered "the whole face of the land both on the northward and on the southward." Alma 22:27–33 establishes that the "land on the northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful" and that these were rather limited geographical areas. Desolation had been earlier peopled by the Jaredites. Descriptions of Desolation refer to a specific region, "a land which was covered with dry bones; yea, a land which had been peopled and which had been destroyed; and they [a small band sent by King Limhi to find the land of Zarahemla], having supposed it to be the land of Zarahemla, returned to the land of Nephi" (Mosiah 21:26; 8:8–11).

These verses indicate that the land northward — Desolation — was mistaken for the land of Zarahemla; and that the search party later returned to the Land of Nephi. The Book of Mormon almost always uses the phrase, "land of," to refer to a specific country or region as in Ether 15:14 which states that just prior to the final Jaredite battles, four years were spent "gathering together the people, that they might get all who were upon the face of the land." This passage could not possibly mean all of America because these battles took place after the Nephite-Lamanites and "Mulekites" had already settled in Mesoamerica (Omni 15–21; Mosiah 25; Sidney B. Sperry, *Book of Mormon Chronology*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970, pp. 23, 27). Yet Ether's account of gathering all "who were upon the face of the land" fails to mention the existence of these other settlers. This fact further suggests at least the possibility of other groups in the Americas before, during, and after, Book of Mormon times. Book of Mormon "land of . . ." is consistent with that found in other Israelite records (Exod. 1:7 and El Amarna Letters #287 and 290).

Smith's claim that North and South American Indians are descendants of Mongol nomads who crossed the Bering Strait ignores the fact that most scholars now accept this theory as only a partial explanation for the origin of the Indians. Archeologist Nigel Davies, for instance, states that "American man is not a typical Mongol, and his skin is coppery rather than yellow; clearly his ancestors included men of other races, also present in east Asia; some of these were dark-skinned Negroids, while others were the fairer and more hairy Caucasoids" (*The Ancient Kingdoms of Mexico*, New York: Penguin Books, 1983, p. 13). The history of America includes a mixing of many nationalities, which may help to explain how the blood of Israel was spread among the American Indians by the Nephite-Lamanite-Mulekite civilizations (or remnant thereof) during a period of approximately 2400 years prior to publication of the Book of Mormon.

A further weakness in Smith's scholarship appeared in his previous essay in DIALOGUE (Summer 1984). His statement that "cimeters" were "Persian sabres from the 16–18th centuries A.D." (p. 96) is incorrect, since it is well recognized among military historians that cimeters were in use much earlier than Smith claims. For example, the Moslem cimeter became famous

during A.D. 1100–1300. However, even in this case, the significance of the Moslem cimeter lay more in the quality of metallurgy involved, than in any radical change of design (Trevor Dupuy, *The Evolution of Weapons and Warfare*, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1980, p. 65). My studies reveal that cimeter-type swords have probably existed since at least 2000 B.C. (A. Brent Merrill, "Swords and Cimeters in the Book of Mormon," unpublished, April 1985, pp. 6–7).

A. Brent Merrill
Woodbridge, Virginia

Not Terribly Meaningful

Included in Robert's assessment of the film, *The Godmakers* (Summer 1985), is a phrase popular among my LDS friends: "A prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as such." Now the obvious question would seem to be this: How is it demonstrated that Joseph Smith was acting as a prophet when he made this statement itself?

On the one hand, if the statement is accepted as unqualifiedly prophetic, then it must be explained why the entire source from which it is taken is not also completely inspired. Since the entire seven-volume *History of the Church* is not generally considered to be prophetic, then why is the one statement to which Roberts appeals lifted out and enshrined? Embarrassing statements attributed to Church prophets are found throughout the unofficial works which relate to the history of the Church, such as those dealing with the Adam-God doctrine, or with Quakeroids inhabiting the moon, for that matter. Yet these are dismissed as "unofficial" and thus lacking prophetic authority.

By what double standard is the slogan in question cited so authoritatively, when it also is taken from an admittedly unofficial and not unqualifiedly prophetic document? Therefore, if the statement is true, it at once falsifies itself (because it is not itself officially prophetic) and is thus self-defeating.

On the other hand, if the prophet was not acting as a prophet when he uttered the statement to which Roberts appeals, then it is at best mere speculation, and at worst just plain false. (Of course, even if it were somehow shown to be authoritatively true, it is conceivable that a future revelation might void it in any case, if monogamous Mormons and black priesthood holders are any indication.) I submit, therefore, that the oft-cited slogan suffers from an incurable case of self-referential incoherence, and so is not terribly meaningful.

Ron McCamy
Calabasas, California

Corruption in Culture

I was impressed by W. L. Williamson's declaration in his letter (Winter 1985) that if Joseph Smith's first vision did not really happen and if Joseph Smith did not in actual fact translate the Book of Mormon from Nephite plates, then Mormonism was just another human-made religion among myriads of others.

It is true that much in Mormonism, as in other religions, has evolved in the minds of human beings. The patterns of garments and the hours of church meetings are examples. However, I agree with Williamson that if the First Vision and the Book of Mormon are human inventions, it is futile to delude ourselves further. A human-made religion may give mortal comfort to its dupes, but it cannot manufacture eternal salvation or exaltation.

May I comment also on the articles pertaining to Mormons and Indians. None of them mentioned the fact that Mormon doctrine has always eschewed racism. 2 Nephi 26:33 was not added to the Book of Mormon in 1978. It has always said that God, "denieth none that come unto

him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile."

A case can be made from scriptures that certain people have been "chosen" from time to time, but clearly such choosing was based on goodness rather than on race, even as condemnation is based on conduct rather than blood. (See 1 Ne. 17:35; 2 Ne. 9:21; Jac. 2:21; Mosiah 23:7; Alma 3:19, 26:37)

The fear that we are destroying ancient cultures by intruding American ways into the gospel and attempting to lead people away from the beauty and strength of ancestral anchors is, in my opinion, somewhat overstated. Much of what passes for ancient culture and tradition opposes the standards of Christianity. After living eight years in the Pacific, I gave vent to my frustration with perversities embedded in island cultures and others after pondering D&C 93:36–40:

> The glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth. Light and truth forsake that evil one.
>
> Every spirit of man was innocent in the beginning; and God having redeemed man from the fall, men became again, in their infant state, innocent before God.
>
> And that wicked one cometh and taketh away light and truth, through disobedience, from the children of men, and because of the traditions of their fathers. But I have commanded you to bring up your children in light and truth.

TRADITION, THE DEVIL'S WAY

Tradition, they say, gives a land power,
And all men should honor glory's past hour;
Ashes of fathers, altars of gods,
Obedient dull daughters, sons, shallow clods;
Suttee in India, "Hail Mary" in Spain,
Tribe wars in New Guinea (no thought for the pain),
Cheeks pierced and dreary in the Hindu plan,
Blind hara kiri, banzai, in Japan;
Samoan tattooing, yagona in Fiji,
Soccer fans booing in old Italy;
Respect for the "queer," prostitution is fine;
Getting drunk on New Year, a tradition enshrined;
Hiding behind veils, self beating with chains;
Where ignorance prevails, men insult their brains;
Self-tortured with smoke and misused drugs,
They slither and poke like senseless sea slugs;
Child brides in Tulagi, beating wives in Cebu,
Minds addled and foggy, men try to "be true";
In glee Satan laughs; the world's at his feet;
In well-beaten paths, like sheep people bleat;
"Christians" too must obey, the blinder the better,
Despite divine plea to scorn the letter,
To think, and to use the eternal mind,
To avoid all abuse, not follow the blind;
Man's guide on life's road remains to obey,
But to obey God, not tradition's way;
With strong faith, strike out; dare bravely to think,
Knowing what you're about, not fearing to sink;
If grandpa did it, what was his intent?
Was he in a pit, or by custom bent?
A blow for freedom is a blow for truth,
But blind tradition is the Devil's booth;
His twin booth is license, or absence of shame
(Freedom and license are never the same);
Tradition is shoddy, a known road for slaves;
License is bawdy; it exploits and depraves;
Both are evil guides, destroyers of man,
The pathways of fools who fear thought and plan;
God's word is intact; His people are free,
To think and to act, to strive, and to be.

Wilford E. Smith
Provo, Utah

Painful Truth

I truly appreciate your efforts to publish on a regular consistent schedule. DIALOGUE articles are generally interesting and usually thought provoking.

The past few years have produced some tremendous research finds, breakthroughs and related insights into the creation of Mormon culture and myths. Surely such works do not come about without causing their authors personal anguish.

It hurts me to read some of these historical writings and analyses. I am unable to fit the pieces of the puzzle neatly together. I wonder what has happened and why. I wonder why some authorities silence good works and good people (whom I presume to be honestly interested in promoting greater understanding). I am sometimes able to reason out their intentions, but often they seem to lack validity.

Like so many others, I want the truth regardless of how it hurts. We are told that the truth shall set us free, but we are not always prepared for what it sets us free from.

Don Stout
Sacramento, California

Not Anti-Mormon

Michael Quinn's article on Mormon polygamy (Spring 1985) was one of the finest pieces of Mormon history writing ever to grace a journal. The letters to the editor, approving or critical, treated it as anti-Mormon. I'm glad DIALOGUE chose it for the 1984 Grand Prize.

It is one of the three most important pieces of Mormon history reinterpretation to appear in DIALOGUE — the other two being Klaus J. Hansen's essay on the kingdom of God (Summer–Autumn, 1968) and the Joseph Smith papyri materials (Autumn 1966). Hansen told us that Mormons were trying to set up their own country out west. The scrolls articles convinced us that Joseph Smith could not read Egyptian characters. And Quinn proved that Polygamous marriages continued to be approved by the Church for more than a decade after the Manifesto.

These positions are not anti-Mormon. They are now Mormon history.

But this is only the beginning of Mormon history revisionism. The three examples above were forced upon us by the discovery (or rediscovery) of new hard data, inconsistent with our prior positions. More significant will be the studies which come forth after we stop trying to read the present into the past — after we come to appreciate the differing climates of opinion of our past. For example, seventeenth-century New England Puritans were allowed to become members of the churches only *after* having first vision experiences similar to that of Joseph Smith's. I would suggest that the reason no completely satisfactory historical essay on the First Vision has yet appeared is that no author has taken cognizance of that fact.

Joseph H. Jeppson
Woodside, California

"I Am a Lamanite . . ."

I was impressed by your native American issue (Winter 1985). The Navajo blanket as a cover was clever, dignified, and meaningful. The articles on President Kimball were very relevant to his untiring effort to bless the Lamanites. England's piece inspired as he related his parents' devotion to the same cause. Whittaker's overview of the bibliographical field was excellent. Coate's contribution was informative though perhaps unnecessarily defensive. Birch's short history of the beginnings of Indian Placement was beautifully personal and dramatically simple.

Chief Dan George's plea for pluralism is sad, for he explicitly acknowledges the lack of an institutional base for Indian culture yet thinks that cultural survival is possible. His is the confused cry of the marginal man who, honest in his wishes, wants to build where there is no founda-

tion. Lacee Harris's voice, likewise, is the painful lament of those who can't, or won't, use the proven power of Mormonism to overcome cultural dislocation.

Hafen's painstaking musical ex post facto analysis of LDS hymns has the accuracy of hindsight. She judges song writers by taking them outside their context. What other culture or attitude can people manifest in their thinking or their writing except the one their own time-space permits? We know ox carts are slow but only because we know about airplanes. Hafen also protests that minorities are "defined by the dominant majority" (page 141). Hasn't this always been the case in pluralistic societies where, by definition, minorities lack social power to the extent that they reject assimilation?

However, though the quality of the articles was generally impressive, I felt some concern as several of the writers — without paternalism—suggested some ways to ameliorate the Lamanite tragedy. Whittaker's plea for cultural pluralism ignores the social fact that pluralism has always brought only conflict, confusion, and ambivalence and, in all known historical cases including Hawaii, has developed into either separatism or assimilation. No two social systems that come together ever enjoy equal social power. Eventually one is always rejected or absorbed by the other. Pluralism appears to be a cruel myth.

England, I believe with the best of intentions, suggests that no *racial* meaning be attached to the term Lamanite. It is true that the Book of Mormon's use of the term never had a racial connotation, for the concept is no older than about three hundred years. England is also correct in pointing out that the term *Lamanite* was simply a label for those who rebelled against Nephite society and culture, regardless of genealogy. During the time of transition there were good and evil Lamanites just as there are good and evil Americans now.

American, Jew, Roman, Lamanite, etc., do not, by themselves, endow a person with any type of character, dignity, or moral status. I am a Lamanite. I have never resented, nor do I now resent, the term. Those who do resent the label seem to be so few that nobody else should give it a second thought. Of the approximately 300 million Lamanites in the world (mostly south of the United States border) about 800 thousand know about the term but are so busy learning essential aspects of the Good News, that they aren't concerned with semantic explanations.

Moroni, a brother or cousin of some of my ancestors, said that the book he hid and later gave to Joseph Smith was written for me. He said that it was also for the Jews and Gentiles.

If I were a Jew or a Gentile I would feel grateful for that book. But as a Lamanite who could be descended from Sam, Jacob, Nephi, Lemuel, Mulek, or one of the sons of Ishmael, I feel not only very grateful, but highly honored, humbled, and often flabbergasted to realize that the Lord would keep for me a book that brings back to me the most important knowledge my fathers lost. Thus, the most important meaning *Lamanite* has for me is that it identifies me as one for whom the most perfect book in the world was written. The content of the book is far too important to my spiritual health for me to worry about an incidental and temporary aspect of my body.

My book tells me all I need to know to live a busy, productive, and abundant life. It tells me that I am a free agent, responsible for what happens to me, that there must be opposition in all things, that Adam fell that I might be and that I am so that I may have joy. My book also tells me that the work of the Savior and the work of Adam cannot be understood separately as the two events are parts of the same plan and these writings are to be a second witness of the mission of the Redeemer. My book gives me so much knowledge, hope, and understanding, that no other book gets me closer to God. It satisfies my soul and goes to the core of human needs.

If I were not a Lamanite, I could not call this my book. Being a Lamanite does not tell me that I am superior to others, nor, for that matter, that I am inferior. It simply tells me that I am a child of God and that Christ's redemptive mission was performed for me as for them. If I myself chose to come to earth as a Lamanite — which I think is likely — then I also knew I would face challenges that would temper my soul in my eternal quest.

All this I get from my book, and much more. There is so much there about the danger of pride, the beauty of repentance, the power of prayer, the certainty of eternity, and the unproductivity of evil that if anyone should ask me to consider the biological, psychological, anthropological, sociological, economic or political significance of the term Lamanite, I would probably say: Who cares?

Arturo De Hoyos
Provo, Utah

Former Editor Comments

[Robert A. Rees was editor of DIALOGUE from 1971 to 1976.]

While I applaud your effort to have a special issue of DIALOGUE devoted to native Americans (Winter 1985), I am somewhat disappointed in the results. When my staff and I first began planning such an issue nearly ten years ago, a paramount concern was to have it written and edited primarily by native Americans. In your issue, only three essays (George, Hafen, and Harris) are by native Americans, and George's was developed ten years ago. Only Lacee A. Harris's "To Be Native American — and Mormon" touches on the life of contemporary Mormon native Americans. As valuable as David Whittaker's historical and bibliographic introduction is, I question devoting thirty-four pages to it, as well as space to such subjects as captivity narratives, ghost dances, and Welsh Indians, when so many vital issues were left untouched.

When I first began exploring the idea of doing an issue on this subject, the native Americans with whom I spoke asked two things: that they be given the opportunity to speak for themselves and that DIALOGUE be willing to let them speak about the real issues. I will never forget what one of them said to me: "The whites are always speaking for us, and, because of that, many of us lack the confidence to speak for ourselves. I have yet to meet one of my Indian brothers or sisters who didn't feel inadequate when it came to expressing his or her feelings in writing."

There are many native Americans in the Church who still suffer from the effects of racism, who are affected by the misconception of the "Lamanite curse." Their pain is partly our responsibility. Our attempts to enculturate and assimilate them may be sincere but are often misguided. Generally we show little respect for the spiritual values of their native traditions.

Some years ago I had an Arapaho in my Cub Scout troop. A participant in the Placement Program, he seemed to be terribly *dis*placed. The streets of Los Angeles were strange and threatening to one who had spent his first nine years at the bottom of the Grand Canyon. He was not doing particularly well in school. One day when some of the other Scouts were teasing him about his ignorance of some anglo practice, I said, "Richard may not know as much about this as you do; but if I had to take a long trip through a wilderness area, Richard is the one I would ask to go with me, because he knows more about survival than all of us put together." At this point it occurred to me that if we were to have a Placement Program at all, it ought at least to be reciprocal: I considered that we should be sending our young people to the reservations where they could learn some of the values of native traditions, including a respect for nature and a sense of the sacredness of the earth that we have all but lost.

I remember another conversation in which a beautiful native American woman told of her despair at being confronted

with sentiment that someday she would become "white and delightsome." She said, "I like the way I look; I don't want to become white."

I was deeply touched by Gene England's personal essay "Lamanites and the Spirit of the Lord," and especially by his parents' consecration in relation to the descendants of Lehi. As he usually does, Gene cuts to the center of the issue, revealing truth and challenging our Christianity. We need to catch what he calls "the Spirit of Lehi" and in so doing to show abundant love to our native American brothers and sisters, to help bear their burdens so that they may be light.

I think DIALOGUE could play a special role in this work by publishing articles, essays, poems, interviews, and other expressions by native Americans and by continuing to explore the many issues, both historic and contemporary, of what it means to be native American and Mormon.

Robert A. Rees
Los Angeles, California

Unfair to Thatcher?

Recently a friend of mine sent me a copy of the article "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case" which appeared in DIALOGUE (Summer 1985).

Moses Thatcher was a younger brother of my grandfather John B. Thatcher, Sr., so I read Edward Leo Lyman's article about him with interest (Summer 1985). Some of the events and information were new.

I was disturbed, however, by inaccuracies. In the second sentence he refers to a race for the U.S. Senate. Senators were elected by legislatures, not by popular vote, until after the seventeenth amendment was ratified and added to the U.S. Constitution in April 1913. True, they sought the endorsement of members of the state legislatures, but that was quite a different process from "running" in the modern sense.

Another careless statement on the first page has Thatcher, after his 1879 ordination, enjoying the confidence of Brigham Young, who had died in 1877.

Undocumented subjective statements, even more serious, in my view, will be evident to any careful reader. An additional criticism is that the bibliography contains no titles written by Moses Thatcher, though several are available. Does this selectiveness reveal an author's bias?

Certainly the Bullion Beck mining stock dispute influenced Moses Thatcher's low opinion of George Q. Cannon and several of Cannon's close associates, and rightly so. Uncle Moses had documented evidence convincing his associates, members of his extended family, and many others that Cannon had cheated him. Lyman makes that point admirably clear. I doubt very much that the monetary loss disturbed Moses Thatcher, a very wealthy man, as much as the principle involved.

I am personally convinced that the principle causes of the alienation were different political philosophies about the role a church should play in politics. My conviction derives from many discussions with my mother, who was born in 1871 and who followed the controversy closely, and with some of my Thatcher relatives, as well as my reading of various publications, including articles by Moses Thatcher and this of Lyman's.

I applaud Lyman's documentation of the double standard of the Mormon hierarchy in encouraging one apostle (John Henry Smith) to take an active role in Republican partisan politics but silencing Thatcher. Is it any wonder that Thatcher protested? Is it any wonder I, and many others who were raised in the LDS Church, also protest when we see evidence of the same double standard today?

Lyman omits a significant reference on page 88 in discussing this bias. Thatcher had the endorsement for the U.S. Senate of a majority of the legislators before voting was scheduled to take place. This majority included both Republicans and

Democrats. When the First Presidency became aware of this fact, it urged Brigham Young, Jr., Heber J. Grant, and other "loyalists" to step up their lobbying efforts. I heard repeatedly over the years from my mother and her brother, Gilbert, that with pleas, threats, and outright coercion, they brought about the defeat by a mere three votes (32 to 29) of Moses Thatcher simply because he was a Democrat.

If Moses Thatcher was indeed alienated from his quorum, was it not for good cause?

John B. Edlefsen
Seattle, Washington

Lyman Responds

I am pleased to respond to the two letters commenting on my Moses Thatcher article (Summer 1985) — that by John Edlefsen in this issue and that of Maxwell Miller in the Summer 1986 issue. The 1895 Utah elections were unique: at least the Democratic convention, conforming to requests of several county conventions, did specify candidates for the U.S. Senate in case its party gained a majority in the first state legislature. Moses Thatcher and Joseph L. Rawlins campaigned actively, virtually as senatorial candidates, and despite the absence of the seventeenth amendment, voters understood the matter clearly.

Edlefsen's criticism of my statement concerning Thatcher and Brigham Young is absolutely correct. Earlier drafts of the paper detail instances when Moses Thatcher worked closely with President Young before he became an apostle. Unfortunately, this was overlooked as the paper was condensed for publication. Also eliminated were more extensive bibliography and footnote entries, including some of Thatcher's diaries, letters and scrapbooks, which did not focus on the crucial years my paper dealt with. Tragically, Thatcher's apparently excellent journals for this era were burned, reportedly by a family member. For this reason, not the bias of historians, Moses Thatcher's side of the story may never be accurately reconstructed.

This brings me to an important point concerning both letters. The purpose of my article, as the title clearly stated, was to detail the process through which a notably popular apostle alienated himself from his associates among the Church hierarchy over a long period of time. The wealth of documentary material available concerning the associates' perceptions and reactions to Thatcher's actions made such a study entirely feasible. Miller correctly states that "identification of fault seems largely beside the point. Perception of fault is much more crucial." The other General Authorities' changing attitudes toward Thatcher and the reasons for those changes were the focus of the study. Nothing more was possible.

Both Edlefsen and Miller criticize me for not writing what it was never my purpose to attempt. Admittedly, there is ample material available to write on the period after the alienation. But, except to briefly sketch activities after the final break with the quorum, that was not my purpose. I would agree with hindsight that more should have been said of the so-called "Political Manifesto," including its complete text, but the main point, properly made, was that by that time the alienation was complete, it really did not matter to the other brethren what Thatcher did to try to patch things up thereafter.

Fortunately, the long list of subjects I am accused of neglecting are not slighted in my book, just off the press, entitled *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 1986). The *Times* interview is discussed on pages 169–71; the Gardo House meeting (including the favorable reaction of such loyal Democrats and Thatcher supporters as James H. Moyle), on pages 164–65. An entire chapter (pp. 150–81) discusses the division of Church members among the national parties, the disharmony of Roberts and Penrose on pp. 208, 220, 261–63; and President Joseph

F. Smith's conference remarks, their background and results on pp. 269–72, 282–83.

In criticizing me for not letting Thatcher speak for himself, Miller raised the possibility that some journal entries from the Church brethren may have been self-justifying or revisionist when they were written. Long experience with primary source material has made me acutely aware of the self-serving nature of some documents. Ironically, such self-service is, in my opinion, most evident in the letters Thatcher wrote to Lorenzo Snow late in 1896, later released by Thatcher to be published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The patient and impressively fair-minded Snow, among others, quickly recognized that Thatcher was "playing to the gallery" to arouse public sympathy or support rather than sincerely attempting reconciliation with the Quorum of the Twelve. In many instances, Thatcher's recollection of events does not fit with the contemporary accounts of such observers as Heber J. Grant and Abraham H. Cannon, whose objectivity and accuracy have been clearly established. Thus, I would not have used Thatcher's statements from 1896 in his own defense even if that had been my purpose.

There is no question that, for whatever reasons, Thatcher was an outstanding advocate of separation of Church and state; and I probably should have given more attention to this. However, Miller's statement that Thatcher was influential in securing this provision in the Utah Constitution is untenable: he was absent all but one day of the two weeks when that portion of the state Bill of Rights was being discussed on the floor. Perhaps retaining the unfortunate story of Joseph F. Smith chastising Thatcher's bishop for praying for the dissident apostle's health would have shown in the extreme the hostility and unfairness toward him. As for the drug addiction, it is heavily documented as are admissions of such from friends and family, including Moses, Jr. — regardless of what he said later about fairness of his father's treatment by the Church leaders.

A large proportion of Edlefsen's and Miller's objections are more to the Church leaders of the time, their policies, decisions and practices than to my attempts to recount those instances in the context of the Thatcher case. The admittedly sad but important story needed further relevant sources brought forward and discussed to balance and supplement what Stanley Ivins and Calvin Reasoner had written. These new materials came mainly from within the Church hierarchy. Yet it was never my intention to defend the Church leaders nor to totally blame Thatcher. As I stated clearly enough, there was an abundance of poor judgment on all sides.

I set out to demonstrate that the Moses Thatcher conflict involved far more than simple politics. I also hoped to convey a considerable measure of the patience and compassion the General Authorities demonstrated toward Thatcher over the long term. Hopefully some of us can learn from the episode and from the dialogue/discussion it was bound to raise.

Edward Leo Lyman
Victorville, California

First Collection

Eugene England stated (Winter 1985, p. 197) that *Greening Wheat* in 1983 was the "first collection ever" of short Mormon fiction. However, *LDSF, Science Fiction by and for Mormons*, edited by Scott and Vicki Smith, was published in 1982.

Benjamin Urrutia
Pasadena, California

Unnecessary Polarization

Although I'm not sure I'd necessarily disagree with reader Richard D. Terry's view of Kent Robson (Winter 1984) as a Soviet apologist, I do have to wonder if the appropriate response was Terry's chauvinistic polarized response (Fall 1985). First, Terry makes a number of errors of fact:

1. "[Robson wrongly] leaves the impression that it is the United States . . . which is most likely to initiate a first strike." However, the United States government is on record (per Alexander Haig) as not having ruled out a "limited tactical nuclear response" to a conventional attack by Warsaw Pact forces in Western Europe.

2. "Historically, the U.S. has never attacked or started a war by surprise." This is not true; and in any case, most U.S. acts of aggression have been done without much advance warning. It's hard to keep the list short, but it includes the Indian wars of the nineteenth century; the invasion of Canada (Sandwich and Queenston Heights, Upper Canada), 1812; the invasion of Mexico, 1846; the overthrow of Hawaiian Queen Liliuokalani, 1893; sending the *Maine* to Havana, which started the Spanish-American War; the invasion of the Philippines, 1898; the creation of Panama by force in 1903, at the expense of Colombia; the military occupation of Nicaragua, 1912–34; the invasion of Cuba, 1961 ("the Bay of Pigs"); the invasion of the Dominican Republic, 1965; and the invasion of Grenada, 1983.

3. Terry attacks Robson's citation of the Swedish World Health Organization study predicting 1.1 billion deaths in a nuclear exchange by implying that there aren't that many people in the Northern Hemisphere. He is forgetting about the People's Republic of China, which occupies roughly the same latitudinal zone as the United States.

4. Terry calls the Afghanistan War an offensive action by the USSR, and while I think most readers would probably agree with that, would he be willing to have the same standards applied to Grenada? Let's not forget that the Afghan government of the day invited the Soviets into Afghanistan, too.

Second, I think we should resist such attempts to polarize us unnecessarily. The role of the United States is obviously central to LDS theology concerning political issues — it was the cradle of the restoration, the seat of Church government, and the primary example of liberal democratic government during the Enlightenment.

That the vast majority of Latter-day Saints disassociate themselves from the militarism and expansionism of the USSR goes without question, I should think; but I also think there's a point at which U.S. members of the Church must also feel morally obligated to exert a moderating influence on the tendency prevalent in their own country towards unwarranted aggressive militarism, as President Kimball did when he spoke out against the MX missiles.

As *non-U.S.* Americans, most Canadians do not feel this pressure to see the world in "Us vs. Them" terms. I daresay most Europeans, Asians, and residents of the southern hemisphere feel the same way. We see no contradiction between this attitude and a willingness to ally ourselves politically with the United States, in many cases. If there is at least one United States academic who has the courage to admit, in effect, that maybe the United States is straying from the spirit of the promise made to the latter-day inhabitants of the western hemisphere in Ether 2:9, and D&C 10:50–64, etc., it should be a sign of hope to all of us, not a target of contempt.

Marc Schindler
Gloucester, Ontario
Canada

Priesthood Confusion

I enjoyed the articles by Melodie Moench Charles, Linda King Newell, and Meg Wheatley-Pesci on the role of women in the Church and the question of women and priesthood (Fall 1985). The incidents of women exercising spiritual gifts, particularly by giving health blessings to both males and females who were sick are very interesting. But I chuckle a little as these writers bemoan the limits on women's ability to *do* things in the Church because of the lack of ordained female priesthood holders.

Certainly women feel constrained by the priesthood hierarchy, but so do men. And women could or should be priestesses and prophetesses in this life, here and now. They probably already are. But though the formal conferring of priesthood may give women more proper recognition, I challenge the idea that it would make women less constrained in what they can *do*.

Is it not intriguing that I, as a male, am required to have the priesthood to perform the following functions which women do with no priesthood requirement?

1. Represent the church in foreign lands as a missionary.
2. Preach and teach the gospel.
3. Receive temple endowments and administer temple ordinances.
4. Visit the homes of members, exhorting and admonishing them.
5. Heal the sick.

If those functions truly require priesthood, then the women of the Church have always had the priesthood; it's just that nobody bothered to say so.

In my opinion, women have more "freedom to do" than male priesthood bearers. They seem better able to do it for no other reason than the superiority of their ward organization and perhaps the motivation of status through achievement rather than titles.

Women have one organization in the ward responsible to one head who is responsible to the bishop. They form classes and committees drawn from the general pool of women in the ward. In contrast, men have three organizations in the ward—the high priests, seventies, and elders quorums — responsible to the stake, not the ward. Men are divided into quorums, not on the basis of the needs and resources of the ward, but on the basis of priesthood titles that may have been conferred many years ago for functions they have long ceased to fill. They form the same committees as the women, but they need three workers in each function for which the women provide one. Like pawns on a chess board, the men can never move backwards (from high priest to seventy to elder). The women, like the queen, can cycle freely in and out of groups according to the needs of the task.

I am confident that we barely know what the priesthood is. As a seventy and then as a high priest, I did considerable study into my callings and discovered that there has always been a wide divergence of opinion at all levels in the Church on what these offices mean. Efforts by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young to clarify priesthood roles seem to have established confusion which has persisted up to today.

Our affirmation of priesthood as a central feature of the restored church, combined with our limited understanding of it, has produced a general insecurity regarding its status and role. We have tried to enhance its prestige by overstating its role and exclusivity. We have been jealous of things that do not have central priesthood direction with immediate, hands-on control. We worry if the priesthood does not get the credit. We have the "priesthood scouting program," and the "priesthood athletic program," etc. For a time, only the deacons' president could be the senior patrol leader in Scouts, and only priesthood bearers could offer prayers in sacrament meetings. Wives may not accompany husbands on home-teaching visits because home teaching is a "priesthood function." "Men" seldom do anything in the Church; it's usually the "priesthood." Attempts to make the priesthood more important through unnecessary exclusiveness, centralization of somewhat trivial decisions, and over-use of the word demean it. If it is really so vulnerable, then it can't be very powerful.

If we look to the Lord as the ultimate model, we see a very different way of doing things. He does not treat us like puppets on strings, controlling our every move. For that we honor him as a God of liberty, personal agency, and unlimited individual potential. Attempts to confine the Lord's priesthood within a highly centralized, closely monitored, top-down bureaucratic

structure contributes to confusion regarding the function and role of priesthood and heightens women's anxiety about being left out of it. But until the Lord gives us a better understanding of priesthood, women of the Church may do well to avoid closer entanglements with a structure which would assuredly be more confining and restrictive than that which they now enjoy (or endure, as the case may be).

In contrast, if women are interested in titles and if it is important to them, there ought to be a way to include women. Certainly the Fall DIALOGUE suggests some basis, or perhaps even precedence, for doing so. But it would have a price. The titles and the roles don't always fit the circumstances, yet we must live by them. Once they become part of the priesthood structure they become almost irrevocable ("God is the same, yesterday, today. . . ."). Structure and proscription nudge out innovation and charity. Positions that seem full of power are agonizingly devoid of meaningful latitude, due not only to the highly bureaucratic nature of the hierarchy, but also the long-held traditions, and independent character of the people themselves — whether they hold priesthood or not.

Wheatley-Pesci expressed concern that the inclusion of women in the priesthood might lead to diminished status for priesthood. Diminished status, at least the kind we sometimes nurture, might be healthy. A few years ago, our ward was hurting for manpower. Someone proposed that the high priests, seventies, and elders meet together and consolidate resources. A number of the high priests were very receptive, but some were offended and indicated such action would decrease their activity. I subsequently dropped that suggestion in two or three other gatherings of high priests and observed a similar reaction. If this kind of divisive status were to decline with the ordaining of women to priesthood office, there may arise a more real and meaningful status that would bring us all closer to the kingdom.

The idea of a reawakening and reasserting of priesthood power among women of the Church is fascinating. Artificial restrictions and false exclusivity may have to be removed so that the women's vision of service is complete. But it is doubtful that adopting male organizational structure and titles as presently understood would be a positive move in that direction. No one, man or woman, with eyes fixed on titles, status, and the power to regulate other people's lives, can accomplish much in the Lord's *true* kingdom. Rather than advocating more priesthood for women, it might be healthier if we advocated less priesthood for all — that is, less priesthood as a restrictive, exclusive, controlling hierarchy. But priesthood as an enabling, loving, serving, blessing power should know no limits.

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AN INVITATION TO OUR READERS

DIALOGUE begins publishing its twentieth volume with the spring 1987 issue. No longer an adolescent periodical, DIALOGUE marks the accession to adulthood by inviting readers to reflect upon and interpret that past. Whether you've been a subscriber for the whole twenty years or for the past twenty months, what part has DIALOGUE played in your life? How has it made things easier? Harder? What do you see as DIALOGUE's future? Whether you have slaved away on the staff or been the only subscriber in your city, what memories do you cherish most?

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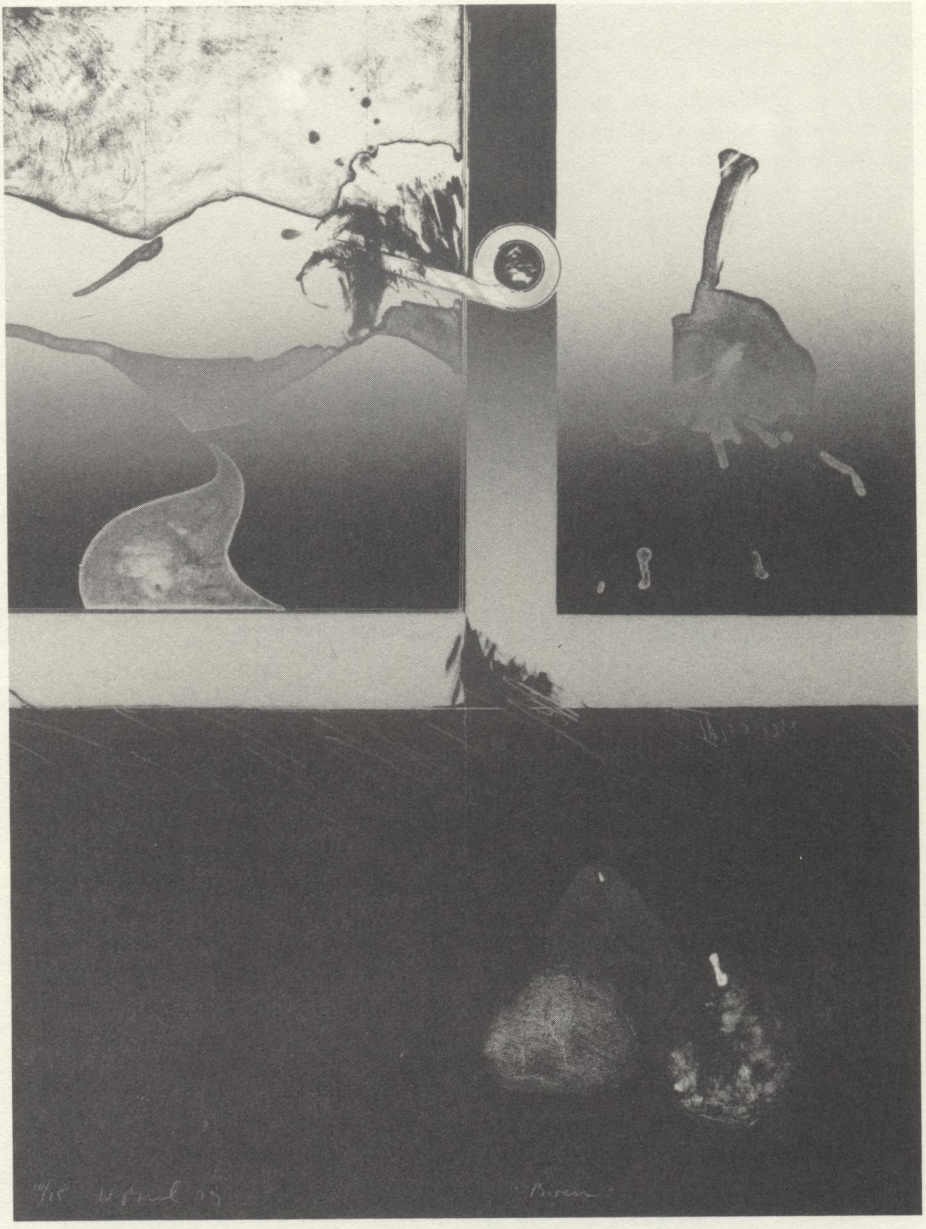

Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective

Thomas G. Alexander

SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO, Moses Rischin, Fulbright Professor of History at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, in a review essay first used the phrase, "the New Mormon History." By it, he meant to categorize the attraction of "an array of sophisticated scholars within and without the Mormon fold" to the study of the Mormon past. Those within the Mormon fold, he said, have combined a study of "the details of Mormon history and culture . . . in human or naturalistic terms . . . 'without thus rejecting the divinity of the Church's origin and work' " (1969, 49). I interpret Rischin to mean that scholars writing in this tradition have recognized both the human and divine side of Mormon history, and that both they and non-LDS writers in this tradition have considered both the secular and religious aspects of the Mormon experience without trying to explain away the latter.

As this loose coalition of scholars has continued to produce a body of work, two movements have grown up attacking the new history — not only the writing itself but also the premises underlying such history. One group, whom I might call traditionalists, seem most disturbed by what they erroneously perceive as an attempt to deny the religious aspect of Mormonism and what they rightly see as a retelling of the traditional story in different terms. In contrast, the second group of critics — let's call them secularists — find that New Mormon Historians fail to write adequate history because they accept in too great a degree the perception of actors in times past of their own motivation and actions on the one hand and because they seem unwilling to accept totally contextual interpretations of events in the Mormon past on the other.

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This paper will do five things: (1) Outline what I consider to be the major error of the traditionalists; (2) Review the criticism of the secularists; (3) Suggest what I consider to be a more useful way of examining the premises of the New Mormon History; (4) Examine the desirability of achieving what I call "balance" in writing history; and (5) Speculate on some possible reasons for the discomfort of both the traditionalist and the secularist critics.

TRADITIONALISTS

It seems clear to me that traditionalists have seen the New Mormon History as bad history, in part, because they have misclassified it with a number of suspect neighbors, whom they perceive — quite rightly in many cases — as deficient. A prominent proponent of this position is Louis C. Midgley, a political science professor at Brigham Young University, who has done much of his professional work on moral philosophy and Paul Tillich. In an unpublished paper which he circulated in about 1981, for instance, he classified the New Mormon History as "historicist." The historicist assumes, he wrote, "that all artifacts are necessarily determined and therefore can be explained by the events out of which they grew and also [that] any element of culture must be evaluated solely by reference to its degree of conformity to the dominant trends in the larger culture out of which it took its rise." Thus, in his view, a New Mormon Historian would assume that "Joseph Smith's teachings (that is, the substance of his prophetic revelations, the Book of Mormon and other ancient texts he provided) are solely the products of his times" (c1981, 9–10).[1]

Within a year or two, Midgley was joined in his concerns by David E. Bohn, a professor of political science at Brigham Young University, Neal W. Kramer, a graduate student in English language and literature at the University of Chicago, and Gary Novak, a graduate student at Columbia University. All four of them, publishing in Mormon periodicals or presenting papers at the Mormon History Association, have called the New Mormon Historians positivists.

In so doing, they have, in my opinion, fallen into what the British philosopher Gilbert Ryle called "a category-mistake," which he described as representing "the facts of mental life as if they belonged to one logical type or category (or range of types or categories), when they actually belong to another." These mistakes happen, as Ryle pointed out when "people who are perfectly competent to apply concepts, at least in the situations with which they are familiar," are "liable in their abstract thinking to allocate those concepts to logical types to which they do not belong." This almost invariably occurs because they are not sufficiently familiar with the subject matter under discussion" (1949, 16–18).

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[1] In another paper, delivered at the Western History Association conference in 1981, Midgley used the phrase "product-of-culture" in place of "product of his times" and characterized the New Mormon History as "The New Mormon Apologetics" saying that its authors purveyed "The New Chicago Argument" which he attributed to the work and influence of Martin Marty, a professor at the University of Chicago who delivered a Tanner lecture at one of the MHA annual meetings (1981, 1, 23–33).

Positivism is familiar to students as the school of thought promulgated initially by nineteenth-century French philosopher August Comte and continued in the nineteenth century by Hippolyte Taine and others and into the twentieth century by the Vienna Circle of Logical Positivists, which included such figures as Moritz Schlick and Rudolf Carnap. Positivism is a theory that theology and metaphysics are early and imperfect modes of knowledge. "Positive knowledge" can be based only on sense data and their properties and relations as verified by the empirical sciences, and all disciplines ought to be "scientific" in the sense in which the natural sciences would use that term. Comte explained: "The first characteristic of the Positive Philosophy is that it regards all phenomena as subjected to invariable natural *Laws*" and the duty of the researcher is "to ascertain what is the precise subject, and what the peculiar character of those laws [is]" (1959, 76–77).

Bohn provided a list of people he called "New Mormon Historians," who, he said, "mutually support the argument for a secular middle ground between the extremes of sectarian history," and in whose "language and method" he professed to have found "a broad but ill-defined sort of positivism." They have, he said, distanced themselves "from its more extreme manifestations," but they nevertheless "depend upon its vocabulary and fundamental categories to justify their method and thus their conclusions." Bohn defined the concept of "objectivity" as the historian's belief "that in some way he can escape from his own historical condition [to] . . . exist beyond time and space in some fourth dimension from which he can gaze upon the past." Unfortunately for his argument, he assumed that New Mormon Historians have this view point but supplied no evidence to support it. He then asserted that the New Mormon Historians "admit that objectivity is not possible but continue to offer it as a worthy ideal" and "even those who refuse to take a position [as positivists] still use methods, evolve categories, and develop explanations that presuppose objectivity. In addition, objectivist vocabulary is ubiquitous, lending a false sense of legitimacy and rigor to historical accounts" (1983, 27–28, 31).

By "objectivist" one must assume that he means the standard definition of the term which is the ability to view an object outside oneself without personal bias. This is how I interpret his comment about existing "beyond time and space in some fourth dimension from which . . . [the historian] can gaze upon the past objectively" (1983, 27).

His argument thus puts him in the rather unfortunate position of assuming that the New Mormon Historians are positivists who hold the ideal of objectivity as a positivist would define it. Then, in honesty, he had to admit that they themselves believe that objectivity is not possible — and hence that they cannot be positivists. Doggedly adhering to his thesis, however, Bohn still insisted that their statements and methodology can be interpreted as manifestations of positivism.

Kramer seems to share Bohn's assumption since he claims that the writings of New Mormon Historians are examples of "positivistic historical discourse."

Unlike Bohn, he did not identify the individuals of whom he spoke (1983, 16). Midgley and Novak in a joint paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in 1984 charged that "a crude Positivism . . . has long dominated the work of American historians" as a result of "the ideological indoctrination that goes on in graduate schools and in the professional setting in which historians operate." They linked these general comments about American historians to the New Mormon History by charging that "Mormon historians are quite frequently in thrall to various notions about the possibility of an 'objective history' that can be told by a neutral, detached historian." Like Bohn, they contradicted themselves by admitting that some New Mormon Historians believe such objectivity is not possible (1984, 25–26).

Nor do these critics define *secular*. Again, we must assume that they have used the normal meaning. The term comes from the Latin word *saecularis* meaning worldly or pagan and is defined as "of or relating to the worldly or temporal as distinguished from the spiritual or eternal: not sacred." In a thoroughly secular view, there can be no authentic religious experience, since everything must be interpreted in this-worldly terms. This definition is quite consistent with positivism, and Comte argued that the positivist necessarily rejected the idea of God. "In the final, the positive state," Comte wrote, "the mind has given over the vain search after Absolute notions" (1959, 75). Novak and Midgley seem to refer to this position when they say a "fundamental Positivist assumption" includes "a dogmatic rejection of the possibility that heavenly messengers may visit with the prophets" (1984, 30).

Bohn attempts to tie the New Mormon History into the positivist tradition by cataloguing the assumptions of the New Mormon History as "empiricism, biological determinism, and environmentalism," and asserting that New Mormon Historians use these interpretive devices "to provide causal explanations of human events" (1983, 28). He does not explain how something can be both biologically and environmentally determined.

His definition of causation seems unmistakably to be derived from the natural sciences, and he used the term *empiricism* in the logical positivistic sense, meaning direct sensory experience. In positivism, the only reliable measure of validity is secular personal experience. As twentieth-century logical positivist A. J. Ayer put it, "So long as the general structure of my sense-data conforms to the expectations that I derive from the memory of my past experience, I remain convinced that I am not living in a dream; and the longer the series of successful predictions is extended, the smaller becomes the probability that I am mistaken" (1958, 274).

Two years later, in defending his views against critics, especially Michael Walton and E. K. Hunt, neither of whom would ordinarily be considered a New Mormon Historian, Bohn alleged that "secular historians" — the term he used in his earlier article to categorize the New Mormon Historians — rule "out in advance the possibility of authentic moral choice and thus responsibility, making defensible moral judgements impossible" (1985, 2).

This statement, in my opinion, can only be characterized as irresponsible. Bohn cited, as an example, the Mountain Meadows Massacre. He claimed that historians who have written on the topic have done so "by recourse to a combination of psychological, sociological, and economic theories which understand such events as the necessary outcome of a chain of antecedent events" (1985, 3). It must have been unnerving to Bohn's readers to realize that his example demonstrates the exact opposite of the point he said it made. Juanita Brooks, in her classic interpretive history, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, clearly spelled out the responsibility of George A. Smith for "fanning a flame" of prejudice with inflammatory statements, found that John D. Lee was "guilty of participation," documented that Isaac C. Haight and the stake high council made the decision that the Fancher party "be 'done away with' " and summarized: "The final responsibility must rest squarely upon the Mormons, William H. Dame as commander [of the local militia unit], and those under him who helped form the policy and carry out the orders" (1962, 60, 61, 52–53, 95). Brooks definitely saw them as morally responsible individuals.

However, she also tried to understand what caused these people to bring themselves to such a heinous act, concluding that the massacre was "a classic study in mob psychology or the effects of war hysteria" (1962, 218). This may be what Bohn meant when he said historians try to provide causal explanations, but Brooks clearly drew the causes from the human studies, not from impersonal natural sciences. I consider this to be an excellent example of how Bohn's category mistake, based on an ideological presupposition, has led him to an incorrect conclusion.

In his 1983 paper, "No Higher Ground," Bohn, in an equally irresponsible and unsupportable statement, hypothesized that New Mormon Historians would "theorize that he [Joseph Smith] was an epileptic and that his visions were the inevitable hallucinatory properties of his seizures" (1983, 30). No New Mormon Historian has made such an argument. Quite the contrary, as will be shown below, they have accepted Joseph Smith's experiences as he reported them. In answering Bohn, Larry Foster, a Quaker who wrote one of the most important early studies of polygamy, pointed out that New Mormon Historians (among whom he would number himself since he is writing New Mormon History) take Joseph Smith's experiences very seriously indeed. They are, he said, "among the most powerful religious experiences on record" (1985, 3).

The confusion of readers in attempting to follow the arguments of traditionalists only reflects what I must consider to be confusion in traditionalist arguments themselves.

As another example of such confusion, since positivism is, by definition, an atheistic philosophy, Bohn apparently found it necessary to give that point special attention. After defining the New Mormon Historians' point of view as positivistic, he wrote: "I do not desire in any way to impugn their religious commitments, since many New Mormon Historians are faithful, practicing

members of the Church" (1983, 32n). He failed, however, to reveal how a person can be a "faithful, practicing member" and an atheist at the same time. In fact, there is considerable confusion in his views on this question, since other critics like Louis Midgley do question the faith of active church members, and Bohn has continually associated himself with Midgley's views (1981, 55).

SECULARISTS

In contrast to the traditionalists, the secularists have generally not fallen into the mistake of miscategorizing the New Mormon History. Klaus Hansen, a Latter-day Saint at Queens University in Ontario, who in 1984 produced the most thorough analysis of the new history from the secular position, has pointed out that New Mormon Historians have not questioned the faith claims of Latter-day Saints. Instead, citing my 1978 article as a model, he argued that it involves trying "to understand experiences in the way in which the actors themselves understood them; the analysis, while rigorous, must judge the participants by their own standards." Thus, Hansen continued, the New Mormon Historians have agreed "with William James that 'the attempt to demonstrate by purely intellectual processes the truth of the deliverances of direct religious experiences is absolutely hopeless.' . . . We can understand Joseph Smith only if we can get inside him, so to speak, and experience what he experienced" (1984, 136–37).

As another example, Mario S. DePillis, a non-LDS historian at the University of Massachusetts who authored "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," wrote a review of Richard L. Bushman's prize-winning study, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (1984). Questioning Bushman's unwillingness to provide naturalistic explanations for Joseph Smith's theophanies, DePillis argued that "any historian who rejects the historicity and supernaturalism of Mormon religion, or of any other religion, is compelled to emphasize Joseph Smith as just another product of local historical conditions" (1985, 293).

A rather predictable area of confusion has undoubtedly developed because some critics like Michael T. Walton and E. K. Hunt who have responded to the traditionalists have actually produced arguments that support the views of the secularists rather than those of the New Mormon Historians. Bohn correctly pointed out that Walton's and Hunt's arguments support a completely secular view of history (1985, 2–3). Walton, for instance, argued that "academic history cannot consider God as a causal factor" (1983, 2). Hunt, on the other hand, assumed that the New Mormon Historians use exclusively secular categories, and wondered "how . . . [they] integrate these religious tenets into their secular theories and assessments of facts." He suggested that "religious experiences . . . cannot be described or communicated in the same manner as ordinary experience that can be apprehended with the senses and intellect and that we generally refer to as objective," and that they must be interpreted as "metaphorical communications" (1983, 5–6).

Classifying the New Mormon History

If the traditionalists are in error in calling the New Mormon History positivic and the secularists are equally in error in attempting to move it more toward positivism, what is a more useful category within which to discuss it? To some extent, the discussion which follows is primarily of interest to scholars for whom the differences between various authors' philosophies would have visible repercussions in how a work would be written. However, it is also important to everyone who reads Mormon history since it attempts to make clearer what the new history tries to do and does not try to do.

It is my belief that most New Mormon Historians, although they differ considerably in their views, would perceive their work as a part of the human studies rather than as part of the natural sciences under which positivism would fall. Furthermore, I believe that the New Mormon History is an aspect of the historicist tradition within the human studies. This tradition developed initially out of German romanticism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Its principal early proponents were historians like Wilhelm von Humboldt, Leopold von Ranke, and Johann Gustav Droysen, writers like Johann Wolfgang Goethe, and theologians and philosophers like Friedrich Schleiermacher (Iggers, 1983; Meinecke, 1972). Thus, it is quite different from the "historicism" of which Midgley accuses the New Mormon History which is a definition of the genetic fallacy. As he uses the term, historicism simply means that a phenomenon can be explained away by reference to its origin, as, for example, Fawn Brodie's argument that the parallels between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* are too striking to be mere coincidence (Brodie, 47).[2]

It is important to emphasize the relationship between the origins of historicism and romanticism. For romanticists as for historicists, "understanding requires an element of intuition (Ahnung)." Both were, in part, at least a rejection of the extremes of the Enlightenment which sought an exclusively "rational understanding of human reality." Romanticism and its creature historicism, recognizing "the emotional qualities of all human behavior," sought "to develop a logic that takes into account the irrational aspects of human life. The same deep faith in the ultimate unity of life in God, which marks the political and ethical thought of historicism, also marks its theory of knowledge" (Iggers, 1983, 10).

In the mid-nineteenth century, positivists attempted to recast historicism by forcing the combination of the natural sciences and human studies. Recog-

[2] Reese 1980, 225. A third type of history that the New Mormon History is *not* is the type of historical determinism labeled "historicism" by Karl R. Popper (1966, 1957) and C. S. Lewis (1977), who attacked it as a deterministic or mechanistic approach to history. In this school of historical thought, scholars claim to have reached the exactness of the natural sciences, thus enabling them to predict events with their models as biologists, for instance, can predict the offspring of plants by knowing their genetic code. Examples of this type of historicism in action include Karl Marx (1932), the author of the Communist *Manifesto* and *Capital*, Giambattista Vico (1968), the eighteenth century Italian author of *The New History*, and Saint Augustine (1950).

nizing that this did considerable violence to the study of history, by the late nineteenth century, a group of European historians and philosophers sought to recapture the earlier tradition by rejecting the positivistic program. They did this in part by reasserting a definition of historicism as the study of the products of the minds of others within the field of the human studies "which moulds subject-matter . . . quite differently from that of scientific knowledge" (Dilthey 1976, 175).[3] The principal proponents of this point of view during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were scholars like Germans Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber, Italian Benedetto Croce, and Briton Robin G. Collingwood. (See the bibliography for representative works.) In the early to mid-twentieth century, the school of thought influenced scholars like Friedrich Meinecke, Jose Ortega y Gasset, Carl L. Becker, Charles A. Beard, Herbert Butterfield, Marc Bloch, Isaiah Berlin, and Emilio Betti. More recently, it has played an important part in the thought of the Americans Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., and Hayden White, and the Frenchman Michel Foucault. All of these historians and philosophers have recognized to one degree or another that history could not be and should not seek to be objective in the sense of the positivistic natural sciences and that the study of products of the human mind required creative imagination and intuition for their interpretation.

Hans Meyerhoff, German-born University of California philosophy professor, provided a useful description of the aims of this type of historicism:

> It is the historian's aim, to portray the bewildering, unsystematic variety of historical forms — people, nations, cultures, customs, institutions, songs, myths, and thoughts — in their unique, living expressions and in the process of continuous growth and transformation. This aim is not unlike the artist's . . . . Thus the special quality of history does not consist in the statement of general laws or principles, but in the grasp, so far as possible, of the infinite variety of particular historical forms immersed in the passage of time. The meaning of history does not lie hidden in some universal structure, whether deterministic or teleological, but in the multiplicity of individual manifestations at different ages and in different cultures. All of them are unique and equally significant strands in the tapestry of history; all of them, in Ranke's famous phrase, are "immediate to God" (1959, 10).

In a similar vein, the late-nineteenth century German philosopher Wilhelm Windelband characterized the natural sciences as *nomothetic* (seeking to find general laws) while the human studies are *ideographic* (seeking to understand the unique) (Reese 1980, 629–30; Berkhofer 1971, 245–51; White 1973, 381–82).

Windelband is not, of course, strictly correct. Certainly the historicist makes generalizations and comparisons. Such generalizations are, however, devices to assist in understanding, not attempts to make law-like statements. It is a truism among historians that "all generalizations are false, including this one." Alexis de Tocqueville, the nineteenth-century French historian, writing

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[3] Of course, I am creating an ideal type in this essay and the actual works of Mormon Historians will undoubtedly differ from it. However, I believe that the type I have outlined here is generally correct.

in the spirit of his contemporary, historicist Ranke, argued the necessity for generalizations when he wrote:

> God does not have to think at all in general terms about mankind. He sees with a single glance and separately all the creatures who compose humanity, and He understands in each of them the similarities that bring them together and the differences that leave them isolated from one another.
>
> God does not have the need for general ideas; that is to say, He never feels the necessity of including together under the same form a great number of analogous objects in order that He may think about them more easily.
>
> For man it is completely otherwise. If the human intellect were to attempt to examine and judge all the particular cases that demand attention, it would soon become lost in the midst of the immensity of details and it would no longer understand anything. In this extreme situation man has recourse to an imperfect but necessary action that helps him in his weakness but which gives further proof of his limitations (in Gargen 1963, 332).

Thus, the historicist perceives what have been variously called generalizations, models, hypotheses, and paradigms as aids in *understanding* rather than as tools in *predicting*. Such generalizations and models are also not "truth" in any absolute sense of that term. In attempting to explain this functional difference between the historicist's attempt to understand and the positivist's attempt to predict, Dale H. Porter, a contemporary American historian, has called such generalizations "normative hypotheses" which derive "from concrete experience." They are not "deterministic" but rather "anticipate some contrast between possibility and actuality, and allow the historian to investigate the uniqueness of events" through the comparative approach. They may identify patterns of behavior that seem strange today but "make perfectly good sense [in the culture and] from the point of view of the historical subject" (1981, 37–38). An example from Mormon history would be perhaps the use of magic to try to find buried treasure in Joseph Smith's time.

Max Weber conceived of certain comparative generalizations, such as the concepts of charisma and bureaucracy as ideal types. For Weber as for others in the historicist school, the goal of the human studies was to understand and interpret the subjective states of mind of human beings (1964, 87–104). I cannot completely accept Weber's views since they have been interpreted, perhaps erroneously, to mean that an ideal type like bureaucracy was value free. In fact, these types are, of course, value-laden simply by the fact of being selected while other candidates are rejected. Berkhofer proposed a related model which argued that we need to understand a culture through the viewpoint of the people of the past who experienced that culture (1971, esp. Chs. 6 and 7).

In a sense, Weber's view is the comparative side of the analytical model proposed by Berkhofer in his argument for the necessity of understanding a culture through the viewpoint of the actor in past times. Where Weber might have looked for similar examples of charismatic experiences in different cultures at different times, Berkhofer would undoubtedly expect the historian to

concentrate on understanding the experience of a single charismatic figure in a particular time.

No one has, to my knowledge, seriously denied that historians need to understand a historical figure's subjective states of mind to understand how the figure related to the culture in which he or she lived. The works of the New Mormon Historians thus include discussions of past cultural conditions. Why would a discussion of the national temperance movement during the decade that produced the Word of Wisdom be seen as evidence of genetic fallacy (or of environmental or biological determinism) rather than as responsible and necessary statements of the context in which a set of events took place? (Allen and Leonard 1976, 95; Shipps 1981). Far from undermining faith, intelligent description and analysis of historical contexts may actually strengthen it by adding greater clarity and understanding. Two additional examples are a discussion of communitarian ideas and settlements in the consideration of the United Order and an analysis of vernacular magic in interpreting Joseph Smith's experiences (Arrington, Fox, and May 1976, 18–19; Hill 1972, 74, 76–68; Bushman 1984, 7, 69–76).

It is true that in some cases such contextual discussion has led to the genetic fallacy. An example is the assumption of Fawn Brodie, who was not a New Mormon Historian, about the connection between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon. The way of avoiding the genetic fallacy is for the historian to demonstrate convincing causal connections between the thought of historical personages and their cultural surroundings (Alexander 1978, 17).

Unfortunately, critics of the New Mormon History like David Bohn do not seem to understand that terms like *causal* and *causation* have different meanings in the human studies than in the natural sciences. As Collingwood pointed out in considering these differences, "Instead of conceiving the event as an action and attempting to rediscover the thought of its agent, penetrating from the outside of the event to its inside, the [natural] scientist goes beyond the event, observes its relation to others, and thus brings it under a general formula or law of nature." For the historicist, however, "the cause of the event . . . means the thought in the mind of the person by whose agency the event came about: and this is not something other than the event, it is the inside of the event itself" (1956, 214–15).

The protection against the genetic fallacy is, then, to show that the ideas from the context were also present in the products of the minds of historical figures. Thus, it would be necessary to show not just that there was a temperance movement in the United States but that Mormons in the nineteenth century were interested in temperance for whatever reasons. During the period shortly before the arrival of the railroad, for instance, Leonard Arrington has shown that temperance and the Word of Wisdom were preached as a means of reducing outflows of money which might otherwise be used to help bring the poor to Zion (1958, 250).

Because of the potential problems with the genetic fallacy, I believe Dilthey was only partly right when he wrote, "The interpreter who follows conscien-

tiously the train of thought of the author will have to bring many elements to consciousness which could remain unconscious in the latter — he will thereby understand him better than he had understood himself" (in Bleicher 1980, 15).

In my view, this assumption needs to be seriously qualified. Since historians must understand the context they will inevitably bring such elements into consciousness. Still, they can legitimately use as evidence of motivation only those elements that they can actually show were present in the thought of historical figures. After all, a particular historical figure may not have known about a particular cultural element, may have disagreed with it, or may have interpreted it much differently than the present-day historian. For example, during the 1860s there was a tendency on the part of Mormon leaders to interpret the Civil War as the result of God's judgments on the people of the United States. At the same time, Abraham Lincoln viewed it as a war which was necessary to preserve the Union, Alexander Stephens saw it as a war to preserve states' rights, and Ulysses S. Grant saw it as caused by slavery. Most historians today would find the three factors that Lincoln, Stephens, and Grant saw in the war, but few if any would interpret it as God's judgment on the people of the United States. In understanding the Mormon response to the Civil War, it is crucial to see that latter condition.

There are two additional limitations on Dilthey's calm faith that a historian can know a historical figure (or any other person, for that matter) better than that person knew himself or herself. Freud observed cogently that when writing about the particularly gruesome historical experience of galley slaves in antiquity, peasants in the Thirty Years' War, victims of the Inquisition, or Jews awaiting a pogrom that it is "impossible for us to feel ourselves into the position of these people, to imagine the differences which would be brought about by constitutional obtuseness of feeling, gradual stupefaction, cessation of all anticipation, and by all the grosser and more subtle ways in which insensibility to both pleasurable and painful sensations can be induced" (1958, 32).

A second problem is that evidence of either cultural thought or personal belief may not be available. Bohn was absolutely right when he pointed out that the available documents from the past are fragmentary and selective at best. Historians recognized this long before he called it to their attention. At times the historian may try to fill in by speculations on the basis of information from the context or from social scientific theory (Berkhofer 1971, 21, 265). The narrative produced by this technique is speculative, however, and should be both acknowledged as such by the author and judged as such by the reader.

It is also important to differentiate between context and evidence. Context is a reconstruction of the social patterns, climate, and characteristics of a given time and place; but the only valid historical evidence is the product of the mind or minds of an individual or group of individuals — such as their journals, letters, buildings, furniture, or art. I would be the first to admit that we have not always been careful to observe this distinction, but it should nevertheless be our ideal. The collective state of mind revealed by statistics can constitute valid evidence, but such evidence consists of the combined views of in-

dividuals or the perception of that collective state as formulated by the statistician. Statistical patterns and statistical probabilities are not natural laws. Moreover, such evidence is empirical, not in the sense of the natural sciences, but in the sense of the human studies since it is verified from the products of the minds of individuals treated collectively (Croce 1920, 13; Dilthey 1976, 21, 186–90).

Thus, when historicists use the language of verification or speak of causation, they mean that they can find the ideas they cite in the products of the minds of the people about whom they are writing. They do not mean that their "evidence" or "causal factors" conform to some general law or that some sort of determinism is present. This is so, since as Croce put it, "the reality of history lies in . . . verifiability [through documents], and the narrative in which it is given concrete form is historical narrative only in so far as it is a *critical exposition* of the document." His definition of *document*, identical to the use of *text* in hermeneutics, includes any product of the human mind including artifacts like paintings, chairs, or buildings (1960, 14).

What constitutes evidence? How does — or should — a historian construct generalizations to account for their evidence? Certainly, the criteria for including evidence are, by their nature, subjective. It is done on the basis of those matters the historians believe are relevant to their subject. Historians will naturally seek to answer those questions most important to them and those who share their world view. As Croce put it, "Every true history is contemporary history," since it addresses those questions most important to the historian and the historian's immediate audience (1960, 12).

However, this inevitable subjectivity does not mean that one historical narrative is as good as another despite the good intentions of the author. Critics and ordinary readers both accept only narratives that include evidence that we perceive as relevant and that try to answer questions important to us. Narratives that sidestep evidence or that fail to address questions important to us today are rightly judged deficient. For example, a discussion of the life of Joseph Smith without a consideration of his participation in vernacular magic or the discord that the introduction of plural marriage brought into his family life would give as false an impression as the failure to consider his first vision or the Book of Mormon.

At the same time, the historicist is aware, as Thomas Kuhn has pointed out, that no generalization (he uses *paradigm*) can include all evidence (1970, 110). One might generalize, for instance, that Brigham Young's work as a colonizer was extremely successful in spite of failures like the iron mission, the lead mission, the sugar factory, and the various United Orders. In the historian's judgment, the establishment of hundreds of towns, farms, and businesses by people under his direction may be enough to outweigh those failures.

BALANCE IN WRITING HISTORY

Perhaps the weakest portion of David Bohn's critique of the New Mormon History is his discussion of objectivity. The position he defends is crucial for his

argument since, in order to establish that historians are positivists, he must show that they believe in objectivity as defined by the positivistic natural sciences. It is this requirement, I believe, that produced his unsupported assertion that historians believe they can stand "beyond time and space in some fourth dimension from which . . . [they] can gaze upon the past objectively" (1983, 27).

Nowhere does he misrepresent more obviously the views of historians in general and the New Mormon Historians in particular than in this argument. In an August 1982 interview to the *Seventh East Press*, he said that he planned to "argue that objectivity is impossible, especially in writing history. 'It's amusing to hear talk about the "real Mormon history," ' he is quoted as saying 'as if we were omniscient.' " In response, I wrote a letter to the editor indicating that Bohn's comment "strikes me as amusing. Anyone familiar with the literature would recognize that this question has been debated *ad nauseum* within the historical profession at least since Charles A. Beard's American Historical Association presidential address in 1933 in which Beard argued that objectivity was impossible. . . . I suspect that Bohn will be hard pressed to find a single historian practicing today who believes that objectivity is possible in any absolute sense." (1982, 9) In spite of what I thought was a rather clear statement of my views, he included my name in the list of those who believe in and practice objectivist and positivistic history (Bohn 1983, 27). He buttressed his argument further by selective quotations from historians like James Clayton, dean of the Graduate School at the University of Utah. "Clayton," Bohn said, "celebrates the New Mormon Historians in their belief that 'religious history . . . should be neutral . . . objective . . . and concerned with [the] consequences for . . . accumulations of wisdom.' He sees historians as 'objective and scholarly advocates of the truth . . . who respect objectivity more than orthodoxy' " (Bohn 1983, 27).

What Bohn failed to report is that in the same article Clayton denied that the historian's understanding of "objectivity" was anything like the positivist's. "I am not suggesting that historians should not have a point of view or that they can ever achieve total objectivity," Clayton wrote. "I am saying that the goal of any historian is to get as close an approximation of what actually happened as is humanly possible, even if that approximation does violence to his or her own most cherished religious values, and that understanding, not advocacy, is the *sine qua non* of good historical scholarship" (1982, 34). Although Clayton and I would probably not agree on everything, we are in accord when it comes to believing that positivistic objectivity is impossible.

Later in his article, Bohn apparently tried to cover himself. "The New Mormon Historians might well respond that no reputable historians believe it is possible to be objective and therefore the arguments made in this paper attack a straw man." Still, he asserted, "They admit that objectivity is not possible but continue to offer it as a worthy ideal. Even those who refuse to take a position still use methods, evolve categories, and develop explanations that presuppose objectivity. In addition, objectivist vocabulary is ubiquitous,

lending a false sense of legitimacy and rigor to historical accounts" (Bohn, 1983, 31).

In fact, I doubt that any of the historians Bohn named hold anything like the views he attributed to them. He made his case only by the selective citing of quotations out of context, the misrepresentation of their views, and the mistaken transportation of words and phrases drawn from the human studies into the positivistic context.

In fairness, I must be the first to acknowledge that historians have created some of their own difficulties. To many people, objectivity implies absolute detachment. In my opinion, such detachment is both impossible and undesirable. It is impossible because all individuals carry a set of cultural baggage which inevitably colors their perspective. It is undesirable since, if historians are to understand the experiences and motivation of actors in times past, they must exercise creative imagination and intuition. This is, however, not an original insight. Historians since at least the time of Humboldt and Ranke have recognized it (Iggers, 1983, 10).

Nevertheless, for the historian, the word *objective* has a rather precise meaning derived from the thought of Immanuel Kant. He used *objective* to mean that which is outside the individual and *subjective* to mean that which is within (in Reese 1980, 398–99). Collingwood and Dilthey use *objectivity* as a synonym for personal knowledge of the mental products of others, since for them, historians can understand the experiences of historical people only by recreating them in their own minds (Collingwood 1956, 218; Dilthey 1976, 183). They both call such products — concepts, letters, furniture, etc. — "objectifications," indicating that such concepts are the products of the mind of others and as objects have an existence outside the mind of the historian.

In their standard text on historical methodology, Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff reinforce this human-studies definition by arguing that "*an objective judgment is one made by testing in all ways possible one's subjective impression, so as to arrive at a knowledge of objects*" (1977, 140; italics in the original). The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur wrote that in "its strict epistemological sense: the objective is what thought has worked out, put into order, understood, and what it can thus make understood." Drawing from historicist Marc Bloch, he makes a special point that the term, as used by historians, "does not mean the objectivity of physics or biology" (1965, 21).

We may say that one of the strongest influences on the historicist conception of objectivity has been the humane tradition known in German thought as *Bildung*. Although this word is frequently translated as "culture," it means both more and less than our word — rather like what we mean when we say someone is cultivated or liberally educated. One of the ideals of *Bildung* in the humane tradition, as Hans-Georg Gadamer put it, is going "beyond what man knows and experiences immediately. It consists in learning to allow what is different from oneself and to find universal viewpoints from which one can grasp the thing 'the objective thing in its freedom,' without selfish interest" (1982, 14). I know of no historicist who believes that objectivity is anything

more than a sympathetic attempt to understand objects outside his or her own mind, including the ideas of others.

Nevertheless, since the term "objectivity" has become so weighted with the positivistic connotation of full detachment, my own feeling — as I have indicated to students in my classes in historical methodology over twenty years of teaching — is that it should be abandoned. In its place, I prefer to use *balance*, by which I mean a judicious and intuitive weighing of the products of the minds of people in times past to come to reasonable interpretations of their thought.

Dealing with God in History

What role do moral values and a belief in God and his dealings with humankind play? It is clear that some historians, including some of the New Mormon Historians — in the search for objectivity — have tried to detach their personal religious and moral views from their writing. For example, Marvin Hill tried to do this in his critique of Fawn Brodie (1972, 72–73). Melvin T. Smith, director of the Idaho State Historical Society and a past president of the Mormon History Association, cited his own personal/professional dilemma and argued for "the desensitizing of 'faithful history' . . . [through the] recognition that history as a discipline is a finite study of finite human beings" (1984, 1).

Not all historicists would agree. Some like Herbert Butterfield, for instance, have argued that God has played a discernable role in history and that historians can include His acts as part of their interpretation (1977, 200–201). Others like Friedrich Meinecke and Isaiah Berlin believe that the historian must make moral judgments (Meinecke 1973, 268–88; Berlin 1954, 30–53).

In my view, historical personages who make statements of moral values or report dealings with God supply evidence that historians must treat just as they would any other evidence. For example, when historians read Joseph Smith's reports of a visitation from God and Jesus Christ, they must ask whether he is generally a credible witness and whether his actions after the event are consistent with that revelation. In practice, interpreting such an event is not different than interpreting any event for which the reporter is the only observer.

In general, I would say that most New Mormon Historians have dealt with moral values and religious experience in just that way. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton point out:

> The tools of secular scholarship are crude and inadequate instruments for measuring mystical theophanies, which for believers mean the excited discovery (as the Quaker mystic Rufus Jones expressed it) that 'God is a living, revealing, communicating God — the Great I Am, not a great He Was.' *What the historian can do is to analyze as fairly as possible Joseph Smith's own account of his experiences* (1979, 4; italics added).

They then report and interpret the products of Joseph Smith's mind — written accounts of his First Vision — with comparative statements to try to help both the Mormon and non-Mormon reader to understand them.

In my own work I have reported, summarized, and interpreted Wilford Woodruff's ideas and experiences, some of which might seem quite unusual to twentieth-century Americans. In his conversion, he " 'felt the Spirit of God to bear witness that . . . [missionary Zera Pulsipher] was the servant of God, and that the message was true.' " Likewise, his Kirtland experiences "included visitations by heavenly beings, speaking in tongues, receiving washings and anointings, formal blessing in which the power to heal the sick and other gifts were given to him, manifestations of clouds of blood and fire, and the overcoming of the power of Satan." In Zion's Camp, "Joseph Smith addressed them 'in the name of the Lord . . . and often while addressing the camp he was clothed upon with much of the Spirit of God.' " (Alexander 1976, 58, 60, 62). I used models from the social and behavioral sciences and religious studies to interpret the events; but nowhere in that essay do I imply that the experiences were purely naturalistic, false, or inauthentic, mere psychological projections, the results of biological or environmental determinism, or anything but the memory of the people who reported them. Above all, since those who experienced them did not consider them metaphorical, I have no right to do so.

But Arrington, Bitton, and I are believing, practicing Mormons. How have non-Mormons dealt with Mormon religious experience? Most recently, Jan Shipps, in considering Joseph Smith's experiences reported them as authentic examples of his religious convictions and interpreted them using models from religious studies:

> Fixed in time and place in Smith's canonized account as having been manifested in a grove of trees on the family farm on the morning of a beautiful clear day in the spring of 1820, this theophany answered the lad's question about which of the "sects" were right and which were wrong. When the two personages appeared to him in that "pillar of light," they told him he must not join any of the existing denominations for they were all wrong, an injunction that kept him from becoming a Presbyterian and, as it turned out, moved him closer to the position on religion taken by his father (1985, 9).

She has made it clear that she is a practicing Methodist and does not accept the faith-claims of the Latter-day Saints, but her narrative was written in a spirit of understanding. The experiences were not explained away as naturalistic events, psychological projections, cultural determinism, or metaphors. Larry Foster maintains a similar position about the use of religious experiences among historians from different personal faiths (1985, 3–4).

None of these scholars, naturally, have produced narratives that tell the story exactly as Joseph Smith or Wilford Woodruff would have described it to their contemporaries. This is because historicists have a dual task: to interpret what was in the minds of historical persons and to answer the questions they perceive as most relevant to their contemporaries. The authors have also drawn on a wide range of models from religious studies and the social and behavioral sciences to produce their narratives. Nevertheless, in the most profound sense, the New Mormon Historians recognize no sacred-secular dichotomy and thus they melt the barrier between the two categories. This becomes particularly

clear in those cases like the Kirtland Temple experience when the evidence historians must interpret includes reports of experiences with both secular matters (one person speaking to and touching another) and with the Infinite (Christ appearing to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery).

In short, the New Mormon History has not produced secular or naturalistic historical narratives in the usual meaning of those terms. Still, these narratives — grounded in the humane tradition and the human studies — interpret both religious and temporal experiences, and address questions raised by people in our time and culture.

Why the Critical Attack of the Traditionalists?

Thus, the attempt of the traditionalists to decry the New Mormon History as positivistic is a singular misinterpretation. These critics have failed almost completely to understand the educational background, intellectual antecedents, and point of view of the historians they criticize. A basic reason seems to be, as Ryle suggested, that they are unfamiliar with both the field of historical methodology and with the assumptions underpinning the work of the New Mormon Historians. It may be that because of their own prejudices, they were unwilling or unable to ask the questions, either of the works or of the historians whom they knew personally, that would have accurately revealed the real assumptions and perspectives of the historians they have tried to critique. A particularly odd characteristic, it seems to me, is that the works they have cited in an attempt to explain the points of view of the New Mormon Historians indicate a major interest in the philosophy of science and in phenomenological hermeneutics, not in historical methodology.[4]

A second area in which Bohn, Novak, and Midgley seem uninformed about historical matters lies in their characterizations of historians. Midgley and Novak have written that graduate education in history has indoctrinated students with an ideological inclination toward "a crude Positivism" (1984, 25–26). Bohn claimed that historians have learned a "broad but ill-defined sort of positivism" (1983, 28).

I offer in refutation my own experience. What they describe simply does not reflect my own training nor that of other historians I know. I left graduate school believing that scientific history in anything approaching the positivistic

[4] Bohn (1983, 32 n23) mentions Collingwood's name, but he seems unfamiliar with the extent of his influence in the historical profession. Collingwood's *The Idea of History* has been widely circulated in hardback and paperback editions and is undoubtedly one of the best known and most influential texts on historiography from a historicist point of view in the English language. Novak and Midgley (1984, 31, n57) cite Dominick LaCapra, a historian at Cornell University who himself wrote an approving essay on Hayden White, a professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz (1983, 72–83). Their use of LaCapra is puzzling. They write almost as if they do not understand that both LaCapra and White are American historians. Furthermore, neither Bohn, nor Novak and Midgley seem familiar with the historiographical writings of Carl Becker (1935) or Charles Beard (1934, 1935), who probably had the most profound impact on my generation of historians, because they both rejected the possibility of objectivity in the positivistic sense. It is particularly fitting that LaCapra should teach at Cornell, where Becker taught for so many years.

sense was both impossible and absurd. If I had to describe myself I would say that I was then and remain most in sympathy with the relativistic historicism of Beard and Becker than the positivism of the British historian Henry Thomas Buckle or the Frenchman Numa Denis Fustel De Coulanges. I believed that objectivity was impossible since all historians must continue to look with their eyes, interpret with their brains, and understand from the context of their own experience. I was quite convinced that determinist models tended to be overly simplistic. More than twenty years as a professional historian have only confirmed these convictions.

Bohn seems to have begun with the theory that he was dealing with positivism or something close to it based on assumptions from the natural sciences. Following his own view that "theory and related hypotheses . . . guide him [he says the historian, but it can as well apply to himself] in interpreting and selectively organizing its content, . . . [and] in sorting out relevant facts and fitting them together into a coherent response," he extracted or manufactured only evidence confirming his views (1983, 29).

In some cases, he left contradictory evidence out of consideration. For instance, he cited James Clayton as believing in the objectivity of the positivist. In reality, as I read Clayton, he meant the objectivity of the human studies.

As another example, to make his evidence fit his theory he has cited passages in the opposite sense of their actual meaning. For example, he cited my 1978 article on the historiographical treatments of Joseph Smith as arguing that "causal connections" should be understood in the positivistic sense. In actual fact, what I said and meant was that historians must find "causal connections" in the sense Collingwood used the term, that is, the thought in the mind of the actor by whose agency an event was accomplished (Bohn 1983, 28; Alexander 1978, 17).

He has also been guilty of manufacturing examples from his own imagination. In his 1983 article, for instance, he assumed that the New Mormon Historians would propose an interpretation of Joseph Smith's experiences as products of psychological abnormalities when none has done so (1983, 31). In his answer to his critics in 1985, he ignored New Mormon Historian Juanita Brooks's clear assignment of personal moral responsibility to the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and asserted instead that New Mormon Historians would use "naturalistic" approaches that rule "out in advance the possibility of authentic choice and thus responsibility, making defensible moral judgments impossible" (1985, 3).

In what seems to be a display of scholarly discourtesy, without citing any evidence from Larry Foster's writings, Bohn virtually accused him of lying. Earlier, Foster had criticized Bohn by insisting that "certainly not all academic historical writing is biased against taking religious movements seriously on their own terms. I have repeatedly encountered writers who assume that certain religious claims are so obviously untrue that they do not merit serious investigation. Such a narrow-minded viewpoint is not held either by myself or by leading Latter-day Saint historians of my acquaintance" (1983, 4). Bohn re-

sponded that "Foster's talk about taking Mormon claims seriously and not drawing premature conclusions is mere pretense." This response may have come because accepting the validity of Foster's insistence on the reality of religious experience would also have meant admitting that the New Mormon History was not a secular phenomenon which uses positivistic methodology to interpret everything in naturalistic categories (1985, 3).

The tone of Louis Midgley's writings indicates that he thinks he is dealing with the work of anti-Mormons. Using the polemical tools of *ad hominem* and misrepresentation in a paper attacking Marvin and Donna Hill, for instance, he called Marvin Hill "Brodie's New Replacement." In a paragraph in which he gave no names but was presumably writing about New Mormon Historians like Marvin Hill (since Fawn Brodie about whom he was also writing was not a member of the Church at the time), he said that "by acting like enemies to the Saints, by behaving like base traitors, Cultural Mormons have striven, in the most extreme cases, to provide the necessary ground for the rejection of the restoration and the community it has generated as well as a rationalization for their own disloyalty to that community" (c1981, 3–4).

In another paper, he referred to such work as "the New Mormon Apology" which, he says "if taken seriously by the Saints [is in fact] destructive of faith." He also asserts that the historians who have written it have been guilty of "more than a little bad faith (that is, self-deception) and even, perhaps, some blatant hypocrisy" (1981, 33, 54–55).

Violating the canons of ordinary academic discourse, Novak and Midgley actually went so far as to place quotation marks around a phrase not found in my article on Wilford Woodruff. They call it "seemingly amenable to explanation in 'naturalistic terms' " making it appear that the phrase "naturalistic terms" is mine. It is, in fact, their own view. Like Bohn, Midgley insisted that the assumptions underpinning the New Mormon History are "naturalistic," a view he has pushed most recently in his "Marshalling the Forces: The New Uncertain Sound" (c1985, 8), a critique of L. Jackson Newell's "An Echo from the Foothills: To Marshal the Forces of Reason," since published in the spring 1986 number of DIALOGUE. I trust that it is not necessary to review the reasons why *naturalistic* is so drastically misapplied, since, as a critique for those historians who are willing to accept the Latter-day Saints on their own terms, the phrase is obviously inappropriate.

Neal Kramer's criticism seems to be that of a graduate student who has read a smattering from recent criticism but who is largely unfamiliar with the cultural attitudes or with the development of the historiography he purported to discuss. He cited Leopold von Ranke, for instance, a deeply religious and believing Christian who often saw God's hand in history, as someone who had "relegated" God "to the realms of superstition." He cited Hayden White's *Metahistory* approvingly in a footnote, but he obviously did not understand White's point of view, or he would not favor the epic history written of the Mormon past since, as White has shown, there can be no real change in essence over time in that form (Kramer 1983, 15, 17; White 1973, 54).

Furthermore, while these traditionalists have insisted that they would like to carry on a dialogue with the New Mormon Historians, their actions belie their assertions. They accuse the New Mormon Historians of disloyalty to the Church and steadfastly refuse to discuss the actual views of those they criticize. They insist instead on critiquing their own paraphrases, quotations out of context, and misrepresentations.

It is this refusal of the traditionalists to give any credence to the historians' explanation of their own work which is most frustrating to me personally and professionally. I find it difficult to explain in any way except as sheer arrogance. Instead of recognizing that the New Mormon Historians use both secular and religious categories in their interpretations, these critics focus only on the secular and naturalistic, then accuse the historians of ignoring the religious or of redefining "religious experience . . . as the psychology of religious experience" (Bohn, 1985, 2).[5]

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[5] In what can only be seen as intentional misrepresentation and obtuseness, Louis Midgley, in his response to L. Jackson Newell, raised the issue of censorship. "When my colleague David Bohn tried to publish a little essay dealing with methodological problems in the New Mormon History, every effort was made to censor that essay and prevent its publication. And efforts were made to emasculate it during the editorial process. And even after it appeared in print one frantic scholar made a terrible fuss because his name appeared in a footnote" (Midgley, c1985, 8).

What actually happened is that David Bohn shared an early draft of his paper with me in which he misrepresented Larry Foster's point of view quite badly. I sent him a copy of my lengthy critique which I also furnished to Peggy Fletcher at *Sunstone*. I did not ask her not to publish the article, but my critique made it quite clear how badly mistaken Bohn was.

At the presidential reception at the next Mormon History Association meeting Midgley told me that Bohn had been asked to recast the article and to include my name in it as someone who agreed with the views he had attributed to Foster. Thus, the editorial work Bohn was asked to do actually enlarged upon his charges rather than emasculating his views. At that reception, I asked Peggy Fletcher about the matter and when she indicated that my name and those of others were indeed included, I told her quite forcefully that, in that case, Bohn had badly misrepresented my views as well as those of Foster. Later, when the article appeared, I told Peggy that I was enormously offended because Bohn had not only misrepresented my views generally in his article, but had quoted from my article on Joseph Smith (Alexander 1978, 17), misrepresenting my argument by citing it in exactly the opposite sense of its clear meaning (Bohn 1983, 28).

Midgley seems to believe that the practice of his group in misrepresenting the views of others is a proper exercise of scholarly prerogative and that complaints by those whose views are misrepresented are illegitimate.

This cry of censorship as a smokescreen to cover misrepresentation has appeared from the traditionalists in other contexts as well. Following the 1984 Mormon History Association meeting Gary Novak wrote a letter to the editor of the *MHA Newsletter* charging that an unwritten rule of the MHA was "that non-Mormons and anti-Mormons are permitted to attack the very foundations of the faith while Mormon believers are not expected or allowed to reply" (1984, 5). In fact, as a member of the program committee for that meeting, I can attest that Novak, Midgley, and others representing the traditionalists presented their views in papers at the meeting and were not censored as Novak alleged. What the program committee actually did (something of which I am certainly not proud) was to reject the proposals of several people like Tony Hutchinson, who have been critical of some aspects of the Mormon experience, since some committee members were afraid the papers would be too inflammatory for BYU audiences.

In addition, even after Midgley had circulated his attack on Marvin Hill (c1981) I made the mistake of believing — on the representations of Assistant Dean Ted J. Warner — that Midgley could present his views without making personal attacks on people with whom

Most important, perhaps, the traditionalists could have learned something from Hans-Georg Gadamer with whom at least three of them are familiar. His views reinforce my belief that critics — or historians — can never really understand the thought of someone else unless they are willing to give it a sympathetic reading in the spirit of balance necessary for the human studies. As Gadamer put it, "A person who is trying to understand a text has also to keep something at a distance, namely everything that suggests itself, on the basis of his own prejudices, as the meaning expected, as soon as it is rejected by the sense of the text itself" (1982, 422). Because the traditionalists have violated this basic principle of scholarship, I find virtually nothing of value in their critique of my work or the work of other New Mormon Historians. They have almost completely failed to understand the views of those they have attacked. They have incorrectly identified the basic assumptions of the New Mormon Historians by placing them in categories such as positivism, naturalism, secularism, and determinism. They have not refrained from personal attacks by insinuating or stating that the New Mormon Historians who are Latter-day Saints are enemies of the Church who deny the reality of religious experience.

Let me be the first to admit that I may have misunderstood the intentions of the traditionalists. In the spirit of Gadamer and Ryle, I recognize that every author and critic must understand that the meaning of words and phrases is not absolute. The cultural conditions and assumptions of those who use words invest them with particular meaning. Understanding particular discourses or texts comes only after understanding the cultural context and intellectual world of the people who use them. Perhaps the New Mormon Historians and the traditionalists do not share much of the same worldview. If this is so, it is imperative that we begin building bridges, rather than hurling weightier missiles. This cannot be done, however, until the traditionalists begin to accept the New Mormon Historians' interpretation of their own work.

The Critique of the Secularists

In contrast, I have found it much easier to discuss points of agreement and disagreement with the secularists. I have genuine respect for the writings and integrity of Klaus Hansen and Mario DePillis. Moreover, DePillis, whom I have known for nearly a quarter of a century, is a scholar and a Christian

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he disagreed. For that reason, I lobbied with a member of the program committee of the Western History Association to ask them to allow him to make his presentation at the annual meeting in San Antonio. At the time, I believed it was possible if he presented his views in a rational form to carry on a dialogue about his differences with the New Mormon Historians. I was badly embarrassed since he presented a paper consisting largely of what I could consider only name-calling and misrepresentation.

In other words, far from being censored the traditionalists have had ample opportunity to present their views, and have used those occasions to misrepresent quite shamefully the views of those with whom they disagree. In the process, I have been personally embarrassed at least four times by actions of members of their group because I assume that they understand the simple scholarly conventions of challenging and debating issues on which they disagree.

gentleman in the deepest sense of those terms. Their understanding of the work of the New Mormon Historians tends to be generally accurate; and while they disagree with the assumptions underpinning it, they do not misrepresent the works. Hansen would like the New Mormon Historians to examine the truth claims of the LDS leaders and people in secular terms while New Mormon Historians prefer to report and interpret those claims as valid representations to the extent that they are internally consistent. DePillis has called for an examination of the development of Mormonism in terms of Joseph Smith's nineteenth-century culture. I would find this approach too limited. While context is important in studying ideas, the major problem with focusing on it exclusively is that it denies the possibility of genuine individual creativity or inspiration — a break with the culture.

CONCLUSION

In my view, the religious history written by the New Mormon Historians passes safely between the Scylla of exclusively secular categories of interpretation and the Charybdis of uncritical "faith promoting" accounts of the Mormon past. This method requires the historian to interpret God and his actions but does so through the perceptions of human beings who have religious experiences.

I do not know if the traditionalists hope to see the cessation of the New Mormon History. If this is their hope, it will be disappointed. For my part, I do not expect the end of either the new history or the resulting controversy, in part because the track record of the traditionalists gives me little reason to believe that they will not continue to misrepresent the views of the New Mormon Historians.

Nor do I expect to see New Mormon History itself become a historical artifact. Drawing upon both the spiritual and temporal experiences of the Mormon people and melting the boundaries between sacred and secular, New Mormon Historians will continue to write narratives and interpretations which help both faithful Latter-day Saints and interested and informed non-Mormons understand Mormonism. The role of critics in maintaining high quality work is one that I invite and welcome. What I call for is a cessation to tactics that not only violate the canons of scholarly discourse but also the spirit of truth-seeking and fairness that should characterize all disciples of the Master we jointly profess to serve.

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Serving or Converting? A Panel

To Serve, Then Teach

Lowell L. Bennion

I WOULD LIKE TO TRY to lay a religious foundation for the point of view I am going to take regarding serving or converting. I see five basic dimensions to being religious. Some people feel religious because of what they know; they are theologians or scriptorians or experts in Church history. Others feel religious because of the beliefs that are peculiar to their particular faith. A third type of religious feeling comes from participation in the Church, in its ordinances and rituals, in corporate worship, church activity, teaching, proselyting, things of that kind. In fact, LDS people are prone to identify and equate church life with the religious life. The fourth way of experiencing religious feeling is by our personal relationship with deity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And the fifth dimension is what I call our relationship to our fellow man and to ourselves — morality, if you will — personal and social morality. These five ways of being religious are, I think, valid and meaningful and can be supportive of one another. But none of them has any meaning unless it is accompanied by justice and mercy in human relationships.

You don't truly know religion if you don't know the writing prophets of the Old Testament: Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. They were great thinkers and expounders of the religious life. They reject every expression of religion if it is not accompanied by justice and mercy in human relationships. Let me give a few illustrations. Amos was the first of these writing prophets. He lived about 750 B.C. in Northern Israel. He said (and he had the audacity to speak for God):

> I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.
>
> Though ye offer me burnt offerings . . . , I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.
>
> Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.

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> But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream (Amos 5:21–24).

In the next chapter Amos said,

> Woe to them that are at ease in Zion . . . . That lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall [the very best of meat, if you will];
>
> That chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of musick, like David;
>
> That drink wine in bowls [not in cocktail glasses, but in bowls], and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph [they are not grieved for the afflictions of their fellow beings, fellow Israelites] (Amos 6:1, 4–6).

One of the great chapters in prophetic literature is Isaiah 1. If you will read that at your leisure, you will get the whole gamut of prophetic feeling at its best. Isaiah, in a powerful statement, rejected the religious life of ancient Israel and Judah. In place of burnt offerings, songs, prayers, and holy days, Israel was told to: "Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (Isaiah 1:17).

The prophet Micah summarized great religion in these beautiful words:

> Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old?
>
> Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
>
> He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God? (Micah 6:6–8)

Jesus, consistent with the prophetic emphasis, said: "By this shall all men know my disciples, that ye have love one for another" (John 13:35). His last words to Peter after the resurrection were "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs, feed my sheep" (John 21:15–17). And, of course, you all know Paul's eulogy on love: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity (love), I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal" (1 Cor. 13:1).

I find in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants the same essential emphasis on mercy and compassion for fellow human beings. In Doctrine and Covenants 52:40 we read, "And remember in all things the poor and the needy, the sick and the afflicted, for he that doeth not these things, the same is not my disciple." I sit up when I read that and wonder if I am a disciple.

What are the implications of this emphasis in both the prophetic work and the New Testament? I would restate the title of our panel and instead of saying "Go Ye Into All the World: To Convert or To Serve?" I would say "Go Ye Into All the World: To Serve and to Convert." I don't know why we have to make a choice between those two.

The heart of our Christian faith is to love God by loving our neighbor. I am concerned that we don't balance and back up our proselyting efforts with a

greater emphasis on service, both in word and in deed, within the Church and in society at large. For example, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of elderly people, mostly women, in the Salt Lake valley living below the federal poverty level of $600 per month. Many of these people are without spouse or children, facing the disabilities of old age and death alone. They need their yards cleaned, their houses repaired and painted. They need, above all, to know that somebody cares. We meet hundreds of elderly people in the Salt Lake valley who face life absolutely alone and who are living on $300 or $400 a month from social security.

If able-bodied Latter-day Saints, young and mature, would commit one-half day a month to service, we could transform our town and create a feeling of goodwill and brotherhood beyond imagination. What I wouldn't give for a Mormon volunteer corps of about 500 who would give joyfully and faithfully a half-day a month to me. I could also use 500 families who were anxious to build friendships with elderly, lonely, or disabled persons on an ongoing basis. I would like to see in the spirit of Doctrine and Covenants, Section 88, more time and study in Priesthood, Relief Society, and Sunday School manuals spent on the problems which face mankind: war and peace, crime, poverty, child-abuse, unemployment. What might our Christian faith contribute to the reduction of these complex and difficult social problems?

I am not so naive as to believe that we as a Church can solve all the problems of mankind. What we might do, however, is to develop some pilot projects which might demonstrate some solutions. Some Church farms, for example, could be a wonderful setting for senior citizen living or a place to redeem alienated youth. The Church is committed to taking its message to all the world. I believe it can be done most effectively if it is a message from a people who are living a Christian life of service to one another in the fold and towards people not of our faith. Christian living would attract and draw people to the Church. Maybe someday we will send missionaries out to serve and to teach. The results would bear watching. "Go Ye Unto All the World: To Serve and to Convert."

Person-to-Person Service

Marjorie Whitman

GOING INTO ALL THE WORLD TO SERVE OTHERS on an individual basis is an opportunity for creative, thoughtful expression. An individual may render service on behalf of an organization or may act independently of any group. If our service is given as a member of an organization, our behavior is seen to represent the group's goals, a view which somewhat diminishes the intimacy of

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one-to-one caring. Of course, there is need for both, but my remarks here are focused on person-to-person service without group sponsorship.

Service is labor given for the benefit of others. A cynic always lurks, eager to point out that all human behavior is motivated by self-interest. In truth, most behavior is multi-motivated and thus very complex. It is very difficult to explain our own behaviors with a single motive. I much prefer the philosophy I learned in the Brigham Young University nursing program, which simply states that people's behavior is the best they are capable of at a given time. I sense an interest in service from most people and choose to believe that to serve is a basic human desire.

Whom shall we serve? The parable of the Good Samaritan suggests that we should serve whomever we encounter in need of service. This parable involves a single server and a single recipient; there was no question of priorities (unless the Samaritan was going to inconvenience someone by delaying his arrival at the end of his journey). We, however, are simultaneously members of several groups and constantly make decisions about which group will receive each portion of our efforts to serve. As a child, I personally experienced my father's philosophy, "Neglect the family, but be generous to others who will recognize your generosity with favors." The Latter-day Saint philosophy of stewardship for family before others attracted me to the Church, and I continue to believe this is an important priority.

However, consistent with the recent urging that leaders of the Church have given, I believe that it is also important to value highly and to serve members of our neighborhood and community. I think we are often tempted to overindulge ourselves and our families and neglect Church members, neighbors, and community members. Achieving a balance which allows us to distribute our energy and resources requires a mature analysis of each situation. Inspiration received in answer to prayer and with regular scripture study has provided the best guidance for me.

I would like to suggest four basic guidelines for serving others. 1. Service should be for the benefit of the served. Perhaps the only people who can successfully serve without the consent of the served are parents; even they often have difficulty! Respect for the dignity of the individual compels us to obtain the consent of those whom we would serve. No matter how well-meaning, an unwanted effort may offend. I recall visiting Mayan ruins in eastern Mexico with a friend. As we strode toward an ancient pyramid, we were greeted by two elderly women, also tourists. Without preamble, one of them offered, "You know, we have a Book of Mormon which explains the origin of these ruins." Her thoughts were certainly consistent with mine, but my friend later commented that she felt the woman had been rude. Without an invitation or overture, she had simply intruded her "helpful" information. Of course, no harm was done, but she had erected a wall, instead of a bridge, in my friend's mind. Whatever the labor, it should be with the consent of the recipient.

2. The act of service should be appropriate for the situation. Help is not help unless it is appropriate, and that necessitates an assessment of needs. On

this highly populated planet, people achieve an amazing amount of privacy. They are usually reluctant to advertise their problems; and it often happens that we are unaware of the need, much less the nature of the service needed. Hence, we are often misled into giving a wholly inappropriate and unhelpful form of "help." Apparently this is an age-old problem, as indicated by the expression "taking coals to Newcastle." A rather hard-nosed assessment of what is needed is vital.

While living in Orem, Utah, I would sometimes hear that when a mother of teenage children was hospitalized or infirm the family needed no help because the children were capable of cooking, cleaning, etc. It seemed obvious to me that one could appropriately call in the National Guard for those situations! Help would mean sending the kids out for pizza while cleaning the house, which was being trashed constantly.

Making an appropriate assessment of needs is often more difficult when the beneficiary of our service is a non-Mormon. The Church is sometimes criticized for focusing its welfare and service efforts on its own people and neglecting its non-Mormon neighbors. This may be a valid observation, but it is frequently quite difficult to learn what our non-Mormon friends need. Church members are accustomed to a pattern of behavior in which one makes candid and even intimate disclosures to the bishop or the home teachers, thus making an assessment of needs relatively simple. Without this system of communication it is more difficult to be truly helpful.

3. The act of service should respect and support the beliefs of the individual. Person-to-person service is usually a type of crisis intervention — a situation of acute need which can be attended to briefly, so that the individual can shortly resume self care or seek a more elaborate helping system. In this setting, I consider it very inappropriate even to suggest that the individual's personal belief system might need adjustment.

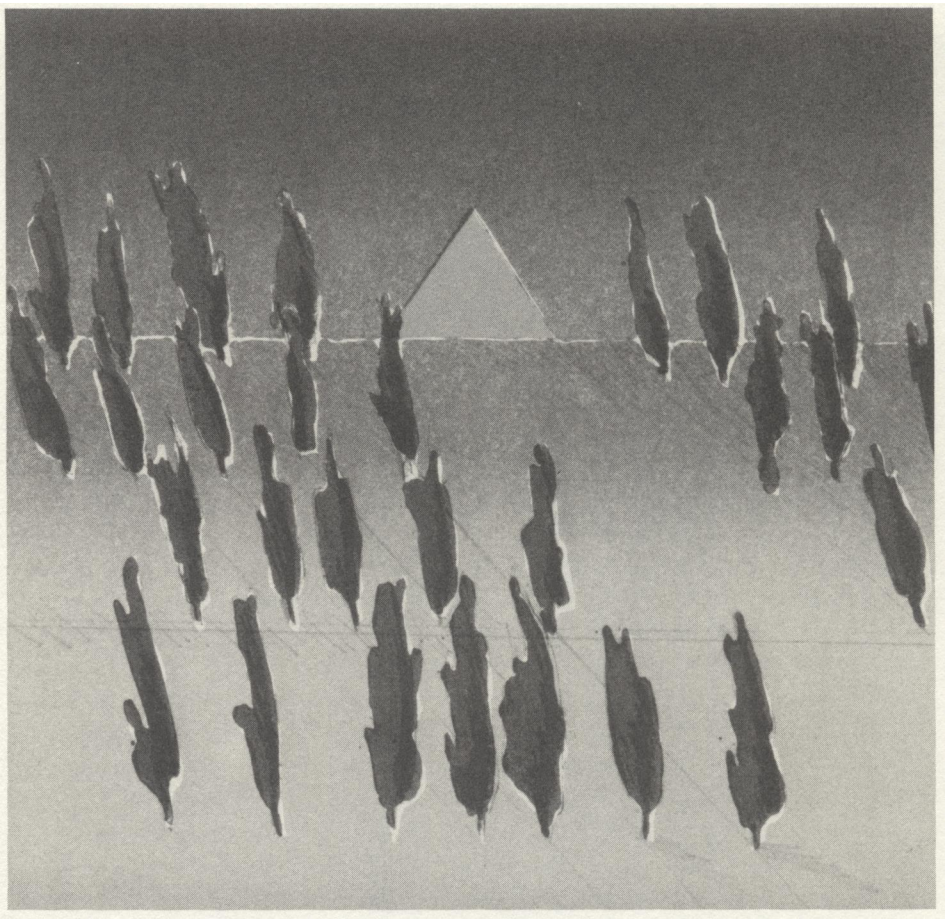
Three years ago I was diagnosed with cancer. One of the attempted helps I received was information on Christian healing. While I appreciated the concern that motivated my born-again friends to provide this information, I found the gesture inappropriate. In a time of crisis, we need increased faith in our familiar coping style, not the imposition of a new set of beliefs. A better approach would have been to help me identify methods I had used successfully in the past for surviving other crises.

4. If possible, we should identify and initiate some remedy for the underlying cause of the problem. The best form of service helps people avoid future problems. If the problem is somewhat self-imposed and is deemed unpleasant by the individual, one might cautiously discuss ways to prevent its reccurrence. For example, you may be the person to let a friend know that caffeine increases the pain and extent of fibrocystic breast disease. As Latter-day Saints we can share specific and appropriate truths without imposing our whole package on people.

Perhaps the greatest service we can give is personal concern. If the service delivers a product which the person does not want or need, we have missed

the mark. There are times when food is needed but equally important times when it is not. But love is always appropriate — love which says to another: you are of worth; your life is valuable to me, and I will stay with you even though the quality of your life deteriorates.

I think we all need to be Mother Teresas. She is a model of openness, willingness to be vulnerable to work, pain, and stress. Are her motives selfish? I hope so. I hope she lies down at night with a peaceful conscience born of the fact that she is part of the solution to people's problems, not part of the cause.



Enter Ye into My Rest

Kristopher Passey

When you go so far
it is hard
to turn your head around
and see
where you've been.

Much less make your shoes
(who saw the hole in your sock?)
pause over freshly plowed
and carefully prepared ground
beckoning for your step.

Unless, have you noticed,
the gate lies ahead;
the constriction,
with no view beyond
and uncertain warm winds
blowing from the garden at your back.

Then to turn aside, to rest,
to turn away the ear
from the delicate whisper
is a blind delight
equaled only
by the embrace of chains.

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Divisions of the House

M. Richard Troeh, M.D.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE is the highest legislative authority of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The First Presidency of the Church is responsible for administering the laws and policies of the church as approved by its World Conferences (Rules of order 10–12, WCR 861). These two simple statements define a dynamic relationship which is far from simple, either to fully understand or to describe. This paper is primarily an attempt to describe and analyze some of the World Conference contributions to the relationship between 1964 and 1984.

These gatherings were for many years called General Conferences, but in 1960, apparently struggling to describe its identity, the conference voted to change the term to World Conference (WCR 1021). (Calling itself a "World" church may have seemed presumptuous when it was officially present in only ten nations, but the term may have helped expand the outlook of the members. In 1986, it has a presence in some forty nations.)

The RLDS Church has, of course, been struggling with its identity ever since it first started trying to publicly dissociate itself from the Utah Church. This struggle has continued in recent years as manifest by the consideration (and defeat) of no less than four resolutions concerning its name since 1964. In a number of more significant resolutions, it has also struggled with the deeper question of what the church itself should be.

During the last two decades, World Conferences have been held in Independence, Missouri, every two years for one week, a time span which traditionally includes April 6. A number of functions are served at these conferences:

1. "Housekeeping." Presenting reports, calls to priesthood offices and posts in the organization, elections to boards and committees, passing a budget, and appropriations.

Wallace B. Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, addresses a bi-annual world conference from the Auditorium pulpit in Independence, Missouri.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY RICHARD M. TROEH

2. Worship and Fellowship. Preaching and ordination services, concerts and programs, various official and unofficial group activities, and informal visiting before, after, and throughout the conference.

3. Ceremonial. Honoring retirees, making awards, receiving greetings from government leaders, representatives from other churches, etc., and accepting gifts, usually symbolic of various cultures and church-related organizations (for example, headdresses and kimonos).

4. Conferring and Legislating. Some conferring occurs on issues, but this is limited. Legislation can set policies and define programs, and can also make statements on doctrine, take positions on social issues, etc. A special category of legislation is accepting revelatory documents from the President of the Church.

Each conference is a "happening." Usually, fifteen to twenty thousand members pour into the city, packing the restaurants, and filling hotels, motels, and homes. (Many non-RLDS also open their homes for conference participants.) Many people arrive several days ahead of conferences, particularly those from distant places who also tour historic sites and participate in some of the many pre-conference activities.

Pre-conference activities include meetings of a number of professional and interest groups (e.g., the John Whitmer Historical Association, medical-dental, architects, teachers, lawyers, etc.), some educational forums, quorum meetings, and *many* informal gatherings. These occur particularly among people who may have come to know one another in various parts of the world through ministerial assignments or other traveling and now live far apart. The World Conference in Independence is, in many respects, a gigantic reunion.

The RLDS Auditorium is a continuous beehive of activity before and during conferences. The many small meeting rooms are tightly scheduled, with overflow into the nearby Stone Church and other locations throughout the city. The "buzz" of visiting and discussions (and the swift passing of rumors — often including one that "the Quorum of Twelve is split right down the middle" on some issue) never stops in the hallways of the auditorium, even during the business sessions. The bustling activities continue into the evenings, with preaching services, programs, concerts, and small group meetings, followed by late-night gatherings in homes all over town.

Before a World Conference session is called to order, the main conference chamber, which can seat 5,800, usually looks much like the floor of a Republican or a Democratic nominating convention, with people crowding the aisles and hustling about in every direction. But when a President Smith calls a session to order, the pandemonium stops. The 2,800 delegates, and approximately the same number of spectators at a business session, become quiet and attentive. The business begins.

RLDS World Conferences are delegate conferences. In all of the various jurisdictions (stakes and districts) of the church, conferences meet two to four months before the World Conference and elect delegates. Many jurisdictions a long distance from Independence will often simply select those who have the

means and the time to attend the World Conference. Others have occasionally had somewhat heated elections centering around the perceived "liberal" or "conservative" tendencies of candidates.

Until 1984 delegates were elected one per 100 members in a jurisdiction. *Ex officio* delegates to the conferences included all World Church appointee ministers, department heads at headquarters, presiding officers of districts, branches, and congregations, and all high priests (WCB 1962, 12, 13, 108–11). (Virtually all *ex officii* were ordained men, and ordination in the RLDS church is both less automatic and less likely to progress through an orderly succession of offices than LDS priesthood). *Ex officii* could also be elected as delegates. When an *ex officio* also took an elected position, this effectively reduced the total representation within the jurisdiction, but for some reason, many *ex officii* did decide to run and were elected. This system obviously reduced the number of women and youth who would otherwise have been elected, but the numbers cannot be accurately determined. Starting in 1984, *ex officio* status was discontinued except for thirty of the church's presiding officers and the ratio of elected delegates changed to one per 68.4 members of a jurisdiction. (*Ex officii* can no longer run for elected delegate positions.) The ratio will vary in the future to keep the overall size of the conference at about 2,800 members (WCB 1982, 272).

Now that there are very few *ex officii*, it might seem that RLDS World Conferences are becoming less "priestly" oriented and more democratic. This remains to be seen. There is a very real chance that priesthood members will run for and win more of the elective delegate positions, thus making up an even *larger* proportion of conference assemblies in the future. In addition, I can't begin to predict what effect the ordination of women will have on this factor.

Some jurisdictions at their conferences also pass resolutions for proposed legislation for the World Conference. Delegates, however, are not bound by that legislation or instructed by their jurisdictional conferences as to how they must vote. They are supposed to listen to the discussion at the World Conference, and then vote according to their best judgment for the benefit of the whole church. Most delegates seem to do this very conscientiously.

Proposed World Conference legislation is considered in several ways prior to actual presentation in the plenary sessions. The First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve, Quorums of Seventies, Orders of Bishops and of Patriarchs, and the Quorum of High Priests have meetings for that purpose before the plenary sessions where they also may develop some of their own proposals. Their recommendations and proposed legislation are presented in the plenary sessions by their leaders, a process which has changed very little over the last twenty years.

For delegates who are not members of these groups, however, the process of submitting legislation has evolved significantly. In the 1960s, while such quorums, councils, and orders were meeting, a number of classes were simultaneously held for women, youth, church school teachers, girls leaders, and others (Conference Schedules in WCB 1964, 1966, 1968). Under various

titles, "pre-legislative sessions" were available to them as well. However, they were very short compared to the time scheduled for quorum sessions and were only to supply information. Delegates would receive more details about reports, some background information on selected upcoming legislation, and the opportunity to ask a church leader some questions. They could not, however, debate any of the issues, make any recommendations to the assembly, or develop any alternative legislation as could the quorums, councils, or orders.

In the 1970s, the delegates' pre-legislative sessions gradually became a little more significant. They supplanted classes in the schedule, more time was devoted to discussion, and two subgroups were formed in 1974 — mass meetings of the elders and of the Aaronic Priesthood (WCB 1974, 251, 260). These two groups have been able to discuss reports and resolutions, to make recommendations to the World Conference on them, and to introduce legislation.

The 1982 World Conference adopted a resolution establishing "a delegate caucus composed of all elected delegates who are not members of quorums, councils, orders, or committees of the World Conference." The delegate caucus could initiate legislation but could not perform any other functions, such as reviewing other legislation, discussing reports, etc. (WCB 1982, 343). A minimum of 200 delegates is required to convene the caucus, and agenda items must have at least fifty delegates' signatures. In 1984, the first time such a caucus was formed, it proposed one resolution for consideration at a plenary session (WCB 1984, 341, 346). (The resolution concerned funds for delegate travel and was referred to the First Presidency and Bishopric.) Delegate caucuses are seen as an interim solution to the problem of "equal access for priesthood and laity to initiate legislation during the course of World Conference" (WCB 1984, 232).

A major factor in increasing the significance of delegate pre-legislative sessions has also been the respect given them by the First Presidency. Gradually, over the last twenty years, the First Presidency shared more and more information with the delegate sessions before plenary sessions. The best example is the presentation of revelatory documents. For many years, such documents were presented in supposed confidence to the quorums, orders, and councils, and were not available to the rest of the delegates until they had been approved by those bodies. Members of the quorums, however, would find themselves unable to keep the information to themselves and the news invariably spread through the conference. In the 1970s, President W. Wallace Smith opened the process significantly by having the documents read aloud at the delegate sessions at the same time they were being presented to the quorums for consideration. Written copies, however, were not available to the delegates until formal presentation in the plenary sessions. At the World Conference of 1982, however, the document presented (a revelation on leadership changes and encouragement for witnessing), was published verbatim in newspapers before it had been presented in writing to delegates. At the conference of 1984, President Wallace B. Smith presented the document at the same time to all quorums, orders, councils, and groups of delegates at the World Conference. (The

quorums, orders, and councils were then able to discuss and vote their approval. The delegate sessions still received the document for their information only.)

Beginning with the 1984 World Conference, hearing committees of delegates were introduced "to thoroughly and systematically consider the value of all legislation presented to the World Conference" (WCB 1982, 272). The First Presidency appoints committees of three members of the conference to preside over each hearing, along with a sponsor of the legislation and a representative from the world church to serve as resource persons for the discussions. The hearings are limited to discussion and to dealing with questions about the implications of legislation which has been submitted; they are not to get involved in parliamentary procedure or to actually debate, make amendments, etc. A hearing typically last two hours, after which the committee members make a written summary and recommendations to the plenary session. Even if the proposed legislation receives only brief consideration in the later legislative session, those who are concerned about a topic have had two hours in which to explore it in depth together.

The quorum and delegate sessions and hearing committees are pretty much "all business." The plenary sessions of World Conferences, on the other hand, begin with a great deal of pomp and ceremony. The members of the church's presiding quorums are all seated in groups on the rostrum, and the president of the Quorum of Twelve makes a motion that the First Presidency preside over the World Conference. The opening ceremonies continue with a colorful procession of the flags of all of the nations in which the church is represented, carried to their position on the rostrum by persons from those nations, usually in their national costumes. Greetings are then usually received from such government leaders as the mayor of Independence, a senator, a governor, etc., before the business actually begins.

Much of the time of conferences has generally been taken up by the ceremonial and housekeeping functions. These are, of course, essential for the organization to maintain itself, and they are not necessarily mundane or automatic (though they may often seem to be so). Formal acceptance of the credentials of all of the delegates gives a legal basis for the actions of the conference. The public sustaining of general officers is important to the church. It is also important for the church to recognize publicly those who have given yeoman service for many years. The ceremonial functions have legal significance and are full of meaning for many people.

Items usually regarded as routine "housekeeping," such as setting the date for convening the next World Conference, have not always been simple. In 1974, the conference changed the First Presidency's proposed date for the 1976 conference (WCB 1974, 260). The original date coincided with local elections. Participation in World Conference activities has often drawn many RLDS residents of Independence away from local political activities — voting, working the polls, etc. — and has likely influenced the outcome of some of the Independence city elections, which have often been very close for a city of

approximately 125,000. For example, a 1982 city council seat was decided by four votes, and the 1978 mayoral race was decided by twelve. The quip was made at the conference that year that the Quorum of Twelve had elected the mayor. It may have been true.

No call to priesthood office or major quorum functioning has been turned down at a World Conference in the last twenty years. But in ten of the eleven World Conferences since 1964, amendments have been proposed to the church's budget, and in three conferences, budget amendments have been made (WCB 1968, 279; 1976, 247; 1984, 316). The budget reflects the priorities given to the funded programs of ministry, and it often receives rather extensive consideration by the delegates. Some conference members try to make budget amendments as a way of expressing disapproval of some administration policy or program. For example, in 1970 when some church school materials were controversial, amendments were submitted to delete the budget of the Christian Education Department. The amendments failed (WCB 1970, 298). Some 1978 delegates who disagreed with leadership directions in women's participation proposed deleting the budget for the Women's Ministries Commission (WCB 1978, 258). They also failed. The vast majority of the conference members have given their support to the First Presidency in the few "showdown" votes on these matters and others like them.

Budget amendments have never been very substantial, for several reasons. Probably the most important is that budget proposals have been carefully prepared in detail by a "pre-appropriations committee," and most conference delegates realize they can't redo the committee's job. Frequently, passing the budget has made it difficult to pass other items of legislation later in the conference. If a legislative proposal requires some funding, for example, the fact that the budget has already been passed makes it very unlikely to be adopted. The conference has only on extremely rare occasions voted to reconsider an issue and has *never* voted to reconsider a budget. Furthermore, discussion of the budget has usually been lengthy and involved. Once the vote has been taken, the vast majority of the assembly quite understandably lacks any desire to reconsider it.

The few budget amendments which *have* succeeded have sought funding for additional programs not included in the budget proposals prepared by the administration. For example, to a total budget of about $9 million passed in 1976, amendments added $30,000 for an audio-visual lending library and $500 for the nominal expenses of a church student center at Iowa State University (WCB 1976, 247).

Sometimes, members have tried to legislate policies or programs for other institutions which are church-*related* but legally separate, with their own boards of trustees (WCB 1968, 148–51; 1970, 214). These institutions include Graceland College, Park College, Herald Publishing House, and the Independence Sanitarium and Hospital. In these cases, the conference cannot legally pass or enforce resolutions *requiring* actions of other institutions since the decision-making power of an institution must rest with its own board of trustees. Con-

ferences could *advise* these institutions of their wishes and requests, but the institutions are responsible to their own boards, not to the World Conference.

In 1976, four separate resolutions were introduced to require the church's publishing house to publish an inexpensive version of the Book of Mormon, one even naming the price of one dollar (WCB 1976, 189, 190). In 1968, an earlier resolution would have set the price at fifty cents (WCB 1968, 146). In each case, the Herald House board would have had to solve the cash flow problem of publishing a book far below cost. Our Utah cousins could even have — innocently, of course — bankrupted this RLDS institution by buying all of their copies of the Book of Mormon from the Herald House. These resolutions were out of order and were not even voted on.

On some occasions, resolutions have tried to legislate how some headquarters departments directed by the First Presidency function. The First Presidency is responsible for administering the day-to-day affairs of the church. While the World Conference can establish overall policies and program priorities for the First Presidency, it cannot effectively handle the details of how those policies and programs should be implemented. The line between proper policy statements and meddling is not always clear-cut. But a good example of overambition involves legislation about church school materials. Controversy arose out of differences over the nature of the church and the nature of education in the church school. Some saw the church school as a vehicle for indoctrination about the one true church; others saw it as a guided presentation and evaluation of various ideas about the nature of the church and what it means to be a Christian.

The controversy heightened when some preliminary "study papers" to stimulate background consideration of topics for the educational materials became public. These study papers were not sufficiently faith-promoting for much of the membership, who brought their dissatisfaction to World Conferences. From 1970 to 1978, eighteen resolutions were presented, almost all of them critical of the philosophy behind the church school materials and calling for materials to more faithfully teach "the principles of the gospel as contained in the Bible, Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants" (WCB 1970, 295). Their sponsors did not realize that questions of content and approach cannot be handled adequately by a legislative body. One attempt to define in detail the philosophies to be followed in church school curricula came out this way:

> *Resolved*, That the basic principles for kingdom living be contained in the curriculum that we might give to all of God's children a way of life which will give to them the confident assurance that God not only loves all of his creation but has identified himself in this dispensation of time by the inception of the Restoration movement and is continuing to speak to that original movement known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; and be it further . . . .
>
> *Resolved*, That the Religious Education Department not be engaged in promoting modern theological expressions found in other institutions (except in harmony with General Conference resolutions) but rather in bringing forth in a creative endeavor, out of the genius of the Restoration, materials that will assist all of God's children to find the abundant life which Christ came to give. . . ." (WCB 1970, 306–7)

Still other very lengthy resolutions have attempted to define specifically the precise materials which would be sufficiently faith-promoting. Portions of two different 1974 resolutions read:

> *Resolved*, That one quarterly be prepared for each age group that deals with Restoration distinctives as traditionally understood (i.e., Book of Mormon, priesthood organization in the church, divine revelation, the restoration of Christ's church, the apostasy, etc.). . . .
>
> *Resolved*, That immediate steps be taken to strengthen these Restoration teachings through addenda or supplemental materials to the new curriculum; and be it further
>
> *Resolved*, That these addenda, supplements, revisions, or replacements place particular emphasis on the Restoration distinctives as traditionally understood (e.g., divine revelation and an open canon of scripture; the church established by Christ, fallen into apostasy, and restored; priesthood divinely called and organized; the Book of Mormon; the Doctrine and Covenants; etc.). . . . (WCB 1974, 190)

The World Conference has recognized the impossibility of enforcing such statements and has consistently voted them down. However, similar resolutions continue to be introduced at almost every conference. This controversy was obviously the stimulus for revelatory counsel to the church membership in 1974: "Seek to be reconciled one with another. Let not your differences over procedures and program materials separate you and thus vitiate my influence for good in the world which is torn asunder by the devastating powers of evil" (RLDS D&C 151:8b).

The conference delegates often display different understandings of a World Conference's proper duties. Some try to handle too much administrative detail in legislation; others would "rubber stamp" everything church leaders bring to the conference; some find the balance which lets them effectively work together in legislative activity with the leaders and other delegates for the benefit of the church. Differences sometimes arise out of differing views of the First Presidency's function. Some, who feel it represents the ultimate in priesthood authority and has the right to decide nearly everything, are ready to give it unquestioning support in conferences. Others see the First Presidency more as *facilitators* of decision-making by the body and see their votes in a much different way. The differences are probably fairly accurately described as the differences between "assent" and "consent." *Assent* describes a rather passive acquiescence or agreement with decisions, and *consent* describes a more active involvement with collaboration in making important decisions. Statements by members often show the tension between these concepts.

Though conferences as a whole have supported First Presidency proposals, that support is not automatic, and delegates have demonstrated that they do not want their support taken for granted. One example was a proposed affiliation with Park College at the 1980 World Conference (WCB, 234, 278). Park College had been affiliated for over 100 years with another denomination but had developed serious financial difficulties, temporarily handled by management assistance and loans from Graceland College and from the church. In seeking long-term stability, Park College requested permanent affiliation with

the RLDS Church. Many delegates felt that they did not have sufficient information to make an informed decision and voted to defer the proposed affiliation until specific requests for more information were fulfilled. The desired information was provided at the 1982 conference, and the affiliation was then approved (WCB 1982, 283, 348).

Another way to examine these internal relationships is statistically. Table 1 shows the proportion of resolutions originating with the First Presidency which have been passed or rejected by conferences. Tables 2, 3, and 4 summarize how the World Conferences have dealt with resolutions from other sources as well. In making these tabulations, I included "non-house-keeping" proposals, such as policy determinations, initiating programs, position statements, etc., but excluded such routine "housekeeping" items as sustaining general officers, approving priesthood calls, accepting reports, etc. Also, I considered amended resolutions in three different ways:

1. Amendments which did not change the original intent of the resolution but simply refined the wording.

2. Amendments which modified the original intent significantly, but retained at least some of the original.

3. Amendments which totally changed the original intent, sometimes even reversing it completely.

I chose not to tabulate the very minor amendments involving word choices which made no significant change in meaning. If the original meaning of a

TABLE 1

RESOLUTIONS FROM THE FIRST PRESIDENCY

Year	Total Submitted	Approved Unchanged	Amended	Lost
1964	5	5	0	0
1966	1	1	0	0
1968	6	2	2	2
1970	10	5	5	0
1972	12	10	1	1
1974	11	5	5	1
1976	7	5	2	0
1978	4	3	0	1
1980	5	2	3	0
1982	7	4	3	0
1984	6	3	1	2
TOTALS	74	45	22	7
%	100%	60.8%	30%	9%

TABLE 2

RESOLUTIONS FROM GENERAL QUORUMS AND COMMITTEES

Year	Total Submitted	Approved Unchanged	Amended	Referred	Lost
1964	2	2	0	0	0
1966	2	2	0	0	0
1968	12	6	5	1	0
1970	4	2	1	0	1
1972	5	2	2	0	1
1974	1	0	1	0	0
1976	5	2	2	0	1
1978	5	5	0	0	0
1980	4	2	2	0	0
1982	9	5	2	2	0
1984	1	0	0	1	0
TOTALS	50	28	15	4	3
%	100%	56%	30%	8%	6%

TABLE 3

RESOLUTIONS FROM JURISDICTIONS

Year	Total Submitted	Approved Unchanged	Amended	Referred	Lost
1964	7	1	0	1	5
1966	7	0	5	0	2
1968	17	1	4	4	8
1970	25	4	1	12	8
1972	10	1	0	9	0
1974	20	3	8	5	4
1976	23	2	0	7	14
1978	15	0	1	9	5
1980	15	1	0	4	10
1982	8	4	1	3	0
1984	12	2	2	4	4
TOTALS	159	19	22	58	60
%	100%	11.9%	13.8%	36.4%	37.5%

TABLE 4

RESOLUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS

Year	Number Signatures Required	Total Submitted	Approved Unchanged	Amended	Referred	Lost
1964	1	4	1	1	1	1
1966	1	6	2	1	1	2
1968	1	11	0	2	3	6
1970	1	17	2	1	1	13
1972	1	10	1	0	5	4
1974	25	9	2	1	5	1
1976	25	11	0	0	3	8
1978	25	7	2	0	5	0
1980	25	28	3	0	3	22
1982	100	3	1	0	0	2
1984	Caucus	1	0	0	1	0
TOTALS		106	14	6	28	59
%		100%	13.2%	5.7%	25.5%	55.7%

resolution was at least partially retained, I categorized it as "amended," but if it was completely changed, I tabulated the original motion as "defeated," and counted the substituted resolution as a new one that was passed. Though there could be slight disagreement over a few items I have put in each category, they would make only very minor changes in the overall numbers.

Since 1964, of a total of seventy-four resolutions submitted by the First Presidency, forty-five (60.8 percent) have been accepted unchanged. Another twenty-two (30 percent) have been passed with amendments, usually (but not always) minor. Except for 1964 and 1966, when all of the First Presidency's resolutions were passed, each conference has either completely turned down or modified at least one of their resolutions. A total of seven (9 percent) of the First Presidency's resolutions have lost completely since 1968. I tabulated as "lost" resolutions which have been voted down, some which were tabled and not brought off the table before adjournment, and those which the First Presidency withdrew after initial presentation when the conference expressed some problem with the proposals.

Resolutions are also submitted on behalf of the World Church by other top quorums and committees — primarily the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, the Presiding Bishopric (bishops are primarily financial officers in the RLDS Church), Quorums of Seventies, and by the "Conference Organization and Procedures Committee." (This standing committee appointed by the First

Presidency meets at regular intervals to evaluate World Conference structures and procedures and to make recommendations to conferences about how to organize and to do business in the most effective manner.)

Of a total of fifty resolutions from top quorums and committees in twenty years, twenty-eight (56 percent) have been approved unchanged and fifteen (30 percent) passed with amendments. Four have been referred for further study, and three have lost completely. As with resolutions from the First Presidency, 1964 and 1966 saw 100 percent acceptance, a record repeated in 1978. Otherwise, every conference has seen delegates turn down or amend some of the resolutions submitted by major quorums and committees of the church.

Resolutions may also originate in pre-conference jurisdiction meetings. (See Table 3.) In fact, more resolutions come from the church's approximately 120 districts or seventeen stakes than from any other source. An occasional resolution comes from a national regional conference, a large metropolitan branch, or a smaller branch, which can submit resolutions if it is not a part of one of the other sub-units of the church.

Resolutions from the jurisdictions have a much smaller chance of passage than those of the First Presidency or other top quorums and committees. Of a total of 159 resolutions submitted to World Conferences from conferences of jurisdictions, only nineteen (11.9 percent) have been passed unchanged and another twenty-two (13.8 percent) have been amended.

One of the fascinating aspects of the legislative process has been amendments. An example of an amendment which completely reversed the intent of the original resolution came at the 1970 World Conference where a number of resolutions condemned a then-new church school curriculum and called for its replacement with other materials. A motion was made to refer all of these resolutions to the First Presidency for their information and study. This move to refer was then followed by a motion to amend by "striking everything after the word 'moved' " and reiterating the condemnation and demand for new materials. Another amendment was finally adopted, however, which removed all condemnatory statements and *affirmed* the use of the "new curriculum," with a statement recognizing that revision and updating of materials is always necessary (WCB 1974, 255).

The largest proportion of jurisdictional resolutions (a total of sixty, or 37.5 percent) has lost completely or has been referred (a total of fifty-eight, or 36.4 percent), usually to a presiding quorum. Referring often has the same effect as voting down a resolution.

Referring or voting down a resolution does not necessarily mean its introduction has been futile. Simply the fact that the concerns of a jurisdiction or group of members have been presented has often resulted in useful dialogue among conference delegates and church leaders and has paved the way for future actions and recommendations by the administrators and committees to which the resolutions have been referred. Occasionally, the desired action is even directly implemented administratively. It is sometimes difficult to tie

specific referred resolutions with specific later actions, but here are my candidates for such a list:

- In 1968, a resolution entitled "The Church and Campus Ministry" was referred to the First Presidency's Commission on Education without any requirement for action. However, funding for campus ministries was included in the subsequent budgets presented to World Conferences (WCB 1968, 155).
- In 1976, two resolutions expressing concern about needs for "Older Youth Ministries" were referred to the First Presidency, who immediately assigned them to a task force studying the question. This task force recommended such ministries which were implemented administratively by the First Presidency's staff without further conference action (WCB 1976, 187, 188).
- A resolution in 1970 concerned the church's "Budget Planning Policy." It was not workable in the form presented, but most of its provisions were incorporated into policies which were developed administratively and used in the preparation of subsequent budgets beginning with the 1972 conference (WCB 1970, 155).
- A 1970 resolution called for a "Study of Conference Organization and Procedures." The concerns in this resolution appear to have clearly served as some of the impetus for some of the functions assigned later to the standing committee of this name (WCB 1970, 137, 140).
- A 1974 resolution concerned "Moral Alternatives to Participation in War." This resolution was referred, but the concerns later surfaced in public statements of the First Presidency and in recommendations to later conferences (WCB 1974, 236).
- In 1974, a request for an "Employee Pay Study" was referred, but subsequently administrative policies responded affirmatively to the concerns for equity included in the request (WCB 1974, 229).

Through 1972, any delegate could present a resolution to the World Conference. (See Table 4.) From 1974 through 1980, due to a resolution modifying the legislative processes, individuals could get their resolutions to the conference floor with only twenty-five or more signatures. In 1982, it was changed to 100 signatures (WCB 1972, 252; 1980, 274). The delegate caucus system, instituted in 1984, essentially ended individual resolutions. Now the only way to initiate legislation on the World Conference floor is with a prior majority vote in a subordinate body — a jurisdictional conference, or a meeting of a quorum, standing committee, or delegate caucus (WCB 1982, 273).

A total of 106 resolutions were submitted by individuals from 1964 to 1982. Of these, fourteen (13.2 percent) passed unchanged and six (5.7 percent) in an amended form. Fifty-five percent failed completely, and 25 percent were referred for further study.

In 1980, one individual presented fifteen resolutions, each with twenty-five signatures. The resolutions covered a far-ranging set of concerns, from encouraging the formation of additional professional and vocational associations to instituting a "suggestion box" for the church headquarters; from re-

affirming support of the Word of Wisdom to asking for guidelines on conducting "more Christian" funerals; and from instituting a bureau of research and service to instructing church officers to buy economy cars (to "replace the gas-guzzling models now prevalent on the present inventory of church-owned vehicles"). His purpose in presenting all of these resolutions was never made clear, but he is a very intelligent and jocular city-planner who would, I am sure, gladly accept my descriptions of him as a political liberal, anti-violence peace-wager, and proud and open supporter of any good cause, regardless of its popularity or lack thereof. Some felt he was purposely making a joke of the whole system. I think he was serious about most of his resolutions, and that any "joke" had the serious purpose of showing the church some of its problem areas. (In this regard, I think he failed.)

In the minds of most, this gentleman abused the proper legislative processes of World Conference. Some of the 1982 discussion leading to termination of the signature method of introducing legislation referred to this abuse. As I recall, however, the conference successfully handled all fifteen resolutions in about thirty seconds each, a record which I feel is sufficient protection against abuse by any individual. Others (apparently the majority at the conference) felt it was sufficient reason for terminating this method of bringing resolutions to World Conferences. I believe he did a serious disservice to those who have responsibly brought resolutions to World Conferences by the signature route, but I also believe the conference overreacted.

In my opinion, the conference also curtailed the rights of significant and deliberate minorities to have a hearing in the World Conference. When 100 or more delegates agree that an issue merits a hearing at a World Conference, I think they're probably right. But now, a minority, while it can offer amendments to legislation from other sources, cannot be heard if the subject is not *initiated* by a majority vote in one of the subordinate legislative bodies.

Few would argue with the principle of majority rule in a legislative body such as a World Conference, but the support of the minority for decisions of the majority cannot properly be expected unless it has had an opportunity to express those concerns before the decisions are made. The rights of minorities must always be weighed against the rights and needs of the majority. But the hallmark of real democracy is not only that the majority rules — but that it also respects and protects the rights of the minorities in its midst.

To get your legislation passed "unscathed" by RLDS World Conferences, it obviously helps to be a member of the First Presidency or of a presiding quorum, but even then it is not a sure thing — only a little better than a fifty-fifty proposition. But the chances go way down for resolutions originating in jurisdictions or from individual delegates during conferences. (See Table 5.)

It is interesting to compare how the World Conference handles legislation originating in jurisdiction conferences with that originating with individual delegates. The evolution away from individual resolutions has reflected the belief that legislation reaching the World Conference floor should have previously gone through a process of "refinement" by a quorum, committee, or

TABLE 5

RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNCHANGED*

Year	First Presidency	Other World Church Bodies	Jurisdictions	Individuals
1964	5/5	2/2	1/7	1/4
1966	1/1	2/2	0/7	2/6
1968	2/6	6/12	1/17	0/11
1970	5/10	2/4	4/25	2/17
1972	10/12	2/5	1/10	1/10
1974	5/11	0/1	3/20	2/9
1976	5/7	2/5	2/23	0/11
1978	3/4	5/5	0/15	2/7
1980	2/5	2/4	1/15	3/28
1982	4/7	5/9	4/8	1/3
1984	3/6	0/1	2/12	....
TOTALS	45/74	28/50	19/159	14/106
%	60.8%	56.0%	11.9%	13.2%

* Number passed/Number submitted.

jurisdiction conference. The statement of the rationale begins with the affirmation that "consideration of resolutions by a prior legislative body is a valuable step in the deliberative process" (WCB 1982, 273, 343–44). The facts would suggest that this concept has not worked in actual practice.

If consideration of resolutions by prior legislative bodies were truly valuable, the World Conference should have passed a higher proportion of resolutions which originated in those bodies than by the signature route. However, during the last twenty years, World Conference delegates have found approximately the same proportion of resolutions acceptable "as is" from both — 11.9 percent for jurisdictions and 13.2 percent from individuals. If the fifteen resolutions submitted by the single person in 1980 were excluded from the tally (all were either voted down or were referred), the percentage of signature resolutions passed "as is" would even rise to 15.4 percent.

Some resolutions are "out of order" due to minor technicalities, sometimes because they would be completely impossible to implement, and sometimes due to serious conflict with existing church law. (See Table 6.) If the presider believes a resolution is out of order, he so declares it to the conference with an explanation of reasons. It will then not be considered unless the conference votes to support an appeal of the chair's decision.

TABLE 6

RESOLUTIONS DECLARED OUT OF ORDER

Year	From Jurisdictions	From Individuals
1964	1/7	1/4
1966	1/7	0/6
1968	1/17	0/11
1970	2/25	1/17
1972	0/10	0/10
1974	3/20	1/9
1976	4/23	2/11
1978	2/15	0/7
1980	3/15	2/28
1982	0/8	1/3
1984	1/12	....
TOTALS	18/159	8/106
%	11.3%	7.5%

* Number out of order/Number submitted.

Some of the specific bases on which resolutions may be out of order include:

- Resolutions which could not be legally implemented under the laws of the land under which the church is organized. The conference is not a forum with the power to legally deprive people of life, liberty, or property.
- Resolutions which conflict with existing church laws and doctrine as defined in the Inspired Version of the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants. The First Presidency is the chief interpreter of the law for the church and is responsible for informing the conference of such a conflict.
- Resolutions which propose amendments to the Rules of Order (the basic "by-laws" of the church) without having been published in the *Saints' Herald* the required sixty days prior to a World Conference to be considered at that conference.
- Resolutions which infringe on the proper duties and prerogatives of administrative or judicial bodies. The World Conference can legislate overall policies and procedures but cannot actually take over their functioning. For example, the conference could never convene itself as a church court nor supervise the details of functioning of church departments and programs of ministry.
- Resolutions which call for actions that cannot reasonably be accomplished. Such a resolution in 1974 would have made a general recall "of all copies now in stock or in the local branches" of the currently-used church

school materials and would have required "deletion from all material of references to books or articles which use language or suggest thoughts which would be found objectionable in a Zionic home" (WCB 1974, 189–90).

It is no surprise that no resolution from the First Presidency or from a presiding quorum has ever been declared out of order. However, of the 159 resolutions originating in jurisdictions, a total of eighteen (11.3 percent) have been ruled out of order. If "consideration of resolutions by a prior legislative body is a valuable step in the deliberative process," then a higher proportion of resolutions from jurisdictions logically would be in order and acceptable for passage than those submitted by individuals. However, as compared with the 11.3 percent of jurisdiction-originated resolutions ruled out of order, only eight (7.5 percent) of the 106 resolutions originating by the signature route have been ruled out of order.

The reason may be that the legislation from stake and district conferences has usually been prepared and presented by an individual or small group of individuals. The jurisdiction conference usually accepts or rejects it with little or no change. These resolutions are often very provincial — relevant only to that jurisdiction or to a few like it. Refining legislation at any conference is difficult since parliamentary procedure offers limited options through amendments and procedural motions. This situation inhibits real conferring and "talking through" to the best legislation possible. In contrast, resolutions presented to the World Conference by means of the signature route have often been developed and refined *during* the World Confrence after much consideration among delegates from many areas. The result more often represents a melding of the concerns and opinions of a cross-section of the church than is the case with jurisdictions' resolutions.

If there is a serious intent to have resolutions of a higher quality (which are both legally "in order" and of "world" concern) brought to the World Conferences, attention needs to be given to the legislative process of the jurisdictions. Furthermore, the record would indicate that the lower regard for resolutions submitted by the signature route is not justified.

Each World Conference has seemed to take on an individual "character," usually related to the issues which capture the interest of a large number of the delegates. Some of these issues have woven a thread of concern through two or more conferences, sometimes involving or culminating in the presentation of a revelatory document from the President of the Church. These revelations come, not in a vacuum, but in response to questions that the people of the church have been dealing with. Some of them are: church school study materials (a burning issue during the 1970s), matters of faith and doctrine, peace and war, ecumenism and cooperation with other churches, the nature of priesthood and of women's participation in the church, and the organization and procedures of the World Conference itself.

Many resolutions have been introduced (but few passed) attempting to be definitive about doctrine and faith. They are usually impossible to measure or enforce, cannot be binding on individual conscience, and need further in-

terpretation themselves. Attempts to make such statements legislatively have been rather uniformly useless, resulting in much heat and little light. Those few which *have* passed often end up saying very little and have little ultimate effect. As important as beliefs are, requiring individuals to hold certain beliefs simply cannot be legislated effectively. (In fact, the moral precepts and spiritual characteristics which are *most* essential for Christian living cannot be legislated into being at all.) Examples of "impossible" resolutions are:

- A resolution in 1976 entitled "The Basis of the Church" included a statement that "no officer of the church shall issue any directive, teach any doctrine, or perform any act which is contrary to the Three Standard Books" (WCB 1976, 244).
- Also in 1976, a "Statement to Government Leaders," contained a summary of Book of Mormon warnings felt to be directed at those leaders (WCB 1976, 243).
- A 1980 resolution entitled "Church Identification," would have required church officials to "insure that all military installations and educational institutions recognize this church as separate from all other churches" (WCB 1980, 237).
- Another 1980 resolution entitled "Basic Principles," reaffirmed a long list of beliefs which the writers felt should be standard for the church (WCB 1980, 237). It was quite a comprehensive catechism of church beliefs, many of which would themselves have required extensive interpretation.
- Yet another 1980 resolution, "Recommitment to Restoration Beliefs," included such statements as "the church beliefs the Apostasy of the Dark Ages and the Restoration movement of 1830 to be facts of history, and that the church looks forward to the literal establishment of Zion and the millennial reign of Jesus Christ on earth" (WCB 1980, 276).

I am not attempting to express any judgment about the *holding* of these beliefs — only the uselessness of legislating statements about them. Fortunately, the World Conferences have passed none of them, though a great deal of their time has been occupied in discussing them and others like them.

Issues of peace, war, and the use of force have prompted fourteen resolutions presented in all but two of the World Conferences since 1964. Agreement has been difficult to achieve, viewpoints ranging from total pacifism to support for very strong conventional and even nuclear military forces. The serious discussion has sometimes possibly been more useful than the final legislative product, as in 1970 when the initial statement of the standing committee, "We oppose war," was amended to make it almost meaningless by adding, "except as an unavoidable recourse" (WCB 1970, 317). In 1974, the conference voted instruction to the church administration "that adequate information and counseling with respect to various legal alternatives to military service be made available by the World Church (WCB 1974, 192, 268).

At the 1982 World Conference, two resolutions concerning "Peace" and "Nuclear Arms Reduction" were sponsored by the First Presidency and accepted by the conference, with one amendment (WCB 1982, 288–89, 365–

66). While the statements were not identified specifically as revelation, they counseled that God's commandments challenge us "as stewards of God's creation to be responsible for world conditions" and outlined several specific ways for church members to be involved individually and collectively in promoting peace in the world.

Many RLDS members, and to a significant extent the institutional church, are involved in ecumenical activities. "Ecumenism" in this sense means working with other denominations and community organizations in cooperative endeavors, *not* merging organizational identities or giving up distinctiveness. In fact, many participants in ecumenical activities find them useful settings for expressing distinctiveness in the ministries the church is able to give to the world. Examples are participation in community ministerial alliances, state councils of churches, Bread for the World, and many others. Since 1979, the RLDS Church has been a "supporting denomination" of Church Women United — in addition to extensive local and state involvement, as of this writing, four RLDS women serve on the national "common council" and three on the executive council of Church Women United. Some members' belief in the "only true church" would preclude such associations, and some discussions and votes in conferences have exhibited a tension between their views and those who support ecumenical involvement.

A total of eleven resolutions from 1968 to 1984 have directly addressed the question of joining together in cooperative endeavors with other religious and community organizations. In 1970, a proposal to join with IFCO (the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization) lost, 855 to 825, when a "division of the house" (counted vote) was called for (WCB 1970, 309, 329).

In 1974, the revelation gave instruction: "You who are my disciples must be found continuing in the forefront of those organizations and movements which are recognizing the worth of persons and are committed to bringing the ministry of my Son to bear on their lives" (RLDS D&C 151:9). Also in 1974, the conference turned down a resolution which would have required that, in the church's Temple School, "all teaching and instructional personnel will be members of the Saints Church" (WCB 1974, 262).

In 1978, the First Presidency proposed, and the World Conference approved, the church's participation in the United Nations' observance of "The International Year of the Child" (WCB 1978, 208). The same conference also approved a First Presidency resolution to join with other agencies to develop programs addressing the problem of world hunger (WCB 1978, 209).

In 1976, a resolution stating that the church should have nothing to do with the World Council of Churches or the National Council of Churches was voted down in another division of the house, 1099 to 846 (WCB 1976, 241). In 1980, two similar resolutions failed to even reach the conference floor when objections to consideration were sustained. (An "objection to consideration" can be moved immediately after a resolution is presented if a member feels the resolution is insulting, contentious, libelous, repetitious, etc., and that the body should not even consider it. The conference then votes immediately whether

to consider the resolution further.) A resolution which had been written as a substitute was instead overwhelmingly adopted which resolved that "the World Conference hereby endorses the participation of the World Church in inter-denominational Christian ministries where such participation does not require the World Church to . . . alter or abandon any of the traditional beliefs and practices of the church" (WCB 1980, 274, 304).

In 1984, a resolution which had been presented by the Minnesota district was passed (amended to specifically include child advocacy) to involve the World Church in cooperation with organizations which are working to secure basic human rights for all persons throughout the world (WCB 1984, 243, 346).

Women's roles in the church have been a matter of intensifying concern at World Conferences. Madelon Brunson's excellent paper at the 1984 Mormon History Association meeting, later published in DIALOGUE, summarizes the evolution of thinking and legislation regarding women's roles in the church (1984). Here is a brief summary of recent legislation concerning women in the RLDS Church:

- A 1970 resolution to increase the representation of women on church commissions and committees. An amendment asking the First Presidency for "a clarifying statement on the ordination of women to priesthood" was literally shouted down, and both resolutions were tabled (WCB 1970, 309, 329).
- A 1972 resolution encouraging selection of women in the church for all "positions not scripturally requiring priesthood" (WCB 1972, 170, 276). An attempt to refer this resolution to the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve was defeated when the conference was reminded that referral would mean an all-male body would be handling the resolution on "Opportunities for Women." The resolution passed.
- Four 1976 resolutions, voted down, using various rationales to prohibit the ordination of women. A First Presidency resolution was passed which stated that there was "no ultimate theological reason why women, if it were thought wise to do so, could not hold the priesthood," but requesting "that consideration of the ordination of women be deferred until it appears in the judgement of the First Presidency that the church, by common consent, is ready to accept such ministry" (WCB 1976, 181, 264).
- A 1980 resolution calling for nonordination of women, prevented from reaching the floor due to overwhelming support of an objection to consideration (WCB 1980, 274, 307). Two resolutions were presented from jurisdictions in Australia and New Zealand which would have established "home rule" in the decision to ordain women. (Apparently they felt they were ready.) They were ruled out of order on the basis that priesthood authority is world-wide, not a matter for "local option" (WCB 1980, 236, 307).
- A 1982 resolution stating that "there is no scriptural basis or precedent for ordaining women to the priesthood." It was opposed by another stating that "there is no scriptural basis for limiting God from calling whomever God desires to call to priesthood responsibility." Both were referred to the First

Presidency at its request, and a task force provided to study "whether or not the church, by common consent, is ready to accept the ministry of women as ordained persons" (WCB 1982, 268, 331, 355).

• The 1984 report of the task force, finding that, under existing conditions, about one-third of the membership were in favor of ordaining women, about one-half were opposed, and the remainder were neutral on the question (WCB 1984, 246–47). However, when the prophet stated, as the voice of God's Spirit, "Do not wonder that some women of the church are being called to priesthood responsibilities," the question was answered for the vast majority of the delegates, who overwhelmingly voted approval of the document as the mind and will of God, and its inclusion as Section 156 of the RLDS Doctrine and Covenants (WCB 1984, 308–9).

Throughout 1985, after much preparation, the first women were approved in jurisdictional conferences for ordination as elders, priests, teachers, and deacons. In various parts of the world, eighty-five women were ordained 17 November 1985. As of February 1986, the First Presidency reported that 413 women had been called to the priesthood (WCB 1986, 51). The numbers continue to increase, with positive responses in most areas. A few jurisdictions have had problems accepting the ministry of ordained women. Two districts generated three resolutions for the 1986 World Conference which would have rescinded the approval of Section 156 and also the ordinations of the women performed thus far. President Smith ruled the resolutions out of order on a number of bases. The decision of the chair was appealed, and the conferences then voted to accept his decision by a margin of about 90 percent. The RLDS church isn't about to turn the clock back on the issue of ordaining women.

Except in 1970, the President of the church has presented revelatory documents to each conference from 1964 to 1984 to be considered for acceptance as the mind and will of God. There is no legally required format or manner of presentation, although certain patterns have become essentially a tradition. Most documents have contained callings of general church officers, followed by counsel to the church on various subjects, including admonition, encouragement, amplification of doctrine, etc. They have always been presented first to the quorums (and more recently to the delegate sessions as well), and brought to the conference floor only after approval in the quorums. Unlike other legislative matters, a revelatory document cannot be amended but must be accepted or rejected as a whole, even if it contains completely differing topics.

On every occasion the World Conference has approved these documents with provision for printing them in the Doctrine and Covenants, but approval has not been automatic. Revelatory statements are given serious consideration, sometimes with much discussion before approval. Approval has always been by a very large majority but is rarely, if ever, unanimous. On one occasion in 1968, some of the delegates were sufficiently confused by a document referring to the office of bishop as a "necessary appendage" to the high priesthood

(D&C 149) that the President presented a further revelatory statement (D&C 149A) clarifying the relationship between the bishopric and the presidency. Thus in the eleven World Conferences from 1964 to 1984, eleven revelatory documents have been considered and accepted.

The World Conference continually goes through reevaluations and attempts to refine its procedures with the Conference Organization and Procedures Committee making recommendations to virtually every conference and with many resolutions coming from jurisdictions and individuals as well. During the last twenty years, resolutions have been accepted (sometimes with amendments) in several areas, including representation and leadership, methods and sources for initiating legislation, methods of handling legislation, and parliamentary procedure.

Before 1970, the RLDS Church conducted its business meetings by a modified form of Robert's *Rules of Order*. The procedure in many of the quorums and delegate sessions was often highly informal, compared with plenary sessions of the World Conference. Due to procedural problems in at least one quorum, a 1970 motion was passed to use Robert's *Rules of Order* at all levels within the church (WCB 1970, 305). In 1980, belatedly recognizing that not all of the world knew about and lived by Robert's *Rules of Order*, this policy was modified to apply only to those parts of the world familiar with it.

Except for very rare instances and for brief periods, RLDS World Conferences are presided over by a member of the First Presidency (Rules of Order 18, 9). While their authority to preside is never disputed, their manner of presiding occasionally is. Decisions of the chair have been appealed by delegates thirty-seven times (in all but two conferences in the last twenty years). Only twice, however, has the conference voted to *overrule* the decision of the chair (WCB 1970, 290, 292; 1974, 249). In 1970, the conference voted to support the decision of the chair when it had been appealed, but President W. Wallace Smith courageously informed the assembly later in the conference that he had discovered his earlier ruling had been in error.

Until 1980, a delegate who wanted to speak or to make a motion would (presumably when it was in order) stand and address the chairman of the assembly. On issues of great interest, dozens of members would often jump up shouting, "Mr. President." In an assembly of two to three thousand members, this would often present difficulties in fairness and lacked the decorum thought desirable by many. Some delegates in particular were faster on their feet and louder with their voices than others, particularly than delegates who did not speak English. (RLDS World Conferences have simultaneous translations into several languages — plus signing for the deaf — going on during the meetings, delegates tuning in transistor radios with earphones to hear the proceedings in their own tongues. This allows non-English-speaking delegates to participate actively, but there is some delay while the translation occurs.) For some non-English-speaking delegates, this sort of democratic functioning has been highly foreign — and has even seemed disrespectful of the leadership and of the

assembly. Even when they have tried to participate, they have often lacked the split-second timing required to obtain the floor.

In 1982, a number of microphone stations were established throughout the conference chamber. Delegates go to these stations and give an attendant their registration numbers and statements of that which they want to do parliamentarily. The attendant in turn, phones this information to a central computer operator who lists them on the screen for the presider. The presider, from this listing indicating who wants to do what, tries to call on delegates in a fair fashion.

The computer system has certainly made the last two World Conferences quieter and more decorous, but has resulted in less spontaneity and conferring in response to earlier speakers. Essentially all participation has had to be prepared well in advance, possibly enhancing the quality of speeches and motions in some ways but diminishing the *evolution* of discussion, in which delegates build on one another's participation by getting to the floor to respond to previous speeches. It has also largely prevented delegates from presenting compromise resolutions which they might have prepared after hearing the discussion in progress. By the time one's name is reached on the list, opportunity to speak will have passed due to some other delegate's amendment or procedural motion which was entered on the list at the earliest possible moment when the issue was called to the floor.

Because only a portion of the process is computerized, the attendants at the stations must communicate with the central computer operator by voice, one at a time, station by station, presenting quite a slowdown in the whole process. When a number of delegates "descend" on all of the stations at the same time, there is no way to know in what order delegates started trying to register their desire to participate. Furthermore, when the issue is of substantial interest at all, the computer screen is not large enough to display the entire list of names and intentions.

The presider often has to decide when enough speeches have been heard on the existing motion, and, sometimes somewhat arbitrarily, when to move on the acceptance of an amendment, a procedural motion, or to calling for the vote. In my opinion, split-second timing has become even *more* critical — and more unfair — than the system of standing and addressing the chair. Under the "shouting" system, participants would have many opportunities to try to get the floor, but with the computer system, they usually have only one chance. They must anticipate when the presider will call up an issue in time to be at a station and get their name in at the beginning of the listing, or the vote will be ordered before they're ever recognized. This makes it even more difficult for the non-English-speaking delegates to have a chance to participate.

In short, while computerization offers many possibilities for refining the legislative processes of World Conferences, it is far from being a perfect solution.

The largest single category of legislative proposals at RLDS World conferences of the last twenty years has been its continual attempts to improve its

organization and procedures for doing business — about forty resolutions in the last twenty years, with 1982 seeing the greatest number of changes in any one year.

I cannot predict just what further changes will occur, but with great confidence I can make *one* prophecy about the nature of RLDS conferring in the future: IT WILL CHANGE.

A Personal Note: I observed my first RLDS World Conference in 1954 as a student at Graceland College. While a student at Kansas University, I attended portions of the 1956 conference. The U.S. Army stationed me at Fort Riley, Kansas, which allowed me to attend part of the 1962 World Conference. I moved to Independence to practice medicine in 1966. Since 1968 I have participated in every World Conference either as an elected or (being a high priest) as an *ex officio* delegate.

Many persons have attended many more conferences than I have and could round out the history and analysis in this paper with experiences which far outnumber mine.

At virtually every conference, I have participated "behind the scenes" as well — in discussing individuals' resolutions with them before their final presentation and in "strategizing" for passing legislation I have thought would be in the interest of the church — particularly in the high priest's quorum sessions, where issues often receive better consideration than in the public plenary sessions (we can be much less formal there) and where recommendations are often made to the World Conference for the best action to follow.

Even deeper "background" influence on conferences has come through church school classes which my wife and I have taught on a number of occasions. For several years, in the months before World Conferences, we have had classes on what a conference is and how to participate responsibly, as well as giving preliminary consideration to pre-submitted legislation. Following a conference, the classes have considered the actions of the conference and the implications of those actions for our own jurisdiction. This class has led to our being asked to write a book which is "in the mill" on conferring in the RLDS church.

I have felt keenly on several issues that have come before conferences and have taken action when I felt moved to do so, on legislative items which are discussed in the body of this essay. My objection to consideration was sustained when a 1970 motion was made to delete the budget for the Christian Education Department. In 1972, when an attempt was made to refer a resolution on "Opportunities for Women" to the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve, I reminded the conference that these were all-male bodies. I believe this is why the referral was voted down and the legislation passed. Also in 1972 I introduced a resolution in the high priests' quorum meeting asking for a study on induced abortion. The study was done and presented to the World Conference in 1974. It remains the Church's position on abortion in 1986. In 1974, when seven resolutions were presented condemning the church's educational materials and one which commended them, I presented the alternative resolution which

was accepted by the conference. I also presented the resolution calling for a study of equity in employee pay. The resolution was referred, but many of its concerns were implemented administratively. When the Conference Organization and Procedures Committee presented a 1978 resolution to limit the introduction of legislation to top quorums and committees and to jurisdictions, I presented a resolution allowing legislation to also be introduced over the signatures of twenty-five delegates. In 1980 I presented a compromise resolution concerning Park College when it appeared certain that affiliation with the church was going to be voted down by the conference. My resolution provided for a continuing temporary affiliation, but deferred the final decision until the 1982 conference when additional information could be presented. A permanent affiliation was then approved. To offer the alternative choice to the 1982 resolution stating, "There is no scriptural basis or precedent for ordaining women to the priesthood," I wrote the substitute resolution calling for the removal of all legislative impediments to ordaining women, since "there is no scriptural basis for limiting God from calling whomever God desires to call to priesthood responsibility." Though both resolutions were referred to the First Presidency, the dialogue on them may have had something to do with the prophet's perception of the readiness of the church to receive light on this issue.

In addition, I have spoken on the World Conference floor to many issues. I admit to being what most would term a theological "liberal," though I believe my positions are derived from belief in the *fundamentals* taught by Jesus Christ. The greatest compliment I have ever received was during the Park College issue. An observer at the conference, when the impasse became clear, told people around him, "Just watch. Dick Troeh will come up with a resolution to solve the problem — because he's a peacemaker."

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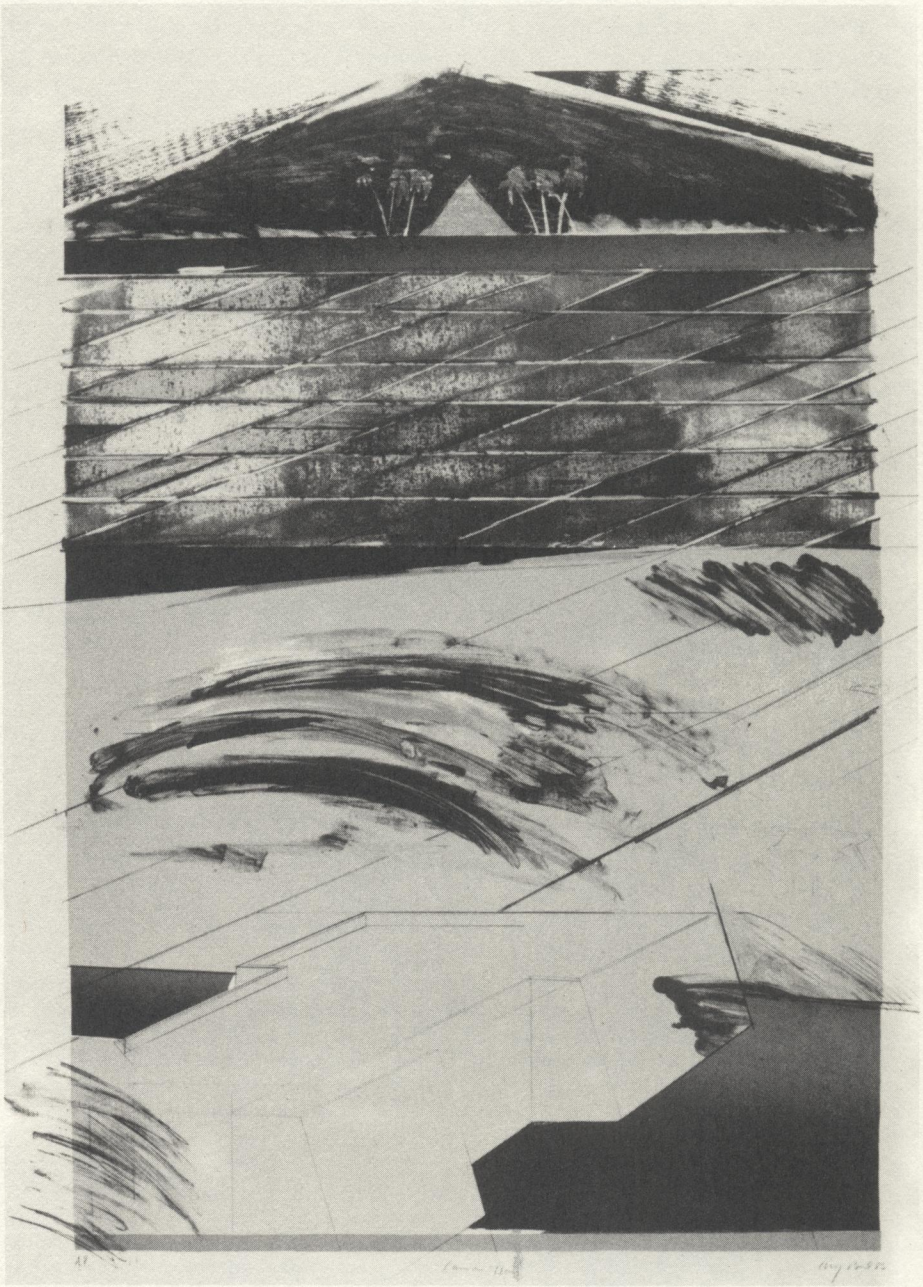
R&R. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. *Rules and Resolutions.* Independence, Mo. It is reprinted and updated periodically; but the number of a rule or resolution, once assigned, is never reused, even if it is deleted. It consists of three sections: (1) The *Rules of Order,* which are the basic "by-laws" of the church, numbered by section and paragraph; (2) a listing of World Conference resolutions, numbered consecutively in chronological order; (3) an appendix including the articles of incorporation of some of the church-related corporations.

WCB. *World Conference Bulletin.* Independence, Mo. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, bi-annual. It is a collection of printed materials in a looseleaf binder including a schedule of conference meetings and activities, general orientation information, printed reports of all of the church's presiding quorums and departments, the proposed budget, and all proposed legislation. While the conference is in session, a bulletin including the minutes of the previous day's meeting, the reports of the hearing committees, and further announcements is added daily. Pagination is consecutive.



The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible

Kevin L. Barney

THE QUESTION THIS ESSAY ATTEMPTS to answer is whether the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST) represents in any way a restoration of text that originally existed in ancient manuscripts but was later altered or removed by scribal carelessness or malice. It is often assumed in Church classrooms, periodicals, and manuals that the JST does in fact represent the original or ancient state of a biblical passage.[1] Many a Sunday School discussion over a problematic biblical passage ends with reference to the JST version and the assertion that it represents the original wording. Of course, a perfect restoration would be in the language of the original, but the idea is that the JST gives the English sense of the original Greek or Hebrew texts of the Bible. Many JST passages demonstrate commendable sensitivity to problems inherent in the English of the King James Version (KJV). I think that the JST has considerable worth and merits careful study from the perspectives of both faith and scholarship. However, this essay deals with a narrower question: Does the JST restore the original text of parts of the Bible?

Robert J. Matthews, the Church's foremost authority on the JST, believes that the JST restores the intent of the original to some extent, although he does not insist that every JST reading is a restoration of ancient textual material (Matthews 1975a, 234–37; 1975b; 1980; 1982; 1983; 1969; 1976, 24).

Some scholars have a different understanding of the JST. For them, the JST does not presuppose a different Hebrew or Greek text underlying a given biblical passage; rather, it is an inspired commentary on what the passage means to us in a more modern context. As an illustration of how this approach differs from the view that the JST is a textual restoration, consider the KJV of Genesis 6:6: "And it repenteth the Lord that he had made man on the

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[1] The rationale for this view is largely based on the eighth Article of Faith, 1 Nephi 13:28, and J. F. Smith 1976, 327; see also Ehat and Cook 1980, 256.

earth, and it grieved him at his heart." The JST of this verse (Moses 8:25) reads: "And it *repented Noah, and his heart was pained* that the Lord had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at *the* heart." According to the restorationist view, the original text read in Hebrew as does Moses 8:25 but was at some point altered by scribes for some unknown reason to read as it does in the KJV. The JST restored the text to its original state as translated into English.

If we view the JST as commentary, we need not postulate two forms of the Hebrew text. Rather, the JST reflects Joseph Smith's concern about the theological implications of having the Lord "repent." Repentance implies sin, and the Lord does not sin. The point of the JST change, then, is not that Noah repented, but that the Lord did not. In a discourse by the Prophet on 15 October 1843, he said: "As it [the Bible] read it repented the Lord that he had made man. and also God is not a man that he should repent. —which I do not believe. —but it repented Noah that God made man. —this I believe. & then the other quotation stands fair" (Ehat and Cook 1980, 256). Here we learn that Joseph Smith was harmonizing Genesis 6:6, which he evidently regarded as problematic, with Numbers 23:19, which states that God need not repent. In several other verses where the Old Testament says that the Lord "repented," the JST reworks the passage to avoid this wording (see, for example, Exod. 32:12, 14; 1 Sam. 15:11; 1 Chron. 21:15; Jer. 26:19; Amos 7:3, 6; Jonah 3:10). If we see these changes in the JST as a pattern reflecting Joseph Smith's belief that the Lord does not repent, then we have an accurate interpretation of the text, for the verb *nicham* means simply to grieve, while *repent* is not used in modern Bible translations of this verse. The Hebrew text merely says that "the Lord grieved," not that Noah repented. In short, the JST phrasing is apparently Joseph Smith's way of getting his theological point across. This process can be given many different names: inspired commentary, interpretation, paraphrase, midrash, targumization, or even translation (Anderson 1976, 50; Nibley 1976, 49; Stendahl 1978, 142; Hutchinson 1982; 110).

There are three fundamental difficulties with the restorationist point of view: (1) Is it possible to restore ancient texts by inspiration? Since this is a metaphysical inquiry beyond the scope of this essay, I shall simply assume that such a process is possible. (2) No parallel ancient variants exist for the majority of JST readings. This lack of textual support suggests that the JST does not restore actual textual material. Some scriptural exegetes have hypothesized deliberate and widespread textual corruptions early enough to be incorporated into biblical manuscripts which have survived (Nyman and Millet 1985, 44–45). Since the original autographs are irrecoverable, this assertion cannot be completely disproven, but it has been weakened with the discovery of Hebrew texts from the Old Testament as early as the second century B.C. which support the basic integrity of the later manuscripts. Some New Testament manuscripts date to the fourth, third, and even second centuries A.D., leaving an increasingly small frame of time in which the hypothesized textual corruptions could have occurred.

(3) These supposed textual corruptions are inconsistent with what we know of scribal tendencies. For instance, the JST is almost entirely comprised of additions to the KJV. Thus, the corrupting scribes would have had to make massive deletions in the earliest copies of Bible manuscripts. Indeed, Matthews asserts that deletions were the most common form of deliberate scribal errors and the JST's expansion of the KJV is consistent with what we would expect in a textual restoration (1975a, 267). Unfortunately, Matthews's source for this claim is John William Burgon's 1896 book entitled *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896). "Traditional Text" here means the *textus receptus*, or "received text," the late-Byzantine form of text underlying the KJV (Matthews 1975a, 128–29).[2] Burgon was one of several scholars who wrote at the turn of the century in a last-ditch effort to refute the scholarship that had conclusively demonstrated the *textus receptus* to be the poorest form of the New Testament text available. In fact, the most common deliberate scribal corruptions were additions to the text, not deletions. Therefore, the tendency of the JST to expand the KJV text by adding material is the opposite of what we should expect in a textual restoration.

An analysis of extant Bible manuscripts shows that most JST changes have no ancient parallels with the exception of about a dozen JST passages. If any passages in the JST restore ancient textual material, then these would be by far the most likely candidates. With a single exception, it is unlikely that Joseph Smith learned of these variants from a modern source. Even if Joseph Smith had learned enough Greek to read the New Testament (which is doubtful, especially considering that the Prophet's limited Greek studies came after the bulk of the JST was completed), printed editions of the Greek New Testament in his day gave only the *textus receptus*. It was not a common practice to compare textual variants until the middle and late nineteenth century. Modern textual criticism and the discovery of the most important early texts came after Joseph Smith's death. The few contemporary scholarly works that compared variants were typically written in Latin and there is no evidence Joseph Smith had access to them. In the discussion which follows, references to "original" readings should be understood as readings on which scholarly consensus currently exists about the most probable state of the now-lost original manuscript. It is possible, of course, for such consensus to be mistaken; but those who work in the field of textual criticism do not lightly dismiss their probable accuracy.

What follows is an analysis of fifteen passages of the JST in which an ancient text offers a parallel not reflected in the KJV. It is possible that there are more, but I did not find them. As far as I know, only two of them have been discussed in print as having ancient textual support: the gospel titles, and Matthew 5:22. This analysis is based on the methods of textual criticism and

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[2] Matthews was using this source as quoted in J. Reuben Clark (1950, 203–4). Clark relies heavily on Burgon (Clark 1979, 25). On the problems with Clark's attempted resurrection of Burgon's views, see Hutchinson 1980, 104.

presupposes that extant biblical manuscripts give us insight into the now-lost original text.[3]

The first passage is the titles of the gospels. In the KJV, they read "The Gospel According to . . . ." The JST reads "The Testimony of. . . ." As Matthews correctly observes, the KJV form of the titles dates to the second century A.D.; hence, he conjectures, the JST may be a restoration of ancient textual material (1975a, 242–43).

In their original form, however, the gospels probably did not bear titles at all,[4] and there is a more likely explanation for the change. The form of the titles in Alexander Campbell's 1828 translation of the New Testament, *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled the New Testament* (A. Campbell, J. McKnight, and P. Doddridge, trans., Bethany, Va.: Alexander Campbell, 1828) could be the source of the JST emendation. Campbell's titles are:

The Testimony of MATTHEW LEVI, The Apostle
The Testimony of JOHN MARK, The Evangelist
The Testimony of LUKE, The Evangelist
The Testimony of JOHN, The Apostle

As Matthews himself writes, "Campbell's Testament could not have escaped the attention of Joseph Smith when Rigdon, Pratt, and the others came into the Church in 1830" (Matthews 1975a, 10). In fact, Rigdon served as principal scribe for the JST.

Campbell draws a distinction between the two apostles, Matthew and John, and the evangelists, Mark and Luke. In his preface, he stresses:

> Let it be supposed that Luke and John wrote with a design to supply certain omissions in Matthew, to make some improvement upon this testimony; how will such a supposition affect the character of Matthew as an Apostle, or the *Spirit* by which he wrote? The *Evangelists*, Mark and Luke, on this hypothesis, appear as correctors or improvers upon an *Apostle*!! (1828, xxv; italics in original)

The 1979 LDS edition of the Bible gives the change as "The Testimony of . . ." for all four gospels, as does the 1944 RLDS Inspired Version. However, the original manuscript of the JST, in possession of the RLDS Church, makes title changes in the books of Matthew and John only, that is, for the apostles (Matthews 1975a, 243 n. 6). Apparently, the RLDS and 1979 LDS editors assumed that the lack of a change in Mark and Luke was simply an oversight. It seems more probably a result of the influence of the Campbell translation, which stresses the special character of an apostle's mission.

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[3] General introductions to the principles of text criticism include Metzger (1968) and Würthwein (1979). Matthews (1975a, 111–15) uses the same basic principles in establishing the text of the JST itself. Briefly, textual criticism involves the weighting of variant readings based on factors such as date and geographical diversity, psychological factors affecting deliberate alterations, and mechanical copying errors of hand, eye, and ear.

[4] For each passage discussed, the texts of the KJV and the JST are given in parallel columns. All verse citations are to the KJV. The textual evidence for the New Testament readings discussed in this article is from Nestle, Nestle, and Aland (1979) and Aland (1975). The Old Testament textual evidence is from Kittel and Kahle (1937).

The JST reading for the three passages which follow parallels what appears to be the original text from scholarly reconstruction. If such a thing as textual restoration by inspiration exists in the JST, then these seem to be the clearest examples.

KJV Matthew 5:22

But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment.

JST Matthew 5:24

But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of his judgment.

Ancient Variants

(1) whosoever is angry with his brother

(2) whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause

The JST omits the words "without a cause," as does 3 Nephi 12:22. "Without a cause" is also absent from reading 1. It is fairly certain, despite the rather strong textual evidence for reading 2, that reading 1 is original, and that reading 2 was an early attempt by scribes to soften the rigor of this morally stark precept allowing no anger (Metzger 1975, 13). Therefore, the JST parallels the original text in this passage.

However, this parallel could be a coincidence caused by a problem with the wording of the KJV. The KJV uses the three words "without a cause" to render one Greek adverb, *eike*, which might better have been translated "rashly," "thoughtlessly," or "unjustly." Joseph Smith could have been struck by the fact that there is always some cause when a person gets angry, even though it may not be a just cause. Thus, the JST may have deleted the words "without a cause" as being too broad.

This is one of very few examples of deletions in the JST. Since scribes tended to add material rather than delete it, extensive textual restorations in the JST should appear primarily as deletions rather than additions. Matthews notes this verse as a model for the restorationist argument (1975a, 251), but it is not characteristic of the JST.

Romans 7:6

KJV

But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.

JST

But now we are delivered from the law wherein we were held, being dead to the law, that we should serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter.

Ancient Variants

(1) But now we are delivered from the law, being dead to that in which we were held

(2) But now we are delivered from the law of death in which we were held

(3) But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held

The JST parallels reading 1, which is clearly original, given its superior textual attestation. Reading 2, which represents the Western form of the

text, seems to simplify a construction in Greek that is somewhat obscure. There is no competent manuscript authority for reading 3, on which the KJV depends. This mistaken reading arose when Desiderius Erasmus, the sixteenth-century Dutch scholar, misunderstood a comment of John Chrysostom, the fourth-century patriarch of Constantinople (Tischendorf, verse cited). The JST clearly parallels the original text for this passage.

This reading of the JST could be an assimilation of verse 6 to KJV Romans 7:4: "Ye also are become dead to the law." Joseph Smith seems to have been concerned with the wording of KJV Romans 7:6 which suggests that the law was dead. In fact, the JST makes similar adjustments throughout Romans 7. For instance, the preceding verse, KJV Romans 7:5, reads: "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." The JST alters this to read: "The motions of sins, which were not according to the law," apparently lest sin be thought to be sanctioned by the law.

Genesis 18:3

In this passage, Abraham entertains three visitors who announce the impending destruction of Sodom and the forthcoming birth of Isaac. Abraham asks them to remain for a meal in these words:

KJV	JST
And said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant:	And said; My brethren, if now I have found favour in your sight, pass not away, I pray you, from thy servant.

Ancient Variants:

(1) And said, My lords . . . your sight . . . I pray you . . . your servant
(2) And said, My Lord . . . thy sight . . . I pray thee . . . thy servant

In Genesis 18, the relationship between the Lord (verse 1) and the three men (verse 2) is not clear. It may be that all three represent the Lord; thus, the plurality becomes a single person in verses 10 and 13. However, it seems more likely that the Lord was one of the men, and that the other two were angels attending him, a view suggested by verse 22 ("the men turned their faces from thence, . . . but Abraham stood yet before the Lord") and Genesis 19:1 ("two angels" visit Lot in Sodom), and it is not inconsistent with the single spokesman in verses 10 and 13.

The JST shifts the word "Lord" in verse 3 to "brother," but more importantly it shifts from the singular "Lord" to the plural "brethren." The Hebrew word *adonai* underlying "lord(s)" in verse 3 is definitely plural in form; is it plural or singular in meaning? Although this particular word literally means "my lords," it was regularly substituted in reading for the divine name of God (YHWH). The Masoretic scribes marked this specialized use of the plural form with a singular meaning by a slight difference in vocalization, and it so appears in the Masoretic Text of Genesis 18:3. Thus, the entire

verse is singular in its Hebrew construction. This is reading 2, followed in the KJV.

Reading 1 is a literal plural, "lords," and probably represents the original reading. The literal plural is preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch. This same literal plural is also found in Genesis 19:2, where Lot addresses the two angels as "my lords." This usage was probably meant to parallel the expression in Genesis 18:3. Therefore, some modern translations of the Bible put Genesis 18:3 in the plural. The New English Bible (1970) has "sirs." The singular of the Masoretic Text appears to have been caused by scribal assimilation to the word "Lord" (YHWH) in verse 1.

The JST parallels reading 1 by using the plural ("brethren"). In the KJV, the singular in verse 3 is inconsistent with the plural in the surrounding verses. But the JST harmonized the number in verse 3 to make it consistent with those verses.

The next two passages involve contradictions created in the ancient manuscripts because of special problems not apparent in the English of the KJV. The JST harmonizes these contradictions.

Daniel 5:25, 28

At Belshazzar's feast, the hand of the Lord appears, writing on the wall. Daniel tells the King what was written and supplies the translation.

KJV	JST
And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN . . . PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.	And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. . . . UPHARSIN; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

Ancient Variants

(1) PERES . . . PERES

(2) UPHARSIN. . . PERES

(3) UPHARSIN . . . UPHARSIN

Determining the original reading for this particular passage has been a complex undertaking. Most scholars have favored reading 1 (Montgomery 1927, 262–65; Charles 1929). Presumably, scribes substituted *upharsin* (the plural of *peres* preceded by the conjunction "and") in verse 25 to emphasize the word play between *peres* and "the Persians" (*upharas*) found in verse 28. This would account for reading 2, which the KJV follows.

Notwithstanding this conventional approach, the New English Bible has conjecturally emended the text to read *upharsin* in both verse 25 and verse 28 (reading 3). Apparently, its editors felt that *upharsin* was original in verse 28 and simplified by scribes to *peres* to emphasize the word play with the passive participle "divided" (*perisath*) in the same verse.

The JST's change parallels that in the New English Bible. The triple word play between *peres* or *upharsin*, "divided," and "Persians" does not come

across in English, so the JST is unconcerned with it. Whatever the original text may have been, Joseph Smith was apparently harmonizing the words of verses 25 and 28. It is unclear, however, whether the JST has harmonized them correctly.

2 Chronicles 22:2

KJV	JST
Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jerusalem.	Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jerusalem.

Ancient Variants

(1) forty-two years old was Ahaziah

(2) twenty years old was Ahaziah

(3) twenty-two years old was Ahaziah

Reading 1, although it may be the original reading, is historically improbable. 2 Chronicles 21:20 states that Ahaziah's father died at the age of forty; Ahaziah could not have acceded to the throne at forty-two. Reading 3 does not appear to be based on any Hebrew manuscript; rather, a scribe seems to have harmonized this verse with 2 Kings 8:26, which gives Ahaziah's age as twenty-two. Another tradition, recorded in the major Septuagint manuscripts, gives Ahaziah's age at the time of his accession as twenty (reading 2). J. M. Meyers suggests that reading 1 is actually an effort to preserve both traditions — 22+20=42 (1965, 125). Either twenty or twenty-two is more likely than forty-two, but it is impossible to know which is historically correct.

The JST parallels reading 3, but seems to make the change to harmonize with 2 Kings 8:26. If the JST were independently correcting 2 Chronicles, it would probably read "twenty and two" to match the original "forty and two." The JST reading may reflect the historically correct tradition, but it is unclear whether it restores the original text.

Within its earliest manuscripts, the Bible shows inconsistencies, incongruities, and contraditions. Although the scribes generally were faithful in copying their manuscripts, there was a tendency to harmonize contradictions and rectify perceived doctrinal difficulties. The eight passages which follow show Joseph Smith's similar concerns and his attempts to resolve historically perplexing problems. These changes, however, do not seem to restore the original text.[5]

[5] For the sake of completeness, we note Colossians 2:2 here. The JST alters, "the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ" to "the mystery of God and of Christ, who is of God, even the Father." The original reading was "the mystery of God, Christ." Because of the obscurity of this reading, a host of ancient variants (including the one represented in the KJV) arose attempting to clarify what it means (Brown 1967, 13–14). The JST emendation has a certain superficial similarity to some of these variants but is actually concerned with the apparent reference to three persons: God, the Father, and Christ. A similar apparent reference to a plurality of gods is found in Revelation 1:6: "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father." There the JST solved the problem by dropping the word "and," so as to read "God his Father" (Matthews 1975a, 181–84). The

Proverbs 18:22

KJV	JST
Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord.	Whoso findeth a good wife hath obtained favor of the Lord.

Ancient Variants

(1) Whoso findeth a wife

(2) Whoso findeth a good wife

Reading 1, which is reflected in the KJV, is considered to be the original. Reading 2 has "a good wife" by anticipation of the adjective "good." This seems to be a common-sense reaction to the idea that finding just any wife is desirable. It is doubtful that a scribe would have deliberately deleted the adjective "good" modifying "wife" if it were original. However, we should note the possibility of mechanical omission due to the repetitions of "findeth" in the sentence.

The JST parallels reading 2, and seems to echo the concern of the scribes. *Thing* in the KJV is italicized, and Joseph Smith often crossed out italicized words in the Bible he used as an aid in producing the JST. Many JST emendations demonstrate a special concern with the italicized words in the KJV. A similar phenomenon occurs in the Book of Mormon version of Bible passages (Larson 1977, 11, n. 9). A reinforcing editorial by W. W. Phelps (*Evening and the Morning Star*, 1 [Jan. 1833]: 58 observes: "The book of Mormon, as a revelation from God, possesses some advantage over the old scripture: it has not been tinctured by the wisdom of man, with here and there an Italic word to supply deficiencies." If we delete the italicized words in this passage, it is a short step from "findeth a wife findeth a good thing" to "findeth a good wife."

Matthew 27:5

KJV	JST
And he [Judas] cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.	And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself on a tree. And straightway he fell down and his bowels gushed out, and he died.

Luke preserves a conflicting tradition of the death of Judas in Acts 1:18: "Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." Some scribes tried to harmonize these contradictory accounts by making both events

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apparent reference to a plurality of Gods in these verses is the result of poor translating in the KJV; but Joseph Smith's struggles with these verses, as well as with Exodus 22:28, while producing the JST no doubt provided fuel for the fire when he learned that the Hebrew word *elohim* was literally a plural. On 16 June 1844, the Prophet publicly reversed his emendations of Revelation 1:6, Exodus 22:28, and by implication Colossians 2:2, and declared that the doctrine of a plurality of gods was "all over the face of the Bible" (Ehat and Cook 1980, 378).

part of the narrative. However, these ancient variants are usually associated with Acts 1:18 rather than with Matthew 27:5:

(1) and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

(2) and being swollen, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

(3) and being hanged, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

Reading 1 has overwhelming textual support and is widely considered to be the original. Reading 3 is found only in Latin texts. The Vulgate follows reading 3. Nevertheless, Jerome probably did not invent this reading, for the text of Acts that Augustine read in his dispute with Felix the Manichean contained a similar harmonization: "Therefore, he [Judas] took possession of a field he had acquired with the reward of his iniquity, and he bound himself around the neck [*et collum sibi alligavit*], and when he had fallen on his face he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." [6] A number of ancient authors and commentators made similar harmonizing efforts (Harris 1900).

The JST parallels reading 3 and the harmonizing tradition it represents. There are a limited number of ways of dealing with these two accounts. One would be to say that Matthew is correct and Luke is not; the other would be to say that Luke is correct and Matthew is not. But neither of these options is palatable to the harmonist, since they both suggest an error. The logical alternative is to say that both are right, and put them in a temporal sequence: Judas hanged himself, and then (somehow) fell. The JST parallels this ancient harmonizing tradition, not the original text.

Luther, following the Vulgate, inserts the phrase *und sich erhängt* ("and he hanged himself") into his rendering of Acts 1:18. Joseph Smith, who was studying German and reading Luther's German translation of the New Testament in the spring of 1844, stated in the King Follett Discourse, 7 April 1844: "I have been readg. the Germ: I find it to be the most correct that I found & it corresponds the nearest to the revns. [revelations] that I have given the last 16 years" (Ehat and Cook 1980, 351). Luther was not a source for the JST. Joseph Smith's German studies came too late, and he would have emended Acts rather than Matthew had he been relying on Luther. But it is very possible that the JST of Matthew 27:5 is one of the revelations Joseph Smith was thinking of.

Scholarly attempts to harmonize these accounts were abandoned as early as 1879 (Meyer 2:247); today scholars generally regard both traditions as irreconcilable and unhistorical. Matthew's account was probably fashioned on the hanging suicide of Achitophel, representing the classic example of a traitor in Jewish tradition (2 Sam. 17:23). Jesus himself had evidently applied

[6] The text is from Migne (PL 42:522). Based on this passage, Albert C. Clark (1933) included the phrase in his critical edition of Acts, translated back into Greek as *kai ton trachelon katedesen autou.*

Psalms 41:9 to Judas (John 18:18), which had long been regarded by the rabbis as a reference to Achitophel (Dupont 1961). If either account were authentic, it would be Luke's account in Acts, not Matthew's, yet even this tradition appears to represent the typical death of the sinner, such as that described in Wisdom 4:18–19, where sinners are described as dying prostrate (*preneis*). Interestingly, Heber C. Kimball adapted Acts 1:18 to represent a typical sinner's death in early Mormon theology:

> It is said in the Bible that his bowels gushed out; but they actually kicked him until his bowels came out. "I will suffer my bowels to be taken out before I will forfeit the covenant I have made with Him and my brethren." Do you understand me? Judas was like salt that had lost its saving principles — good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. It is just so with you men and women, if you do not honour your callings and cultivate the principles you have received. It is so with you, ye Elders of Israel, when you forfeit your covenants (JD 6:125–26).

Mark 1:8

KJV	JST
I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.	I indeed have baptized you with water; but he shall not only baptize you with water, but with fire, and the Holy Ghost.

Ancient Variants

(1) but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost

(2) but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire

Most scholars agree that reading 1, which is reflected in the KJV, is probably original, given the wide diversity of early witnesses that support it. A few late manuscripts support reading 2. The addition of the words "and with fire" simply incorporates the parallel accounts in Matthew 3:11 and Luke 3:16, both of which say, "with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Had these words been in the original, it seems unlikely that a scribe would have deliberately deleted them. It is possible, though not likely, in my opinion, that the omission resulted from periblepsis, or the scribe's skipping words. Since verse 9 begins with "and" (*kai*), the word "fire" (*pyri*) would have been immediately preceded and followed by the word "and" (KAIPYRIKAI), so that his eye could have slipped from the first to the second "and."

The JST parallels reading 2 by adding the words "with fire." This wording is apparently a simple assimilation to the better-known version. Whatever John the Baptist may have historically said, the words "and with fire" did not originally stand in the text of Mark.

Furthermore, the JST inverts the order of "Holy Ghost" and "fire," probably because the JST is primarily concerned with a separate question: did Jesus physically perform water baptisms? John 3:22 says that he did; KJV John 4:2 says "Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples." The JST harmonizes this contradiction with "though he himself baptized not so many as his disciples." Thus the assimilation in the JST of Mark 1:8 to the more popular wording of Matthew and Luke seems incidental to this concern.

Luke 1:1–3

This passage opens Luke's gospel.

KJV

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word; It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee. . . .

JST

As I am a messenger of Jesus Christ, and knowing that many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, ministers of the word; It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee. . . .

Ancient Variants

(1) It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding

(2) It seemed good both to me and to the Holy Ghost, having had perfect understanding

The tone of Luke's preface is more like a history than a gospel. He explains what his sources are rather than claiming inspiration in writing this history. Reading 2, found in a few Latin witnesses, tries to cure this perceived defect by borrowing the words "and to the Holy Ghost" from Acts 15:28. The JST resolves the same problem in a different way, by having Luke assert his divine authority. Reading 1, which is reflected in the KJV, is actually the original text.

Luke 11:4

KJV

And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.

JST

And let us not be led unto [sic] temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom and power. Amen.

Ancient Variants

(1) lead us not into temptation

(2) let us not be led into temptation

Scholars consider reading 1 to be almost certainly original. But if these words are read too literally, they suggest that God deliberately draws people into temptation, a theologically unsettling idea. Therefore, Marcion in his version of Luke put the phrase into a passive construction (reading 2) (Metzger 1975, 156). This reading was preserved by several Church Fathers. For instance, Augustine says: "Many when praying speak as follows: 'Let us not be led into temptation' " (PL 34:1282). Jerome offers: "Do not lead us into temptation that we cannot bear" (PL 25:485).

The JST parallels reading 2, resolving this doctrinal difficulty in much the same way as Marcion: "and let us not be led unto temptation." In the Matthew 6:13 version of the Lord's Prayer, the JST reads: "And suffer us not to be led into temptation." Joseph Smith later suggested still another solution: "Leave us not in temptation" (Stevenson 1974, 87).

Assuming that either Matthew or Jesus meant that the Father compels people into temptation creates theological contradictions that so conflict with other portions of the scriptures as to make such a reading highly improbable. The verb "lead" was used in a figurative, weakened sense of an unintentional action, as opposed to an absolute imposition of divine will (Hutchinson 1980, 109). Indeed, since the doctrinal problem was unintended in the original, it may be advisable to translate the phrase using a passive construction (Reiling and Swellengrebel 1971, 430). There is no question in this passage that the JST is a correct interpretation or "translation" of reading 1; but reading 2 is not a restoration of the original Greek text, even though both it and the JST may be satisfactory paraphrases.

The phrase "but deliver us from evil," which ends the verse in the KJV, is absent from a number of excellent witnesses. This phrase seems to have been added to make it match the prevailing form of the prayer in Matthew 6:13. Interestingly, the JST makes a further accommodation to Matthew 6:13 which concludes the prayer with "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen." Scholars agree that this doxology, as it is called, was not an original part of the text but was appended to the end of the prayer in a variety of forms for liturgical purposes. It is entirely absent in several early and widespread texts. The JST omits "and the glory for ever." Some ancient texts omit "kingdom," others "power," while some add "and ever," and a few late manuscripts add a reference to the trinity. The JST form of the doxology generally resembles these ancient non-original variants. Joseph Smith may have freely reproduced the expression because it was part of a well-known prayer.

Luke 11:13

KJV	JST
If ye then, being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?	If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good gifts, through the Holy Spirit, to them who ask him.

Ancient Variants

(1) how much more shall your heavenly Father give the holy spirit
(2) how much more shall your heavenly Father give a good spirit
(3) how much more shall your heavenly Father give a good gift
(4) how much more shall your heavenly Father give good gifts
(5) how much more shall your heavenly Father give the good gift of the holy spirit
(6) how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things

Reading 1, which has overwhelming textual support, is reflected in the KJV and is almost certainly the original form of the text. Readings 2 through 6 were shaped by three influences. The first is assimilation to the first half of the verse. Jesus argues that since an earthly father gives his children good gifts,

and since the heavenly Father is greater than an earthly father, it is even more certain that He will give His children good gifts. We naturally expect the object of the verb "give" in the second part of the argument to repeat the object of the verb "give" in the first part; namely, "good gifts." The fact that it does not caused a number of scribes to assimilate to the wording in the first half of the verse. Second, reading 6 directly assimilates to Matthew 7:11, which reads "good things." Third is a phenomenon known as conflation. A scribe faced with two different readings would often have the text include both lest something sacred be lost, thus the conflations in readings 2 and 5.

The JST also appears to assimilate to the first half of the verse, since it preserves the precise wording found in the first part of the verse in the KJV. Also, rather than substituting its emendation for "the Holy Spirit," the JST conflates the two readings, somewhat like reading 5. This assimilation and conflation closely parallel the ancient nonoriginal textual variants.

John 1:12–13

KJV	JST
But as many received him to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name;	But as many received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God; only to them who believe on his name.
Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.	He was born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

Ancient Variants

(1) Who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God

(2) They were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God

(3) Who was born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God

(4) He was born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

The overwhelming weight of the Greek manuscript evidence favors reading 1, which is followed in the KJV. Reading 2 omits the relative, and readings 3 and 4 shift into the singular, with and without the relative. Readings 3 and 4 come from a few Latin Fathers and do not appear in Greek.

Given the meager textual evidence, it is interesting that an impressive array of scholars, following the lead of A. Resch (1896, 57; Schmid 1957) have defended the singular. In fact, Friedrich Blass (1969, 234–37) preferred not only the singular but the singular without a relative (reading 4).[7] The singular was also adopted in the Jerusalem Bible (1966).

[7] This reading is attested by Tertullian, who went so far as to accuse the Valentinians of deliberately altering the text (Blass 1969, 234–37). Blass argued (1) that the singular was original and the plural was due to assimilation to "the sons of God" in verse 12 and (2) that the relative was suspect due to John's tendency to omit it. A more attractive argument was

Aside from the weight of the manuscript evidence, reading 1 is supported by the fact that it is consistent with Johannine teaching. According to John 3:3, "Except a man be begotten from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." [8] This concept in the gospel is stated more boldly in the Johannine epistles: "Whosoever is begotten of God doth not commit sin; for his seed [*sperma*] remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God" (1 John 3:9).

The JST parallels reading 3 generally and reading 4 in particular. Both of these ancient variants and the JST can best be accounted for by (1) a desire to have John refer explicitly to the virginal conception of Jesus and (2) assimilation to the singular at the end of verse 12 in "his name," which immediately precedes the relative.

John 10:8

KJV	JST
All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them.	All that ever came before me who testified not of me are thieves and robbers; but the sheep did not hear them.

Ancient Variants

(1) All that ever came before me

(2) All that ever came

(3) Whoever came before me

When Jesus told the parable of the sheepfold, his hearers did not understand it (John 10:6). Jesus then identified himself as both the door and the good shepherd, but the only clarification he offered for the thieves and robbers was that they were "all that ever came before me," which reads very much like a blanket condemnation of the Old Testament prophets. Indeed, Valentinus understood it in just this sense (Hippolytus, in PG, 16.3:3247). The omission of "before me" in reading 2 and "all" in reading 3 appear to be scribal attempts to limit the extent of Jesus' criticism. Similarly, the JST seems to have added the clause "who testified not of me" to exempt the prophets and the righteous.

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offered by Burney (1922, 34–35) who asserts that the singular becomes a much more plausible reading if we assume an Aramaic original underlying John. Unlike the Greek relative, the Aramaic relative does not vary in form depending on whether the antecedent is singular or plural. Therefore, in the Aramaic the verb is the only difference between the singular and plural. Since the last letter of the Aramaic verb (if it were plural) would be *u*, and since the next verse begins with the same letter, Burney suggests that the final letter of the plural was not original but arose through dittography (i.e., an accidental doubling of the first letter of verse 14). Although this is an ingenious conjecture, Burney's premise that an Aramaic original lies underneath John's Greek has been rejected by later scholars. See Fitzmyer, 1979, 1–27 and Maloney 1981, 12–13. Anthony Hutchinson's dissertation at Catholic University of America (in progress) deals with semitic interference in John and substantiates Maloney's conclusions.

[8] I have altered the KJV of these passages to reflect the fact that the passive of the verb *gennao*, when used with a male agent, means "to be begotten," not "to be born." See also 1 John 5:1.

Revelation 2:22

KJV

Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

JST

Behold, I will cast her into hell, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

Ancient Variants

(1) I will cast her into a bed

(2) I will cast her into prison

(3) I will cast her into a furnace

(4) I will cast her into illness

(5) I will cast her into sorrow

This verse details the punishment to be given to Jezebel, the false prophetess. To be cast into a bed does not appear to be much of a punishment, and so the JST and readings 2 through 5 substitute a worse fate.

Reading 1, however, has scholarly support as original on the basis of the earliest manuscripts. According to R. H. Charles, the bed is a bed of illness, and the Greek simply represents a Hebrew idiom to that effect (1920, 1:71).

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the majority of JST changes lack ancient textual support. Although we cannot say with complete assurance what stood in the original text, manuscript discoveries have made the argument that there could have been massive early deletions from the text untenable, at least for the New Testament. We have also examined the few passages that parallel ancient variants; if inspired textual restoration exists in the JST, these would be the most likely examples. A few of these JST emendations parallel the original text, although these changes could be due to reasons other than inspiration. But most of them do not; they parallel nonoriginal ancient variants and seemingly for the same reasons these ancient variants arose: assimilation to better known wording, harmonization of contradictions, and doctrinal clarification of problematic texts. For these reasons, it is unlikely (with very few exceptions) that the JST represents a literal restoration of material that stood in the original manuscripts of the Bible.

We emphasize that this does not mean that the JST cannot be regarded as an inspired "translation" in the sense of a paraphrase or interpretation of Joseph Smith's exemplar, the King James Version of the Bible. In fact, this may be the most promising approach to understanding the JST from a believer's perspective.

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Mary Ann

Marti Dickey Esplin

IT WAS ONE OF THOSE CRISP NOVEMBER DAYS in Hershey, Pennsylvania, when I heard the news. Snuggled under a quilt, I was reading to my two young sons when the telephone interrupted us. It was my brother calling midday from Texas. Has something happened to Mom or Dad?

"No," he assured me, "the folks are fine." There was a long pause. Slowly, struggling, Ridge told me. "It's, it's Mary Ann. She's dead, Marti. She shot herself last night."

My sister, Mary Ann. Only thirty-nine and now dead. Beautiful complex Mary Ann.

The next thing I remember is three-year-old Eric clinging to me, sobbing, "What's wrong, Mommy? What's wrong? Mommy, Mommy!" I realized I had screamed. I was able to control myself long enough to call a neighbor to take the boys. Fred was out of town. I was frantic. How could he be? I needed him right then!

I was stunned, confused, panicky. What confused me most was recognizing that I also felt betrayed. Not by Mary Ann, but by the Holy Ghost, I think. Why hadn't I sensed something? My *sister* had been desperate the night before, yet I had slept peacefully. An inner-voice should have warned me that someone I loved was in terrible danger.

Mary Ann was the firstborn in our family of four. Growing up she had had a few good friends, but compared to the rest of us kids, she kept mostly to herself. Grades were important to her. She was always on the honor roll. Biology was her favorite subject and her teacher adored her. And no wonder. Besides her grades, her talent in art made her lab illustrations the best in the class, probably in the school. Six years later I had the same teacher but I was a mediocre student. He practically ignored me. On parent night, when I introduced him to Mom and Dad, he spent the whole time talking about Mary Ann.

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As a teenager Mary Ann was pretty, tan, and happy. She had beautiful legs, tanned year-round, it seemed to me. I thought Mary Ann was wonderful and desperately wanted to be like her.

Because of our six-year age difference we were never really close while we were both at home. Yet there were moments. When I was about ten I asked her what *sex* meant. The details are foggy, but I remember the feeling of kindness coupled with her uneasiness with the role. Thanks to Mary Ann, Mom responded to my curiosity with a discreet Ann Landers book, which I was soon sharing with my friends.

When Mary Ann left for college two or three years later, I was entering that frustrating, joyous, and selfish time known as puberty. I was so wrapped up in my own world of friends, school and fun (mostly fun) that Mary Ann slipped to the back of my mind. When she came home for visits Mom fixed her favorite foods and catered to her for the first few days. I didn't mind. I catered to her, too. I figured I'd have my turn eventually.

After two years of college, which was all Mom and Dad expected of us girls, Mary Ann married and moved to New Mexico. A year or so later she delivered a beautiful baby girl. Little Louann, a blue baby, died within three months.

That night a friend had convinced me it would be great fun to stay out all night with our boyfriends. We planned to go to a drive-in movie, do a little necking (making-out was the term then), and drive around all night. We told our parents we were going to a slumber party at another friend's house. This other friend's parents were out of town, so if our parents tried to reach us, there would be no answer. We figured they would just assume we were outside and the girl's parents were out for dinner or a show.

We went to the movie, drove around a lot, then parked for awhile. It got very boring and I was sleepy. I longed to go home to my warm bed. The boys let us off at my house sometime around two or three in the morning. We hid in the bushes by my house until six-thirty when we heard Dad leave for work.

Shivering from cold and apprehension, we went in the house and, oblivious to Mom's expression, I burst ahead with a story we had concocted. She gave me a second chance to come clean with the truth, but I stubbornly held to my lie. Then she finally told me what had happened — Louann, the phone calls to reach me, the exposure.

I was crushed. More crushing still was my father's reaction.

My father is a kind man but a stern disciplinarian, and I had a healthy respect for his temper. I dreaded his reaction all day. Finally when he came home, my mother sent me in to the kitchen to face him. I timidly walked in, head down. He was quiet. I slowly raised my eyes to his and saw tears. This was too painful to bear. I wanted him to lash out at me, *do* something to me so that I would be able to be angry at him. But I couldn't be angry at his tears.

Thirteen years later, holding my own precious newborn, I wept for Mary Ann's loss and understood my parents' grief.

A year or so later Mary Ann had a son. He was operated on twice shortly after he was born. Her last son was born two years after that. He had a learn-

ing disability that was a constant source of stress for her. I believe it was during this time that she started her bouts with depression.

Evidently part of the problem centered around the fact that her husband wanted Mary Ann to be different. He was an attorney and expected her to join certain clubs and do a fair amount of entertaining. She never quite fit the mold. I believe the constant pressure of trying to please her husband coupled with the ever-present strain of her son's learning disability proved to be too much for her.

When the boys were still in grade school, Mary Ann and her husband divorced. It seems she finally tired of trying to live up to his expectations. She tried being a single parent but simply could not take the pressure. She decided it would be better for the boys if they lived with their father.

She had always regretted not finishing school so she went to Louisiana State and worked very hard to get her degree in two years. She was extremely proud of this accomplishment.

After getting her degree, she moved back to Fort Worth and married again. Her boys visited her from time to time but she never seemed to be happy.

I don't know what brought Mary Ann to the precipice or what pushed her over. I can only look at her personal sorrows — the ones I know about — my dealings with her, and conjecture.

We were so different. Through her high school days, Mary Ann was a serious student. I wasn't. She worked during the summers and holidays. I played. She saved her money. I squandered mine.

When Mary Ann was about thirty-three, prior to her second marriage, we began to establish a fairly good relationship. I had joined the Church when I was twenty-five and had married Fred two years later. She intensely disliked my new-found religion, and I think she was surprised to discover how much she liked Fred, a fifth-generation Mormon. When I reached my thirtieth birthday, Mary Ann was glad — said she could relate to me better.

Most, if not all, of the constraint in our relationship centered on my church. When the conversation turned to religion I was constantly defending my position. I tried to avoid the discussions. Mary Ann was volatile. She loved me but hated my Mormonism. "You're being brainwashed," she snapped more than once.

It wasn't until after Mary Ann's death that I found out why she was angry with the Church. After her second child was born, Mom had flown to New Orleans to be with her. Missionaries tracted them out and taught them some of the discussions. After several lessons the overzealous elders told Mary Ann and Mom they had a choice of accepting the gospel or going to hell. Mary Ann picked up the Book of Mormon and threw it at them.

Mary Ann never told me about that experience; but I had a disturbing glimpse of her religious ambivalence when I went with her to the cemetery where Louann is buried. Not far from the little grave stands a beautiful statue of Jesus. I loved it with its feeling of a loving, benevolent older brother. Mary Ann said that she liked to look at the statue but didn't want it to be Christ. The statue

gave her a feeling of peace, the thought of Christ did not. This saddened me. I can't think of a more loving person than the Savior. Did she believe in him and blame him for her hurt? Did she feel the statue of Christ mocked her disbelief?

I refuse to believe that Mary Ann was given her burdens, seemingly one after another, by God. Certainly not by the loving Father in Heaven I believe and trust in.

It made no sense for her to take her life that particular night. She was planning to start a new business, had had business cards made up, and seemed to be looking forward to her life. The night of her suicide, she had had dinner with friends. She had some wine at dinner and queludes, a mood changer, some time during the evening. The wine, the drugs, and her unstable personality made, in my opinion, a fatal combination. But her death must have been a fluke. We know she had contemplated suicide in the past because we found several suicide notes in her personal papers. But she had not left a current note. I believe that the combination of drugs and alcohol helped plummet her into a nightmarish depression, giving her the courage to follow through with what she had threatened to do in the past.

After her death, we found an incredible number of empty prescription bottles for valium and queludes. The same doctor had prescribed them all. As far as we know, he had no idea of how many she was taking. I lay part of the blame for her death at his feet.

For months after she died, I dreamed about her, waking up convinced that she was still alive. In my dreams we always discussed her suicide. In several I was frantic because we had given away her clothes. In one eerie but not unpleasant dream I went with her down into the grave. I looked up and saw a rectangular sky. She said she was ready to go but needed my help. I helped her lie down and crossed her hands over her breast. I awakened with tears streaming down my face.

When I began to think about what suicide meant in an eternal context, I worried about Mary Ann. Where was she? Had she found peace? I pictured her with Louann, now a mature woman, embracing and talking. I pictured her with my grandmother, one of the most righteous-without-being-self-righteous people I have ever known. I could see her surrounded by other loved ones as well. But would Mary Ann, who had committed the sin of murdering herself, be allowed to be with these righteous people?

I was afraid to ask these questions — afraid of the answers — so I kept them to myself for a long time and prayed. I finally called a Mormon friend I trusted and asked her my questions. I know now it was a terrible position to put her in. I said, "I want the truth about what happens to people who take their own lives. What will happen to Mary Ann? Where is she? Is she at peace?"

"You want the truth?"

"Yes."

"Marti," she began slowly, "when a person takes her own life it's self-murder and she has, in effect, sealed herself to Satan . . . to outer darkness."

"No!" I wanted to scream. Instead I mumbled something and hung up. I never asked anyone else. I continued to pray, but I fretted so much during my prayers that I must have blocked any answers. Also I know now that I was angry with God. I assumed his answer would be the same as my friend's.

I finally found solace in a most unlikely place. When I was a new convert someone suggested I buy *Mormon Doctrine* as it was a must in every LDS library. I did; but the longer I was in the Church, the less I relied on Elder McConkie's theology and the more uncomfortable I became with his dogmatic approach to the gospel. I hadn't touched the book for years before Mary Ann's suicide. Now, with considerable reluctance, I picked it up. I gathered my courage to look up "suicide" and found myself weeping with gratitude and relief. What I found was what I think I knew all along: mercy . . . charity. . . . "Obviously persons subject to great stresses may lose control of themselves and become mentally clouded to the point that they are no longer accountable for their actions. Such are not to be condemned for taking their own lives. It should also be remembered that judgment is the Lord's; he knows the thoughts, intents and abilities of men; and he in his infinite wisdom will make all things right in due course."

I guess it's inconsistent that I chose not to rely on Elder McConkie except when he happened to agree with me, but in this case, that's what I did. I felt a calming of my spirit. I felt sure that Mary Ann was within that protective circle formed by loved ones receiving the acceptance she needed. And, most importantly, with Louann. It took months of prayer to reach this conclusion. Fred was a source of strength to me. He listened to my nightmares, my fears, and my speculations. But he couldn't give me the answers. I had to find them for myself. And it was vitally important to me to find the answers within the Church for the simple reason that I wanted to remain in the Church.

Ours was not a very religious family. We all attended church as children, but I stopped going completely during the seventh grade. I don't remember when my parents stopped. My feeling is that they have come to terms in their own way and received comfort about Mary Ann. They were deeply grieved — they still are — and though my parents will never be truly at peace with Mary Ann's death, they seem to feel that she is.

I am one who needs the assurance that there is a God — not only of his existence, but of his goodness, compassion, and love. And I have this assurance. If I didn't feel sure that Mary Ann has found peace, I would have no religion. I would not need or want such a God.

I still dream about her, but rarely. I think about her almost every day. Sometimes I feel anger for what she did to herself, to Mom and Dad, to all of us. Suicide seems so selfish. The void she left will always exist. But mostly I feel love for her — love and sadness.

Mary Ann's death has affected me in other ways as well. For one thing, I take the subject of depression seriously. I no longer feel that the solution is to look in the mirror and tell yourself to shape up — or just live the gospel. With the suicide rate increasing nationwide and also within the Church, I believe we

must look seriously at depression and choose carefully those who help the depressed. I also believe that most bishops are not equipped to handle many of the problems of a seriously depressed person. Unwittingly he may add to their feelings of guilt and isolation.

As members of a church which claims Jesus Christ as its head, we need to recognize our responsibility to bear each other's burdens. Some of us are lucky enough to find nurture and support more easily than others. Some of us never find it.

Mary Ann's death, so unnecessary, has shown me how fragile humans can be. I fear for my children, for myself as their mother. Am I meeting their needs, helping them become strong enough not only to withstand life but to celebrate it? Am I showing them enough love? Or smothering them with too much? We're told that if children just know they are loved then they'll be all right. Surely, I tell myself, they *will* be fine. After all, my children are loved and cherished.

But so was Mary Ann.

The Nursing Home

Elaine Reiser Alder

MY MOTHER WAS EIGHTY-FOUR, A WIDOW OF SIX MONTHS, AND BADLY CRIPPLED with arthritis in the fall of 1981. She was also virtually blind. For the past six months, her eight children had watched anxiously as she had tried to live alone. She periodically asked us, worried, if we were going to put her in a nursing home.

Our answers had been automatic. "Nonsense. We wouldn't do that to you." I quickly suppressed any thoughts of sending this tiny eighty-four-year-old to a nursing home. I would avoid the guilt and frustration of my friends, I told myself, who had succumbed to a variety of pressures and resorted to a rest home solution.

My seven brothers and sisters agreed. Consequently, even while Dad was alive, we had given our parents a great deal of our time and attention. We had adjusted our lifestyles to bring in meals and stay overnight with them so they could remain where they "belonged."

This commitment to repay our parents for their years of nurturing was confirmed as we cared for our father through his last illness. All eight children had felt a deep bond those long weeks, watching our father die. His passing had been gentle, sober, even uplifting.

Then, six months later mother had a stroke. Her "home" shrank to a curtained-off bed in a hospital intensive care unit. As we watched her there in the dim light, draped in and surrounded by tubes and life-sustaining equipment, we faced the decision we had vowed to avoid. Our homes would not accommodate the equipment nor provide the skilled care mother would need.

We selected a nursing home and made an exploratory visit. It was a totally unfamiliar environment. "Residents" slumped in wheelchairs or shuffled haltingly in walkers. Each corridor was lined with hip-high banisters to steady the

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patients who could walk. Arthritic patients, whose hands could not turn wheelchair wheels, pulled themselves along by grasping the rails.

Each of the identically sized rooms contained two beds, sometimes a television set, always a chair or two. The occupants were no less uniform. If not lying in bed, they were tied into wheelchairs, a relief position for their bedsores and congested lungs. They would sit there for hours, looking silently at each other or out into the hall. Some were mobile enough to go to the recreation room to work on crafts, even to the dining area for meals. The rest were trapped in chairs or beds.

We explained it all thoroughly to mother: This would be a nice place — the staff kind, the food good, the medical care much better than we could provide at home. The reasons were listed as much for us as for her. Unfortunately, we could not convince even ourselves, and left feeling guilty and depressed.

We braced ourselves for our initial visit to mother in the nursing home, seeing her curled up in a hospital bed in the stark room. We resolved to get to know the staff, to bring in flowers and pictures, to be model visitors. We took mother for wheelchair rides, helped her eat, visited her often. We tried to ignore the strain of seeing an aged parent slowly wasting before us. We could almost understand why many relatives choose not to visit.

After mother was settled, we became part of the setting ourselves. We got used to sounds echoing along the hard, bare walls and accepted the clamor as due mainly to the hard-of-hearing residents. It is easier to talk loudly than to repeat your words. Slippered feet also shuffled down the hall, heels thwacking the tiles. Nurses spoke loudly to residents, patients called for bedpans, phones rang, television sets droned. All were punctuated by plaintive, if irregular, pleas for help.

Individuals emerged from the clamor, however. "What time is it?" called a ninety-two-year-old man to every person passing his door. Some responded. Others, tired of the question for the hundredth time, ignored him. Unable to arouse attention with that question, he had an alternative tactic. "Die! Die! Die!" he called in a monotone. Someone shut his door, but the sounds came through the wood, muffled and methodical.

Down the hall a once-strong voice sang, "I walked today where Jesus walked, in days of long ago." The words came clear and steady. He knew them all and repeated them. He then sang "Abide with Me." Curious, I left mother and followed the sound of the singing. I found the room and introduced myself. "You have a nice voice. I can tell you love to sing," I offered.

He looked at me gratefully. "I belonged to the glee club when I was young," he answered. "I can sing a lot more songs for you." His name was Alfred, his favorite song was "O My Father," and he promptly offered to sing it for me.

I hesitated, not sure I wanted even this much commitment. I told him I was going back to my mother and would come and listen to him next time.

Several days later I returned to the nursing home. Mother was sleeping, so I went to visit Alfred. Walking into his room, I asked, "Do you remember

who I am?" His face brightened immediately. "Have you been singing today?" I inquired.

"No. There isn't anything to sing about today." I was surprised to see tears in his eyes.

We talked, awkwardly. Not much to talk about either, I realized, when you've lost touch with the outside world. Even knowing that Christmas is a few days away doesn't make life happier in a nursing home, though a few rooms had tiny trees and cutouts pasted on the doors.

My five-minute visit to Alfred seemed like an hour. I finally excused myself with a promise: "I'll come to see you next time I'm in town."

Again Alfred started to cry. He reached his arms up like a child, wanting a hug. "I'll wait for you," he said. "I love you." My pride and hesitations melted, and I put down my handbag and gave Alfred a hug and kiss. I had known him a total of ten minutes.

When I arrived at mother's room she, too, needed to be held. "I missed you. I need you to stay near me," she begged. I sat and held her hand, rubbed her back, gave her sips of water, and told her I loved her.

A gentle nurse came to the next bed where my mother's roommate, a stroke patient, slept, ghost-like. "Rachel," she whispered, "we need to put this tube down your nose. I know it hurts and you don't want it, but it's the only way to feed you until you can learn to swallow again. Please help us and don't fight us, Rachel."

There was absolute refusal in Rachel's hollow eyes, but her hands were tied to the bed and she could not speak. So the team came in with the tubes and tranquilizers. Their mission was to get the food started so a positive report could be given to the doctor. He never saw Rachel's agony while she submitted to his orders. A curtain shielded me from the process, but I heard the groans and choking and gagging.

I also heard the nurses speak to Rachel with incredible warmth and patience. For a half-hour they pleaded, waited, tried again and again. When Rachel succeeded, they praised her sincerely. After the curtain was drawn back, Rachel was lying motionless, milky fluid dripping from the bag hanging over her bed into her emaciated body.

A camaraderie soon developed between us and the middle-aged children of other patients. These friendships became a support that kept us going as we tried to meet our parents' stressful needs, as well as cope with raising teenagers, keeping a home, and managing a career.

On a pre-Christmas visit, as I walked into my mother's room, Rachel and her daughter were sitting together, looking out the window as they had done for days at a time.

"We've had our Christmas present already," her daughter announced. "Today mother said she could see the snow bending the trees outside. She can even see the icicles hanging from the roof."

The daughter's elation was contagious. Seeing was miraculous. So were words. I had watched Rachel writhing and groaning for days. I had doubted

that she would have a positive experience ever again. Her success became ours.

Another time, as I sat with my mother, an eighty-five-year-old lady wheeled into the room, her head down, her feet mobilizing the wheelchair. Her arm was in a sling and both hands were so crippled I could see why she didn't use them to turn the wheels.

"Mind if I come in?" she asked, heading right for my chair.

"Not at all," I whispered. She tried to look up, but her gnarled body made it impossible.

Her name was Sophie, and I was charmed by her assertiveness. She was making the system work for her. If she had to be here, she was going to see that she met new people. No staring at the wall for her. "Can't stand that room. Too depressing," she declared. "I'm going to get better and go home where I belong." I hoped she could, though I wondered how she would ever manage alone.

She told me about herself, her fifteen-year widowhood, her fall on the ice, her hospital stay. When we had exhausted our conversational options she asked me to head her out the door so she could find another friend.

Two hours later I heard the physical therapist asking for Sophie. "I've been in there ten times today trying to find her," he called to the head nurse. "She's never in her room. How can I help her if I can't find her?" I chuckled at his frustration. When he did lasso Sophie some time later, I listened to their exchange in the hall. Brad, the physical therapist, was helping her walk and exercise her broken elbow.

"You've got to look up, Sophie. You have to try to see where you're going."

It took a lot of effort, but she struggled to cooperate with Brad. In his voice was affection and concern and hope. Rest homes aren't always defeating.

During the supper hour Sophie rode back into mother's room, this time carrying a cottage cheese carton.

"Would you help me?" she asked, handing me the carton.

"Surely. What do you need?"

"My teeth are in this box. I need them so I can go to supper. Will you rinse them? I can't get to the sink alone."

I was complimented that Sophie's pride didn't stop her from asking for help.

My next visit to the nursing home showed an improved Rachel. The food tube was in her nose because she still couldn't swallow. But she was trying to talk and was being readied for physical therapy. A nurse's aide came to take her to "PT" in her wheelchair.

"Hi, Rachel. You look pretty today. How about a smile?"

Groans.

"Can you say, 'okay'?"

Mumbling.

"That's coming, Rachel. I can tell you're trying. Now, 'okay'."

More sounds, but no words.

"How about a smile, then?"

Struggle, then a faint smile.

"Oh, Rachel. I'm so proud of you. I know you're trying." The nurse hugged her. "I love you," she said.

Even visiting the nursing home was an intense emotional experience. For each positive incident there were several negative ones — both for the staff and the families. It was not easy to remain cheerful.

In mid-December I overheard one employee complaining about having been assigned the Christmas afternoon shift. "They can manage with less staff," she complained. "Why do *I* have to be the one who comes in?" Knowing that my mother could not leave the home that day, I wished for compassionate care at a time that would be hard for us all. The reassurance came when another nurse told me, "I get to work Christmas morning. I love my friends here, and I want to be with them when they wake up that day."

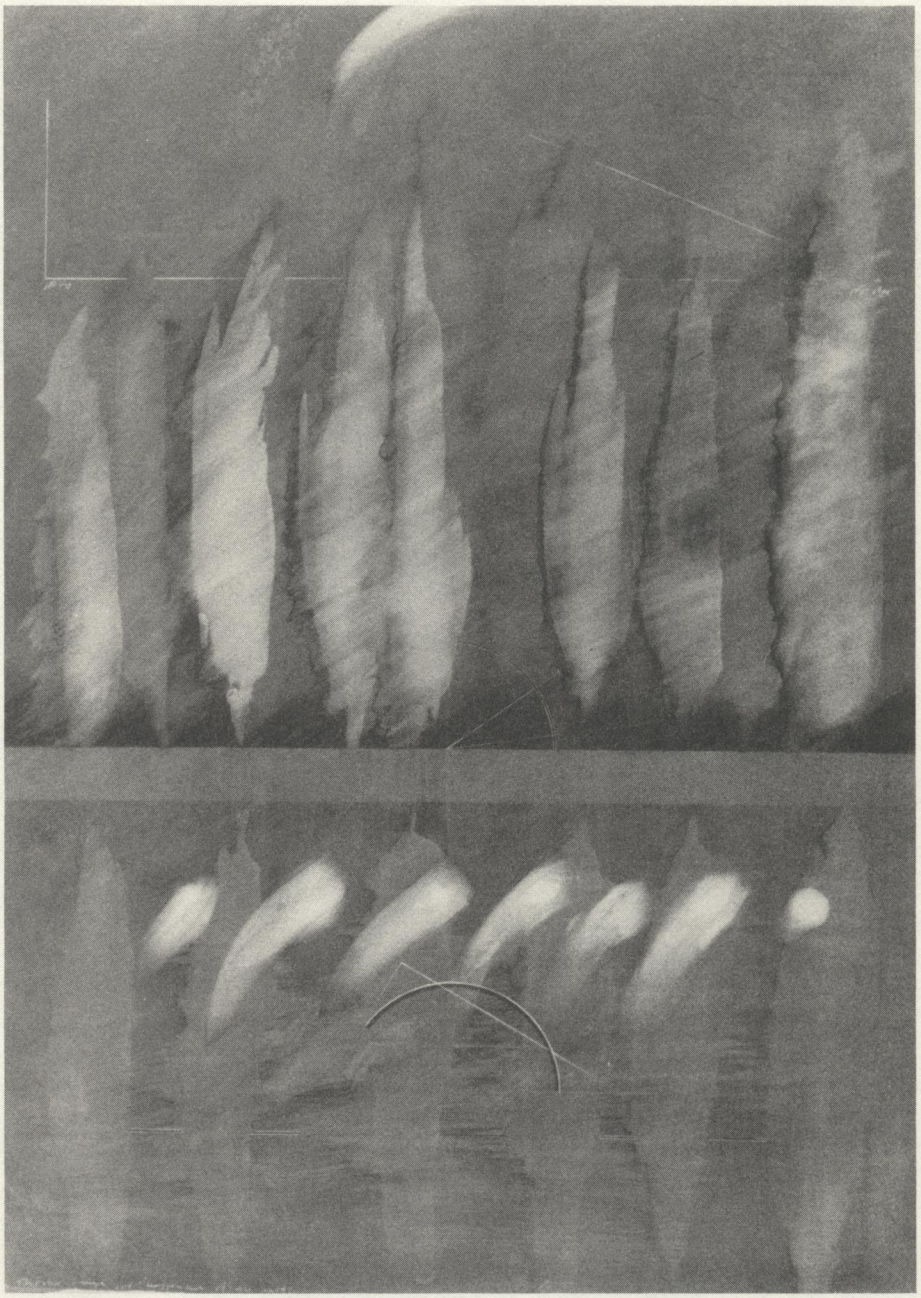
Carolers came to the nursing home several times during the holiday week. Youngsters were prodded along the halls by their advisers as they sang "We Wish You A Merry Christmas." The residents smiled at the children's faces, but cried, too — longing for a merry Christmas yet realizing that happy seasons were likely in the past.

There is some unpleasantness in a nursing home. Many of the patients are cantankerous or listless. Others won't dress, eat in the dining room, shave, or bathe. Some complain constantly. When life revolves around the bathroom, a meal, sitting, staring, and bathroom again, no wonder depression and bitterness set in.

None of this nullifies the small triumphs, though. John, who called "Die! Die! Die!" finally ventured into the hall. Bertha, totally paralyzed, learned to drive her motorized wheelchair and the staff dubbed it her "hot rod." Mother bravely avoided complaining, bearing her pain privately. Bessie, Chloe, and Florence enjoyed "getting pretty" in the home's beauty shop.

It seems that people who don't know the inside of a rest home, except for a quick holiday visit, miss an important part of human experience — even a sublime part. Amid physical and mental deterioration, pain and loneliness, the elderly struggle to achieve dignity.

Until mother's illness we had been content to drive by rest homes. We had deprived ourselves, for inside is compacted an intensity of human experience. We now know that some of life's toughest tests are met there. And we shall meet them too.



The Sacred Shout

Steven H. Heath

Introduction

One of the least known rites of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the sacred hosanna shout. Elder Bruce R. McConkie has written:

> At the dedicatory services of temples and in certain other solemn assemblies, the saints follow the pattern set by the Prophet Joseph Smith at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple and give the hosanna shout. While standing, ordinarily with faces toward the east, and waving white handkerchiefs with each word or phrase of praise, the united congregation exults:
>
> Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna
> To God and the Lamb
> Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna
> To God and the Lamb
> Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna
> To God and the Lamb
> Amen, Amen, Amen! (1966, 368)

Perhaps the most unusual occurrence of this shout came in 1886 at the Utah State penitentiary in Salt Lake City. Many Mormon men were serving prison terms for unlawful cohabitation, including Lorenzo Snow, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve. At President Snow's funeral, Rudger Clawson, called just seven days before as his second counselor, spoke of this unique experience:

> He called the brethren together (there were some thirty-five or forty in all) and said in substance: "We have been sent to this place and are associated together in prison. It will be our privilege, if we so desire to express our feelings to the Lord by offering up unto Him the sacred shout." . . . The sacred shout was then offered up within those prison walls — a great and mighty shout to God and the Lamb. The foundation of the prison seemed to shake, and the shout ascended to heaven (CR, Oct. 1901, 95; Madsen 1980, 197).

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When was the hosanna shout first used in the Church? What motivated its establishment? What forms has it taken? What are its doctrinal connections? And how have shout participants felt about it?

THE ORIGIN OF THE SHOUT

Though the shout's origin is most often associated with the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in the spring of 1836, its use had been commanded on at least three earlier occasions (D&C 19:37, 36:3, 39:19). In the first of these revelations given March 1830, Martin Harris was commanded to preach the gospel, "even with a loud voice, with a sound of rejoicing, crying-Hosanna, hosanna, blessed be the name of the Lord God!" Similar injunctions were given to Edward Partridge in December 1830 and James Covill in January 1831.

It appears that some gave this shout even before they joined the Church. Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, and others while contemplating the message of the Mormon missionaries in 1832 experienced a remarkable vision. They later recalled, "These things caused such great joy to spring up in our bosoms, that we were hardly able to contain ourselves, and we did shout aloud, Hosannah to God and the Lamb" (*Mill. Star* 26 [6 Aug. 1864]: 504). Elder Seymour B. Young recalled that his father, Joseph Young (a brother of Brigham), had said Hyrum Smith gave the hosanna shout during the Zion's Camp March in 1834 (CR, April 1915, 125–26). In these cases, a single individual or a small group shouted.

Shouts of hosanna echoed within the Kirtland Temple's unfinished walls as early as 21 January 1836 (HC 2:382). The pentecostal pre-dedication experiences of the Saints during the next three months formalized the shout and made it a group expression of fervor and faith. On the day of dedication, 27 March 1836, coupled with singing of William W. Phelps's "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning," the hosanna shout was the supreme event of the day. Joseph Smith's history reports, "We sealed the proceedings of the day by shouting hosanna, hosanna, hosanna to God and the lamb, three times sealing it each time with amen, amen, and amen" (HC 2:427–28).

As a result of its association with the Kirtland Temple, it had acquired three characteristics: its form, its sacred reservation for special occasions, and the need to have it led by Church leaders.

MOTIVATIONS

Joseph Smith does not indicate a reason for establishing the shout. Perhaps a Palm Sunday celebration at Easter could have brought questions to the mind of the Prophet. It may also be that the practice originated when Joseph Smith was making his revision of the Bible between 1830 and 1833. He may have become aware of the chanting of Psalm 118 and the waving of palm branches at the feast of Tabernacles or more likely the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem as recorded in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John when jubi-

lant crowds chanted Hosanna (Matt. 22:9, 15; Mark 11:9–10; John 12:13). The Book of Mormon also contains several instances of shouts of hosanna. The most dramatic was the appearance of the resurrected Christ to the Nephites. After this unique encounter, "they did cry out with one accord, saying: Hosanna, Blessed be the name of the Most High God!" (3 Nephi 11:16–17).

Lael J. Woodbury, former dean of BYU's College of Humanities and Fine Arts, has suggested that it was instituted as part of the temple ordinance restoration. He said: "It is my judgement, however, that the Saints received complete instruction in its form and usage, over a period of time, during events attendant to the dedication of the Kirtland Temple" (1979, 271).

The first formal use of the shout occurred in a context suggesting that it "sealed" a temple ordinance after it was performed. Joseph Smith's use of the term *sealed* in connection with the dedication lends itself to this interpretation as do several separate incidents preceding the dedication.

On 21 and 22 January 1836, following each series of anointings with oil of the priesthood quorums (the Patriarch, the First Presidency, the Bishopric of Zion, the Quorum of Twelve, the High Council of Zion, etc.), the quorums shouted hosanna (HC 2:381, 382, 383). That the shout was used as a sealing for these ordinances is evidenced by the Prophet Joseph Smith's words on 6 February 1836 when the anointings of the High Priests and Elders were sealed:

> Called the anointed together to receive the seal of all their blessings . . . .I labored with each of these quorums for some time to bring them to the order which God had shown me, which is as follows: The first part to be spent in solemn prayer before God, without any talking or confusion; and the conclusion with a sealing prayer by President Rigdon, when all the quorums were to shout with one accord a solemn hosanna to God and the Lamb, with Amen, Amen, and Amen (HC 2:391).

For those unable to attend the Sunday dedication on 27 March, a second dedicatory service was held Thursday, 31 March where "the services of the day were commenced, prosecuted and terminated in the same manner as at the former dedication" (HC 2:433). A year later, a special solemn assembly celebrated not only the seventh anniversary of the Church's founding but also sealed the previous week's anointings. Elder Wilford Woodruff relates:

> While all the anointed present lifted their hands towards heaven this first presidency of the Church confirmed & sealed upon our heads all the blessings of our ordination, annointing, etc. & the seal was confirmed with uplifted hands to heaven Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God & the Lamb, Amen, Amen, & Amen. Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God & the Lamb, Amen, Amen & Amen. Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God The Lamb, Amen, Amen, & Amen (1:132–33).

In 1839 as the Quorum of the Twelve made their way east from Illinois to their European missions, they stopped in Kirtland to preach and see old friends. On Sunday, 17 November 1839, Brigham Young anointed John Taylor and Theodore Turley in the temple. These anointings were then "sealed by loud shouts of hosannah" (Watson 1968, 57–58; HC 4:21).

HISTORY OF THE SHOUT

After the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, the shout was given formally on only five occasions during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. The first was the 6 April 1837 solemn assembly at Kirtland. The second came when the cornerstones of the Far West Temple were laid on 4 July 1838, following Sidney Rigdon's fiery and politically imprudent "Salt Sermon." Elder Parley P. Pratt said: "This declaration was received with shouts of hosannah to God and the Lamb with many long cheers by the assembled thousands, who were determined to yield their rights no more, unless compelled by superior power" (Pratt 1973, 173–74; HC 3:41–42).

The next two occurrences of the shout came in connection with the mission of the Twelve to England. Joseph Smith was not present on either occasion. The first was the anointing of John Taylor in November 1839, and the second came when Brigham Young "landed on the shore [and] gave a loud shout of hosannah." He had been confined to his berth with seasickness for the entire trip but had promised such a shout before leaving Illinois (HC 4:102–4; Watson 1968, 69).

The last time Joseph Smith participated in a hosanna shout was 11 April 1844, two days after his last and perhaps greatest general conference where he delivered his famous King Follet sermon. Meeting with the recently organized Council of Fifty, Joseph Smith said: "had a very interesting time. The Spirit of the Lord was with us, and we closed the council with loud shouts of Hosanna!" (HC 6:331; Watson 1968, 165).

The shout was performed infrequently through the remainder of the nineteenth century. Table 1, which does not claim to be complete, lists many of these.

In the twentieth century, the shout has been reserved almost exclusively for temple dedications, rededications, or a rare performance at a solemn assembly in a temple. One interesting exception was a hosanna shout given by Cache Valley seminary students in the spring of 1939 under the direction of district supervisor J. Karl Wood. Russell R. Rich, a seminary teacher at the time, indicated that the valley's four seminaries practiced the shout prior to their songfest on the Logan Temple grounds, then Wood led the combined groups in the shout at the conclusion of the singing (Rich, 1984). Another notable exception was a hosanna shout at the Centennial General Conference. On Sunday, 6 April 1930, thousands on Temple Square and within KSL radio range shouted with President Heber J. Grant as the Church celebrated its first 100 years (CR April 1930, 21–22). In addition, local Church leaders led special performances of the shout in hundreds of wards and branches throughout the world on the same day and, where possible, at the same time (CR April 1930, 2; Clark 5:272–73).[1] Thus, every member of the Church was given the unique opportunity to shout hosanna on that remarkable day.

[1] For examples, see minutes of ward sacrament meetings on 6 April 1930 for Barnwell Ward, Taber Alberta Stake; Kanab Ward, Kanab Utah Stake; Hurricane South Ward, Zion Park Stake in Historical Department Archives.

TABLE 1

HOSANNA SHOUTING, 1844–1900

Date	*Occasion*
24 May 1845	Laying Nauvoo Temple capstone (*Times and Seasons* 6 [1 June 1845]: 926)
21 July 1847	Entering Salt Lake Valley (O. Pratt, 1912: 944–45)
27 Dec. 1847	Reorganization of First Presidency under Brigham Young at Winter Quarters (Roberts 3:317, Clark 1:338–39)
10 Aug. 1848	First harvest in Salt Lake Valley (Roberts 3:335)
4 March 1852	Utah Territorial Officers and Wives social and party following a talk by Governor Brigham Young (Woodruff 4:102)
11 April 1852	General conference (Journal History, 11 April 1852)
17 March 1853	First usable iron produced in Iron County (Richard Harrison Journal, 17 Mar. 1853)
6 Oct. 1862	General Conference (*Deseret News*, 15 Oct. 1862)
9 Nov. 1871	Groundbreaking for the St. George Temple (*Millennial Star* 36 [21 April 1874]: 255)
24 July 1875	Brigham City — Celebration and baptism of 300 Lamanites. Lorenzo Snow led in shout (*Millennial Star* 37 [23 Aug. 1875]: 550)
9 April 1882	General conference (*Millennial Star* 44 [29 May 1881]: 342)
17 May 1884	Dedication of Logan Temple (*Millennial Star* 46 [23 June 1884]: 391)
8 April 1886	Territorial State Prison (CR, Oct. 1901, 95)
21 May 1888	Dedication of Manti Temple (*Millennial Star* 50 [25 June 1888]: 404)
27 Oct. 1890	Stake Conference and dedication of Brigham City Tabernacle (Woodruff 9:120)
6 April 1892	General Conference — Laying Salt Lake Temple capstone (*Millennial Star* 54 [11 July 1892]: 435)
6 April 1893	General Conference — Dedication of Salt Lake Temple (*Millennial Star* 55 [29 May 1893]: 353)
2 July 1899	Special Solemn Assembly of Church leaders to present Lorenzo Snow's revelation on tithing (Romney 1955, 470; Journal of Anthon A. Lund, 2 July 1899)

FORMS OF THE SHOUT

During the 150 years of Mormon hosanna shouts, some differences in its performance have been recorded. In the Kirtland Temple, participants gave the shout with uplifted hands, most likely with upward gestures on each word or phrase (HC 2:386–87; Woodruff 1:132–33). At the reorganization of the First Presidency in 1847, according to Norton Jacob's journal, participants struck the right fist into the palm of the left hand on each word or phrase (Journal History, 5 Sept. 1848, 4). At the 1862 general conference, participants clapped their hands together (*Deseret News*, 15 Oct. 1862). Beginning in 1892, with the capstone laying at the Salt Lake Temple, participants

waved handkerchiefs with each word or phrase (*Millennial Star* [11 July 1892]: 435; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 April 1892). The tradition of waving handkerchiefs has continued to the present.

Minor changes in the wording have occurred. When compared to the version used at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, the 1847 version has one "amen" after a triple hosanna and "to God and the Lamb," then it concludes with a triple amen (Journal History, 5 Sept. 1848, 4). In the 1862 version, each triple hosanna was followed by a triple of the phrase "to God and the Lamb" (*Deseret News*, 15 Oct. 1862). In the 1871 version, after the third triple hosanna and "to God and the Lamb," the words "forever and ever" are added, followed by a triple of amens (Walker, 9 Nov. 1871; *Millennial Star* 36 [21 April 1874]: 255). In the 1882 version, after each triple hosanna and "to God and the Lamb" comes a "forever and ever worlds without end" (Roberts 1892, 365; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 April 1882). The 1892 and 1930 versions have the same wording as the 1836 version. Today's version differs from the 1836 version in that the triple amens come only once at the end of the shout.

HOSANNA MUSIC

Music has been associated with the shout since the singing of the W. W. Phelps hymn "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning" at the Kirtland Temple dedication. George D. Pyper said of this hymn, which had been included in the Church's first hymnbook, "the full measure of its emotional and spiritual power was not reached until it climaxed the dedicatory services" (1939, 88). The Phelps masterpiece has remained the musical basis for the shouts ever since. Evan Stephens, the Tabernacle Choir's conductor, incorporated the hymn into his "Hosannah Anthem" for the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893, bringing a unique blend of choir and congregational participation to the temple dedications. He remained involved in composing special music for the hosanna shout for nearly fifty years (*Millennial Star* 46 [23 June 1884]: 391 and 55 [29 May 1893]: 353; CR April 1930, 20).

Though the anthem and Phelps song are still used most frequently with the shout, they are not the only music that has been used. One of the most interesting selections was the choice of "America" following the shout given at the centennial conference (CR April 1930, 22). Even at temple dedications a variety of music has been used with the shout. At the 1945 dedication of the Idaho Falls Temple, in addition to the "Hosannah Anthem" and "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning," the hosanna shout was also followed by Mormon favorites: "The Morning Breaks; the Shadows Flee," "This House We Dedicate to Thee," "I Need Thee Ever Hour," and "Let the Mountains Shout for Joy" (Zobell, 565). The shout followed by appropriate music is one of the most dramatic and emotional experiences one can have in the Church. They complement each other in a remarkable way. Modern day observers may feel even as Job declared that "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy" (Job 38:7).

Doctrine and the Shout

As with some other historical events or practices in the early Church — among them the First Vision (Allen 1980) — doctrinal development associated with the shout does not occur until after 1880. In 1892 B. H. Roberts wrote after describing the use of the shout in the Church: "Indeed the shout was older than that, older than the everlasting hills which now listened to it — aye, older than the earth itself! For was not this the shout which shook the heavens before the foundations of the earth were laid, when 'the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy' " (Roberts 1892, 365; CHC 6:546). Lorenzo Snow, who led the shout more than any other general authority in the Church's first seventy-five years, reiterated what Roberts had said in the 1899 solemn assembly, saying that the shout was that "given in heaven 'when the sons of God shouted for joy' " (Romney 1955, 469–70). The centennial message of the First Presidency in 1930 implies that the shout was used by the angelic hosts announcing Christ's birth (Clark 5:277). The 1981 LDS edition of the King James Bible says "hosanna" means "save now" and was used at the Feast of Tabernacles when the waving of palm branches was prominent. It implies that the shout was used on Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem (LDS Bible Dictionary, 704–5).

With the surge of temple building in recent years many of these ideas will continue to be advanced. No doubt new ones will be suggested. The first historical studies of the shout were advanced only within the past few years (Durham 1973; Woodbury 1979). To the Saint today, the shout is an expression of great joy of the Saints in every dispensation.

Feelings of Participants

Few participants recorded their feelings about the shout. B. H. Roberts, no doubt speaking for himself, wrote:

> This shout of "Hosanna" is given only on very great occasions. It is usually given three times in immediate succession; and when voiced by thousands and sometimes tens of thousands in unison, and at their utmost strength, it is most impressive and inspiring. It is impossible to stand unmoved on such an occasion. It seems to fill the prairie or woodland, mountain wilderness or tabernacle, with mighty waves of sound; and the shout of men going into battle cannot be more stirring. It gives wonderful vent to religious emotions and is followed by a feeling of reverential awe — a sense of oneness of God (CHC 3:317).

More recently, Eugene England has recalled his feelings at participating in the hosanna shout at the Oakland Temple dedication:

> The experience, especially that first time, could have seemed awkward or even bizarre — mature citizens of the down-to-earth twentieth century, in business suits and college tweed and stylish bouffant hairdos, waving handkerchiefs over our heads and actually shouting hosannas. But President Brown, in explaining the procedure to us and then leading us with his own special dignity, which is intellectual and moral as well as physical, helped invest the experience with a solemn joy that was overwhelming; it was a full-hearted and full-voiced response to the prophetic prayer we had just

> heard. And I do believe, strange as it perhaps seems for me — a skeptical, rationalist, university-trained professor of English — to be saying this, that we were joined by spiriual beings whether former prophets, angelic messengers or repentant sinners who had similar reasons to our own to rejoice (1974, 62).

Of his second experience at the Washington, D.C., Temple dedication he continues: "We were then ready to shout hosannas and we did. And then joined in that unique expression of Mormon culture, not particularly esthetic, perhaps, but serving much higher values than art, when we united with our leaders and a chorus of our peers in one great circle, our eyes wet with joy but our voices not choked, singing the Hosanna Anthem" (1974, 66–67).

A rare report by a nonmember who witnessed the hosanna shout of the conference of 1882 was written by Phil Robinson of the New York *World*:

> Nor could anything exceed the impressiveness of the response which the people gave instantaneously to the appeal of their President for the support of their voices. The great Tabernacle was filled with waves of sound as the "Amens" of the congregation burst out. The shout of men going into battle was not more stirring than the closing words of this memorable conference, spoken as if by one vast voice (Roberts 1892: 366).

In 1892, a reporter for the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune* wrote: "It was a novel sight to witness 40,000 people shouting all at the same time and waving their handkerchiefs. The coloring from an artistic point of view, was beautiful. There were every color of handkerchiefs that one could imagine, although white predominated. There were blue handkerchiefs, red, yellow, black, purple, and pink. This shout was repeated three times" ("The People Shout," 7 April 1892, p. 1).

Having been privileged to participate in a hosanna shout once in my life — at the rededication of the St. George Temple in November 1975 — I can only echo the feelings of others. It was "one of the most dramatic and impressive ceremonies" that I have ever had occasion to witness. The powerful emotions of singing "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning" only added to that remarkable personal experience.

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Seasoning

Thomas Asplund

I

That fine white burst of bush blossom
Has come again. Blast-
ing through the winter crust
And scattering the afterbirth of spring,
        It crept to us from under the eave
        Through the dark cloak of winter's sleeve
        The brutal blossoms break and heave
        And smash the antique, lacquered leaves;
And I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

Can't you smell the violence of it —
        the banditry of birth?
In that reckless resurrection
        fair boughs burn
        and fair boughs glint
The menace of spring's silence.

II

The smallness of it all makes one wonder;
the sitting on a smooth bank
in the river smell and sun
and ants and grass
tickling up the sleeve.
The dry kiss
and the moist kiss.
The baby reeling through the grass on reckless legs
and you
stretching, head back amid the rubble of our feast,
reaching beyond me for the tiny sun
blink

        you are gone with the flick of an eye

        blink
gone are the empty cartons of a summer day

THOMAS ASPLUND teaches law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada, and has previously published poetry in DIALOGUE.

blink
gone is the shameless sun.
Suddenly my child stands before the tiny sun
a giant shadow before the tiny sun
and I can see that in his reeling quest for age
he has stolen my years
and shatters in the prism of my tears
and with the tiny river I am young no more.

III

Now that smoky Tuesday is past
We have shelved the patchwork counterpane
And closed the camphor chest.
The world melts through wet windows;
The chill warm wash of rain
Brushes down the shingle siding.

In this room —
In the weary hum of silence
I sit cross-legged in the gloom
Before the dusty delicacy of family china
In its glass-faced tomb.

IV

In the thin part of the afternoon
When light, like a loved child,
Is gone too soon and Earth shrinks small
And cold like the breast of an aging mother,
I discover myself on the other
Side — the thin black back
Of a mercury mirror, too cold
For quick, too black
For silver,
Where once I stood
Behind a parent's brooding oaken dresser
Hiding from an afternoon of childhood.
Hiding from both
The fact and the reflection.

Winter Burial

Carol Clark Ottesen

Grey clouds, March-heavy hung over
an old and mottled snow that day
we brought him there to you.
I stepped on headstones to avoid
the mud and deer dung just in time
to see the grey steel box descend.

I watched a knifing wind whirling
a leaf into a dance over
your name engraved in stone,
then softly you came whirling in
green organdy with your blond hair
catching and falling as you danced

to him. For him. He caught you there
in joy's small hand, crushing the violets
at your waist. The earth spoke life.
Your children came and danced around,
bound by the cord they loathed to loose,
yet now so far from this grey day
you cast the pieces of your sun,
indiscriminate and shining.

Who can weep with all this gaiety,
with green mud-splattered organdy
whipping in a wind like laughter,
violets falling on our cheeks as
you and father with a grand indifference
dance squarely on the stones?

CAROL CLARK OTTESEN teaches English at California State University — Dominguez Hills. She has published a book of poems and contributed an essay to Mormon Women Speak.

Grandmother Envisions Her Own Death

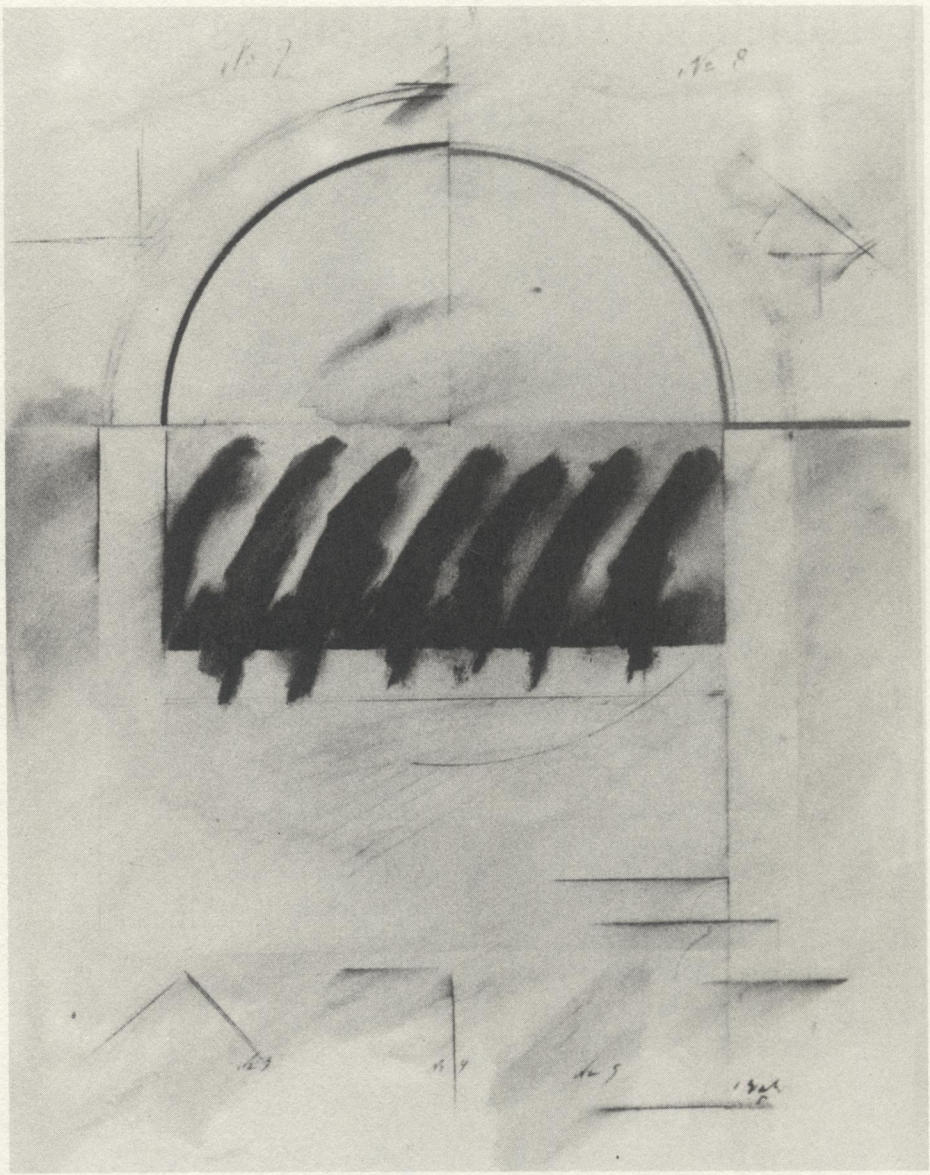
Helen Walker Jones

A white pillar will glow from the sand as I die.
Those backyard trees will shake their empty pods
against the sky. My moldy body will sink
into its bed, smothered by sinners.
In my red dress, I'll trek upward on Elijah's pearly ladder.
Who says white is the only holy color?

I plan to molt this old yellow skin
like a papery snake, but without venom.
In Paradise, my blue-breasted parakeets
will sing me home. Mother will kiss
my whitened eyes. My soul will glow with fire
until my body's reunion in the first morning.

Mormon will polish his armor. Alma will awaken
speechless, at my feet. At my request,
Moroni will play "The Four Seasons" on his trumpet,
invoking my Delbert to shuffle off his mortal body
on the back row of the Creation Room,
his abandoned flesh white as my eyes.

HELEN WALKER JONES has published fiction in Harper's, Cimmaron Review, Florida Review, *and* DIALOGUE. *She is an MFA candidate at the University of Utah.*



God of Our Fathers

Alan Meyer

GOD GAVE DAVID NIGHTMARES. The flame-eyed giant hurling thunderbolts from the mountain of heaven, hair and beard blown back by the storm of righteous wrath — it was he who haunted the boy.

David knew his father was dead. He knew he was nearly an orphan, but it was an intellectual knowledge. It didn't mean anything. He didn't feel it. The feeling part of him expected his father to come striding through the door, drop his briefcase, and hold open arms to catch David on the fly. It had been only three days since the accident. His father was often gone on business trips for a week or more. David felt that the news of his father's death was a mistake or perhaps a twisted joke he was too young to understand. He didn't believe any of it until he opened the old book he found in the funeral home's waiting room.

He was supposed to be looking at magazines, but they were all grown-up magazines, full of small print and dull pictures. The room was uncomfortable, too warm and sweet smelling. His nose was stuffing up and his neck itched from the tight collar and tie. David slid off the tufted leather couch to examine the glass-doored bookcase.

It wasn't locked. "If it isn't locked, they must not care if I open it," he told himself. Even so, he still looked over his shoulder before pulling back the doors.

The smell was wonderful, a dried leathery richness that was the antithesis of the cloying cut-flower perfume of the room. One book caught his attention. It was bigger and thicker than the rest, so big it wouldn't fit upright on the shelf but lay across the top of the others. The ribbed leather binding was surprisingly soft. *Ancient Heroes of the Bible*, the cover said, in deeply embossed gold letters an inch high or more. David traced his fingertips over the shining words. His hand started to shake. The heavy book slid from his grasp. It thumped open on the dark wood floor.

ALAN MEYER is a native of Ogden, Utah, where he teaches theater at Bonneville High and English at Weber State College.

On the open page was the picture of his nightmares. God the Father raging against chaos with an upraised lightning bolt. The picture looked almost three dimensional. It seemed to David as if the icy-eyed Creator was blasting a universe from the void by the overpowering force of his fury. David knew this God, Lord of wrath and vengeance, Creator and Destroyer.

At first, he didn't realize his fingernails were scratching at the thick paper. It felt so right: the rhythmic digging, the brittle page shredding under his fingernails. Tears blurred his vision. He clawed at the face until the page ripped.

The trip from New York's East Side to his grandfather's northern Utah sheep ranch seemed like the last bus ride to oblivion. David had only met his grandfather once, two years ago, when the patriarch had stayed with them for a week and left cursing the city as "a piss hole in the snow!" David thought the description fit the old man's homestead much better.

The housekeeper told him, "Your grampa's most likely out around the barn with them new lambs."

Fifty yards behind the house was the barn and holding pasture. David opened the gate and a ewe immediately tried to nose her way out. Although the size of the animal frightened him a little, it ran off into the pasture when he waved his arms and stamped his feet. There were a few more sheep by the water trough, but otherwise the pasture was empty. A little chill of disappointment shuddered through the boy. He'd been looking forward to petting the lambs. He kicked at the ground in frustration and noticed something odd. The barnyard dirt was littered with little blue marbles. He picked one up. They were damp, not quite round, and fleshy.

A familiar voice from behind the barn made him drop the curious object and follow. He dragged his fingertips along the barn's weathered siding as he followed the voice. The white paint flakes crumbled beneath his fingernails.

"Hold him still, Jack. I almost got 'em." The hired hand gripped the lamb tightly as the grandfather pulled down the scrotum and sliced it open. Another quick cut, a sharp bleat from the lamb, and two more blue marbles lay in the dirt.

"That's the last one, Mr. Sinclair." The hired hand stood up to stretch and saw a pale boy staring at him. "This the new hand you were expectin'?"

"Davie!" the grandfather smiled, stretching the white bristles on his broad chin. "Come here, boy. I thought you weren't due 'til tomorrow." The old man wiped the knife on his levis and put it in the belt sheath. "We're all done castrating these lambs. Come on over and meet Jack."

"You sure do favor your mother, boy," Jack said and shot a little stream of tobacco juice out of the corner of his mouth. "Spittin' image." The old man laughed. The boy neither moved nor spoke.

"Come to the house. I'll show you some pictures of your mother when she was a girl here." David still stared at his grandfather. Jack looked at his employer for a moment and then looked at the ground. The old man started toward the boy. David ran. "Wait a minute!"

"Let 'im go, boss. You chase a scared lamb and it'll run itself to death." Jack put his hand on the old man's shoulder. "He's a city kid, ain't he?"

"Born and bred."

"I don't think he understands about the lambs. Probably thinks it's cruel or somethin'." Jack kicked dirt over the lamb testicles.

The old man pushed back his thick white hair and looked at the sky. "Maybe the high country sun will clear up his thinking." He gazed into his friend's eyes. "At least that's what his mother hopes."

"Took his dad's death pretty hard, huh?"

"Never shed a tear. Denies the accident ever happened."

"Think you ought to go look after 'im? I can finish up here."

The grandfather slapped Jack on the back and strode out after the boy. The side door to the barn was ajar. Inside David sat on a pile of straw. He was petting the barn cat. "Well, I'm glad you calmed down and found a friend." The grandfather crossed toward him but stopped when he saw David stiffen. "Be careful of that cat, boy. She's about half wild. I can't even get near her." David held up a kitten, still wet from birth. "Well, look at that would you! Haven't been here an hour and you're already delivering new livestock!"

David looked at his grandfather. He was struck by the old man's eyes, pale blue as his own, the fires of a glacial lake shown from their depths. The metallic taste of the nightmare rose in his mouth.

The runt had been the last one born. As soon as he saw her, he was in love. Less than half the size of her littermates, she looked not quite finished. Her back legs were much longer than the front. She slanted forward like some of the cars in the hot rod magazines. It was this "jacked up" rear that gave David the inspiration for her name. "Dago," he said softly as he held the kitten to his cheek.

Dago was too small to fight his way to a nipple. David was afraid he would starve. "You could feed it with an eyedropper," suggested his grandfather, "but it'll take constant watchfulness for that bit of a thing to make it."

"Yer wasting your time, kid," Jack told him. "That little fly speck will be lunch for the first rat crosses its path."

"I'll protect Dago. I won't let anything happen to him."

He spent the rest of that day in the barn, caring for Dago. The housekeeper forced him to come in for supper.

"Davie, you ain't goin' out to fool with that kitten again!" the housekeeper called after him as he left the table.

"I have to go check on Dago."

"Mr. Sinclair, you better have a word with this boy. It just ain't normal the way he dotes on that animal. Besides, it's gettin' cold out there and he ain't used to this mountain air." The old man knelt to meet his grandson's eye level.

"Look, Davie. Why don't you check on your cat later? You come watch a little TV with me." He winked and inclined his head toward the frowning

housekeeper. "It'll get her off both our backs. Okay?" David wanted to shake his head no and run to the barn, but his grandfather's eyes froze his tongue, held his feet. He felt himself nod and take the calloused hand. It was the same hand that would tuck him in later that night, after he fell asleep watching television.

A single eye, trailing a short strand of ragged nerve and sinew, was all that remained of the kitten. The mother cat dropped that morsel when David screamed. The boy stared but did not see, contemplated but did not comprehend — until the shaking started.

It started in the hands, a few spasms of the fingers, spreading to the wrists and up the arms. In the shoulders they became heaving. David looked as if he were the epicenter of an earthquake but nothing else moved. The palsy shook his body until his knees buckled. As he fell, he grabbed out for support. His fingers closed around the weathered handle of the pitchfork. The shaking stopped.

In a single motion he lifted the fork from the wall pegs and spun around, flinging it the length of the barn. The pointed tines splintered into the sunlight, impaling the cannibal parent. As one voice, the screams of cat and boy rang against the mountain.

The barn door flung open, scraping up a cloud of dust. A towering silhouette shattered the bright sunlight into swirling beams. "What the hell was that scream!" The voice choked. The settling dust let him see his answer. "My God." It was neither shouted as an oath, nor whispered as a prayer. The words had no relationship to the ordinary flow of conscious thought. They arose from some chasm of the mind reserved for moments of high surrealism. He knew what he saw was impossible, the barn cat, crucified by pitchfork. Most unreal of all, his grandson, pulling the glistening pitchfork from the dying animal, was raising it to strike again.

The grandfather ripped the fork from the boy's hands, knocking him against the horse stall.

The giant was still a black silhouette against the sun-spun dust, but now he bore a lightning bolt. The fork gleamed in the grandfather's hand. "God damn you!" shouted David and charged.

It was just a slap, but the old man had hands like shovels. Everything went white for an instant. There was a sound like the ocean roaring. Then nothing.

"Davie? Please, son." The old man cradled the small head in his hands. There was a dark stain in the dirt where the blood dripped from his ear. The eyes fluttered open and glared at his grandfather's face, mouth opening and closing, lips working, but completely silent. The ringing in David's head was overpowering. All was lost in the howl of the storm.

"Why? Why would you do such a thing?" Like a spell to erase the horror, the old man kept repeating the question. David glanced down at the tiny blue orb. His grandfather picked it up. The eye glistened in his dirt-caked palm. "Dago," he whispered.

David saw the deep lines beneath the old man's eyes fill and flow with tears. One fell upon the boy's cheek and mingled with his own. The bristled jaw felt good against his face. "Help me," David heard a boy's voice say.

David's sleep that night was dreamless but for the vision of a white haired giant, down from the mountain to bring him peace.

A Survey of Current Dissertations and Theses

Stephen W. Stathis

"KNOWLEDGE IS A COMFORTABLE AND NECESSARY RETREAT and shelter for us in advanced age," Lord Chesterfield told his son in 1747, but "if we do not plant it while young it will give us no shade when we grow old." It is clearly evident that a number of emerging Mormon scholars have recently taken this counsel to heart.

Charles Millard Turner's book length study of Joseph Smith III presents an insightful perspective on Smith's leadership as the first president of the RLDS Church as well as his life-long crusade against Utah Mormonism. The complex and multiple reasons that led to the establishment and dissolution of the Mormon community of Winter Quarters, Missouri, are detailed by Richard Edmond Bennett.

Music enthusiasts should read Fern Denise Gregory's descriptive survey, "J. Spencer Cornwall: The Salt Lake Mormon Tabernacle Choir Years, 1935–1957."

By exploring how the powerful familism found in Mormon doctrine has survived its origins largely intact, Larry Kent Langlois develops some interesting prospects for Mormon families in the future. Marie Cornwall examines the processes by which Mormons develop and maintain their religious beliefs through socialization and continued interaction with others.

Mormonism's political prowess is ably discussed in Roger Milton Barrus's examination of the early political development of Utah and in Michael Q. Croft's evaluation of the Church's influence on the state's politics during the past four decades. Charles W. Watson provides a biographical sketch of John Willard Young's efforts to secure statehood for Deseret in 1887.

Other facets of Utah history are covered by Thomas Robert Carter's study of folk architecture in the Sanpete Valley, 1850–1890 and by Larry Morgan Logue's description of the early beliefs and demographic behavior in early St. George. Linda Jeanne Mealey provides an analysis of the relationship between the socio-economic status of early Mormon immigrants and their marital

status and fertility; and Cynthia Jane Sturgis details the bureaucratization and social change in Sevier County between 1900 and 1930.

Architecture

Bezzant, John Mark. "The Design of a Temple for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." M.Arch. thesis, University of Utah, 1985.

Carter, Thomas Robert. "Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah's Sanpete Valley, 1850–1900." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1984.

Athletics and Sports

Herlinger, Frederich Ernst. "A Position Statement Drawn from an Analysis of the Tenants of Four Christian Churches and the Ethics Found in Athletic Competition." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Miller, Ronald Floyd. "Character Education and Development of Moral and Spiritual Values: Implementation in Graduate Department of Physical Education Sports at Brigham Young University, 1979–1983." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Birth Control

Duke, Joanne. "Mormon Attitudes Toward High Risk Pregnancy: Birth Control, Prenatal Diagnosis and Abortion." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, College of Nursing, 1985.

Biography

Crall, Shari Siebers. " 'Something More:' A Biography of Martha Hughes Cannon." Senior Honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Madsen, Carol Cornwall. "A Mormon Woman in Victorian America." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985. Biography of Emmeline B. Wells.

Stephens, Doug R. "Quiet Power, A History of James Grey Willie." M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1985.

Turner, Charles Millard. "Joseph Smith III and the Mormons of Utah." Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1985.

Deseret Alphabet

New, Douglas Allen. "History of the Deseret Alphabet and Other Attempts to Reform English Orthography." Ed.D. diss., Utah State University, 1985.

Education

Anderson, Ted Stephen. "Assessing the Effect of Cooperative Strategies in Released-Time Seminary Classes." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Beckstead, Benjamin Gary. "Reducing Student Disruptive Behavior in Classrooms Through Norm Setting: A Study of Secondary Religious Education." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Boren, Phillip LeRoy. "An Evaluation System to Improve Instruction in the LDS Church Educational System." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Carter, Leonard Dale. "The Development of an Adversarial Employment Relationship Between Teachers and Boards of Education in Utah, 1940–1970." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985.

Checketts, Paul Conrad. "Perceived In-Service Needs of Religion Teachers and Administrators of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Crandall, Dorothy J. "The Relationship Between Teenage Preference for Rock Music and Their Attitude Toward Education, Church and Family." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Day, Bartley "E". "Factors Inhibiting Information Flow Between Brigham Young University and American Indian Students: A Case Study." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Halladay, Ann. "A Computerized Interview Selection Sign-Up System at Brigham Young University Placement Center: Student Reaction." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Halladay, Scott Jacobson. "A Study of the Recallability at Two Southern California LDS Institutes of Religion." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Hill, David Henry. "Perceptions of Parents and Teachers of a Bi-Weekly Report System in Selected LDS Daytime Seminaries." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Hunter, Linette Su'apa'ia Alapa. "An Analysis of the 1961–1970 Women Graduates of the Church College of Hawaii: Their Professional Status and Factors that Affect Their Aspirations for Administrative Leadership Roles." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Peterson, Erlend D. "The Brigham Young University Touch-Tone Telephone Data Entry and Computer Voice Response Registration System: An Analysis of Student Acceptability." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Pugsley, Sharon G. "The Board of Regents of the University of Utah, 1850–1920: Historical Development and Prosopography." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1984.

Sofa'i, Eneliko. "The History of Education in American Samoa to 1984." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Tanuvasa, Alofa Seniolo Luatu. "Western Samoan Students at BYU-Hawaii: Academic Achievement and Aspirations for Teaching in Western Samoa." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Tuia-Poumele, Claire Salafai. "American Samoa Teachers Involvement in Curriculum Development." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

Wade, Robert Graham. "Early Morning Seminary Teacher Selection Criteria and Procedures, 1984." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1985.

Winkel, Bryce J. "A Comparison Between Utah and Idaho/Washington Student Attitudes and Expectations Regarding Seminary, Seminary Grades, and Seminary Academic Work." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

FAMILIES AND MARRIAGE

Beuhring, Jane C. "Strengthening the Family: A Guide for LDS Single Parent Mothers." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Hooper, Douglas A. "Marital Choice in a Marriage Market Squeeze." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1983.

Langlois, Larry Kent. "Mormons and the Family." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1984.

Mealey, Linda Jeanne. "The Relationship Between Cultural Success and Biological Success: A Sociobiological Analysis of Marriage and Fertility Patterns in Nineteenth Century Mormon Utah." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1984.

Reynolds, Robert Wesley. "Level of Marital Adjustment and Spiritual Well-Being among Latter-day Saints." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Thalman, Gayleen Wayman. "Religious Activity and Time Use of 149 Utah Husbands." M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1982.

Government, Law, and Politics

Barrus, Roger Milton. "Religion, Regime, and Politics: The Founding and Political Development of Utah." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1984.

Croft, Michael Q. "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945–1985." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985.

Diggs, Diana Teddy. "Ideology of the Land-Grant Movement: The Cases of Utah and Wyoming." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1985.

Henry, George Washington, Jr. "Obscenity in Zion: A Study of Utah Obscenity Law." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1985.

Watson, Charles W. "John Willard Young and the 1887 Movement for Utah Statehood." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1984.

International Studies

Ballow, Michael Henry. "Mormons, LDS Theology and the Nuclear Dilemma." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Chadwick, Jeffery Rock. "BYU Summer Study in Israel: A Survey of Attitude Change." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Olson, Daneil C. "The Role of Brigham Young University in the Arab Development Society Dairy Project for Palestinian Orphans: A Case Study in Private Bilateral Foreign Aid." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

Local History

Logue, Larry Morgan. "Belief and Behavior in a Mormon Town: Nineteenth-Century St. George, Utah." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984.

Rohde, Nancy Ann Sessions. "Environmental Images of Utah's Dixie, 1847–1880." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1985.

Sturgis, Cynthia Jane. "Bureaucratization and Social Change in Rural Agricultural Communities: Sevier County, Utah, 1900–1930." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1983.

Migration

Bennett, Richard Edmond. "Mormons at the Missouri: A History of the Latter-day Saints at Winter Quarters and at Kanesville, 1846–52. A Study in American Overland Trail Migration." 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1984.

Missionary Work

Briem, Robert M. "Relationship Between Locus Control, Health Belief Attitudes, and Gastrointestinal Diseases among Missionaries in Chile." Ed.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984.

Mauerman, Peggy Sue. "Language Aquisition in French-Speaking Missionaries." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985.

MUSIC

Gregory, Fern Denise. "J. Spencer Cornwall: The Salt Lake Mormon Tabernacle Choir Years, 1935–1957." Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1984.

SOCIOLOGY

Cornwall, Marie. "Personal Communities: The Social and Normative Bases of Religion." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1985.

WOMEN

Evans, Vella Neil. "Woman's Image in Authoritative Mormon Discourse: A Rhetorical Analysis." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985.

Not Enough Trouble

Trouble Enough: Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon by Ernest H. Taves (New York: Prometheus Books, 1984), $19.95, 280 pp. and *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* by David Persuitte (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1985), 295 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by Kenneth H. Godfrey, Church Education System Area Director.

AT LEAST ONCE a decade, it seems, someone publishes a book about the Latter-day Saints without taking the necessary "trouble" to adequately research the subject. Stanley Hirshon was judged guilty of this offense in 1969 and received from the Mormon History Association its "Worst Book" award for his volume on Brigham Young. Ernest H. Taves, a Massachusetts-based psychiatrist with both Mormon and Mennonite roots, would be a strong candidate for the same award this year. David Persuitte, a retired Air Force computer expert, would follow, though at a considerable distance. His book, though seriously flawed in approach and evidence and uninformed in key areas, is at least neither trivial nor silly.

The title for Taves's book comes from the pen of Ebenezer Robinson who in his newspaper *The Return* (vol. 2, p. 315), published years after the event supposedly occurred, tells us that when Joseph Smith placed the handwritten manuscript of the Book of Mormon in the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House, he exclaimed, "I have had trouble enough with this thing" (Taves, p. 160).

In *Trouble Enough*, Taves attempts to write a biography of Joseph Smith, relying almost wholly upon Lucy Mack Smith's *History of Joseph Smith and His Progenitors* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), the *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts, ed., 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957), Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), Donna Hill's *Joseph Smith, The First Mormon* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), Gerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1972), and E. D. Howe's 1834 *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio: Published by the author, 1834).

His bibliography totals only seventy books, articles, and monographs, while Richard L. Bushman's book, *Joseph Smith and Mormon Beginnings* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), which, incidently, ends with the Prophet's move to Kirtland in 1832, has a bibliography which cites more than 700 documents. I use Bushman for comparison because he, too, lives on the east coast, far from the LDS Church Archives.

Trouble Enough begins with a chapter on the Prophet's ancestry, drawn mainly from Lucy Mack Smith's biographical sketches (which he describes incorrectly as a rare book) and the Solomon Mack narrative found in Richard L. Anderson's *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971). In Chapter 2, he moves the Smith family from Vermont to Palmyra in five pages. The narrative recounts money digging, the

First Vision, the bringing forth of the Book of Mormon, the Kirtland years, the troubles in Missouri, the founding of Nauvoo, and the Prophet's martyrdom, with hardly an innovative interpretation or thought to break the chronology.

Part 2 of this volume attempts to identify authorship of the Book of Mormon using stylometry. Stylometry, described as a "scientific recognition system for written or spoken utterances," began with Augustus De Morgan, the English mathematician and logician, in 1851. After delineating how it works, Taves then informs his readers that by using stylometry, he has discovered that the Book of Mormon was authored by only one person.

I would have been more impressed with this section had Taves provided an analysis of the weaknesses of stylometry as well as its strengths. Stylometry, contrary to what Taves writes, is not an exact science, and its use on the writings of Paul and Shakespeare have generated heated controversy. One argument has revolved around what constitutes a sentence in the New Testament Greek of the Apostle Paul. Stylometric studies are based, in part at least, on determining the average length of a writer's sentences. In old Greek manuscripts there is no punctuation. It is therefore difficult to determine just where Paul's sentences begin and end. Such judgments are subjective and not hazard free. Some of the same arguments used against those who have concluded that Paul did not author some of the New Testament books attributed to him could be made against the stylistic study of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon, which had, according to the printer, little, if any, punctuation (Stocks 1979, 10; Jessee 1970; Larson 1977).

One study using stylometry concluded that Thomas Jefferson did not write the Declaration of Independence, while another study, using the same methods demonstrated that the writings of the person who did the Jefferson study, were not penned by the same person (Ellison 1965). Several Latter-day Saint scholars, including Robert K. Thomas (1972), have found stylistic differences among Book of Mormon writers and have pointed out, for example, that Enos certainly wrote differently than did his son, Jarom. I did a character study of more than twenty Book of Mormon personalities and found them as diverse as many of those found in the world's other scriptures. The Book of Mormon is a very complex canon of scripture that ought not be dismissed as the product of one man's mind on the basis of statistical studies that are hardly foolproof.

Trouble Enough, moreover, has other weaknesses. Historians generally agree that for something to become history, facts have to be put together into a pattern that is understandable and credible. Only then will the resulting portrait of the past be usable and useful in making decisions and taking action. Mere "facts" listed and unlinked do not a history make, but rather a catalogue. Taves provides us with a cursory glimpse of some "facts" in the life of Joseph Smith but fails to provide the reader with the necessary linkage to make a strong historical chain. The reader gains no new insights into the Prophet nor into the Mormon movement. The book seems to have no telechy, or reason for being.

Taves, a psychiatrist, might have produced a significant book had he psychoanalyzed Joseph Smith and his family as did Dr. Jess Grosbeck, who reported his findings in a paper he read at the 1985 Sunstone Symposium. However, when Taves attempts a very brief (three-page) analysis of one of Joseph, Sr.'s, dreams, I find Grosbeck's (1985) conclusions regarding the same dream far more convincing than those of Taves. Grosbeck plows new ground by hypothesizing that the dream points to the destitute circumstances of the Smith family, both economically and socially, as well as the depression of the senior Smith. Taves seems to dig furrows in fields that have already been plowed, planted, cultivated, and harvested by merely stating that it is a dream about the

family expressing hope and promise. Taves then concludes: "Well, here is the stuff of myth, enough to keep a convention of amateur (or professional) analysts busy for a week" (pp. 7–8). Yet he fails to deliver the analysis called for by such a stimulating assertion. His book would be better had he, at that point, provided us with his own interpretation of the significance of this dream; but instead he chose to write two paragraphs, mostly containing questions accompanied with no more insight than an amateur could have provided.

Unlike Bushman, Taves did not do his homework regarding the Smith family's financial difficulties, nor did he compare their experiences with that of other Americans. He characterizes the Prophet's parents as being uniquely inept in their personal affairs, while Bushman was able to convincingly demonstrate that they were far more typical than unusual. Taves has some interesting census data relating to the size of the town of Palmyra that refutes both Brodie and Hill and convincingly argues that Palmyra during the Smith era was not a frontier but rather an established sizeable community. He also tells us that Palmyra had a black population of forty-six but fails to comment on the significance of this information.

Other areas which should have been fleshed out are Taves's account of Joseph's leg operation. It is unfortunate that he did not read LeRoy Worthlin's research (1981) on Joseph's illness, the operating physician Dr. Nathan Smith, and the surgery itself. His treatment of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the Charles Anthon experience would have been enhanced had he studied Joseph Knight's journal (Jessee 1976) and Stanley Kimball's essay (1970) on Martin Harris's visit to New York's professors. As an added detail, I am confident the people in Clarkston, Utah, would be surprised to find that the amphitheater they constructed for the Martin Harris Pageant overlooks, according to Taves, Utah's Cub River, which, in reality, runs more than ten miles east of the site.

Taves's treatment of the Solomon Spaulding manuscript and the Book of Mormon would have profited by a thorough reading of Lester Bush's fine article (1977) on that subject. Taves, furthermore, cites and draws conclusions from Oliver Cowdery's "Defense in a Rehearsal of My Grounds of Separating Myself from the Latter-day Saints," even though Gerald and Sandra Tanner proved long ago that it was a forgery.

Taves's writing of the Kirtland experience is equally lacking in sound scholarship. He shows no evidence that he has read the prize-winning monograph Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer wrote on the Kirtland economy, nor Milton C. Backman, Jr.'s, *The Heavens Resound* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), or even Max Parkin's twenty-year-old master's thesis "Conflict at Kirtland" (M.S. Thesis, BYU 1966). *Zion's Camp*, by Roger D. Launius (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1984) would have been a helpful resource, but Taves seems unaware of its publication as well. His chapter on the Book of Abraham is dated and displays his ignorance of Donl Peterson's research establishing the mummies' discovery, their arrival in the United States, and additional facts about both Lebolo and Chandler reported at Mormon History Association meetings (in Millet and Jackson, 1985). Stanley B. Kimball's fine article (1981) regarding the Kinderhook plates would also have impacted his treatment of that subject.

Taves's short chapters on the Missouri period show the same neglect. He seems unaware of Leland Gentry on the Danites (1974), and Gentry's thousand-page dissertation (1962) on the Mormons in northern Missouri. His failure to consult William Russell's *Zion Is Fled* (Ph.D., University of Florida, 1962) and Max Parkin's dissertation is an additional flaw in this volume.

So much has been written on Nauvoo, John C. Bennett, plural marriage, the Council of Fifty, and the martyrdom —

all of which Taves failed to research — that I wonder just why this book was published. It has very few insights, no innovative interpretations, and no evidence of new documents on the Prophet and the Latter-day Saint movement. It is unfortunate that, at a time when so many really fine studies of Mormonism are appearing, Taves wrote and Prometheus Press published such an inferior study.

Even before the Book of Mormon was published there were rumors and innuendos regarding its origin. For many years it was the consensus of non-Mormon writers that Joseph Smith was too unlearned, too mentally dull, to have written the book. The Reverend Solomon Spaulding has been, perhaps, the most popular candidate for such honors. However, Ethan Smith, the Vermont minister who entered Dartmouth College the year after Spaulding graduated, has been at least first runner-up in the balloting. Now, after a two-decade lull, David Persuitte, who has spent a decade researching and writing *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*, has revitalized the thesis that Joseph Smith's primary source was Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*.

Here is Persuitte's reconstruction of the history of the Book of Mormon: Oliver Cowdery, a relative of the Prophet who lived in Poultney, Vermont, met that community's most illustrious leader, Ethan Smith, author of a manuscript entitled "View of the Hebrews." Fearing that the book's publication would detract from his scholarly reputation, he gave a copy to Oliver Cowdery who, some time in 1825, gave it to Joseph Smith. Joseph studied the manuscript, taking notes from it. At the same time, he did extensive research (again taking notes) from such newspapers as the *Wayne Sentinel*, the *Ontario Phoenix*, the *Palmyra Freeman*, and the *Palmyra Herald*. He also read the scholarly journal *Archaeologia Americana* and such books as Francisco Clavigero's *History of Mexico*, C. E. F. Volney's *View of the Soil and Climate of the United States*, *The Six Books of Proclus, The Platonic Successor, on the Theology of Plato* (the latter titles were translated into English by Thomas Taylor), and Thomas Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State*.

Blessed with a fertile imagination and natural story-telling ability, Joseph Smith understood well the psychology of religion, having picked it up from revivals. Arming himself with Ethan Smith's outline, Joseph concealed himself behind a blanket and placed the outline in a hat, sliced to let light in. He then slowly dictated the Book of Mormon, one page per day, to a series of scribes including Oliver Cowdery, whom he pretended to have first met in 1829.

Again according to Persuitte, the first 116 pages were lost; and to persuade Martin Harris to finance the publication of the book, Joseph Smith turned what had been a secular story into a religious history, made a set of dummy plates for people to handle through a cloth covering, and finalized the hoax by publishing it in 1830.

Persuitte's book is more than a superficial comparison of *View of the Hebrews* with the Book of Mormon. He has put together the early history of the Smiths gleaned from non-Mormon sources. He has, moreover, given additional, valuable information regarding the controversial 1826 trial and has provided biographical information on Ethan Smith, Solomon Spaulding, and the juggler, (con man) Walters, whom he identifies as Winchell, a counterfeiter and money digging friend of Joseph Smith's, that has not previously been published. His appendices, in four parts, have additional insights regarding the rodsmen of Vermont, the Book of Mormon and modern archaeology, the Spaulding theory, and the book of Abraham controversy. This is a serious work, moderate in tone and thoughtfully written.

Unfortunately the author spent too much time consulting with the Reverend Wesley P. Walters and Michael Marquardt, both of whom have spent a great deal of their energy attempting to discredit both Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon

origins. Thus, the book is seriously flawed, presenting a slanted picture of Joseph Smith and Mormon origins. The publication would be far better if the writer had spent the same time and effort studying Mormon sources, thereby avoiding questions that have already been answered.

The very first sentence in the volume rehashes the issue of Joseph Smith's signing the title page of the Book of Mormon as "Author and Proprietor." Persuitte says this means Joseph was admitting he was the writer, not the translator of the book as the Latter-day Saints claim. The fact is, Joseph Smith was complying with federal law (see 1 *Statutes* 124, 1790, as amended by 2 *Stat.* 171, 1802), which dictated the words the district clerk had to write when a person was taking out a copyright on a book. It can be demonstrated historically that many translators, including those who produced the 1824 edition of the King James Version of the Bible, were listed as "Author" to conform to this law ("Joseph Smith: Author and Proprietor," *FARMS Update*, Aug. 1985).

John L. Sorenson in *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985) answers many of the questions raised by Persuitte regarding language, culture, food, weapons, animals, location of Nephite and Lamanite lands, pre-Spanish horses, wheels, methods of warfare, and Quetzalcoatl. (See also Joseph Allen, "A Comparative Study of Quetzalcoatl, the Feathered Serpent God of Meso-America, with Jesus Christ, the God of the Nephites," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1970). While his book was published about the same time as Persuitte's, many of Sorenson's scholarly articles have been available for more than two decades.

Eugene England answers the objections raised regarding the route Lehi and his family took from Jerusalem to the sea ("Through the Arabian Desert to a Bountiful Land: Could Joseph Smith Have Known the Way?" *FARMS* pamphlet, 1982, pp. 1–14). Literally hundreds of scholarly articles have appeared showing that the Book of Mormon is a very complex document. Some illustrate Near Eastern culture, Jewish law, and ancient patterns of treaty making. Others illustrate a writing style known as chiasmus, and another even shows throne theophany in the book. It is regrettable that Persuitte refers to none of these documents.

Such deficiencies, glaring as they are, are not the most serious weakness of this book, however. Barbara Tuchman tells us that good historians do not go beyond their evidence (*Practicing History*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981, p. 18). Persuitte's book is fatally flawed because he constantly goes beyond available documents, even those that can be classified as anti-Mormon. He fails to produce any evidence that Joseph Smith met Oliver Cowdery before 1829, or that Joseph Smith ever read *View of the Hebrews*. Also, proof is lacking that Joseph Smith ever knew about Solomon Spaulding or Elias Boudinot, who wrote the book *Star of the West*, espousing also a Hebrew origin for the American Indian. Furthermore, he consistently uses such sentences as "Contemporary newspaper accounts of the digging activities would, of course, verify the later reports. Unfortunately, there are none that are known" (p. 38). Also, "At this point, Joseph's active imagination would have taken over and begun to consider the possibilities" (p. 118). On still another page the writer in a single paragraph uses the following phrases, "by assuming," "we can only speculate," "we can perhaps perceive" (p. 128). Yet no evidence is cited as to why we must assume, speculate, or perceive. These sentences appear with no supporting evidence or footnotes. They are strictly conjecture.

Unfortunately most of these leaps beyond the documents occur where Persuitte is attempting to verify his thesis that Joseph Smith got his ideas for the Book of Mormon from *View of the Hebrews*. Perhaps it is Persuitte who is the born storyteller with the fertile imagination and not Joseph Smith.

Thus, while the book has an interesting theoretical construct, it fails to substantiate its major thesis and must be classified as only the latest in a long line of anti-Mormon books that fail to provide a more plausible story than that traditionally accepted by Latter-day Saints.

Persuitte's book does, however, point up the need for competent historians to explore the New England of Joseph Smith's day and the possible environmental impact it might have had upon the Prophet and the early Saints. Richard Bushman suggests the need to explore Mormon origins. We also need a historical treatment of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, as well as a study of Joseph Smith's library, the Palmyra library, and the intellectual ideas among New England's common folk. There is much new ground to be plowed regarding Joseph Smith. Moreover, some of this plowing is already beginning. For example, FARMS researchers have recently completed a study of *View of the Hebrews* documenting many instances of radical differences from Ethan Smith's book (*"View of the Hebrews*: An Unparallel," *FARMS Update*, Oct. 1985). Other studies will be forthcoming as this interest continues.

Both William of Occam and David Hume wrote that one credits a miraculous explanation only if alternatives are more miraculous (Daniel McDonald, "Occam's Razor," *The Language of Argument*, New York: Harper and Row, 1983, p. 29). In the case of Persuitte's book, one comes to the conclusion that it is a greater tax on human credulity to believe his thesis than to believe the story the way Joseph Smith told it.

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At Ease with His Past; At Home with His Art

Goodbye to Poplarhaven: Recollections of a Utah Boyhood, by Edward A. Geary (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 163 pp., $8.95.

Reviewed by Lance E. Larsen, M.A. candidate in English, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

I DISCOVERED ED GEARY'S ESSAYS by chance — a friend happened to mention them to me: "You've got to read them; they're about growing up in Utah, and they're excellent." Curious, but not so curious that I wanted to shell out $8.95, I borrowed a copy of DIALOGUE, which contained one of Geary's latest essays, "The Ward Teacher." I got around to reading it a few nights later in a parking lot by the purple glow of a street lamp.

From the first paragraph I was involved in the essay. I was the newly ordained teacher walking along with Brother Rasmussen to make visits. I could see myself sitting in the kitchen with the Meeker brothers, who never married and probably never would, or wiping my feet on Sister Woodruff's doormat and catwalking into her impeccable living room, or shaking hands with Billy Evans and his blind wife, then listening enthralled to his stories about being protected from the unsleeping ghosts of Gadiånton robbers:

> They was moving along in the trees at the side of the road. . . . When I stopped, they stopped, and it was as still as death. When I begun to move again, they begun too. . . . Well, I begun to call on the Lord, you bet. . . . I told him that if he would help me out this here one time, I'd stay clear of beer joints and wouldn't do nothing to offend him. And lo and behold . . . . A great light. It was something like the moon, but it wasn't no moon, it didn't shine nowhere else only just round about me. . . . I was protected you see, and they daresn't come any closer. Next morning, though, we found our sheep dead and not a mark on them (p. 141).

With that introduction, I hurried to the bookstore the next day and asked for a copy of *Goodbye to Poplarhaven: Recollections of a Utah Boyhood.*

As the title of the volume indicates, the twenty-three essays describe what it is like to grow up in Utah, specifically southern Utah. The first section deals with early childhood experience; the second traces seasonal rituals of a small farm town; the third develops diverse themes viewed from a more adult perspective. Many of the essays have appeared by different titles in both DIALOGUE and *Deseret News.* The volume itself is soft bound, cream colored, with a black-and-white illustration on the front cover, by Ralph H. Reynolds, showing a road and a few struggling poplars. Other sketches by Reynolds, a Utah graphic artist who died in 1984, are used throughout the volume.

The reference in the title to Poplarhaven might confuse some Utah readers since there is no town in Utah by that name. In an author's note Geary explains that the town he is actually describing is Huntington, nestled between Price and Green River. "I call it Poplarhaven," says Geary, "not to conceal a reality but to reflect my awareness that the place as I experienced . . . it will inevitably be different in some respects from the place that others have known" (Author's Note). And in another essay, also printed in Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert's anthology, *A Believing People* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), Geary explains: "Indeed, my private boyhood name for the town, replacing the prosaic Huntington, was Poplarhaven, and I used to imagine myself immortalizing it in fiction someday as Joyce did his Dublin or Faulkner his Jefferson" (p. 169).

Geary's range in these essays is impressive. One moment he is talking about predictable topics such as Christmas or the Fourth of July or high school basketball or harvest time; the next moment he is

telling how fun it is to poke around the flour mill or tease Retty Mott, the renegade lady of the town who once danced with Butch Cassidy. But throughout all the essays one notices Geary's sensitivity — the detail, the quiet voice, the carefully turned phrase. Geary is a gifted craftsman, but his talent goes beyond mere craft. Literary critic C. S. Lewis made an observation that perhaps sums up Geary's greatest strength: "No man who bothers about originality will ever be original: whereas if you simply try to tell the truth . . . you will, nine times out of ten, become original without ever having noticed it" (1943, 190).

That is how Geary achieves his originality. He tells the truth. You feel as if you've just slipped on a pair of comfortable overalls (as a child Geary hated them as unglamorous — cowboys never wore them) and that you're walking around town and through the fields with an amicable farm boy who explains things as he goes. Blair West, a friend of my sister, heard excerpts read over KSL radio from Hillsboro, Oregon. Blair, who grew up south of Payson, said, "It was so real. That's just exactly the way it was."

I have never milked a cow or bucked hay; but after Geary, those experiences seem like my own. Below the surface details of the essays lie themes that *are* my own: the reality of family, work, and love; ruminations about religion; the fears of adolescence; the need for belonging; the more important need of becoming an individual; the reality of change and war. As I read about Geary's experiences, I found myself rewriting my own.

Geary's literary triumph is muted by the diminishing status of the personal essay as a serious literary form. According to E. B. White, whose essays were published regularly in *The New Yorker* until his death in 1985, "the essayist must be content in his self-imposed role of second-class citizen. . . . A writer who has his sights trained on the Nobel Prize or other earthly triumphs had best write a novel, a poem, or a play" (1977, vii).

Despite limited interest in the genre, certain critics of Mormon letters see the personal essay as possibly the truest form for Mormon writers. Eugene England, whose collection of essays, *Dialogues with Myself* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), won the Association for Mormon Letters prize in 1985 as Geary's did in 1986, thinks the personal essay is "most congenial to the Mormon vision and experience" (1982, 132). Columnist Clifton Jolley calls the personal essay "utterly responsible, its point of view is owned. In it, one may take neither comfort nor refuge in the satisfaction of pose or form; one must face the beast, naked and alone" (1978, 138).

E. B. White also speaks of the essayist's integrity, for although he has freedom "there is one thing the essayist cannot do . . . he cannot indulge himself in deceit or in concealment, for he will be found out in no time" (1977, viii).

Geary meets this test, in my opinion, in "The Girls across the Valley," an essay that captures the rush of adolescent love and longing: "I remember the airiness of summer dresses as a crowd of girls walked arm in arm up the Bench Road on a Sunday afternoon, girls with skinny, coltish limbs, and features still forming, beauty in the bone in process of becoming beauty in the flesh" (p. 100).

"Hying to Kolob," my personal favorite, explores a boy's understanding of the mystery and marvel of immortality:

> Then the undertaker pressed a lever, and the coffin sank smoothly into the straight-sided hole. I remember with a special clarity how straight and clean-cut the sides of the grave were, like the walls of a house, or rather, since the grave was so narrow, like a hallway leading from one room to another, perhaps a part of a great subterranean mansion whose dim, cool chambers stretched on and on (pp. 46–47).

Geary's essays stay with me. I keep remembering certain people: Len Wight, the hired man with a devilish grin; Jim Wilson, the farmer who made an art of swearing; and Mr. Nagelvoort, the transported

New Englander who wore tweeds and flannels instead of overalls. These, coupled with vivid images and cadenced phrases, leave me with a portion of Poplarhaven's richness, which Geary sums up in "Harvest Home":

> "Nothing is nicer," Grandpa used to say, than a full barn and a full granary." . . . Abundance is what remained when the threshing was done and the mellow Utah autumn slid gradually into winter . . . evidence that we reap as we have sown. And abundance in the memory which lasts long after the barn and granary are empty hulks, for sometimes we also reap where others have sown (p. 109).

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The Code Revealed

The Great Code: The Bible and Literature by Northrop Frye (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), xxiii+261 pp., $14.95.

Reviewed by Steven deHart, professor of German and humanities at Behrend College of Pennsylvania State University, Erie, Pennsylvania.

NORTHROP FRYE, perhaps North America's pre-eminent literary critic, is not a name ordinarily associated with scriptural exegesis. Yet his name virtually assures that this volume will be read and analyzed by those in literary fields, no matter what one may think about the topic or approach. Frye describes the Bible similarly: "Whatever we may think about it . . . it insistently raises the question: Why does this huge, sprawling, tactless book sit there inscrutably in the middle of our cultural heritage like the 'great Boyg' or sphinx in *Peer Gynt*, frustrating all our efforts to walk around it?" (pp. xviii–xix)

To appreciate fully what Frye has given us, readers should keep the book's subtitle in mind. This is clearly not a volume that deals with the Bible *as* literature. In *The Great Code*, readers will not encounter discussions of the similarities between biblical stories and later works of fiction and poetry. Instead, they will be treated to an analysis of how the Bible serves as the repository of much of the Western world's cultural mythology.

Frye himself describes *The Great Code* as neither a work of biblical scholarship nor of theology, but rather as "a study of the Bible from the point of view of a literary critic" (p. xi). His original intention seems to have been to examine some of the ways in which the Bible has influenced its literary readership through the ages. Instead, he has surpassed that aim and has written an enlightening discussion of the structure of the Bible's narrative and imagery and of the linguistic conventions that make quite different demands on a reader of the Bible than are made on a reader of current fiction.

The book is divided into two parts, entitled "The Order of Words" and "The Order of Types." Part one contains chapters dealing with language, myth, metaphor, and typology; in part two, Frye presents the same four topics in the opposite order. This chiastic structure makes it immediately apparent that he intends to demonstrate an interrelatedness and symmetry to all the topics he will be covering. Frye is a great believer in cycles, loops, reflection, and doubling back. The very struc-

ture of his book mirrors his major theme: that the biblical narrative is composed of opposites that have similar functions within their own frameworks.

Frye's introduction to typology could serve as an introduction to this book as well if one were to substitute "Part One" and "Part Two" for "Old Testament" and "New Testament":

> Everything that happens in the Old Testament is a "type" or adumbration of something that happens in the New Testament, and the whole subject is therefore called typology, though it is typology in a special sense. . . . What happens in the New Testament constitutes an "antitype," a realized form, of something foreshadowed in the Old Testament.
>
> This typological way of reading the Bible is indicated too often and explicitly in the New Testament itself for us to be in any doubt that this is the "right" way of reading it — "right" in the only sense that criticism can recognize, as the way that conforms to the intentionality of the book itself and to the conventions it assumes and requires (pp. 80–81).

Because scholars often seem most adept at ignoring the obvious, typology is a subject neglected in scholarship, even theological scholarship, and is frequently scorned because it is assumed to be bound up with a doctrinaire adherence to Christianity.

One of the areas in which the book shines is definitions. For example, "language" is not tongues, such as German, English or Italian, but the inherent relationship between an idea or object and the verbal expression thereof.

As a second example, Frye makes it clear that when a scholar uses the word "myth," he or she means "a sequential ordering of words." It does not imply "a story that is not really true." To Frye, as to many others, the words "the Bible tells a story" are the same as "the Bible is a myth." Indeed, "myth" is quite the opposite of "not really true"; the word is used to describe a text as being charged with special seriousness and importance.

The Great Code is by no means a traditional Bible commentary, nor does Frye have specific theological points he wants to make. As a result, one need not believe or disbelieve the Bible's religious message to benefit from Frye's discussion, but a sensitive reading of his text should demonstrate that scholarship and faith are not antitheses. To those who would equate scholarship and faith, Frye points out that tangible "proofs" of scripture belong to a mentality that is quite different from the one that produced the scripture, and that those who find it necessary to use such "proofs" have shifted their criterion of truth from scripture to some other reference. In one of the terse gems with which this book is filled, he doubts that "an uncritical attitude is spiritually closer to truth than a critical one" (p. 46). However, he also cautions those who feel uncomfortable dealing with the Bible as a spiritual guide against approaching it from only a poetic standpoint, because there are far too many unpoetic parts to the Bible to support such an approach. Besides, he tells us, such a view reduces Jesus to a fictional character who tells parables about other fictional characters.

In the second part of *The Great Code*, Frye discusses the U-shaped narrative structure of the Bible, a form recognized elsewhere as a common structure of comedy: Humankind loses the tree and water of life at the beginning of Genesis and gets them back at the end of Revelation. In like fashion, Frye's manuscript takes a U-turn at midpoint and covers its topics again in reverse order but on a different plane. Similarly, a reader starts the journey through this book with a discussion of the origins and uses of types of language and concludes by reading that polysemous (with more than one meaning) writing is a feature of all deeply serious writing, and that the Bible is the model for serious writing.

One of this volume's major points is that our current cultural framework often keeps us from understanding the language used by those who wrote the collection of books now known as the Bible. Even though

we may be reading translations of the earliest manuscripts, the translators through the ages, Frye tells us, were able to understand language in a way quite different from the way we do today. Much of today's literary scholarship is an attempt to demonstrate how a reader must go beyond mere words to understand truly what any literary creation attempts to convey to its reader.

As if to illustrate his point that a work's content may be more than the sum of all the words that form the text, Frye uses a "metalanguage" in this book: *The Great Code* is itself written in a "great code." The book's structure is a reflection of the structure which he claims is an essential part of the Bible's content. One disadvantage of this literary technique, however, is that a reader may find the book's message obliquely presented. Fortunately Frye also mentions a useful approach to *The Great Code*. He is speaking here of the Bible itself, but the same method will be of great help when dealing with Frye's own book: "The critical operation begins with a reading of the work straight through, as many times as may be necessary to possess it in totality. At that point the critic can begin to formulate a conceptual unity" (p. xii).

I would encourage the potential reader of *The Great Code* to follow Frye's recommendation. On first reading, the book may seem to follow the antithesis of the scholarly motto "eschew obfuscation"; but for those who persevere, there is a great body of insight that reconfirms the central importance that the Bible holds for our cultural world.

BRIEF NOTICES

Tabernacle by Thomas H. Cook (New York: Pinnacle Books, 1983), 325 pp.

WHY, A READER MAY JUSTIFIABLY ASK, is a book titled *Tabernacle* illustrated with a close-up of the Salt Lake Temple? Because, the author will rapidly disclose, local color is an important part of this novel of religious murder but accuracy isn't. (The cover also shows, behind the temple, not only the tabernacle but also some amazing snow-covered peaks where the Great Salt Lake used to be.)

And what, as long as we're playing guessing games, do a black prostitute, a controversial investigative reporter, an official in Church Public Communications, and a BYU coed have in common with William B. Thornton? Answer: They're all dead. The only difference is that Thornton was executed in 1858 by a firing squad for killing Indians and the others have been murdered, along with incidental victims, in a recreation of Thornton's holy murders in the nineteenth century.

Who, in this novel of chic sleaze, can stop the mad killer? Not squeaky-clean Mormon cop Carl Redmon. Instead (slouch on stage left), cynical ex-New York cop Tom Jackson, too jaded and world-weary with his own past even to have an interesting sex life, will bring everything to a rousing finale in the very tabernacle itself, providing one of the most unlikely Sunday afternoon sessions of general conference ever.

Community Development in the American West: Past and Present Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Frontiers edited by Jessie L. Embry and Howard A. Christy (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, 1985), viii, 237 pp., $8.96.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS nine essays dealing with past and present development of communities in the West delivered as lectures sponsored in 1980–81 by BYU's

Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. Essays are "Human Issues in the Development of the American West and Other Less Developed Areas," by John L. Sorenson, "Paradoxes of Western Energy Development: Sociocultural Factors," by Stan Albrecht, "The Town on the Prickly Pear Flat: Community Development in Castle Valley," by Edward A. Geary, "Generations of Elites and Social Change in Phoenix," by G. Wesley Johnson, "Apostolic and Patriarchal Financing: The Economic Life of Heber C. Kimball," by Stanley B. Kimball, "Family Life and Rural Society in Spring City, Utah: A Basis of Order in a Changing Agrarian Landscape," by Michael S. Raber, "'All Things Unto Me Are Spiritual': Contrasting Religious and Temporal Leadership Styles in Heber City, Utah," by Jessie L. Embry, "Grass Roots Enterpreneurship in the Frontier West: The Allens of Cache Valley and the Coreys and Wattises of Weber Valley," by Leonard J. Arrington, and "Vengeance vs. the Law: The Lynching of Sam Joe Harvey in Salt Lake City," by Larry R. Gerlach.

A Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price: A Jewel Among the Scriptures by Jerald R. Johansen (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers & Distributors, Inc., 1985), 183 pp., $10.95.

JOHANSEN, A TWENTY-SEVEN-YEAR teaching veteran of the LDS Church Educational System, has compiled this volume from his lesson plans. This work focuses on the books of Moses and Abraham, omitting "Joseph Smith's History." Johansen begins with an historical overview of the Pearl of Great Price and continues with a discussion of the Council in Heaven, the creation of the earth, the fall of Adam, the first great apostasy, black civilization, Enoch's vision, and the writings of Abraham. He also discusses the Egyptian Book of Breathings, comparing it with the LDS temple ceremony.

Concordance of Doctrinal Statements of Joseph Smith edited by Truman G. Madsen (Salt Lake City: I.E.S. Publishing, 1985), 455 pp., $49.95.

THIS VOLUME IS A comprehensive concordance to the doctrinal statements of Joseph Smith. It includes, according to Truman G. Madsen, "all the key words plus one line of context in four primary sources of Joseph Smith's statements: *The Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* edited by Joseph Fielding Smith; *The Words of Joseph Smith*, comprising all the immediately recorded Nauvoo discourses of Joseph Smith, edited by [Andrew F.] Ehat and [Lyndon W.] Cook; excerpts from the *History of the Church*, not included in the two former volumes; and *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, all available letters and journal entries handwritten by the Prophet during his lifetime, compiled by Dean Jessee." This reference tool has a limited printing of 2,000 copies and is a valuable source for anyone doing research on Joseph Smith.

Lectures on Faith Prepared by the Prophet Joseph Smith Delivered to the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, Ohio 1834–35 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985), viii, 83 pp., $6.95.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS seven lessons known as the *Lectures on Faith*, which were delivered to the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, Ohio, during the winter of 1834–35. Joseph Smith stated that: "The classes, being mostly Elders, gave the most studious attention to the all-important object of qualifying themselves as messengers of Jesus Christ, to be ready to do His will in carrying glad tidings to all that would open their ears, eyes and hearts" (*History of the Church*, 2:175–76). Joseph Smith prepared the lectures for publication, and they appeared in the Doctrine and Covenants from 1835 until their removal in 1921. Even though the lectures appeared

in the Doctrine of Covenants they were "not to be regarded as of equal authority in matters of doctrine with the revelations of God in the Doctrine and Covenants," but, according to Elder John Smith "were profitable doctrine" (*History of the Church* 2:176, notes).

The lectures (which include a catechism for each) deal with: (1) the nature of faith; (2) "the object on which faith rests;" (3) "the character, perfections, and attributes of God;" (4) ideas and knowledge of God's attributes; (5) the nature of Deity; (6) the necessity of a personal knowledge that one's life is acceptable to God; and (7) effects or results that flow from true faith.

Churchmen and the Western Indians 1820–1920 edited and with an introduction by Clyde A. Milner II and Floyd A. O'Neil (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), xvi, 264 pp., $19.95.

MILNER, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR of history at Utah State University, and O'Neil, co-director of the American West Center at the University of Utah, have compiled this book emphasizing the interactions between churchmen and the groups of Indians with whom they lived and worked. Included are "Cyrus Byington and the Presbyterian Choctaw Mission" by W. David Baird, "John Jasper Methvin: Methodist 'Missionary to the Western Tribes' (Oklahoma)" by Bruce David Forbes, "The Mormons, the Indians, and George Washington Bean" by Floyd A. O'Neil, "Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J.: Courier of Catholicism to the Nez Perces" by Robert C. Carriker, "Albert K. Smiley: Friend to Friends of the Indians," by Clyde A. Milner II, and "'Straight Tongue's Heathen Wards': Bishop Whipple and the Episcopal Mission to the Chippewas" by Martin N. Zanger.

Les mormons: Theocrates du desert by Alain Gillette (Paris: Editions Desclee de Brouwer, 1985), 205 pp., 84FF.

THIS STUDY OF "A REMARKABLE EXAMPLE of a culture and society built around a religion" is a welcome explanation of the Mormons for the French public. However, while the author's treatment is admirably even-handed, the book offers limited insights for those familiar with the Church.

Gillette views the Church as a secular power built on sacred foundations, and similarities with Gottlieb and Wiley's *America's Saints* are evident. Unfortunately, *Les mormons* is marred by careless research: the selective bibliography lists fewer than thirty books, including Brodie's *No Man Knows My Story* (sic), statistics are garbled, and textual references are rarely cited. Chapter topics include history, politics, missionary efforts, genealogy, and a general chapter on diverse Church issues. Perhaps the most unique section of the book proposes a theory relating patriarchal authority to the Oedipus complex.

The most valuable aspect of this work is its European point of view, which makes Mormonism's American assumptions painfully evident. *Les mormons* would be worthwhile reading for anyone interested in the cultural problems faced by an American church in Europe.

ANNOUNCING

THE LOWELL BENNION ESSAY PRIZE

The editors of DIALOGUE are pleased to announce an annual prize in Lowell L. Bennion's name for the outstanding essay received each year concerning the expression of Christian values and gospel principles in thought and action. Honoring the ties between religious principles and humane service, taught and exemplified so beautifully by Lowell Bennion over the years, essays considered for the Bennion Prize should explore the power of Christian beliefs and values, provide insights regarding their application, shed new light on the problems and challenges of Christian living, and exemplify a gracefulness of style appropriate to DIALOGUE's purposes and readership.

Essays received prior to November 1 each year will be considered for this Prize, winner to be announced in the spring issue of each volume. A cash prize of at least $350 will be awarded the author. Judges will be drawn from DIALOGUE's Editorial Board.