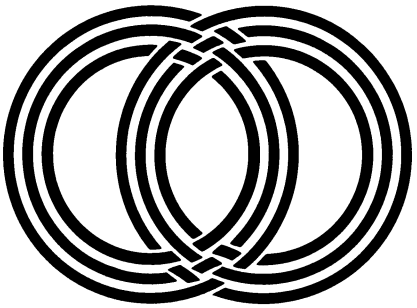
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 20, No. 1, Spring 1987

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Robert L. Marshall, an associate professor painting at Brigham Young University, has received wide recognition for his paintings and watercolors. The works shown in this issue are from an August–September 1986 one-man exhibit of his "Pots" series at Brigham Young University, his "Resurrection" series, and his "Stripes" series. "Pots," says Marshall, "present themselves as beautiful objects, matter-of-factly, without pretense or theatrics. They occupy space, they articulate space, they create space."

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT is published quarterly by Dialogue Foundation, Editorial Office, 202 West 300 North, Salt Lake City, Utah 84103. DIALOGUE has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Third class postage paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. ISSN 002-2157.

Subscription rate is $25 per year; students $15 per year; single copies, $7. A catalogue of back issues is available upon request. DIALOGUE is also available on microfilm through University Microfilms International, Dept. F.A., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, and 18 Bedford Row, London, WCIR 4EJ, England.

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

DIALOGUE'S COMING OF AGE

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT begins both its twentieth volume and its twenty-first year with the publication of this issue. Launched in 1966 as a daring and earnest effort to transform the serious conversation of Mormonism from monologue to dialogue, the journal has thrived for two decades because of the energy and imagination of its writers and contributors. Charter subscribers or others who are fortunate enough to possess a complete set of DIALOGUES will count seventy-four issues on their bookshelf, packed with nearly a thousand articles on almost every element of the Mormon experience.

Seasoned scholars and sprightly newcomers have offered their perspectives on every issue that has faced or does face the Church, and virtually all significant scholarly books concerning the Latter-day Saints in the last generation have been reviewed in DIALOGUE's pages. And, in a culture that attempts to control its art and creative writing, the pages of DIALOGUE have been graced with the free and penetrating expression of Mormonism's finest minds. For quality, permanence, and continuity, DIALOGUE has no rival as a repository of contemporary thought about Mormonism and as a forum for continuing discussion. Indeed, it contains both an enduring printed record of Mormon thought and an enduring living tradition of intellectual freedom.

With Volume 20, No. 1, we begin a year-long celebration of DIALOGUE, past and future. Some articles will reflect searchingly on the origins and growth of DIALOGUE, as the editors of each of the four eras write about the ideas, values, and experiences that have made the concept of dialogue/DIALOGUE most salient to them. Eugene England begins with his vision as the founder

of DIALOGUE and he will be followed in the three subsequent issues by Robert Rees, Mary Bradford, and us. Toward the end of the year, we will publish a history of DIALOGUE by Wesley Johnson, a historian who was also co-founder of DIALOGUE at Stanford University in 1966 and served as interim editor in 1970. Brief commentaries by DIALOGUE readers, from charter subscribers to newcomers, will be sprinkled throughout the four issues of Volume 20.

But our twentieth-anniversary celebration will be far more than a reminiscence of things past. In this issue, for example, Armand Mauss, John Tarjan, and Marti Esplin present the results of the recent survey of DIALOGUE readers and discuss the "DIALOGUE phenomenon" — documenting the existence of a significant group of Latter-day Saints who are both highly committed and sturdily independent. The number and spirit of such people is enough to provide both comfort and courage to our readers, and perhaps some reflection among our critics.

Looking at our past and present provides strength and stability, but all that has gone before is merely prelude to the future. The heart of our twentieth anniversary volume, therefore, will be vintage, ongoing DIALOGUE, with a flare for the substance and style that has become the journal's hallmark. With only modest diversions, therefore, our most significant commemoration will take the form of a renewed effort to publish the finest articles, fiction, poetry, and art available in and around the Mormon community in 1987. Join us in celebrating two decades of DIALOGUE.

L. Jackson Newell
Linda King Newell
Editors

LETTERS

Mesle Marred?

Robert Mesle raised some very important and complex issues in New Testament interpretation in "The Restoration and History: New Testament Christianity" (Summer 1986). Unfortunately, I feel that his analysis is marred by several unverifiable assumptions and inaccuracies.

His first assumption is that the extant documents written by or about first century Christians (which are by no means limited to the New Testament) are sufficient to give us an accurate understanding of the beliefs and practices of early Christians. In fact, the extant documents are woefully inadequate. Modern scholars and religious leaders continue to churn out new interpretations of early Christianity with no ultimate consensus in sight.

Mesle's second assumption, relating to the dating of New Testament documents, is more subtle. He maintains that since some of Paul's letters were presumably written before any of the Gospels, that Paul is the earliest extant representative of Christian thought (p. 55). This dating of Paul is by no means certain, but even if one accepts it, we cannot also assume that the *ideas* in the Gospels are later than Paul's thought.

There are actually many interpretations of the origin of the Gospels and the Synoptic problem. One school of thought hypothesizes oral traditions of the words and actions of Jesus (the "Sayings" or "Logion" of Jesus) some of which were finally stabilized in written form as the Gospels. If this interpretation is accurate, then the Gospels could simultaneously postdate Paul's writings and still contain material antedating Paul by twenty or thirty years. Although the Logion hypothesis is only one of several, automatically rejecting the Gospels in favor of Pauline writings as the major source on earliest Christianity is a dangerous oversimplification.

Dating the Gospels is also a complex problem. It is true that most scholars date Mark to about 70 A.D. Why that specific date almost forty years after Christ's death? An earlier date, says one respected source, "is improbable because the development of the evangelical tradition is already far advanced" (Paul Feine, *et al.*, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 14th ed. [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966], p. 70). In other words, these scholars assume that early Christian ideas should be simple. Complex ideas or forms in a given text are interpreted as evidence of late writing. This is an unverifiable assumption.

A second argument for dating Mark to 70 A.D. is that "the threatening nearness of the Jewish war can probably be perceived" (Feine, p. 71). Here it is maintained that if a New Testament text alludes to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. it must have been written after the fact. This argument assumes that there can be no truly prophetic statements in the New Testament.

Irenaeus (c130–200 A.D.) implies that Mark wrote his Gospel after the death of Peter (c65 A.D.) (*Against Heresies*, 3:1.1). However, a much earlier Christian writer, Papias (c60–135 A.D.) and other second-century writers claim that Mark wrote his Gospel, quoting Peter while he was still alive as he related the stories and words of Jesus (In Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 3:39). Clement of Alexandria (c150–215 A.D.) specifically states in his *Hypotyposeis* that "Peter made no objections when he

heard about this (Mark writing down Peter's teachings about Jesus)" (in Eusebius 6:14). Clement thus clearly felt Peter was still alive when Mark wrote his Gospel. (See Raymond E. Brown, *et al.*, eds., *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968], 2:21.) In short, the 70 A.D. date for Mark could be correct yet still embody direct quotations from Jesus by Peter — a source much earlier than Paul's letters. We need not, then, necessarily reject passages in Mark in favor of theoretically later statements of Paul.

In several places Mesle states that his "paper presents a standard view held among many New Testament scholars" (p. 56), representing "what is a very widely held consensus of New Testament scholars" (p. 57) and the "standard position of responsible biblical scholars" (p. 59). He provides direct quotations from only three biblical scholars — Bultmann, Conzelmann, and Kasemann.

Bultmann was the founder of an early twentieth-century protestant German school of biblical criticism. Conzelmann and Kasemann were two of his most faithful followers (Brown 2:14–19). Although Bultmann's thought is significant, his ideas are by no means universally accepted. His conclusions are also based on several unprovable assumptions, identified by one critic as "a thoroughgoing Lutheranism and the existentialism of M. Heidegger" (John S. Kselman, 2:14).

Thus Bultmann's Lutheran concept of the "priesthood of all believers" undoubtedly colored his conclusion (echoed by Mesle) that the early church lacked priesthood structure and authority. Perhaps more important, however, is Bultmann's concept of "demythologizing" Christ, which in practice means a rejection of the historical reality of the resurrection, miracles, and prophecies of Jesus.

Mesle also makes some "claims" concerning the early church with which I take issue. Claim one is that "the [early] Jerusalem church was still predominantly . . . Jewish" (p. 56). In like manner, one could say that the church at Corinth was predominantly Corinthian. However, Mesle seems to believe not only that most Christians residing in Palestine were ethnically Jewish but also that they were still of the Jewish religion. His discussion of some similarities of Christian and Jewish beliefs does not mention some extremely important differences: Christian rejection of the Jewish leadership at Jerusalem in favor of the authority of Jesus (Acts 4:19), independent worship services on "the Lord's day" (Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2), accepting Jesus as the Messiah, and the necessity of baptism for Jews. Furthermore, the execution of Jesus, imprisonment of Peter and others (Acts 12), martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 7), activities of Saul, and the execution of James (Hegesippus, in Eusebius 2:23) indicate the depth of Jewish resistance to the Christian movement.

Even more problematic is Mesle's assumption that there was a single Jewish religion. Jewish sects of the first century A.D. included Pharisees, Saducees, Essenes, Theraputae, Galileans, Hermobaptists, Masbothei, Samaritans, Zealots, Hellenists, and others (Hegesippus [c100–180 A.D.] in Eusebius 4:22; Justin Martyr [c100–165 A.D.], *Against Trypho*, Ch. 80). Christianity represented a totally new Jewish sect, which proclaimed the advent of the Messiah, rejected the authority of all previous sects, and soon incorporated gentiles as well.

Mesle sees early Christianity as charismatic rather than institutional, with institutionalism developing only gradually. These statements assume that charismatic and institutional elements cannot coexist in the Church — which is obviously untrue. For example, he maintains that the "followers of Jesus . . . had no separate organization [than the Jews] and certainly no separate priesthood" (p. 59). Based on the original Hellenistic Greek meaning of *ekklesia* he tries to show that the Christians were a structureless group of those who believed in Christ. However, *ekklesia*

among the Christians is not based on a pagan Greek model but is the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew *gahal* (assembly), an Old Testament word which refers to the whole house of Israel. Thus by calling themselves the "assembly" of Israel, the early Christians were clearly stating that they saw themselves as the true Israel, receptors of the new covenant of Christ just as old Israel was the receptor of God's old covenant of Moses (See Deut. 4:10, 9:10, 10:4, and the comments of P. S. Minear, "Church, idea of" in the *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* [New York, Abingdon, 1962], 1: pp. 607–17).

What Latter-day Saints usually call *Priesthood* is best equated with what is called *power* or *authority* in the New Testament. Christ gave specific authority or power to specific individuals (the Twelve and the seventy [Luke 9 and 10]) to preach, heal, cast out demons, forgive sins, and bind/loose both in heaven and on earth (John 20:23; Matt. 16:19, 18:18). Mesle seems to miss the obvious meaning of these passages. Christ gave his apostles special authority, now called priesthood authority.

There is good evidence that the early church contained a clearly recognized hierarchy with offices. Mesle recognizes that the apostles were the leaders (p. 56) but fails to note that their selection of seven deacons (Acts 6:1–6) created an organized body with a set number, called by and subordinate to the apostles, with a specific assignment (serving at the *agape* feast which we today call the sacrament) and "set apart" by a specific ritual: the Apostles "prayed and laid their hands upon them" (Acts 6:6). Titus, as bishop of Crete, was assigned by Paul, an apostle, to "appoint elders in every town" (Tit. 1:5) giving a clear hierarchy of apostle, bishop, and elders. (Mesle maintains that Titus is a late pseudonymous letter. That, however, is another question.) Finally, ritual acts performed without this authority are rejected, as when Apollos and his followers are rebaptized by Paul (Acts 18:24–19:7), and when Simon is denied the authority to give the Holy Ghost (Acts 8:14–24).

Mesle claims that "it is not until the second century A.D., however, that we have textual evidence for deacons and bishops as formal officers" (p. 63). If one accepts Pauline authorship, or even a pre-200 A.D. dating of Titus and 1 and 2 Timothy, the evidence for first-century bishops is unquestionable. Even if these letters are pseudonymous, Clement, bishop of Rome from about 88–100 A.D., who probably knew Peter and Paul during their last days in Rome, wrote to the Corinthians c95 A.D.: "They [the apostles] preached in provinces and cities appointing the foremost converts (*aparche*) having tested them by the Spirit, as bishops and deacons for future believers" (First Epistle of Clement, 42.4, my translation).

Other early Christian traditions agree that bishops were appointed in several major cities within twenty years of the death of Jesus. Some of the earliest are Linus as bishop of Rome c64–76 A.D. (Irenaeus 3:3.3; Eusebius 3:13); Eumenes as bishop of Alexandria from c52–65 A.D., followed by Mark (author of the Gospel) from c65–75 A.D. (Eusebius 3:11), and James, the brother of Jesus, as bishop of Jerusalem by 50 A.D. (Eusebius 2:1).

I agree with Mesle that both early Christianity and Mormonism have developed over time. I would also agree that many Latter-day Saints have little appreciation of this fact and approach the history of religions rather simplistically. But recognizing that the ideas and institutions of both primitive and Restored Christianity developed over time does not preclude divine intervention and guidance in this historical process.

William Hamblin
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Loving, Not Liberated

I am writing in response to the article "New Friends" (Spring 1986), a "liberated" view of homosexuality in the Church

The author unfortunately felt "liberated" in that he can now talk to gays as people. Sadly, for Church members, that *is* liberated.

His understanding of gayness seems to stop there, and the population he counselled can hardly be called random. If I speak for more gays than myself, and I believe I do, then I think a more accurate position is this: While society and especially the Church have combined to produce the "severe guilt" and "social estrangement" many gays feel and almost all of us must struggle with personally, many do so successfully, only to find that while *we* could accept the Church (despite what we consider a medieval view of women, politics, etc.) it becomes a different matter when it can no longer accept *us*. Many gays quietly slip away from the Church with their faith in God usually intact though somehow changed. Others stay, with the tortuous knowledge that they can never participate fully and that the same brothers and sisters who profess to love everyone in the ward on Fast Sunday would feel a little differently if the truth were known.

This issue is not one Mormons can ignore. If one in ten people are gay, as current statistics suggest, simply keeping good company as a youth will not change that. The author attributes "manipulative relationships" to gays. Some gay relationships are difficult while many work well — like many LDS heterosexual marriages.

The bottom line is that gayness exists in the Church. Consequently, the Christ-like response would be compassion for an individual struggling to resolve the deep-seated conflict between what is part of himself or herself and the external demands of the Mormon view of morality, not, for example, the 1985 excommunication of a Utah man who told his bishop he had AIDS.

There is much that is good and beautiful in LDS theology. Some people who recognize their homosexuality are willing to walk the mental tightrope to stay in the Church while others can't. Either way, the decision is extremely painful — like cutting out a part of yourself. "Being liberated" seems a less appropriate response for heterosexual members than being loving toward those finding their own answers.

Many of us who have chosen a path apart from traditional Church views hope the Church will find a way to embrace all people, but find we feel surprisingly free and are happy with the new insights into ourselves we have gained and the love we have opened ourselves up to. The gay relationships we develop in love and hope are too often confronted with fear and hatred. Surely there is far too much of that in the world already.

Ann Bullock
Seattle, Washington

A Question of Love

As the anonymous author of "New Friends" (Spring 1986) points out, we do not know enough about homosexuality to be dogmatic. In view of that, I'm surprised that the author clings so dogmatically to the view that homosexuality is a sin. The basic element of sin, it seems to me, is choice — knowingly choosing to do wrong. Being homosexual involves no such choice. Consider for a moment the therapy, money, agony, and prayer that thousands of gay men and women have spent trying (unsuccessfully) to *unchoose* their sexual orientation. Like heterosexuality, homosexuality is in itself morally neutral; it's what you do with it, the actions which result from it that may be right or wrong, good or sinful.

The author seems to have bypassed one basic question: What is wrong with being homosexual? Our deep social and religious prejudice against homosexuality is easily reinforced with an occasional comment about how "unnatural" it is. But for a significant portion of our society, including LDS society, I assure you it is very natural.

The author mentions (p. 140) the "overwhelmingly negative" aspects of being gay: severe guilt, social estrangement, manipulative relationships, and childlessness. Guilt *is* heaped on homosexuals (including by religious institutions). And, while it is indeed severe, it is imposed, not intrinsic. If the Church started accepting gay people as equal members, that guilt could turn to pride and self-esteem.

The same can be said of social estrangement. We Latter-day Saints pride ourselves in being a people whose commitment to truth enables us to stand up to social rejection. We understand that the correctness of an action is not in any way measured by its social acceptability. Likewise, the morality of a homosexual life is not measured by its social acceptability.

Some gay relationships are indeed manipulative, as the author notes, but so are many heterosexual relationships. A manipulative relationship is equally wrong, whether it's straight or gay. The same can be said about violence, criminal behavior, or promiscuity. To imply a causal relationship between these problems and homosexuality is to confuse the issue and impede discussion of the real questions.

The infertility of homosexual relationships strikes at the heart of Mormon sexual ethics. Yet if we reject all relationships which are nonreproductive, many heterosexual relationships will have to be rejected as well, both those which are naturally nonreproductive and those where couples take conscious measures to preclude procreation. I do not undervalue the importance of procreation in the Lord's plan. At the same time, it would not be the central issue in my judging the morality of a relationship.

Can or should homosexuals try to "change?" Various methods have been used to try and induce change, including electric shock (using pornographic materials), behavior modification therapy, fasting and prayer, and good old-fashioned guilt. But the goal of "change" is rarely well-defined. LDS psychologist Victor L. Brown, Jr., an advocate of homosexual change, says that the goal is *not* to become heterosexual but is rather "a kind, humane, overall enjoyment of warmth and affection with both men and women, without erotic undertones" (Victor L. Brown, Jr. *Fred's Story* [Sacramento, CA: HR Associates, 1985], p. 13). These are noble aspirations, to be sure, but they are hardly the private domain of heterosexuals. The world is full of homosexuals who enjoy kind, humane, overall enjoyment of warmth and affection with both men and women, but this does not change their sexual orientation.

What if the tables were turned, and heterosexuality was considered wrong? How much electric shock and therapy would it take for you to change your sexual orientation, to develop a deep romantic attraction for persons of your same sex? How long would you have to pray to God before you could become a happy and loving homosexual?

The author has seen no positive long-run benefits from the practice of homosexuality. From my own experience as a gay Mormon, let me suggest three. First is an inner sense of integrity and wholeness. Somewhere inside most gay Mormons is a sense of disconnectedness, of hypocrisy which is fueled by the constant charade of dating people you are not emotionally attracted to, faking interest to maintain social acceptability, and suppressing natural sexual and relational desires. Words cannot describe the wonderful sense of deep healing that occurs as you accept yourself for who you are and realize that God does not hate you.

Second, the moral practice of homosexuality by homosexuals opens the door to the experience of true and honest reciprocal love. This experience is at the heart of our human existence (and our Mormon Christian faith) but is denied to homosexuals when they are forced into unnatural heterosexual relationships. I have been impressed with the beauty and depth of love in some gay couples. The spontaneity and honesty of that love would never be avail-

able to these same people in heterosexual relationships.

Third is the sense of freedom that comes with positive acceptance. Not the freedom from moral law nor the freedom to live a sexual free-for-all, but rather the freedom from imposed expectations and from an unnatural lifestyle, the freedom to live honestly and to make life decisions that promote personal integrity and spirituality. This freedom is totally taken for granted by heterosexuals. The terrible price of this freedom for gay people, however, is that it usually means losing membership in the Church. It's hard to say whose loss is worse, the gay person who no longer benefits from the blessings of membership, or the Church who is losing their strength and ability to contribute.

The author's love and concern for gay people is exemplary, and I wish it were more prevalent in the Church. I believe we agree that the basic problem is not homosexuality but ignorance. Stereotyping has prevented Church members from looking at the real issues.

I've always felt that the term "sexual orientation" was a misnomer and implied that homosexuality is essentially a genital experience. I wish we could call it "affectional orientation," because the question is not sex. The question is love.

For a more complete discussion of homosexual change, I strongly recommend *Prologue: An Examination of the Mormon Attitude Towards Homosexuality* (1978), available from Affirmation/Gay and Lesbian Mormons, P. O. Box 46022, Los Angeles, CA 90046.

Paul-Emile LeBlanc
Orléans, Ontario

Proliferating the Personal

I enjoyed Lance Larsen's personal review of Ed Geary's *Goodbye to Poplarhaven* in the Fall '86 issue. It has the wonderment of discovery that reviews often lack.

I would like to take issue with him, however, on his statement that Geary's "triumph is muted by the diminishing status of the personal essay as a serious literary form." He admits that Mormon letters are an exception and rightly quotes Gene England and Clifton Jolley for support. But he is wrong in thinking that the personal essay is going downhill in America as a whole. A look around a bookstore should convince him.

Critic George Core supports my view in a review of John Lahr's *Automatic Vaudeville: Essays on Star Turns* (N.Y.: Knopf, 1983, 141 pp., $15.95).

"Only 40 years ago, a reviewer could say that E. B. White was possibly our sole essayist. By then White (and a few other writers like A. J. Liebling and Joseph Mitchell) had re-invented the essay as a usable mode of American writing. We have since passed through an age in which the best literary critics — Edmund Wilson, Allen Tate, Malcolm Dowley, and others— almost cornered the essay; and for at least a decade the literary scene. Never mind the critics who would try to convince you that fiction or poetry or drama or even criticism is currently the Great American Literary Form. . . . Today the personal essay is thriving in this country. Any general reader knows as much" (*Washington Post*, Book World Section, Sunday, 3 Oct. 1983.)

Core names are John McPhee, Edward Hoagland, Larry King, Joseph Epstein, Susan Jacoby, Noel Perrin, Jane Kramer, Joan Didion, Hunter Thompson and Woody Allen. I would add Carol Bly, Barbara Lazear Ascher, Phyllis Rose, Gloria Steinem, Robin Morgan, John Barth, Cynthia Ozick, and Alice Walker. I also recommend the recent collection of *Hers* essays from *The New York Times* (Nancy R. Newhouse, ed., N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1986.)

The Best American Essays is hot off the press too (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1986). This new series joins *Best Ameri-*

can Short Stories. The series editor explains in the foreword that the collection responds to the "essay as a vital and remarkably versatile literary form. . . . [It is] personal, fluid, and speculative" (p. viv). Editor of this volume Elizabeth Hardwick adds a significant definition of the personal essay: "Most gathered here are self-propelled, and a few are responses to an occasion. All have knowledge casually at hand, the knowledge of a free and unbound intelligence and sensibility. . . . Some are straightforward and some wind through the paths of memory, the unmapped individual experience. Such is the way in the art of the essay" (p. xxi).

I think too of the popular Garrison Keillor. In fact, I would say that Ed Geary is Mormonism's Garrison Keillor if I didn't think Ed surpasses Keillor as an essayist.

Women and men, Mormon and non-Mormon are increasingly choosing the personal essay as the literary form for our time.

Mary L. Bradford
Arlington, Virginia

Joseph and Son

R. Blain Andrus

"And I will fasten him as a nail
in a sure place . . . ."
Isaiah 22:23

The shop smelled of wood's death-scent
released, by the carpenter's skill,
in the spring breeze: nature
spread across the afternoon
squeezed bright through open windows,
as scent lapsed into memory: his son
among the small shop clutter,
wading ankle-deep in wood chips;
hair flaked with sawdust —
smelling of new creation
in arms held to see a chair taking form.

"Joseph & Son" hung,
pre-neon over the new shop,
(a different city),
nostalgic conjunction
of a son stepping out with destiny.

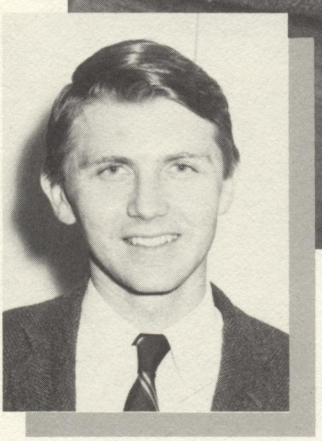
So, lonely, he worked the long shaft of wood,
stroking in some last detail
as light rushed the opened door:
a large silhouette of a man,
forward, with arm and hand extended.
"I've come . . ."
"I know," the carpenter said, cutting him off,
taking the parchment as he moved down the table
to kiss the cross bar.

(The light, impatient:
arms pulled to attention; expression, firm.)

"It's finished."

Through the doorway,
Joseph watched the soldier move slowly down the street,
stone-footed under the heavy wooden cross.

R. BLAIN ANDRUS is a poet living in Reno, Nevada.



Eugene England in 1966 and 1986.

"A Matter of Love": My Life with Dialogue

Eugene England

GOD SOMETIMES SEEMS TO ME QUITE UNREASONABLE. I've thought so especially at times when it appears that the one gift he has clearly given me, the gift of dialogue, is also a source of pain to myself and to others. As I have tried to minimize the pain while using and developing that gift, I have come to understand better Thomas More's response when his daughter complained that in trying to be true to his gifts and convictions he might compromise a bit because he had "done as much as God can reasonably want": "Well . . . finally . . . it isn't a matter of reason; finally it's a matter of love" (Robert Bolt, *A Man for All Seasons*, New York: Random House, 1962, p. 81).

My problem, which I'm afraid I have made a problem for many others, including some I love most, is that I'm deeply, apparently irretrievably, in love with (small d) dialogue — and with the contraries of the universe that seem to me *must* be responded to through dialogue. I can't remember any earlier love. My first memories are of my parents telling stories about life in rural Idaho, narratives that contained lovely, perplexing contraries and a resulting internal dialogue of emotion and event that defined their characters and gave me some sense of my own being: the uncle who could tell from the impression of a coin on his palm whether it was heads or tails — and used that skill to relieve my father of his first bicycle; my mother's beautiful, brilliant cousin who watched with her as lightning struck the huge cottonwood outside their kitchen window, scarring it to the ground — and who later slept on the wet grass under that tree and then died of pneumonia; the man who defrauded my parents of a great deal of money, and when they met him, years later, serving as a temple worker, one would shake hands with him and one would not; my great-uncle, a stake patriarch in Blackfoot, who stood in sacrament meeting, predicted an early

EUGENE ENGLAND, one of the founding editors of DIALOGUE, *is now professor of English at Brigham Young University and a member of the Pleasant View I Ward bishopric. His most recent book is* Why the Church Is As True As the Gospel *(Bookcraft 1986), and he is currently editing a collection of Mormon poetry and writing on Shakespeare as a healer. He and his wife Charlotte have six children and two grandchildren.*

frost, and told the Saints to get their sugar beets in — and, as my father put it, "All the non-Mormons did and saved them, but the Mormons didn't (and didn't)."

When I began to discover the *ideas* of the gospel as a teenager I found great sustenance in teachers who talked *with* me about the ravishing mysteries of eternal identity and co-existence with God, of seductive Mercy that danced with stern Justice to produce salvation, of God's comforting foreknowledge and omnipotence that struggled in our minds against his exhilarating insistence on agency and eternal progression. And I found that my parents, conditioned to be conservative in thought and repressive in discipline, responded out of a greater quality — that of love for me, even in my smart-aleck challenges and behaviors, and also talked *with* me rather than *at* me. I came to love, even before I reasoned much about it, the gospel as a part of its caretaker Church that had produced such teachers and parents as well as preserving such ideas.

In the meantime, I was also discovering Joseph Smith and Brigham Young and B. H. Roberts. My father had read *The Discourses of Brigham Young* as a seventeen-year-old, and the quality of Brother Brigham's mind, which saw this world astutely but looked through it into the eternal worlds without even a blink of separation, intoxicated him. And through him, that mind touched me with a sense of mystery. My Sunday school and seminary teachers introduced me to Brigham Young's great intellectual disciple, Brigham H. Roberts, that cool, daring, self-made mind, and Roberts introduced me to Joseph Smith. As I read *Joseph Smith, the Prophet-Teacher*, I felt a thrilling shock of recognition in passage after passage:

> [Our Prophet] taught that the intelligent entity in man, which men call "spirit" and sometimes "soul," is a self-existing entity, uncreated and eternal as God is, placed in the way by Higher Intelligences, — and guided by their love and counsels, — of increasing his own intelligence and power and glory and joy. Such he represented man to be, and once more crowned him with the dignity belonging to his Divine and eternal nature (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1908, p. 24).

I felt myself crowned with dignity by such teachings and avidly read all I could by Joseph Smith — and about him, including John Henry Evans's very moving biography. And all of this quickly immersed me in dialogue. I found that Brigham Young and B. H. Roberts — and Joseph Smith himself — not only themselves loved dialogue but taught about paradoxes (in language that moved me to tears of agreement) that some modern Mormons, even my parents, didn't seem to see the same way, let alone rejoice in. So I had to learn to talk about such things with these people whom I respected and loved but who saw things differently. And I found quickly that there were good and bad ways to do that, ways that built closeness and understanding even when there was not agreement and ways that simply won verbal battles and alienated people. I gradually learned that "speaking the truth in love" (Eph. 4:15) was a genuine possibility as well as a Christian duty. And I learned, with some struggle and over a long time, I admit, to love that duty.

I remember with particular pain — and yet some gratitude — the lesson Elder Marion D. Hanks taught me in response to an overheated letter I wrote

him as a new missionary in Samoa. I had complained about what I saw as my fellow missionaries' patronizing racism and unthinking inclination to impose an American version of the gospel on the "cursed" Lamanites in Samoa. He rebuked me severely for my arrogance and self-righteousness, which he correctly blamed for the alienation I had admitted feeling in my silent condemnation of my companions; and he concluded with an insight I have learned to practice and to love: that in dealing with people it is at least as important to be effective as to be right. And I have learned that the way to be most effective is outlined in Doctrine and Covenants 121: honest confrontation, clothed clearly in faith and charity, followed by an *increase* of love. I tried that with my fellow missionaries, along with some recognition and confession of my own forms of intolerance, and things improved greatly — for all of us.

That kind of dialogue is not easy, but it certainly has become for me a matter of love, both an effect and a cause of my feelings about this universe and its unique intelligences, who are as valuable and interesting as I am and who provide a way for me to gradually know and become like God.

I remember a particularly painful but rewarding test of my conviction. I had been released from the Stanford (student) Ward bishopric, and as new members of the Palo Alto Ward, Charlotte and I were asked to speak in sacrament meeting. I bore my testimony about how the gospel impelled me and gave me guidance in various efforts to improve society through political and other volunteer action. The next Sunday, in testimony meeting, one of the ward members used a good portion of the time to rebut me point by point, concluding with the implication that I must not really have a testimony at all if I believed such liberal things about social action.

I was hurt and angry, ready to respond in kind, but Elder Hanks's letter came to mind and I restrained myself, thought things over for a week, with some fasting and prayer for the ability to be effective, and went to my antagonist's home. It was awkward and painful at first, he defensive, me still smarting, but I persevered until I could apologize sincerely for offending him and could express my feelings and faith in ways he could understand and accept. He became one of my closest friends in the ward, a regular opponent in the Gospel Doctrine class I was asked to teach. He was able to greatly improve the dialogue that went on there because, though he disagreed with me about many things, he knew that my faithfulness was "stronger than the cords of death" (D&C 121:44).

It was not long before this time that I had joined with others at Stanford in founding a journal. We wanted to foster conversation between Mormons of various perspectives and experiences and between Mormons and others, especially about the contraries of faith and reason, of esthetic freedom versus theological order, of reductive historical fact as opposed to expansive religious vision — and so we decided to call the journal DIALOGUE. But of all the kinds of dialogue we talked about and tried to promote through the journal, the one I loved and valued most was simply talking through a difficult idea, or a disagreement or offense, with a brother or sister. I believe the single most important thing we achieved with the journal, in those first five years while I was

an editor, was to build a community, within the LDS community, of people who could talk to each other about things they had been silent, even silenced, about. And gradually we were learning to talk about such things outside of our safe group, even with those who disagreed with us or had silenced us.

To begin with, we talked a good deal with each other. The five of us who started the journal had plenty of disagreements, some about very basic things and some that continued; but we learned to listen, to change our minds, to forgive, to compromise, to work together despite our differences. And the very nature of our project brought us into all sorts of dialogue with others.

In the fall of 1965, right after we sent out our simple prospectus to about 500 friends and colleagues, I invited members of the Stanford Ward to meet each Tuesday night to work on the journal. That gathering became a substitute for Mutual (which wasn't held in that student ward) for the fifteen to twenty who came regularly. We answered letters, typed up the mailing list for our brochure, then the subscription lists as people responded, began to process manuscripts and complaints — all the things that we couldn't afford to hire a secretary to do, and more. We talked constantly about the excited letters we were getting from all over the Church, often from individuals or groups who had been planning a journal themselves, letters full of happiness there would finally be such a forum, of hope for its success, sometimes a letter of despair from someone who thought that it was too late to help them in their own alienation. We talked about the manuscripts, agreeing and disagreeing and getting new visions of gospel meaning and Church service. We found out, in these contexts, much that we had not known about each other and thus deepened our understanding and appreciation of each other in the Stanford Ward.

As we developed our editorial procedures, a form of dialogue we had not explicitly planned became a major part of our effort — and, I believe, of our contribution: Wes Johnson convinced us of the importance of an editorial board, diverse in expertise and geography and gospel perspective, and we sent each manuscript to three of them for written response. In weekly editorial meetings we discussed those responses and our combined judgments and then conveyed them to the author, sometimes with an acceptance, but even then as a basis for rewriting. It soon became clear that we were establishing, essentially for the first time in Mormon culture, a tradition of criticism and response — serious but civil, severe but charitable. That tradition carried over into the printed journal in its general standard of writing and of reasoned argument, conscious of opposing views, as well as in the Roundtables, where different viewpoints on a subject were explicitly expressed, along with rebuttals. It was also encouraged, of course, in another major innovation in modern Mormon publishing, substantive letters to the editor, allowing for long as well as short, serious as well as witty responses to what we published, sometimes followed by responses to the criticism from the authors of the original essays.

And we found that we were increasingly engaged in dialogue with others about our enterprise — with individuals but also with groups gathering in the Bay area and then in Utah and around the country. Most of these were fire-

sides and regular DIALOGUE Discussion Groups, usually set up by members of our board of editors, where we reviewed our ideals and procedures for the journal and responded to hard questions about everything from doctrinal content in the essays to our own commitment to the Church. I was constantly confirmed in my faith that honest, loving dialogue, about even the most difficult matters, can do much to dispel fear and alienation, even when disagreement remains.

It was very satisfying to find confirmation of that faith in my experiences with members of the First Presidency during those beginning DIALOGUE years. Hugh B. Brown was a loyal and constant supporter of our efforts, the first (and so far only) general authority to respond to invitations to publish in DIALOGUE (his funeral sermon for P. A. Christensen, a distinguished professor of English at BYU, was published in the Spring 1969 issue). He always found time to see me on my quarterly visits to Salt Lake City and was consistently complimentary and encouraging about our work: He kept his full set of DIALOGUE prominently displayed on the right side of his desk and always had the current issue in his left hand reading drawer and would pull it out and ask questions or make comments. Not long after one of those visits, on 13 May 1969, he made his famous plea for the *process* of continuing thought and free expression at BYU. In a speech he titled "An Eternal Quest — Freedom of the Mind," he discussed the need for genuine patriotism through reverence for law and individual morality and defended the United Nations, quoting from both US and LDS presidents (the UN had been under attack by various groups and people, including some Mormons). Then he discussed "freedom of the mind" as a "dangerous" but essential freedom, the one from which all other freedoms spring:

> One cannot think right without running the risk of thinking wrong, but generally more thinking is the antidote for the evils that spring from wrong thinking. More thinking is required, and we call upon you students to exercise your God-given right to think through on every proposition that is submitted to you and be unafraid to express your opinions, with proper respect for those to whom you talk and proper acknowledgement of your own shortcomings.
>
> You young people live in an age when freedom of the mind is suppressed over much of the world. We must preserve it in the Church and in America and resist all efforts of earnest men to suppress it, for when it is suppressed, we might lose the liberties vouchsafed in the Constitution. . . . We are not so much concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall *have* thoughts (republished in DIALOGUE, Spring 1984).

President N. Eldon Tanner was less theoretical than President Brown, more pragmatic and personal in his support for diversity of thought. I visited him once concerning conscientious objection by Latter-day Saints, something I felt was entirely legitimate but which many draft boards disallowed and some Church members had called heresy — despite a First Presidency letter that essentially said that Latter-day Saints could avail themselves of the laws which allow for conscientious objection (published in DIALOGUE, Spring 1968, p. 8). He reaffirmed the letter, telling of a personal experience with a young Mormon who had accidentally killed someone and simply could not face the possibility

of ever causing another death — which President Tanner saw as one perfectly valid reason for refusing combat service. On another occasion he suggested that DIALOGUE should be sure to include in each issue at least one article by a non-Mormon or openly disagreeing with some Church doctrine or practice, since that would clearly signal to all readers that the journal had no official status and was not to be simply accepted uncritically! He seemed not very happy about the tendency of Church members to read the official magazines with such uncritical acceptance, without engaging in the process of thought, judgment, and inspired confirmation that genuine internal dialogue with the written or spoken word makes possible.

We found, of course, that dialogue doesn't solve everything, but most of our problems — and my deepest disappointments — came because dialogue wasn't tried or maintained. The most serious mistake we made during those five years, I believe, was publishing the Stewart Udall letter on blacks and the priesthood, which he then used for political purposes through the national press in ways that did us, and probably the Church, significant harm. We had decided in an editorial meeting, after much proper dialogue, not to publish the letter; but then in an executive meeting, under pressure of deadline, I bowed to our commitment to openness and public dialogue as an absolute value and pushed it through. I was guilty of forgetting one of the main lessons of dialogue: that there are few absolutes in the human sphere, certainly no abstract ones, and that in this case people's feelings at a volatile time were more important than abstract freedom and total exposure.

I had to learn another version of that lesson years later, after I had begun teaching at BYU and was developing a team-taught interdisciplinary colloquium for honors freshmen. The course was firmly based in the value of unrestricted give and take between faculty members as a model for student learning. We had approved this ideal of open dialogue in meetings of our team, but in practice it wasn't so simple. We all tended to be somewhat defensive about our own areas of expertise and uneasy about challenging others in theirs. Without being very sensitive to the reasons for these feelings, which were based in our lack of experience and as yet incomplete trust, I got up one day after a colleague's lecture on his specialty and engaged in an extensive rebuttal. He seemed to take it in stride; but some weeks later, feeling that he was withdrawing somewhat from the team and was possibly upset about something we were planning, I confronted him. I pressed, rather bluntly, not noticing his attempts to avoid being critical of me. Finally, he told me how much I had embarrassed and hurt him with my sudden attempt, without any warning to him, to engage him in dialogue before the class. He said, "Gene, I've read your essays and admired you for your work in starting DIALOGUE and putting up with the flak that followed. You've paid your dues. But after the way you've treated me I've decided I'd rather read you than know you."

I have been a victim as well as a perpetrator of aborted dialogue. The greatest pain and disillusionment of my experience with DIALOGUE came when I heard about reports and predictions of various direful consequences to me (everything from polygamy to apostasy) because of my work with the journal.

It was often clear that these rumors and prophecies had originated with people who could easily have learned the truth — and much about the state of my soul — simply by talking with me but who did not understand the gospel imperative to such dialogue or did not love enough to obey.

I do, in fact, believe such dialogue is a strict commandment for all members of the Church community, of whatever position, though most of us seldom obey it:

> If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift (Matt. 5:23–24).
>
> On this, the Lord's day, thou shalt offer thine oblations and thy sacraments unto the Most High, confessing thy sins unto thy brethren, and before the Lord (D&C 59:12).

The Christian equivalent of that Jewish altar of sacrifice is certainly the sacrament table, and so I believe that Christ is commanding in these scriptures that we not partake of the sacrament while we are still feeling guilt or resentment because we have offended someone or have been offended by someone; we should first go and be reconciled through sincere confession and dialogue with that person.

That principle is central to my reasons for believing the Church is as true, as effective for salvation, as the gospel. The Restored Church is, by revelation, radically a lay church and one divided into congregations geographically rather than by choice; thus, all who obey their baptismal covenant to be "active" participants in service through the Church are brought into constant relationships with people they would not normally choose for such relationships. The result is confrontation and a chance for constant dialogue in our service together, in presidencies and quorums and committees and faculties, dialogue that quite often produces conflict and requires reconciliation. And through those processes we can best learn, inspired by the true principles of the gospel and its priesthood ordinances, to love unconditionally — which is the crucial requirement for salvation. Through the Church we can learn to love both our (sometimes unlovable) selves and our (sometimes unlovable) neighbors, and thus (and only thus) can we be saved by the atonement of Christ.

You can see by now that for me dialogue really is, in the most radical sense, a matter of love. It is the main process for developing the love that will save us. But it is also, as I have suggested, what attracts me intellectually to the gospel as well as the Church: The oppositions — the paradoxes — that the gospel suggests lie necessarily at the very heart of all things (and that seem necessarily to make up the very process of knowing) thrill me. I love the universe that those ideas suggest and that seriously entertaining those ideas has helped me find:

> For it must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things. If not so . . . all things must needs be a compound in one. . . . there could have been no creation of things, neither to act nor to be acted upon; wherefore, all things must have vanished away (2 Ne. 2:11–13).
>
> All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it, to act for itself as all intelligence also; otherwise there is no existence (D&C 93:30).

These are among the most valuable statements about the nature of being that I know about, from any religion or philosophy. They indicate that existence itself depends on opposition and that the crucial thing opposition makes possible is the creative activity and choices of intelligences, "things to act." But the second quotation not only suggests that the very existence of the universe depends on the dynamism of opposition and develops through the perplexing, joy-bringing — but also pain- and sin-bringing — creative play of intelligences, including God; the passage also states that "truth," which we have been tempted to think of as static and permanently fixed, however hard to find, is also inseparably connected to that creative activity of intelligences and relative to the sphere of existence where it is pursued. As the Lord also told Joseph Smith in Section 93, "Truth is *knowledge* of things as they are, as they were, and as they are to come" (v. 24; my emphasis). In other words, knowledge changes as the knower changes. Thus, truth may well be called, as we do in our hymn, "the sum of existence," but by that very definition it is not "eternal, unchanged evermore," because the sum is always changing as we intelligences, we knowers, change.

In Alma 32, we learn much about how a knower knows and what the process of change is — and we are also moved by the great quality of the passage as literature not only to understand but also to engage in the process, to do and be as well as know. But Alma points out that in his time, just as in ours, many start with a self-defeating condition before they will risk the search for truth: They say, "If thou wilt show unto us a sign from heaven, then we shall know of a surety; then we shall believe" (v. 17). Human beings claim they are perfectly willing to believe, if only someone will provide perfect knowledge — clear, rational argument and evidence — in advance. But Alma knows from experience that such a condition — such prior, absolute "knowledge" — is a snare and a delusion, because "if a man knoweth a thing he hath no cause to believe" (v. 18) — that is, he will be satisfied with those static, unprogressive, essentially trivial aspects of existence which are available for perfect knowledge. He will not be moved to change his life to conform to the active knowledge of self and God that comes only through faith and through dialogue.

Alma is interested in something much more important than the limited knowledge available to us empirically and rationally. He is interested in faith, which he says is "not to have a perfect knowledge of things; therefore if ye have faith ye *hope* for things which are *not seen* which are true" (v. 21; my emphasis). In other words, we live in a universe (not of our making, nor ultimately of God's, but just irrevocably there) in which mortals cannot discover the most important spiritual realities and meanings using empirical methods alone. Some of those realities can only be realized by those willing to hope — those who desire the realities enough to proceed without perfect knowledge. Truth is to be found while both discovering and creating the true realities possible in our universe — not enslaving ourselves to impossible fantasies but making new relationships and developing new personality and vision by obedience to natural laws.

For instance, a good marriage, a potentially eternal one, is not simply a truth to discover; it is a truth that can and must be created and known. It cannot be fantasized into existence, or based on invincible or unfaced incompatibilities or handicaps, or forced into reality by sheer will, but it is something new in the universe, an addition to the sum of existence, when it is created by the cooperative obedience to natural laws of two free agents as they act on their desires and hopes enough to know each other. Similarly, God is not simply a truth to be discovered in the same way empirical knowledge can be — by reduction, dissection, probability. He and she, our heavenly parents, are themselves agents, presently separated from us — in part so that we can learn to find them through our own desire and agency and thus develop the essential godly quality of faith: We must respond to the evidences of their existence in their creations and their actions in history, to traces of their love and united but unique personalities, and thus become like them, the highest form of knowledge. And the best way I have found to discover those laws and create those realities of self and relationship is through dialogue, both the dialogues with myself that form the inner life of discovery and fashioning of self and the dialogues with others that create the redemptive communities of marriage and Church and the human city.

I love those communities, despite the difficulties and painful, limiting bonds they bring to my unbound self. They are my true liberation, the only means to become myself. In marriage I find, as Luther taught, "the school of love," the place to learn best what I most want to know. I find the same kind of school in the Restored Church and to a lesser degree in the human village, the great community of the living, with whom I can engage in dialogue through travel, talk, and public service — and the community also of the dead, with whom dialogue comes through temple work, literature, and writing. Through all of these I can test the truth of Joseph Smith's magnificent perception, "By proving contraries, truth is made manifest" (*History of the Church* 6:428). I love the man who had that inspired insight, love him more the more I know his life and writing and see his long struggle with the sometimes tragic contraries of existence. And I taste the joy of the struggle in his own words from the King Follett Discourse:

> This is good doctrine. It tastes good. I can taste the principles of eternal life, and so can you. They are given to me by the revelation of Jesus Christ; and I know that when I tell you these words of eternal life as they are given to me, you taste them, and I know that you believe them. You say that honey is sweet, and so do I. I can also taste the spirit of eternal life. I know that it is good (*History of the Church* 4:312).

Finally, what I love most about dialogue, what tastes best, is the way, properly engaged in, it fosters meekness and lowliness of heart. Dogmatism, self-assurance, too much concern with defining and pursuing the "right" ends as opposed to preserving civil and loving means — all these seem dangerous and bitter, both in civil society and in the Church. I believe the gospel was restored in the United States because it had a social and political system dedicated to preserving a moral process for social interaction rather than one

focused on defining and enforcing certain specified moral qualities or ends. Lying at the heart of democratic capitalism and our pluralistic polity is not some set of values, such as liberty, equality, and fraternity, or some theology such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, but merely the humble doctrine of due process, of keeping the ball in play in the political realm rather than taking up arms to defend our rights — of talking, negotiating, and trying to understand others' visions and needs, rather than asserting our will through power.

I believe the same humble values lie at the heart of the gospel and that "the only true and living Church" is that precisely because it is the best place to realize loving tolerance and free exploration and creation. I believe that "*no power,*" certainly not the priesthood, can be properly and effectively exercised except "by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned" (D&C 121:41). Those are the essential qualities of dialogue and the qualities that good dialogue fosters.

I love the meek — people like Joseph Smith and Marion G. Romney and Charlotte. I want to be like them and believe the best way is first to give my heart in faith to Christ and to confess my sins and repent, because "the remission of sins bringeth meekness, and lowliness of heart" (Moro. 8:26). Then, I believe, I must endure well, mainly by engaging constantly, fully, honestly, lovingly, in dialogue: "For none is acceptable before God, save the meek and lowly in heart" (Moro. 7:44).

Cancun Beach, Mexico

Carol Clark Ottesen

What kind of God has made this sapphire tide
stroking the white sand mouth of Yucatan,
outrageously extravagant, a place
fit for the baptism of God or kings

and yet has made the lizard-woman, begging
before the church's splintered threshold, curled,
diseased, her hand a darting tongue for coins,
who made me also, stepping over her

in my designer jeans and gold-chained neck?
I look beyond the pierce of yellow eyes
thinking: to feed her begging is no help,
she made her bed, now let her lie in it.

The church is dark and whispering with nuns
shuffling in shadows. Sallow candles light
a waxen, dying christ hanging above
a garish mash of dusty plastic flowers.

Holy water, wash me; sanctify
this golden blessedness that weighs my neck.
What have we done to be sapphires or lizards,
smooth or splintered, stars or stones?

Seagulls don't know about inequities
running sores, gold stiff necks — they're beggars
feeding, as we, on the refuse of a world
washed with the mercy of His frightful beauty,

a world of splashed vermillion on a dark sky,
wasted and waiting for that one whose wings
will pierce the sky, reckless as they
and spill the raging sunsets on the world.

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The Unfettered Faithful: An Analysis of the *Dialogue* Subscribers Survey

Armand L. Mauss, John R. Tarjan, Martha D. Esplin

Introduction

During the spring of 1984, the editors of Dialogue sent a short questionnaire to all of its then-2,300 subscribers plus 600 who had let their subscriptions lapse in the previous year. At that point, the journal had been edited in Salt Lake City for exactly two years.[1] A systematic follow-up effort on the survey lasting the rest of the year produced more than 1,800 responses (about 60 percent) with 1,779 of them usable. (See the questionnaire in the appendix.)

There is no reason to believe that nonresponse introduced any appreciable biases into the results. For example, if we can judge sex from subscriber name, *non*respondents showed exactly the same distribution between males and females as did the respondents (73/27). Geographical distribution, determined from mailing addresses, showed Utahns as somewhat underrepresented in the data (26 percent of respondents but 32 percent of nonrespondents), while those living outside the Pacific or Mountain states, including foreign countries, were overrepresented (45 percent of respondents but 33 percent of nonrespondents). Other possible biases from nonresponse could not readily be determined.

There was no reason to believe that any appreciable number of the respondents lacked candor, were unwilling to trust guarantees of confidentiality,

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[1] It arrived from Mary L. Bradford and Lester E. Bush in Washington, D.C., in splendid editorial shape and sound financial health, but a bit behind schedule: the winter 1981 issue had appeared in May 1982. The new editorial staff, with a strenuous effort, put out five issues within twelve months and has been on schedule ever since.

or did not take their responses seriously. (The few questionnaires with frivolous and/or sarcastic answers were eliminated.) There were, in fact, at least two clear indications of our respondents' general trust and candor: (1) half voluntarily wrote in their names at the end of the questionnaire, and (2) 37 percent of all respondents including one-third of the LDS respondents gave an "unorthodox" response to a question on Book of Mormon authenticity. In short, for all practical purposes, the responses on these questionnaires can be considered accurate reflections of the opinions and characteristics of the entire DIALOGUE subscribership in 1984. Since that time, approximately 2,000 have newly subscribed, and renewal rates have held constant at 75–80 percent.

ABOUT THE SUBSCRIBERS

Personal Characteristics

The majority of DIALOGUE subscribers were between thirty and sixty years of age, but on the youthful side of that range. The survey was administered in DIALOGUE's eighteenth year of publication, and 41 percent of the respondents were younger than forty. Nearly three-fourths were men — although this finding may simply reflect the patrilineal convention that many couple subscriptions are in the man's name. Two-thirds of the respondents said that at least one other person normally reads his or her issue. Presumably this other person is often a spouse. Eighty-two percent were currently married and home-owners, and most had professional occupations with incomes over $35,000. Thirty-eight percent had incomes over $50,000, and 19 percent had more than $70,000. All but 12 percent were college graduates, and 64 percent had graduate degrees. As might have been expected, most subscribers were residents of the Pacific or Mountain States, but not by a large margin. Forty-five percent of the respondents lived outside the Pacific or Mountain states, and only 26 percent were Utahns.

In religious preference, 94 percent of the respondents were LDS and 1 percent RLDS. Four percent identified another religion or had no affiliation. Their activity rate was impressive. While general LDS church attendance figures in the United States average around 50 percent, 88 percent of DIALOGUE subscribers reported attending "most" Sundays, including 75 percent reporting "every" Sunday (Stan L. Albrecht and Tim B. Heaton, "Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity," *Review of Religious Research* 26 [Sept. 1984]: 43–58). Seventy-seven percent subscribed to the official Church magazine, *The Ensign*.

With regard to organizational compliance, respondents reported considerable variety. The questionnaire asked "What do you think an LDS Church member should do when faced with a Church policy or program with which he or she does not fully agree?" Only 10 percent of the subscribers felt one should "accept it on faith and do your best to carry it out." Another 37 percent felt one should go along with the policy after frankly expressing disagreement. The rest selected less conforming responses. In one matter of doctrine, nearly two-thirds of the subscribers (including at least two-thirds of the Latter-

day Saints) accepted the Book of Mormon as "an actual historical record of ancient inhabitants of the American continent, . . . translated by the gift and power of God." The remainder had various doubts about the literal historicity of the book.

In their reading habits (or at least their acquisition of literature), most DIALOGUE subscribers could be called "avid." Sixty-two percent buy more than ten books a year, and most subscribe to other scholarly journals. About 20 percent also subscribe to the *Journal of Mormon History* and *Utah Historical Quarterly*, while 60 percent also subscribe to *Sunstone*. Twenty-six percent were charter subscribers to DIALOGUE while 24 percent had subscribed for more than ten years. More than 80 percent of them normally read at least half of every issue.

In short, a composite portrait of the DIALOGUE subscriber shows a man on the younger side of middle-aged, married, a home-owner, highly educated, professional, rather affluent, and living in the western United States but not necessarily in Utah. He is thoroughly active in the LDS Church and committed to doctrinal basics, though somewhat independent in that he may demur when faced with Church policies with which he does not fully agree. He buys a lot of books and subscribes to a lot of scholarly journals, plus the *Ensign*. Since first having learned about DIALOGUE through a friend, he has been a long-term subscriber, reads at least half of each issue, and shares his copy with one to three other people.

Tastes and Preferences about DIALOGUE

Subscriber preferences are difficult to generalize on a number of issues since responses were quite varied. However, there was strong consensus, more than three-fourths, that the articles are about the right length and footnoted adequately, neither too lightly nor too heavily. The same is true of the amount of graphics and of the price — about right for most. Subscribers prefer variety in each issue rather than theme issues (66 percent), though many (77 percent) would like to see DIALOGUE put out book-length, themed collections of past articles. If given the editorial chair, a few subscribers volunteered that they would keep the journal's honesty, independence, integrity, scholarship, diversity of perspective, and editorial quality.

As to content, subscribers most enjoyed articles about theology/doctrine, history, and contemporary issues. Personal essays were also favored. Least enjoyed were poetry, fiction, and articles about arts and culture. When asked to recall DIALOGUE articles they had found especially memorable over the years, respondents cited articles on blacks and the priesthood, on women and women's issues, controversies on the nature of God (Adam-God theory, Young-Pratt disagreements, etc.), the Liahona/Iron Rod essays of Richard Poll, the First Vision controversy, evolution, sexuality, and Davis Bitton's "Camelot" look at the Church History Division. (See supplement to the questionnaire in the appendix.) Certain authors were mentioned with special appreciation (Lester Bush, Eugene England, and Hugh Nibley) as were certain interviews (Fawn Brodie, Sonia Johnson, Sterling McMurrin).

The Impact of DIALOGUE

Subscribers share a strong consensus about the impact DIALOGUE has on them. More than three-fourths find the tone of the journal appropriately objective and independent, neither too tame nor too critical. Almost 90 percent felt that DIALOGUE has enriched their personal religious experience, mainly through intellectual stimulation, the sense of belonging it has provided, and exposure to diverse views of truth.

They are not unduly sanguine about DIALOGUE's wider influence, however. Only about a fourth believe that the journal has had an appreciable influence on either Church leadership or membership. They attribute this belief to DIALOGUE's limited circulation and controversial image.

Subscriber Suggestions

Ninety-four percent of the subscribers said they would have no objection to "a small amount" of advertising for books and similar items in DIALOGUE. When asked to list the kinds of articles they would especially like to see more of, many of the subscribers did not answer at all. Among those who did, the most commonly expressed preferences were (1) doctrinal or theological, and (2) sociological/psychological topics. Within the two large categories there was little consensus on specific topics.

When asked for "the one thing" they would especially like to change if they were to assume editorship, respondents (just over half) tended to mention two categories: business/editorial practices and content. Again, within these two categories, there was little agreement on specifics. The most common content changes would be "more humility," a wider variety of authors, and more attention to contemporary or controversial issues. Some subscribers wanted to change or improve the publication schedule, format or layout, the quality of editing, or increase circulation. Some of these problems have, we feel, been solved.

Large minorities of subscribers expressed a desire to see DIALOGUE sponsor related enterprises, assuming that these "could be made financially self-supporting." Half of those who responded to this question selected a lecture series from a list of options. In numbers ranging from a fourth to a third of all respondents, subscribers indicated that they would like to see DIALOGUE sponsor symposia, debates, writing contests, and/or DIALOGUE chapters or study groups. However, only miniscule numbers volunteered to help organize such events, except in the case of study groups, where 20 percent of those in favor actually offered to help.

Eighty-three percent of the 77 percent responding encouraged issuing theme books made up of previously printed DIALOGUE articles. The most heavily favored themes for such books were Church history, theology, women's issues, science, social issues, and the Book of Mormon. Many, more specific, themes were suggested as well. (See questionnaire supplement in appendix.)

Finally, in evidence of their good will and best wishes for the future, a few hundred subscribers volunteered either financial contributions and/or gift subscriptions, subscription referrals, book reviews, editing, or proofreading tasks.

Hand-Written Comments

The questionnaire ended with an invitation for respondents to write comments they cared to make about DIALOGUE or anything else. Altogether, about 10 percent of the respondents (178) included additional comments. The majority of these volunteered their names as well. Some of the comments were quite lengthy, but most were not. Most of them carried themes and focuses sufficiently specific to be classified into a limited number of categories, some belonging to more than one category. Many comments, however, were quite idiosyncratic and could not be placed readily into a category. A selection of those that express general feelings about DIALOGUE, both positive and negative, follow in a separate article.

The single most common kind of comment — more than a third — was a general expression of appreciation. More specific comments praised DIALOGUE for helping subscribers with intellectual interests and doubts feel part of a sympathetic community. Others felt DIALOGUE had enhanced their testimonies, spirituality, and/or Church activity. Appreciation for the openness, independence, balance, and candor of DIALOGUE was a frequent theme. Other subscribers offered constructive criticism.

On the other hand, a dozen or so felt DIALOGUE had become the preserve of an intellectual elite. About a dozen more protested what they called a "critical" tone.

Another category consisted of personal expressions: testimonies of the gospel and the Book of Mormon, etc., suspicion about an intellectual approach to Mormon studies, or — more commonly — personal anguish (which DIALOGUE seemed to be helping them deal with): the anguish of transition from naivete to skepticism; of closet doubt; of coping with ambiguity; of wanting to be obedient but yet feeling offended by authoritarianism, etc.

VARIATIONS AMONG SUBSCRIBERS

General Observations

As subscriber responses were examined across categories of age, sex, geographical region, education, occupation, and income, the most remarkable discovery was how little they varied. What emerged was a consensus among DIALOGUE subscribers that transcended demographic differences. These differences, however, may not have been as great in any case as we would have found in a more general cross-section of Mormons. The region in which subscribers lived, for example, made virtually no difference in their responses to any of the items in the questionnaire, except that Utahns were least likely to evidence strict organizational compliance (question 41). Neither did occupation/profession, income, or marital status account for appreciable differences. The most marked variations in responses occurred by age, sex, and education level. Since the education levels of respondents were very similar to begin with, these variations were less marked.

The responses varying most often were those to the questions on length of subscription (question 4) and on DIALOGUE content (question 10). Older

respondents were, of course, more likely to be long-term subscribers. But men were considerably more likely to be long-term subscribers than women and those with graduate degrees than those with less formal education.

Preferences for DIALOGUE content were also distinct by level of education, but preferences seem ambiguous. More respondents in both the highest and lowest education categories (but not those in between) preferred having more science articles. More personal essays were preferred more by those in the middle education category (college graduates) than by those without degrees or with advanced degrees. And the higher the education, the less likely respondents were to prefer more poetry or letters to the editor. All these relationships, ambiguous or otherwise, were statistically significant.

Responses by Sex

Questionnaire responses varied little by sex except to the question on preference for DIALOGUE features. Table 1 shows that while both sexes express

TABLE 1

DIALOGUE CONTEST PREFERENCES BY SEX OF SUBSCRIBER

Question 10: Check the three kinds of DIALOGUE features you enjoy *most*, and the three you enjoy *least*:

Topic or Feature	Males	Females	N*
History			
Enjoy Most	94%	82%	1310
Enjoy Least**	6%	18%	
Doctrine (Enjoy most)	93%	77%	1410
Science	60%	32%	893
Personal Essays	67%	89%	961
Book Reviews	70%	65%	722
Letters to Editor	71%	81%	726
Arts & Culture	25%	62%	879
Contemporary Issues	84%	94%	996
Poetry	8%	28%	1198
Fiction	15%	49%	1119

* Total number of subscribers responding for each topic or feature *and* indicating their sex on Question 30. Percents in the table are not, of course, based upon these total numbers, but upon the subtotals that are (respectively) male and female for each topic. For example, for history, the subtotals on which the percents are based are 1001 for males and 307 for females, plus 2 mispunched in key punching, for the total of 1,310. For all rows of the table, the subtotals on which percents were based were very close to 73 percent of the total for males and 27 percent for females, or, in other words, virtually identical to the sex ratio shown in Question 30 for the entire sample. All percents based on those subtotals are statistically significant below the .001 level of probability, except in the cases of book reviews (.130 level) and letters (.022).

** "Enjoy Least" figures are omitted in the table from here on, since in all cases they are simply the difference to 100 percent.

strong preferences for articles on history and doctrine, these preferences are much stronger among the men. Women, on the other hand, constitute much stronger majorities than men in favoring personal essays, letters to the editor, and articles on contemporary issues. The widest gaps between the sexes, though, occur in the case of science, where the male preference is double that of the female, and in the preferences for fiction, poetry, and articles on arts and culture, in all of which cases the female frequencies are two or three times those for males.

Responses by Age

Age too has some impact on content preference, as we can see from Table 2, though not as much as sex does. Preference levels for history, book reviews, letters to the editor, arts and culture, and poetry all increase with age (quite strongly so for reviews, letters, and poetry). Interest in fiction, on the other hand, declines strongly with age.

More interesting than age in explaining content preferences in its influence upon certain attitudes toward Church matters. Question 41, for example, asked subscribers what they thought a Church member should do on occasions of disagreement with a Church policy or program. Table 3 shows the subscribers' responses by categories of age. If the first two choices are classified as "obedient" ones, then the proclivity for obedience appears to increase with age. The most equivocal response, at the very bottom of the table, shows a corresponding decline by age from 31 percent to 17 percent.

A comparative perspective is provided from a Mauss survey of Mormons nearly twenty years ago, which asked a similar question about obedience. At that time, 42 percent of Salt Lake City Mormons and 17 percent San Fran-

TABLE 2

Dialogue Content Preferences by Age of Subscriber*

Topic or Feature	<29	30–39	40–49	50–59	>60	N
History (Enjoy Most)	85%	87%	93%	95%	95%	1327
Doctrine	(no significant variation)					1426
Science	(no significant variation)					904
Personal Essays	(no significant variation)					974
Book Reviews	56%	61%	70%	72%	84%	737
Letters to Editor	52%	65%	77%	81%	90%	734
Arts and Culture	30%	28%	32%	41%	44%	890
Contemporary Issues	(no significant variation)					1004
Poetry	6%	10%	11%	14%	20%	1212
Fiction	32%	32%	19%	17%	16%	1134

* Table 1 notes also apply in principle to this table. All percents in this table are statistically significant below the .001 probability level, except in the cases of history (.015), arts and culture (.025), and poetry (.002).

TABLE 3

PREFERRED METHOD FOR HANDLING DISAGREEMENTS WITH CHURCH POLICY: DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE

Question 41: What do you think an LDS Church member should do when faced with a Church policy or program with which he or she does not fully agree?

Preferred Method	Fewer than 29 years	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	More than 60 years
Accept it on faith	8%	7%	8%	13%	17%
Express feelings but go along	36%	34%	38%	40%	39%
Dissent privately but don't lobby others	19%	22%	26%	23%	24%
Gather support and petition leaders	6%	3%	4%	4%	3%
Other (mostly combinations of above, contingent on circumstances)	31%	35%	24%	20%	17%
N (100%) =	187	505	487	275	261

Some columns may not total exactly 100 percent due to rounding. Table is statistically significant at the .000 level of probability.

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cisco Mormons chose "accept it on faith." Another 40 percent and 37 percent, respectively, chose "express feelings but go along." These figures total 82 percent and 64 percent "obedient" responses for the respective groups. By comparison, even the older DIALOGUE subscribers seem less "obedient"!

Age seemed to also account for some differences in responses to the question about the Book of Mormon. Question 42 asked respondents whether they regarded the Book of Mormon as authentic and, if so, in what sense. Sixty-three percent of all respondents, including two-thirds of the LDS respondents, concurred with the official Church view of the Book of Mormon as a divinely inspired and translated actual record of an ancient people. The rest of the choices reflected various declining beliefs in the literalness of the Book of Mormon. Given that so many of the subscribers held to the official Church position, little variation in responses would be expected by age, or even, probably, by other factors. However, Table 4 illustrates some decline across the age categories, from youngest to oldest, of 10 percentage points (67 percent to 57 percent) in the level of agreement with the official church teaching.

Although a similar pattern does not prevail for any other single choice in the table, the collapsed percentages for the remaining choices reflect an opposite trend, with percentages increasing from 23 percent to 31 percent from the youngest to the oldest. Considering Tables 3 and 4 together, we have evidence that DIALOGUE subscribers, while perhaps inclined to grow more mellow with age in dealing with institutional or organizational conflicts (Table 3), grow more independent intellectually in their understanding of the doctrines of their religion.

TABLE 4

BELIEF IN BOOK OF MORMON AUTHENTICITY BY AGE

Question 42a: Please check the *one* among the following explanations that comes *closest* to what you believe about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon:

Nature of Authenticity	Fewer than 29 years	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	More than 60 years
Divine origin and literal historicity	67%	62%	64%	64%	57%
Divine origin but historicity doubtful	11%	16%	14%	10%	13%
Origin and historicity doubtful but moral teachings are Godly	8%	10%	9%	9%	13%
Authentic only as 19th century literature	7%	5%	7%	8%	11%
Authentic in other ways	8%	7%	6%	9%	7%
N (100%) =	181	489	463	270	246

Some columns may not total exactly 100 percent due to rounding. Table is statistically significant where p=.05.

Responses by Type of Church Commitment

In general, DIALOGUE subscribers are active Latter-day Saints. The overwhelming majority attends church regularly, subscribes to *The Ensign* (or *Saints' Herald* if RLDS), and believes in the divine origin and historicity of the Book of Mormon. Indeed the general portrait that emerges of the "DIALOGUE Mormon" is that of an active Church member who believes in the basics but maintains an independent cast of mind where organizational and program matters are concerned. Within the context of this general characterization, though, there are differences in the nature of respondents' "Church commitment." These differences are represented by the different combinations of subscribers' responses to survey question numbers 40, 41, and 42 — those asking about Church attendance, Church policy/program compliance, and Book of Mormon authenticity.

We use *orthodox*[2] to describe the subscriber who not only goes to church regularly but also accepts the official position on the authenticity of the Book of Mormon and is inclined to obey Church policies even when he/she disagrees. This group comprised 31 percent of the total respondents. By contrast, one who either attends church irregularly, *or* does not accept the official position on the Book of Mormon, *or* chooses not to comply with Church policies where there is disagreement, comprised 61 percent of the respondents. This group is

[2] We emphasize that this term is merely an *operational* one, based upon the measures that happen to be available in this particular survey. There is no intention here to pass judgment on a respondent's spiritual condition or religious devoutness in a larger sense. We are talking only about a kind of commitment to the institutional Church, as estimated by responses to these three items in the questionnaire. The same understanding applies to the other terms in this section, "selective" and "closet doubter."

identified as "selective." (Eight percent could not be classified due to nonresponse on one or more of the three questions.)

A third orientation toward the Church can be seen if we leave aside the compliance issue (question 41) and look only at those who attend church regularly despite misgivings or rejection about the literal historicity and/or divine origin of the Book of Mormon. This group approximates D. Jeff Burton's definition of "closet doubters" ("The Phenomenon of the Closet Doubter," *Sunstone* 7 [Sept.–Oct. 1982] 35–38). They amounted to 27 percent of the total subscribers. Note that the "closet doubters" are not simply an intermediate category between orthodox and selective. Those latter two are mutually exclusive subsamples, whereas the doubters come from a different "cut of the pie," a special subsample created (without reference to the compliance issue) from among regular church attenders of *either* the orthodox or selective variety.

At the outset it should be noted that there were not many differences among respondents in these three categories in the way they answered the majority of questions in the survey. It is important to recognize also that none of these three categories comprises subscribers who are inactive in the Church. Those "orthodox" in Church commitment are, by definition, all regular attenders (95 percent of them every Sunday). The "doubters" are, by definition, also active Church members (75 percent of them attend Church every Sunday). Even among the "selective" group, 81 percent are regular attenders (65 percent attending every Sunday) — scarcely suggestive of inactivity.

Demographics, however, account for some differences among respondents in these categories. The doubters and selective categories are a little younger, on the average, and are somewhat more likely to be Utahns than are the orthodox respondents. The intellectual contrasts among the three groups (though they are not great) will be apparent from Table 5.

This table highlights acceptance of the official Church position on the Book of Mormon as a criterion for inclusion in the orthodox commitment category and rejection of the same as a basis for inclusion in the doubter category. However, responses from the selective group in Church commitment are especially interesting. They may not attend church regularly, and/or they may not be as organizationally compliant as those who are orthodox; but among this group, 39 percent still accept the Church stand on the Book of Mormon, and another 22 percent believe, at least, that its teachings have a divine origin. As for the closet doubters, though they do not share the official Church position on the Book of Mormon, nearly half of them (44 percent) are willing to ascribe its teachings to divine origin.

Table 6 shows how divided the three different groups are with regard to compliance with Church policies. Again, by definition, all of those orthodox in commitment are included within the two most compliant responses. Among respondents in the other two groups, there appears but little disposition to accept Church policies on faith, though a large minority of the closet doubters (26 percent) would at least go along after expressing disagreement. Since no one was excluded by definition from any of the three categories on the basis of "obedient" responses to question 41, Table 6 really emphasizes the im-

TABLE 5

Belief in Book of Mormon Authenticity by Church Commitment Category

Question 42: Do you regard the Book of Mormon as "authentic" in any sense?

Nature of Authenticity	*Percent Believing in Each Kind of Authenticity* — Church Commitment: Orthodox	Selective	Closet Doubters
Divine origin and literal historicity	100%	39%	0
Divine origin but historicity doubtful	0	22%	44%
Origin and historicity doubtful but moral teachings are Godly	0	16%	26%
Authentic only as 19th century literature	0	12%	12%
Authentic in other ways	0	12%	18%
N (100%) =	563	1099	481

Respondents designated as orthodox in Church commitment are all found in this first category of "authenticity" by definition. Those designated closet doubters are excluded from this first category by definition.

TABLE 6

Preferred Method for Handling Disagreements with Church Policy, by Church Commitment Category

Question 41: What do you think an LDS Church member should do when faced with a Church policy or program with which he or she does not fully agree?

Preferred Method	*Percents Preferring Each Method* — Church Commitment: Orthodox	Selective	Closet Doubters
Accept it on faith	25%	1%	2%
Express feelings but go along	75%	14%	26%
Dissent privately but don't lobby others	0	37%	35%
Gather support and petition leaders	0	6%	6%
Other (mostly combinations of above contingent on circumstances	0	41%	32%
N (100%) =	536	1099	481

Some columns do not total 100 percent due to rounding.

portance of this issue in distinguishing the "orthodox" from the other two groups.

The remaining tables give a little more information about these three groups and how they compare. Table 7 shows how these respondents compare in their reading preferences beyond DIALOGUE. Note that every single one of those orthodox in Church commitment expresses that commitment by subscribing also to the official Church magazine. (They were also three times as likely as selective or closet doubters to urge upon DIALOGUE less iconoclasm and more humility as they responded to question 13.) Other differences in journal subscriptions among the three categories are not startling in Table 7, but it is interesting to note that the closet doubters subscribe with greatest frequency to such unsponsored publications as *Sunstone* and *Exponent II*. This may suggest a "seeker" quality to their outlook. It may be that same sort of outlook that affects the perceptions of the doubters about the tone of DIALOGUE (Table 8). They are marginally the most likely to see it as "objective and independent," and the least likely to find it too critical. Similarly, the doubters are the most likely to respond that DIALOGUE enriches their personal religious experience, and to feel strongly so (Table 9). In follow-up verbatim responses, they also emerged as the most likely to give, as a major reason for this feeling, that DIALOGUE helped provide a "sense of belonging." Even more so than other DIALOGUE subscribers, then, this minority may reflect an intellectual and spiritual yearning.

Consistent with this last observation, compared with the other two groups, closet doubters were the most likely to read DIALOGUE from cover to cover, to

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TABLE 7

ADDITIONAL JOURNAL SUBSCRIPTIONS OF *DIALOGUE* SUBSCRIBERS BY CHURCH COMMITMENT CATEGORY

Question 9*: To which of the following Mormon-related publications do you also subscribe? (Check as many as apply)

	Percent Subscribing in Each Category		
	CHURCH COMMITMENT		
Publication	Orthodox	Selective	Closet Doubters
Ensign	100%	70%	75%
BYU Studies	44%	30%	27%
Sunstone	55%	65%	71%
Sunstone Review	41%	50%	56%
Exponent II	42%	45%	50%
N (100%) =	563	1099	481

* Percentages for *Journal of Mormon History* and *Utah Historical Quarterly* did not vary appreciably across the three categories of the table.

TABLE 8

SUBSCRIBERS' PERCEPTIONS OF *DIALOGUE*'S TONE BY CHURCH COMMITMENT CATEGORY

Question 17: In my opinion, DIALOGUE's current content and editorial tone seem:

	Percent Holding Each Kind of Perception		
	CHURCH COMMITMENT		
Perception	Orthodox	Selective	Closet Doubters
Objective, independent	79%	76%	81%
Too critical, negative	14%	3%	2%
Too tame, uncritical	2%	14%	12%
Depends on topic	5%	7%	5%
N (100%) =	563	1099	481

TABLE 9

SUBSCRIBERS' BELIEF THAT *DIALOGUE* ENRICHES PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, BY CHURCH COMMITMENT CATEGORY

Question 18: "DIALOGUE contributes to the enrichment of my personal religious experience." Do you:

	Percents Agreeing or Disagreeing		
	CHURCH COMMITMENT		
Level of Agreement	Orthodox	Selective	Closet Doubters
Strongly Agree	37%	45%	50%
Somewhat Agree	50%	45%	42%
Somewhat Disagree	9%	7%	6%
Strongly Disagree	4%	3%	2%
N (100%) =	563	1099	481

share it with other readers, and to like it just the way it is in price, in graphics, and in general. Closet doubters were the most likely also to want to see DIALOGUE produce books based on collections of previous articles. They were most likely to have appreciated articles already published on such topics as theological controversies, the black issue, women's issues, sex, evolution, and by authors like Brodie (interview), England, Nibley, and Poll.

In responding to question 18, "DIALOGUE contributes to the enrichment of my personal religious experience," the three groups again demonstrated little

difference, but the greatest difference came in the "strongly agree" category. Thirty-seven percent of the orthodox agreed, trailed by 45 percent of the selective, and 50 percent of the closet doubter group. This spread of thirteen percentage points was the widest out of the four levels of agreement (see Table 9).

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SURVEY RESULTS

The survey data reveal an image of DIALOGUE subscribers as "the unfettered faithful," clearly committed to the difficult but rewarding process of engaging faith and intellect — spirit and mind — in a daily dialogue on religious issues and practices. They are not an eddy or backwater in the Mormon mainstream but an important current — committed, contributing, and curious. Independence, expected among a highly educated body, is evident among respondents. This independence expressed itself more with respect to the practical institutional affairs of the Church ("policies and programs") than in matters of basic belief or activity. Education is clearly compatible with faith. Two-thirds of the LDS respondents hold to the historicity and divinity of the Book of Mormon. Three-fourths attend Church virtually every Sunday.

Forty-one percent of the survey respondents are under forty years of age, indicating that DIALOGUE is extending beyond its founding generation to engage issues of interest to a younger audience as well.

Survey results do not indicate a readership desire for significant change in philosophy, style, tone, content, or other aspects of DIALOGUE. With some small exceptions, respondents like the journal the way it is. Further, they are intensely loyal to DIALOGUE, being mainly long-term subscribers — one-fourth are charter subscribers — who feel part of a community of seekers after certain kinds of religious and intellectual experiences that are otherwise missing in their lives. The fact that 61 percent learned about it from a friend underscores the importance of the DIALOGUE network.

In short, DIALOGUE subscribers represent a healthy and viable segment of the Mormon religion. Their existence suggests that being simultaneously curious and committed, intellectually alert and actively serving, is a much more common occurrence than the stereotyped divisions into mindless conformers and liberal dissidents. The light shed on "DIALOGUE Mormons" by this survey should quiet the fears of those who see apostasy in curiosity and should hearten those who believe that both the individual and the Church can be strengthened by a serious journal devoted to free and open discussion of the issues that lie at the heart of our religion.

APPENDIX: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: In almost all cases, the percentages below are based upon a total number of 1779, or a figure very close thereto. Where respondent options or demurrals reduced the total figure for a given percentage significantly below 1779, the lower response figure is provided on the side as "n". Percentages for some questions may total slightly more or less than 100 percent due to rounding.

INSTRUCTIONS: You can answer most of the following questions with a check mark, but we are asking for a few words of your own. We will respect your anonymity, so we hope you will answer each question candidly. If you object to answering a question, please skip it and go on. You may also wish to elaborate on your answers in the margins.

This questionnaire should reflect the individual views of *one* person. If more than one member of your household wishes to respond, please make a copy of this questionnaire and return it too.
Thanks again for your help.

First, Some Questions About Readership:

1. How did you first learn of DIALOGUE?
   - 9% Advertisement
   - 4 Library
   - 3 Bookstore
   - 61 Friend
   - 2 Footnote citation
   - 20 Other (specify) (Mostly via mention in other publications.)
2. Do you usually read DIALOGUE?
   - 37% Cover-to-cover?
   - 45 Half or more?
   - 17 Less than half?
3. How many other people normally read your issue of DIALOGUE?
   - 32% None
   - 44 One
   - 23 Two or three
   - 1 Four or five
   - 1 More than five
4. How long have you subscribed to DIALOGUE?
   - 26% Charter subscriber (since 1966)
   - 13 15 years or more
   - 11 10–14 years
   - 12 6–9 years
   - 20 2–5 years
   - 19 less than 2 years
5. Has your subscription during this period been
   - 76% Continuous?
   - 24 Intermittent?
6. If your subscription has now lapsed, what was the main reason? (See supplement)

7. Would you object if DIALOGUE carried a small amount of advertising limited to publishers, bookstores, etc?

94%	No
6	Yes

8. If "Yes", why would you object?

(A few expressed fears that advertising might crowd out articles and/or that advertisers might exert undue influence.)

9. To which of the following Mormon-related publications do you also subscribe? (check as many as apply)

34%	*BYU Studies*
43	*Exponent II*
77	*Ensign*
20	*Journal of Mormon History*
60	*Sunstone Magazine*
45	*Sunstone Reveiw*
18	*Utah Historical Quarterly*

Other (specify). (Most often mentioned were other official LDS or RLDS publications, plus *This People*, *J. Whitmer Hist. Assn. Journal*, *FARMS*, *AMCAP*, *SSSML Newsletter*, and *BYU Today*.)

Next, we'd like your opinions about DIALOGUE's content:

10. Check the three kinds of DIALOGUE features you enjoy *most*, and the three you enjoy *least*:

Most	Least		n =
91%	9%	Articles about history	1332
89	11	Articles about theology or doctrine	1435
52	48	Articles about the sciences	910
74	26	Personal essays	981
69	31	Book Reviews	744
74	26	Letters to the Editor	738
34	66	Articles about arts and culture	895
87	13	Contemporary issues	1012
12	88	Poetry	1215
23	77	Fiction	1141

11. I would especially like to see more of the following kinds of topics or issues treated in DIALOGUE:

(See supplement.)

12. Would you like to see DIALOGUE publish more or fewer of each of the following?

n =	More	Fewer	
1054	66%	34%	Issues carrying articles on a variety of subjects (with no concentration on a specific theme)
1121	90	10	Issues containing small clusters of articles on particular subjects
1166	48	52	Issues devoted almost entirely to a single theme or subject

13. If you were the editor of DIALOGUE, what is the one thing you would especially want to change or improve?
(See supplement.)

14. What is the one thing you would most likely want to keep the same?
(See supplement.)

15. DIALOGUE's scholarly articles are:
18% Too long
78 The right length
1 Too short

16. DIALOGUE's scholarly articles are:
7% Too heavily footnoted
90 Adequately footnoted
3 Too lightly footnoted

17. In my opinion, DIALOGUE's current content and editorial tone seems:
7% Hypercritical and negative
77 Objective and independent
10 Uncritical and tame
6 Depends on topic (mostly)

18. "DIALOGUE contributes to the enrichment of my personal religious experience." Do you:
42% Strongly agree?
47 Somewhat agree?
8 Somewhat disagree?
3 Strongly disagree?
Why do you feel this way? (See supplement.)

19. Please list a few of the articles in DIALOGUE that you have found most memorable over the years. Be as specific as you can, including volume and issue number if possible (you may use the last page, if necessary):
(See supplement.)

20. Do you feel that DIALOGUE's influence on the LDS Church *membership* has been:

3%	Major?
22	Moderate?
46	Minor?
15	Imperceptible?
15	Don't know?

What makes you think so? (See supplement.)

21. Do you feel that DIALOGUE's influence on the LDS Church *leadership* has been:

4%	Major?
17	Moderate?
33	Minor?
20	Imperceptible?
26	Don't know?

What makes you think so? (A total of about 700 responded here, with pessimistic views on leadership receptiveness outnumbering optimistic views by about 2 to 1.)

22. Compared to the last four issues of DIALOGUE, would you like to see future issues carry:

13%	More graphics and artwork
55	About the same amount of graphics
16	Less graphics and artwork
16	Don't know

23. Given the present size and content of the journal, do you consider DIALOGUE to be:

6%	Underpriced
81	Priced about right
13	Overpriced

24. If each project below could be made financially self-supporting, which would you like to see DIALOGUE sponsor? (You may check more than one.)

49%	Lecture series
26	Writing contests
37	Symposia
26	Debates
12	Cultural events
31	DIALOGUE chapters or study groups**
	Other (please specify)

**(See supplement)

25. Would you like to volunteer to help organize or participate in one or more such projects in your area? If so, please circle the event(s) above and send us your name.

26. To make available memorable articles from past issues of DIALOGUE, would you like to see DIALOGUE reprint some of these in one or more books?

77% Yes
22 No

27. If yes, would you be more interested in purchasing such volumes if they were organized:

83% According to specific themes? (e.g. theology, history, etc.); or
16 With mixed theme and content?

28. If you would prefer a focus on specific themes, please suggest some themes on which you would like to see collections of DIALOGUE articles reprinted: (See supplement.)

Finally, we would like to know a few things about you. We will respect your anonymity and use this information only in an aggregate statistical analysis.

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29. How old are you?

11% under 29
30 30–39
28 40–49
16 50–59
9 60–69
5 70–79
1 80 or over

30. Please indicate your sex:

73% Male
27 Female

31. In what state, province, or country do you live?

California — 19% Other Intermtn. — 10%
Utah — 26% All other — 45%

32. Please indicate your marital status:

11% Never married
82 Married
3 Widowed
4 Divorced or separated

33. Please indicate the highest level of formal education you have attained:

12%	No degree
25	College/university graduate
26	Master's degree
38	Doctoral degree

34. In which of the following categories was your total family income last year?

5%	Under $10,000
4	$10,000– 14,999
4	$15,000– 19,999
7	$20,000– 24,999
8	$25,000– 29,999
10	$30,000– 34,999
10	$35,000– 39,999
14	$40,000– 49,999
12	$50,000– 59,999
7	$60,000– 69,999
5	$70,000– 79,999
5	$80,000–100,000
9	Over $100,000

35. Do you:

18%	Rent or lease your residence?
82	Own your residence?

36. What is your profession or occupation? (Or, if you are retired, what was it?) Please be as specific as possible. Include not just the title of your occupation, but a line or two about the kind of work that you actually do. (See supplement.)

37. Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else?

Self-employed — 24% Employed by others — 59%
Mixed or not appl. — 17%

38. About how many books do you buy each year:

15%	1–5
23	6–10
28	11–20
34	More than 20

39. What is your religious affiliation?

94%	Latter-day Saint
1	Reorganized Latter Day Saint
2	Other (specify) (Mostly either ex-LDS or Roman Catholic)
2	None

40. How often do you attend church/worship services?

76%	Every Sunday (or virtually every Sunday)
12	Most Sundays
6	Occasionally
6	Rarely or never

41. What do you think an LDS Church member should do when faced with a Church policy or program with which he or she does not fully agree?

10%	Accept it on faith and do your best to carry it out.
37	Express yourself frankly to the leaders and then go along with the policy if they still decide to continue it.
24	Dissent privately, but avoid actions that might encourage an open conflict among Church members.
4	Gather support for your position from other Church members, and then petition the leaders to change the policy.
26	Other (specify briefly) (mostly combinations of the above, depending on circumstances)

42. Do you regard the Book of Mormon as "authentic" in any sense?

94%	Yes (please respond to Part A below)
6	No (please respond to Part B)

A. Please check the *one* among the following explanations that comes *closest* to what you believe about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon:

63%	It is an actual historical record of ancient inhabitants of the American continent, and was translated by the gift and power of God.
14	Its historicity may be doubtful, but its theology and moral teachings are authentically of divine origin.
10	Its historicity and its divine inspiration may both be doubtful, but its moral teachings are sound and do accord with God's will.
7	It has nothing necessarily to do with divine origin, inspiration, or God's will, but it is an authentic literary product of nineteenth century America.
7	None of the above is what I believe about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. What I believe is: (included many who "don't know")

B. If you do *not* regard the Book of Mormon as authentic in any sense, what do you believe about:

n = 89

Its origin (i.e., how we got it, who wrote it, etc.) (Most common was attributing it to Joseph Smith's authorship.)

n = 78

Its contents? (i.e. whether it is a good piece of literature, whether its moral and theological concepts are interesting or admirable, etc.) (Most common was acknowledgement of good moral teachings in the book.)

(You may continue your comments about the Book of Mormon at the bottom of this page, if you wish.)

Would you like to help DIALOGUE? (If so, please sign your name at the end *or* send us a separate note. Thanks.)

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43. I am interested in helping DIALOGUE in one or more of the following ways (check as many as apply): [All figures in this section are total numbers of responses out of 1779, and not percentages.]

165	Making a financial contribution (tax-deductible)
70	Donating issues to a reference library
46	Donating needed back issues to DIALOGUE for resale
37	Volunteering for office help
161	Giving gift subscriptions
194	Subscription referrals
22	Art and design
231	Writing book reviews
164	Editing
156	Proofreading
	Other (please specify)

44. I am currently doing research and would consider submitting a manuscript to DIALOGUE on:
191 responded affirmatively

45. DIALOGUE may wish to contact (name and address)
(52 responded affirmatively)
who is doing research on

THANK YOU VERY MUCH for your time. In the space below, or on a separate sheet, please add any ideas, comments, opinions, or suggestions you may have about DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT.

(Optional) Name: (46% wrote in their names)

Supplement to *Dialogue* Survey Results

Results from Questions Requiring Write-in Responses and Special Coding

Question 6: If your subscription has now lapsed, what was the main reason? (n = 242)

1. Various dissatisfactions	14%
2. No time to read	12
3. No renewal reminder	14
4. Finances	40
5. Miscellaneous	20

Question 11: I would especially like to see more of the following kinds of topics or issues treated in Dialogue:

1. Social or psychological topics		23%
a. General or non-classifiable	14%	
b. The Church as a social or political institution	3%	
c. Women and the Church	2%	
d. Mormon relations with the outside world, including other religions	4%	
2. Theological topics (A very few mentioned specific scriptural or hermeneutical topics, but almost all responses were of a more general or multiple nature, not readily subclassifiable.)		21%
3. Historical topics		13%
3. Personal essays		5%
5. Literature and poetry		2%
6. No response (This is actually an artificially low figure, since many respondents offered suggestions in more than one of the above categories, and the percentages are all based on 1779.)		36%

Question 13: If you were the editor of Dialogue, what is the one thing you would especially want to change or improve?

1. No response		44%
2. Changes in business or editorial matters		30%
a. Publication schedule	15%	
b. Quality of editing	10%	
c. Layout or format	6%	
d. Increased circulation	6%	
e. Price reduction	3%	
f. More aggressive public relations and advertising	4%	
g. "Change nothing" or misc. business/editorial matters	4%	
	56%	

3. Changes in Content		26%
a. Less iconoclastic, more humble	18%	
b. More variety in authors/articles	16%	
c. More emphasis on popular issues	9%	
d. More controversial	7%	
e. More personal essays	5%	
f. More fiction and poetry	4%	
g. Less fiction and poetry	5%	
h. Less emphasis on Wasatch Front types of concerns	4%	
i. Other changes in content	30%	

Question 14: What is the one thing you would most likely want to keep the same?

(n = 875)

1. Openness, honesty, integrity, independence	23%
2. Calibre of scholarship	17%
3. Editorial quality or format	17%
4. Diversity of perspectives	12%
5. Letters to the editor	6%
6. Provocative issues	3%
7. Number of book reviews	3%
8. Other (misc.)	20%

Question 18: Why do you feel this way (i.e., why do you agree or disagree that DIALOGUE contributes to the enrichment of your own personal religious experience)?

(n = 753)

A. Reasons offered for agreeing

1. DIALOGUE stimulates intellect	33%
2. It offers a sense of belonging	14%
3. It offers diverse views of truth	14%
4. It strengthens testimony	9%
5. It has honesty	5%
6. It helps in self-acceptance	5%
7. Other (misc.)	21%

(n = 137)

B. Reasons offered for disagreeing

1. DIALOGUE offers *only* intellectual stimulation	29%
2. It is too negative	12%
3. It causes doubts and uneasiness	12%
4. It doesn't satisfy spiritually	12%
5. It doesn't satisfy intellectually	5%
6. Other (misc.)	30%

Question 19: Please list a few of the articles in DIALOGUE that you have found most memorable over the years. (NOTE: Figures are the actual numbers of responses, not percentages.)

220 — Bush, Mormonism's Negro Doctrine
152 — "Pink" women's issue (entire issue)
136 — "Red" women's issue (entire issue)
136 — Buerger, Adam-God issue in Church history
132 — Blacks and the priesthood articles (unspecified)
132 — Poll, Liahona and iron rod revisited
119 — Poll, What the Church means . . . (iron rod/Liahona)
107 — Bergera, Young/Pratt argument over nature of God
95 — Jeffrey, Seers, savants, evolution
87 — Eugene England (articles unspecified)
67 — Hill, The First Vision controversy
60 — Hugh Nibley (articles unspecified)
54 — Bitton, Ten Years in Camelot
52 — Sexuality in Mormon Culture (entire issue)
47 — Buerger, Second anointing
45 — Bush (articles unspecified)
40 — Sonia Johnson interview
36 — B. H. Roberts vs. Smith debate

The following articles were each indicated 22 to 30 times: Fawn Brodie interview; Shipps, "Insider-Outsider"; Nibley, "Leaders and Managers"; England, "Blessing the Chevrolet"; Bush, "Word of Wisdom"; Mauss, "Fading of Pharoah's Curse"; Mauss, "Mormonism and the Negro"; "Death of a Son"; and "Being Single"; "polygamy" articles and the following were noted between 10 and 20 times each: McMurrin interview; McMurrin (unspecified); article on architecture in the Church; article on Church courts and excommunication; and Peterson's "The Gift."

Question 20: What makes you think so? (i.e., What makes you think as you do about DIALOGUE's influence on the LDS Church membership?)

One hundred thirty-four respondents (7 percent), in support of their belief that DIALOGUE's influence on Church members is at least moderate, offered two kinds of reasons: (a) DIALOGUE offers intellectual fare not otherwise available; and (b) material from DIALOGUE sometimes shows up later in Church publications.

Two hundred six (11 percent), on the other hand, in support of their belief that DIALOGUE's influence is minor or less, offered the reasons that: (a) DIALOGUE has such a limited readership, (b) it suffers from a general perception that it is apostate or at least "too controversial," and/or (c) DIALOGUE's readers are not that easily influenced.

Questions 24 and 25: If each project below could be made financially self-supporting, which would you like to see DIALOGUE sponsor? (You may check more than one.)

The percentages of subscribers approving the involvement of DIALOGUE in each kind of activity are given in the Questionnaire proper. The information added here pertains only to responses to Question 25, which asked subscribers to indicate their willingness to help organize or participate in each kind of proposed DIALOGUE activity. Proportions volunteering to help with each activity were miniscule in all cases except for DIALOGUE chapters or study groups where 31 percent of the subscribers approved of DIALOGUE sponsorship for such things, and nearly a fourth of those volunteered to help organize or otherwise participate.

Question 28: If you would prefer a focus on specific themes (for prospective DIALOGUE reprint collections), please suggest some themes on which you would like to see collections of articles reprinted. (NOTE: Figures that follow are total responses, not percentages.)

194 — Historical themes (not otherwise specified)
171 — Theological themes (not specified)
121 — Women's issues
88 — Early Church history
82 — Science (not specified)
72 — Doctrine (not specified)
44 — Sociological issues (not specified)
41 — Book of Mormon
40 — Blacks in the Church
37 — Fiction or poetry
32 — The arts
32 — Contemporary issues like anti-Mormons
29 — Evolution controversy
26 — Polygamy
25 — Life of Joseph Smith
25 — Contemporary issues (not specified)
24 — Recent Church history
22 — Priesthood
21 — The Church in politics
20 — Organizational matters in the Church
15 — Book of Abraham
14 — Word of Wisdom
11 — Medicine
158 — Miscellaneous other

Question 36: What is your profession or occupation? (Or, if you are retired, what was it?) Please be as specific as possible.

Major categories of response:

Advanced professional (medicine, law, Ph.D., etc.)	32%
Technical professional (engineer, computer specialist, CPA, etc.)	13%
Teachers (K-12 and Junior college)	12%
Management	9%
Homemakers	6%
All others (artists, white-collar, blue-collar, students, etc.)	28%

In "Dialogue": Survey Responses

Editors' Note: An extremely large percentage of readers responding to the 1984 survey took the time to "enter the dialogue" by writing responses, observations, critiques, recommendations, or appreciations beyond the survey itself. This small selection from that lively collection, edited and with identifying information removed, shows that the DIALOGUE *spirit in its eighteenth volume was vigorous and diverse.*

The tradition shows no signs of slackening. In this twentieth anniversary, we invite DIALOGUE*'s readers to pick up their pencils (or turn on their word processors) and continue the sharing: What's a favorite memory or story about* DIALOGUE*? How does it help or hinder you in reaching your personal goals? What would you add, subtract, or multiply in the editorial mix? Whether you've been with* DIALOGUE *for twenty years or two issues, share what you think.*

I BELIEVE THAT *DIALOGUE* CAN CONTINUE to fulfill an important part of the Mormon intellectual life for all — if it remains a dialogue, not a one-sided debate!

DIALOGUE made me feel I had a place in the Church during a difficult time in my life. It is easy to feel that the Church *is* the attitude and policies of the ward you belong to — especially when one is in the mission field. DIALOGUE brings a broader prospective. However, please include more contemporary issues along with your scholarly ones. I'm not sure present-day DIALOGUE would answer my problems if I were seeking now. Remember, all readers are not charter members. Issues and topics can be redone. (You have done that somewhat with women and Poll revisited, I know.)

While I believe that DIALOGUE has had only a moderate direct effect upon the Church, it may have had a major indirect effect by pushing the *Ensign* towards real life as members must cope with it. I have been a branch presi-

dent for years. There are other faithful DIALOGUE readers in our stake on the high council, etc. We need you. While other articles are stimulating and informative, I especially appreciate thoughtful articles by youthful members.

Here in my home town, our congregation is made up mostly of converts. I love them dearly, but their testimonies are fragile, and I always feel on guard when it comes to speaking out or expressing myself where the gospel is concerned. So for me, the journal is a breath of fresh air allowing me to communicate with other kindred souls "out there."

I am very thankful for DIALOGUE. There was a time when I felt there could be little free or analytical thought in the LDS Church. DIALOGUE gives me new hope. My family and I pray for its continued success.

I use DIALOGUE a great deal in preparing talks, Sunday school lessons, etc. I really need another ten-year index! — only from now on it should be every five years.

DIALOGUE singlehandedly brought about a maturation of my understanding that was much more satisfying than BYU religion classes. It crystallized my feelings about the Church and played a large part in deciding what I really feel about the role of the Church in my life. My family (descendants of Edward Partridge, Amasa Lyman, etc.) still think it is an apostate publication. They tolerate my mention of it, and I wonder how many others miss the benefit of DIALOGUE because of uninformed bias.

I feel that DIALOGUE would do well to raise its image among the greater Church membership, among whom there is a broad mistrust if not complete ignorance of the journal. Subscribers for whom DIALOGUE is an important religious/intellectual experience (like me) need to actively "proselytize" among those potentially "golden contacts" awaiting a broadening intellectual/spiritual experience. (I can already count at least two subscription conversions and have an active investigator pool!) DIALOGUE might want to give encouragement to such efforts. (In my experience, liberals/intellectuals tend to be standoffish and lack the zeal of many an iron-rodder.) Additionally, DIALOGUE might consider publishing more pieces from the conservative/iron rodder scholars in the Church, although they may be reluctant to contribute, of course. Such a feat might assist in overcoming reservations among some Church members about DIALOGUE's being only a vehicle for the disaffected and "radical" LDS fringe. Above all, DIALOGUE must never cease to dialogue — to critically explore and evaluate as well as to celebrate.

The articles are very interesting and stimulating; however, the level of understanding and comprehension is keyed to a higher intellectual level. For me to give gift subscriptions, there would have to be a broader range of articles. I also think more emphasis should be placed on women in our society in nontraditional roles.

In general I have found DIALOGUE informative and intellectually stimulating. I believe it has reinforced my convictions concerning the divine origin and position of the LDS Church. People who are not generally well informed or who have a quarrel with the Church can find material in DIALOGUE which might reinforce their negative views. One usually finds what one is seeking.

I know many people in our ward who think deeply about issues which are seldom addressed in Church-sponsored publications. Even those who come up with a standard answer often do some critical thinking first. I'm even including men in the bishopric and stake presidency and their wives (particularly their wives). What is disheartening is that all this questioning is hidden, private. Questioning is almost never done officially (at meetings, in publications). What are we all so afraid of?

I thoroughly enjoy DIALOGUE. It is thought provoking. In reading DIALOGUE, I feel free to be: to think, to question, to experience growth, to be free. Before DIALOGUE, I felt guilty questioning. I felt closed in, not understood. The authors of DIALOGUE have made me feel that I am not alone, that I belong. I love the Church and yet feel torn between loyalty to the Church and the quest for honesty.

Don't wish to be cynical, but any thinking Mormon is one of the following: frustrated as hell, repressed, or out of the church. Mormonism is not a universal religion. It is basically for those who reject freedom of thought and action.

I thoroughly enjoy DIALOGUE but also have to admit that it is really an "elitist publication." Sometimes I wonder if DIALOGUE can continue publishing because sometimes it appears to be "reaching" for material. I like it for the intellectual stimuli — for the information that I wouldn't get in the *Ensign* — however, for personal spiritual experiences I prefer the *Ensign* — not that DIALOGUE doesn't contain their accounts once in a while, but usually they are not directed toward spirituality as much as erudition. I enjoy the mental stimulation it gives and the wide areas of research — I didn't enjoy the negativeness of the early issues. I think it should be more than a forum for sounding off.

DIALOGUE has the potential of providing a professional voice for the LDS community of scholars. There are many of us who would like to have a "professional-level" *Ensign*. I read and enjoy the *Ensign* but feel that many of the articles are shallow. DIALOGUE could step into that space. The "critical voice" many of us felt in the sixties and seventies has mellowed into a believing mode that provides for our children the heritage we received — a quiet faith.

Now, DIALOGUE as a professional journal might address in a disciplined manner issues and thoughts about our lifestyle and beliefs — in short, honest dialogue, mature dialogue on a fulfilling faith. Any call to assume reason and

understanding in the search for faith and peace is welcome. DIALOGUE helps do this for me.

In the Church we need, but seldom have, open discussions of our history, theology, problems, and changes. Information and insight strengthens faith; ignorance and shallow thinking make fatih vulnerable to disillusion and exposure. DIALOGUE should carry articles which are honest and scholarly but should reject carping criticism or negative viewpoints written solely to express displeasure.

I have been a member of the LDS Church in Europe for eighteen years. Until now I have had only the official publications of the Church for nurturing my faith. But I feel a need to know something different about the Church than the official talks of the leaders. Presently I have another source. It is the publication sent free by the Lighthouse ministry. It does not satisfy me. I hope, in reading DIALOGUE, to find the mentality of the American-born Mormons besides the official speech.

As a member in Europe where many members tend to stop thinking the day they are baptized, I find DIALOGUE very stimulating. It provides me with much-needed information about controversial issues from which members are kept completely ignorant. Please keep your independent spirit! The issues you raise force me to think. Sometimes this is painful and I am beginning to have serious doubts about the truth of certain Church doctrines. However, adhering to doctrines that are not true would be fooling myself. That seems worse to me than losing my testimony.

As a member of the Church living far away from the United States and having little access to Church literature other than that published by Deseret Book and Bookcraft, I have appreciated very much articles about Church history and doctrine that dealt with subjects that are not approached by the *Ensign* or Church authorities. DIALOGUE has given me a wealth of information and a less naive view. This information has been very helpful in meeting a number of anti-Mormon attacks launched here in recent years. I am grateful for that.

My main frustration with DIALOGUE is its lack of influence on most active Mormons. I think this is because of an image problem: "too esoteric," "damages testimonies." I think it might appeal to a wider audience if it paid more attention to conservative interpretations of scripture and history. If the scholarship for these interpretations is shaky, I would still like it to be published and elucidated by DIALOGUE.

The articles of most interest to me are the ones about the development of doctrine and policy of the church. They are worth the length and footnotes now common. More purely historical articles are too long.

I would like to see more articles "watchdogging" present Church lesson manuals and policy. I would not like to see changes in DIALOGUE scholarship or editorial policy — only those of content.

I feel it would be unfortunate if the scholarly articles were any less heavily footnoted.

Though I think the idea of DIALOGUE is good, and I am sure the great majority of those connected with it are faithful as well as thoughtful Latter-day Saints, unfortunately its image over the years has too often been that of a critical rather than a constructive voice. There are many in the Church who appreciate the scholarly analysis which DIALOGUE provides but for whom a far more important goal is the building of the kingdom and conversion of the world. DIALOGUE would hold a greater attraction for this group if it were more visibly on the Church's side and less apparently neutral on important questions. Again, I suggest this is more a problem of image and reputation than of fact.

We are charter subscribers and would like to see a return to the editorial policies of the early years. It is too watered down and uncritical and is on the way to becoming indistinguishable from official publications. *But* there are too many long and dry pseudo-theological, metaphysical, and hyper-scholarly articles lately. This is not a suitable publication for rewritten Ph.D. theses on theology and philosophy. We don't like non-LDS authored articles. More articles on individuals' personal philosophies are needed and coping mechanisms for living within the strictures of the LDS system without leaving the Church.

I eagerly await DIALOGUE's arrival. It is always a bright day when the mailman brings it. It helps me so very much. Keep up the good work.

I think there are a large number of people in the Church that could benefit from DIALOGUE's independent-spirited outlook and whose faith and commitment would be enhanced thereby. However, I find many articles presented almost in the form of academic papers or learned theses, well above the heads of average Church members without a specialist's background in the particular subject. In my country, most members of the Church fall in the artisan social class and few have been to the university. However, there are many who I am sure would value a wider outlook than that available in the official church magazines. I personally have appreciated DIALOGUE very much over the years.

The journal changed my belief so drastically that I am facing an urgent need to reorganize my way of thinking. Now I am seeking a new philosophy of life. I cannot go back to a naive belief. However, I do appreciate what the journal has provided to me. It's now an indispensable part of my life.

DIALOGUE has been a great outlet for me over the past eighteen years to see how others feel and believe who share my concerns. It fills a definite need although many other publications are in the same business these days.

DIALOGUE has always been a very important part of my intellectual and religious life, and I am interested in protecting it and savoring it. I would like it to be essentially the same as it has been since 1966. I still remember with fondness the stimulation those early issues gave me. They changed my life in many ways. Unfortunately, the majority of Church members care little for intellectual stimulation and distrust anything that does not bear the official stamp of approval from the hierarchy. Therefore, I see no chance that DIALOGUE will ever be a household word in the Church. But it is certainly fulfilling a vital role for the intellectual, thinking person and undoubtedly helps influence all members in subtle ways. Writing about the blacks, for instance, undoubtedly had some influence on the eventual change of that policy. But most changes will come only slowly. Keep it up.

DIALOGUE remains a bright spot each time it arrives. I usually finish it off in a day or two. I can't decide whether I like it just because it stimulates some genuine thought about issues never considered in our ward (unless I raise them) or because it reinforces my ever-growing sense of futility at the Church's paralysis. I have nearly finished a complete rereading of the entire set of DIALOGUE issues (while pedaling my exercycle). It was like visiting old friends. I think DIALOGUE has been remarkably good and remarkably consistent in attempting to merely raise issues for discussion. Too bad the Church isn't interested in examining itself.

DIALOGUE is not as interesting as it used to be. The abundance of "scholarly," i.e., dull articles, must, I think, appeal to a far smaller number of readers than it is going to take to maintain adequate funding for continued publication. Let's have more general interest articles, please.

DIALOGUE has been my hold on sanity for years. I love it and appreciate you all. What more can I say?

It has been difficult for my wife and me to continue our subscription in recent years. We have discussed this extensively, and are uncertain as to the reasons. They include a changing of interest on our part with changing age, a uniform perception that there is little sparkle to the articles (dull, tedious, and often obscure, i.e., lengthy and detailed without adequate hooks for those who do not already know the area discussed), a tendency to avoid honest discussion of current issues (everything happened long ago) and a failure (associated) to consider opinion.

The brief success of *Sunstone Review* demonstrated our hunger for unmanaged news, though its muckraking tendencies left something to be desired. Given my own background, I am also put off by the continuing aspect of a

journal written for the liberally educated which ignores science for the most part and addresses the area inadequately when encounters are unavoidable. Most scientists are not so ignorant of the arts.

None of this is intended to detract from a substantial and material effort over a number of years. Yet these feelings are honest, and you asked! Finally, it may be appropriate to indicate that I am not a stranger to the problems of scholarly writing. Past experience, including five books, over fifty papers, and our currently maturing plans to start a new journal with a major publisher, do leave me with some appreciation of the difficulties involved in responding to the frustrations elicited above.

Four years ago I spent the summer in the home of friends who were charter subscribers of DIALOGUE. As DIALOGUE was founded when I was in high school and still living in my orthodox LDS home, it was a first chance to see the original issues. I was struck with the vitality of those early issues, and the comparative sterility of what has been published over the last five to ten years: these were issues that seriously attempted a *dialogue with the outside world.* Where are the roundtables on Vietnam, the contributions from Robert McAfee Brown, the grappling with secular problems today? This is a serious concern for me; I feel an increasing schizophrenia in the chasm between the world-view of Mormonism and the truths I sense in other fields, the problems I recognize for which Mormonism shows (it sometimes appears) little comprehension, much less solutions. How do I begin to establish a relationship between my religious faith and contemporary psychology, feminism, the disasters in Central America, political and cultural oppression? I wish DIALOGUE could help me do this. Instead, it has become almost exclusively inward-focused, dealing with particularly Mormon topics almost as though the outside world doesn't exist.

Generally I like what you've published in DIALOGUE. Reconsider your charter, to "examine the relevance of religion to secular life," to bring our faith "into dialogue with the larger stream of Judeo-Christian thought (I like this addition) and with human experience as a whole." I am hungry for just such fare.

Open-ended debate about basic issues, controversy, wide-ranging discussion, and the forceful and reasoned expression of a diversity of opinions are more DIALOGUE's domain than a careful if stodgy approximation of things as they are. I say this out of concern that DIALOGUE not become a kind of historical-scholarly journal solely, but maintain its priceless and unrivaled heritage as a place where a Latter-day Saint or others so inclined can think hard and long, safe in the assurance that a community is listening.

DIALOGUE has served a fine purpose over the years! It has provided a fairly independent forum not available elsewhere for members of the Church to discuss pressing issues. Some of its scholarly function is now duplicated by other publications. It seems to me that the future of DIALOGUE lies in its ability to

illuminate pressing contemporary issues. Those of us who live in jerkwater towns cherish the contact DIALOGUE provides with bright people in the Church. It is difficult for a thoughtful person to deal with all the strains of life in the secular world without some contact with savants who are dealing with similar issues.

Over the many years I have read DIALOGUE, I have enjoyed it immensely. It does strengthen my testimony, for I love the Church and the gospel.

I want to express my gratitude to all the author/scholars, editors, volunteers, etc., who have created DIALOGUE and kept it alive through these turbulent years. It has had significant impact on my life, and has brought many of us "closet liberals" into the sunlight of shared ideas and supportive fellowship. It paved the way for *Exponent II*, its influential "little sister," and all the other offspring which have followed. I want DIALOGUE, like me, to continue to be proudly Mormon and, at the same time, unapologetically intellectual. Faith and reason *can* co-exist.

I was present at the inception of DIALOGUE but I have been very disappointed in how it has developed. When my father read some of the issues, his comment was that he couldn't find a single reference to God. He discontinued the magazine because, in fact, it had become too much of a platform for the fringe members of the Church, the skeptical and cynical, and the shallow academics who haven't outgrown the "sophomore complex" of discovering there are questions as well as great truths in the Church. I've heard non-Mormons say that their greatest support comes from the pages of DIALOGUE. I think many articles are so poorly written that I'm surprised that the editors would approve them. I read a paragraph in one article to several friends. None of us could understand its diffuse, confusing jargon.

DIALOGUE is a major contributor to my spiritual progress and a faithful guide along the path. Please keep up the good work, the effort is worth it. During the past year, excellence could have been your editorial theme, judging by the results.

For me DIALOGUE is analogous to *Scientific American*, that is, articles written by experts for a wider audience than other experts in the same field. I don't have time to read as much as I would like of LDS thought, biblical scholarship, archaeology, theology, etc. I don't read any foreign languages and I can't follow writings by experts in journals aimed solely at scholars. So I would like DIALOGUE to bring in more material that is not specifically Mormon, e.g., archaeology, theological tutorials, Jewish and Christian history. If it were possible (and I doubt it is) I would like to see a really scholarly criticism of the Book of Mormon by a non-believer; that would give our own scholars a program to work on. I think DIALOGUE is great as it now is, but would like it even better if there were some dialogue with non-Mormon thinkers. We have too great a tendency to talk seriously only among ourselves; for everybody else

we have only a missionary approach and a public relations approach. We need to be able to exchange ideas with other peoples in an atmosphere in which neither side is trying to convert the other.

DIALOGUE is not only interesting but also has quality in design and graphics. As long as you can afford such quality, it's great! The mixture of articles is great, but more about the interaction of science and religion would be welcome.

I really enjoy DIALOGUE and I do think that for the most part the quality is quite good. I enjoy the diversity of topics treated and the diversity of opinions. The subject matter doesn't offend me in the least — although I will have to admit that some of the fiction does not seem worthy of publication.

DIALOGUE is, and has been since my discovery of it ten years ago, my favorite LDS publication. One of my fond hopes is that someday I'll be able to collect a complete set of all the volumes for my library at home. I especially like the fiction, personal essays, and poetry that you publish and wish you could do even more.

Unfortunately (I write this only because of my great faith in your promise of confidentiality) I represent your least intellectual segment of subscribers. (I resisted using "intelligent subscribers.") I need piles of reference books, including a dictionary to get through "Letters to the Editor." Therefore, I doubt there is anything I can do for you. However, I do wish to express my sincere thanks for your vitalizing publication. Come to think of it, those of us in the "Eliza Doolittle" class may prove to be grounds for your greatest accomplishments. I thank you for your influence, intelligence, and accessibility.

I'm stumbling through life the best I can. I find DIALOGUE helpful when it gathers the experiences of others who are in a similar situation; thus I like the letters section very much.

On the whole, I've always enjoyed DIALOGUE and have gotten a lot of personal support from it. I'm in constant intellectual and value conflicts with the Church's theology and practices and the emotional pull it still has on me after many inactive years. DIALOGUE helps!

I am a "Liahona" married to an "Iron Rodder" — the most classic conservative kind of "Iron Rod." And all these years DIALOGUE has come to our house (paid for by me) and "Iron Rod" has refused to *open even one* because "if God wanted us to read that kind of material, the General Authorities would publish it" and "I'd be afraid to put that stuff into my mind." So how have we stayed married? We have a truce of mutual respect which allows each complete control of his/her own mind. Please believe me when I say DIALOGUE is my mind's channel of light. Please, please continue to publish. Without you, part of me will literally die.

As an adult convert I accepted the gospel believing the Church organization and leaders to be virtually perfect. Eventual exposure to anti-Mormon literature and suppressed Church history left me feeling confused and wondering if I had perhaps been misled. DIALOGUE has been an immense help to me by showing me that dissent not only is acceptable but is healthy and exercised by active members, too. I appreciate your balance in such articles as Gene England's "Enduring." I also appreciate the attention being given to women's issues, long overdue and excellently done by DIALOGUE.

There are a few issues, but mostly occasional articles and book reviews that make me want to burn them in the hottest fire I can build because of their extremely negative, critical, and unscholarly content. It is these occasional works that are keeping many subscribers away. However, DIALOGUE redeems itself with some of the very finest, inspiring, and truly scholarly writing found in the Church. Please publish more articles on personal religious experience.

You might be interested in why I subscribed to DIALOGUE. I had seen a reprint of an article that dealt with the LDS Church as a positive, moral experience even when one can't accept all theological positions. As my husband is now going through a religious crisis, I thought he would read and enjoy the tone of it as he now shuns the *Ensign*.

I really would like to cancel all further dealings with this publication. I feel my time, money and effort need be spent reading official Church publications.

I hope DIALOGUE will sustain its boldness and independence as it functions within the community of faith.

I like DIALOGUE, but with reservations because I am ambivalent about intellectuals and intellectuality in the Church. On the other hand, I have absolutely no reservations about the *Ensign*: I don't read it at all!

DIALOGUE always gives me some hope that freedom of the press may still exist within the Church. You are the only "printed word" from Salt Lake City I do read now. Keep up the good work.

I receive more sustenance from *Sunstone* and *Exponent II*; DIALOGUE is intellectually appealing, but the others help me sort through my issues with the Church better.

I have just received one issue of DIALOGUE. I prefer *Sunstone*. It's more "radical," and more stimulating intellectually. From what I've heard and read about your magazine, you seem to have mellowed out.

DIALOGUE is, whether you like it or not, an institution. There are now a number of other scholarly journals looking for pieces of the pie. DIALOGUE should try to preserve its traditions of careful editing, and well-researched and well-analyzed scholarship. The journal has age and experience and should try to remain a standard for newer periodicals and younger writers. It should certainly try to stay in the vanguard, but there's no need to be trendy or get the scoops. DIALOGUE should be a stabilizing force now. I don't see any problem with trying to maintain the high standards set in previous issues, some of which are classics.

DIALOGUE is becoming esoteric. It is catering to preppy Mormons especially ERA-minded sisters who fail to realize that (the RLDS notwithstanding) priesthood for women is irrevocably tied to second anointings and that to plural marriage. Sisters who talk up "priestess" roles better understand they're talking The Principle, or shut up.

Preserve the best in DIALOGUE. Don't bow to the wild-eyed lunatic fringe.

For those of us who live far from any center of Mormon studies and can't travel to every conference or symposium we would like to attend to keep abreast of research, essays, book reviews, and notices become very important. My husband and I have professional lives and contacts that provide word-of-mouth news about our other interests; but when it comes to Mormon studies, we are dependent on publications like DIALOGUE. Often the first word we have of a book is through DIALOGUE. I realize it's easiest to make cuts in an overly long issue by dropping a few book reviews, but please remember how important they are for those of us who live "on the fringes."

It seems to me that the in-depth, historical research articles on some point of doctrine are the strength of DIALOGUE. How did we get from point A to X, Y or Z, as in Lester Bush's article on the blacks? Right now I would be interested in definitive articles on the Church and Zionism, the Church and the conservation and ecological movements. As far as I know, the *Ensign* article in the fall of 1972 was the only one ever published dealing with stewardship of the earth. Is there another spokesperson besides Nibley? What, if any, have been the changes in the Church regarding birth control? Where did we get the notion of Jesus as the God of the Old Testament? What are the *established* evidences today of the Book of Mormon? Archeological? Anthropological?

I look forward to each publication. I enjoy the variety of topics. It keeps a "retired" mind open. I continue to add knowledge, insight, redefine my own thinking. I learn much from the letters to the editor.

Ever since I first dared open the covers of DIALOGUE and read the "dangerous" words inside, I have been stimulated, nourished, and challenged.

Hungry for more, I have read every back issue I could find and will continue to subscribe and read as long as DIALOGUE continues to be informing, stimulating, and challenging.

The most important thing for me about DIALOGUE currently is its tone — one of affirmation and confidence without being smug or thoughtless on the one hand and carping and destructive on the other.

I'm eighty-seven years old and my eyesight is fading but I really enjoy reading DIALOGUE. I don't always agree, but it keeps me thinking. It's stimulating. You do a good job.

I think DIALOGUE fills a vital need for LDS intellectuals. I admire the courage of its founders, some of whom I know, and those who have carried on the journal. Around 1970 when I read the first (for me) DIALOGUE I recall finding it spiritually abrasive and I ceased reading it for a time. Now, better founded in the gospel, less naive, and probably more jaded, I still find it occasionally abrasive, but I am excited when each new issue arrives. Quite frankly, the Book of Mormon is occasionally abrasive spiritually as well. In summary, I am very grateful for DIALOGUE and the new dimension it has given the Church and I applaud those whose forthrightness and conviction have enabled DIALOGUE to continue.

The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source

Blake T. Ostler

EVEN A CASUAL REFERENCE to studies treating the Book of Mormon reveals a range of divergent explanations of its origins. At one extreme are those who are skeptical of the book's claims to antiquity who generally conclude that it is a pious fraud, written by Joseph Smith from information available in his immediate environment. At the other extreme are those who accept the book as scripture and suggest that it can be explained exclusively by reference to ancient sources either not available to Joseph Smith or available only if he were capable of the most recondite research and near-genius ability in comparative literature and ancient studies.

It is my purpose to demonstrate that both extremes are too limited and to offer a theory of the Book of Mormon as Joseph Smith's expansion of an ancient work by building on the work of earlier prophets to answer the nagging problems of his day. In so doing, he provided unrestricted and authoritative commentary, interpretation, explanation, and clarifications based on insights from the ancient Book of Mormon text and the King James Bible (KJV). The result is a modern world view and theological understanding superimposed on the Book of Mormon text from the plates.

The first section of this paper provides examples and analysis of some of these expansions by using the scholarly tools of source, motif and form-critical analyses. The second section explores the concept of translation "by the gift and power of God" and discusses the usefulness of seeing the Book of Mormon as an ancient text mediated through the mind of Joseph Smith, who attempted to render its message in categories of understanding that were meaningful to him and his contemporaries. The final section of the paper explores a preliminary theology of revelation which is consistent with Mormon theology in general and with the expansion theory of scripture in particular. This final section will also suggest why scripture and the development of doctrine are necessarily bound by culture and language, thus demanding expansion and explanation to render God's revelations meaningful to every new generation.

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Like all attempts to account for revelation in general and the Book of Mormon in particular, this one labors under the limitations of my experience and commitments. I have found Joseph Smith's statement that "a man would get nearer to God" by abiding the precepts of the Book of Mormon to be true for me. I bring to this study a believer's experience. I see meaning and possibilities where the nonbeliever does not or finds no reason to see such meaning. This statement of faith is not to say that I have biases, whereas the unbeliever has none; rather, my biases are different. Faith enables one to see and expresses commitments before all of the evidence is in. Aware of the predispositions of faith, however, I have tried to control my biases by refusing to go beyond conclusions justified by the evidence or allowed by logic.

I must also acknowledge the debt I owe to contemporary students of the Book of Mormon, whose studies on specific aspects of culture and parallels with the ancient and modern worlds have significantly advanced our knowledge. My own summaries of their research will, I hope, point interested readers to their fuller studies.

Analyzing Expansions: Source Criticism

Source criticism is a method of determining if one text is dependent on another source, usually by close comparisons of parallel language or forms. Source criticism allows scholars to determine the relative date of a work *as received* because, if a source can be identified, they can properly deduce that the work was composed later than the source upon which it relied. Source criticism is also useful in determining the place of composition because the document must be composed at a place where the source is available.

Critics of the Book of Mormon most often use this method, usually unknowingly, by pointing to modern parallels. They reason that if they can identify modern sources and ideas in the book, then it must be entirely a modern work. Merely pointing to parallels without a critical methodology explaining why the parallels exist and how the Book of Mormon depends on a modern document(s) logically entails only that two documents contain similar ideas or material (Sandmel 1962). Thus, Hugh Nibley's list of thirty-five parallels between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Mormon or Fawn Brodie's parallels between the Book of Mormon and nineteenth-century lore about Indian practices show nothing more than that parallels can be drawn between the Book of Mormon and both ancient and modern sources (Nibley 1973, 299–303; Brodie 1945, 46).

When does a parallel entail dependence? Similar ideas presented in identical order and expressed in similar phraseology may suggest dependence, but chronology is also important. For example, the extensive parallels between 1 Nephi and the Narrative of Zosimus, a Jewish work written during the intertestamental period, include some uncommon ideas about writing upon tablets and a vision in which Zosimus is led by an angel through a dark and dreary wasteland to the bank of a river obscured by a mist of darkness. He crosses the river to a tree with surpassingly sweet fruit, of which he partakes. It is clear,

however, that the Narrative of Zosimus as we know it was composed (circa first to fourth century A.D.) after Lehi's family reached the New World and discovered too late to be a source for Joseph Smith. Hence, these parallels must be explained in another way, perhaps, as some scholars hypothesize, by an earlier tradition whose roots cannot specifically be traced (Charlesworth 1983, 2:444; Welch 1982).

Possible Ancient Sources

No clearly identifiable ancient sources appear in the Book of Mormon except as might derive from the King James version of the Bible. Possible ancient sources suggested by the book itself include a nonbiblical prophet, Zenos, who gave the wild olive tree allegory (Jacob 5) and several messianic prophecies. Another nonbiblical prophet known as Zenez, or Kenaz, appears in the pseudepigraphic Pseudo-Philo; he is said to have lived during the period of the Judges and prophesied of a "vineyard" planted by the Lord which will bring forth corrupt fruit (Hebrew text in Harrington 1974; James 1893; Nibley 1973, 323–27). The Pseudo-Philo is much too late (c135 B.C.), however, to lead us to believe it is a reliable report about the existence of the prophet Zenez during the period of the Judges, unless a document about Zenez dating before the Exile (587 B.C.) could be found.

The metaphor of a vineyard or olive orchard (mixed in Jacob 5) planted by the Lord that brings forth wild fruit when left unattended is an ancient Hebrew theme (Isa. 5:1–7; Jer. 11:16; Hosea 14:6–7). Paul used it (Rom. 11:16–21) as an allegory of the gentiles being adopted into Israel. Thus, Joseph Smith had access to both the theme and the concept of grafting in his Bible. It is impossible to determine, however, whether the source of Jacob 5 is Zenos, which Lehi would have shared with contemporaries like Jeremiah, Joseph Smith's inspired reading of the KJV, or both.

In another possible ancient source in the Book of Mormon (Alma 46:23–27), Moroni 1 quotes the patriarch Jacob as saying that a remnant of his rent garment would be preserved and explains that it means his seed would be preserved forever. The words attributed to Jacob are not in the Bible, but Hugh Nibley discovered a similar tradition in Muhammad ibn-Ibrahim ath-Tha'labi's collection of legends about the Hebrew prophets in the tenth century, drawn from a much earlier Persian record (1957, 186–89). Once again, this source is much too late to supply convincing pre-exilic evidence of Jacob's rent garment tradition, but it may indicate an ancient source.

Similarly, the words attributed to the patriarch Joseph about a descendant who would have a father named Joseph and who would be called Joseph in 2 Nephi 3 are not found in biblical texts, but a tradition of the Messiah ben Joseph or ben Ephraim appears in the Talmud, Targumin, and Midrash (Torrey 1947, 256–67; Patai 1979, 163–70). These sources are much too late to be a direct influence on the Book of Mormon. The tradition itself may have developed from much earlier Midrashic embellishment and commentary on Genesis 30:23–24 and Jeremiah 30:21; 31:19, 33, though I am not aware of any pre-exilic discussion of this tradition.

Possible Modern Sources and Influences

Views of the Hebrews. Ethan Smith's 1825 edition of the *Views of the Hebrews* has been widely suggested as Joseph Smith's source for the Book of Mormon (B. H. Roberts 1985; Persuitte 1985; Brodie 1945, 47–59; G. Smith 1981; Jones 1964). The claims of noteworthy parallels between the two works, aside from proximity of publication, include providing an Israelite origin for the American Indian; a holy book the Indians wrote which they will have again; two groups — one savage, lazy and ignorant and one civilized and expert in mechanical arts — in ancient America, the savage destroying the civilized. Both feature the fall of Jerusalem, quote Isaiah extensively on the restoration of Israel and the rise of a great gentile nation, allegedly quote Ezekiel 37:16–17 to identify the stick of Judah with the Bible and the stick of Joseph as a new record, and allegedly speak of the Urim and Thummim. *Views* speaks of Quetzalcoatl and the Book of Mormon of the resurrected Christ in ancient America.

On closer examination, however, these seeming parallels are much less compelling. *Views* teaches that the American Indians descend from a single migration of the ten tribes following the fall of Jerusalem in 721 B.C. to the Assyrians. The Book of Mormon speaks of at least three migrations, one at the time of the tower of Babel and two at the fall of Israel to Babylon in 588 B.C. The Book of Mormon is not a story of the ten tribes and does not claim, like the Indian book in *Views*, to have been written in Hebrew on parchment, but in reformed Egyptian on gold plates. *Views* quotes numerous biblical passages on the restoration of Israel which are essential to Ethan Smith's argument, including Deuteronomy 30; Isaiah 11, 18, 60, 65; Jeremiah 16, 23, 30–31, 35–37; Zephiniah 3; Amos 9, Hosea, and Joel, yet none of these appear in the Book of Mormon except Isaiah 11 (Palmer and Knecht 1964). *Views* sees Quetzalcoatl as a figure of Moses rather than as Jesus, a significant distinction.

Unlike *Views*, the Book of Mormon does not simply divide the people into civilized and savage groups. The Nephites and Lamanites enjoyed free cultural exchange and trading throughout much of their history (Alma 22; 23:15–17; 47:35–38; 55:4; Hel. 6:7–8; 4 Ne. 20; Moro. 2:8; 6:15). Lamanites became Nephites and Nephite dissenters became Lamanites (Words of Mormon 16; Alma 32:15–17; 43:13; Hel. 4:4). Most important, the Nephites were reportedly more depraved and savage than the Lamanites at some points in their history, and especially at their demise as a nation (Jarom 3; Alma 59:12; Hel. 4:1–12, 22; 6:17–18, 37–38; Morm. 2:13–15; 3:11; 4:5–9; Moro. 9). The supposed parallel between civilized and savage nations in the two works thus oversimplifies the Book of Mormon.

George D. Smith claims that "both the *Views of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon identify the American Indians as the 'stick of Joseph or Ephraim' " (1981, 46). This assertion is false. *Stick* appears only once in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 16:23) referring to an arrow. While Doctrine and Covenants 27:5 quotes Ezekiel 37:16 that the sticks of Judah (the Bible) and of Joseph (the Book of Mormon) will grow together, it confuses the issue to assume that Joseph Smith's revelation was a source for the Book of Mormon as well.

2 Nephi 3:11–12 expresses the idea that the writings from Judah will grow together with the Nephite writings, but the stick symbolism of Ezekiel 37 found in *Views* is absent.

Similarly, "Urim and Thummim" is not found in the Book of Mormon at all. The instruments of translation into which Mosiah could "look" to interpret the record of Zeniff are described, not named: "the things called interpreters" (Mosiah 8:13). "Urim and Thummim" was apparently first used in Mormonism by William W. Phelps in 1833 (*Evening and Morning Star* 1 [Jan. 1833]:8). Most members of the Church probably identify the interpreters with Urim and Thummim — Joseph Smith did in his 1838 account — but the term is not a point of contact between *Views* and the Book of Mormon (JS — H 1:52).

The significant differences between *Views* and the Book of Mormon tend to rule out direct dependence. *Views* has nothing in common with the Book of Mormon in style of presentation; *Views* presents itself as a list of proofs while the Book of Mormon is a religious history. None of the thirty-four Indian words mentioned in *Views* as proof of Hebrew Indian origins appear in the Book of Mormon. Ethan Smith's Indians, as another proof of their Hebrew origins, carry the Ark of the Covenant to war. The Book of Mormon, despite recurrent wars, does not mention the ark. Ethan Smith lists numerous Indian practices which suggest Hebrew festivals, sacrifices, and temple rituals; the Book of Mormon makes no direct allusions to any practices recognized in *Views*. Ethan Smith claims that the Indians always migrated from north to south. Book of Mormon migrations in the New World, however, are all from south to north.

Furthermore, Book of Mormon people do not practice the Law of Moses after the coming of the Christ, and Book of Mormon remnants therefore would be expected to exhibit Christian practices and not the Hebrew practices of *Views*. Hence, the Book of Mormon contradicts *Views* on several, crucial points and the case for direct dependence fails because the Book of Mormon either significantly modifies the supposed "parallel" or does not mention it at all (Bushman 1984, 133–39; Nibley 1959).

A separate question, however, focuses on broad themes appearing in Joseph Smith's culture — for example, prophecies of a great gentile nation among the Indians which will bring the truth and restoration of Israel through conversion of the American Indians. Almost certainly they constitute the major source of ideas for *Views* and may have influenced the Book of Mormon as well (*Views* ch. 4; 1 Ne. 22:7–9; 2 Ne. 3:12; Morm. 7:1–10). The prophecies of the discovery of America and the role of a gentile nation in the Book of Mormon can be most reasonably explained, in my opinion, as popular nineteenth-century concepts inserted in the text by Joseph Smith (1 Ne. 13:10–20). In short, similarities between *Views* and the Book of Mormon do not require the dependence of one upon the other but are more easily explained as two reflections of common nineteenth-century assumptions about the American Indians.

No single parallel presents identical language or ideas expressed so similarly as to suggest direct dependence. Perhaps the closest is a quotation by Ethan

Smith from the KJV 2 Esdras which states that the ten tribes disobeyed the Lord by taking it upon themselves to go "into a further country, where never man dwelt" (1825, 168). Ether 2:5 states that "the Lord commanded [the Jaredites] that they should go forth into the wilderness, yea, into that quarter where there never had man been." Even this similarity does not present identical phraseology and contains significant dissimilarities, for the Jaredites obey God by going into the uninhabited land while the ten tribes disobey God by doing so. Further, any similarity in language could be explained by mutual dependence on 2 Esdras which was included in Joseph Smith's Bible.

Joseph Smith, Sr.'s Dream. Another often-cited source of dependence for Lehi's dream is Joseph Smith Sr.'s 1811 dream (1 Ne. 8:2–38; L. Smith 1956, 48–50). The two accounts are indeed close in phraseology and motifs which may suggest dependence. The direction of dependence, however, cannot be ascertained because Lucy Mack Smith's book was produced in 1853, after the Book of Mormon. It seems likely to me that Lucy was influenced by the Book of Mormon in relating the dream, rather than vice versa as critics suggest, because several other dreams that she recounts in her 1853 manuscript also reflect Book of Mormon phraseology (1853 Ms. 56, 71–74/1 Ne. 8:11; pp. 58–59/2 Ne. 33:10–15; pp. 281–82/Alma 34; Bushman 1984, 50–51). Further, Lehi's dream is archetypal; remarkably similar accounts appear throughout the ancient world (Griggs 1982; Welch 1982; Woodford 1953; Goodenough 10:197–202). Lehi's dream also contains poetic allusions and metaphors that correspond better to a desert environment whereas Joseph Sr.'s dream has the meadow and thick forest of upstate New York (Nibley 1952, 47–51; 1973, 177–85).

Money Digging. Some have read money digging into a few passages of the Book of Mormon because it speaks of "slippery treasures" (Hel. 13:31, 33, 36), while in money digging the treasure would sink into the ground without the proper magic ritual (Hullinger 1980, ch. 4). Though the Mark Hofmann trial currently in process raises questions about the authenticity of some documents dealing with early Mormon origins and makes it difficult to determine to what extent Joseph Smith may have been involved in magic, it is clear that the world view associated with money-digging had little influence on the Book of Mormon.

For instance, the Book of Mormon says nothing about the enchantment of spirits, divining rods, magic circles, guardian spirits, sacrifices to appease spirits, or other rituals necessary to obtain hidden treasures — all a necessary part of the magic world view associated with money digging (Bushman 1984, 72–74; Leventhal 1976, 109–18; Hurley 1951). Rather, the book is best interpreted from an understanding of the Deuteronomic covenant which required obedience and pronounced resulting curses and blessing upon the land for breach or obedience to the covenant respectively (Deut. 11:26–29).

Three passages in the Book of Mormon refer to treasures "hidden up in the earth" which cannot be obtained because of a curse: "Whoso shall hide up treasures in the earth shall find them again no more, because of the great curse on the land, save he be a righteous man and shall hide them unto the Lord. . . .

The time cometh that he curseth your riches, that they become slippery, that ye cannot hold them; and in the days of your poverty ye cannot retain them" (Hel. 13:18, 31; Jac. 2:12–13; Morm. 1:18). These passages are better interpreted as expressing the ethic prominent throughout the Book of Mormon that seeking wealth while ignoring the poor is abhorrent to God. The ability to obtain riches and keep them was dependent upon obedience to the Deuteronomic covenant: "And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he sware unto thy fathers, as it is this day. And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, . . . ye shall surely perish" (Deut. 8:17–19).

The point of the Book of Mormon is never that the proper ritual has not been performed, but that the people have forgotten God and worship their riches as a false God and will therefore perish: "Ye are cursed because of your riches, and also are your riches cursed because ye have set your hearts upon them, and have not hearkened unto the words of him who gave them unto you. Ye do not remember the Lord your God in the things with which he has blessed you, but ye do always remember your riches . . . . For this cause hath the Lord God caused that a curse should come upon the land, and also upon your riches, and this because of your iniquity" (Hel. 13:21–23). The Book of Mormon is thus concerned with covenants, not money digging.

The Ethiopic Enoch expresses a similar ethic in almost identical terminology: "Woe to you rich, for you have trusted in your riches; and from you your riches will depart, for you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches" (1 Enoch 98:8; in Nickelsburg 1979). Riches which cannot be retained because of divine curses may be seen as metaphors for wealth that is unrighteously obtained, in the same source: "Woe to you who acquire gold and silver unjustly and say, We have become wealthy and we have possessions, and we have acquired all that we wish. And now let us do whatever we wish, for we have treasured up silver in our treasuries. . . . You err! for your wealth will not remain, but will quickly ascend from you, for you have gotten everything unjustly, and you will be delivered to a great curse" (97:8–10; Nickelsburg 1979). The similarity between 1 Enoch and the Book of Mormon is best explained by a common understanding of the Deuteronomic covenant.

Some have also seen the influence of money digging in Alma 37:23 which describes the stone of an extra-biblical prophet, Gazelem, that "shines forth in darkness unto light." It is clear that Joseph Smith had a seer stone, a chocolate-colored, egg-sized stone found at age sixteen while digging a well for Mason Chase, and used it to hunt for treasure, receive revelations, and translate the Book of Mormon (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 49–68; "Interview" 1859). Gazelem's stone revealed murders, plundering, and abominations, not treasures. The Hebrew *gazal* means "rapine, plunder, rob, steal, snatch away or injure." In Lamentations 4:7, *gazalah* refers to cutting or polishing precious stones. In Hebrew, *gazelam* would mean something like "stones cut by God"

or "hewn stones of God," but could also be a play on the word for "robbers" or "plundering." This pun is possible only in Hebrew, however.

Passages possibly influenced by money-digging lore constitute less than .02 percent of the entire text. Hence, while Joseph Smith's involvement in magic is important for understanding the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, such lore is far from even a partial explanation of the book's content or message.

Possible Political Influences. Competent scholars have suggested that some details of Book of Mormon government and political practices were derived from the American Republican form of government, a democratic electorate, and revolutionary fervor (O'Dea 1957, 32; Brodie 1945, 69). Richard Bushman has demonstrated, successfully in my opinion, that such political forms and practices as refusal of kingship, authority vested in judges, and divine deliverance are better explained in terms of Israelite practices (Bushman 1984, 132–33; 1976, 190–211).

The anti-Masonic controversy that erupted in upper New York in 1826 after the disappearance and assumed murder of William Morgan is also often cited as an obvious nineteenth-century source for the Book of Mormon's denunciation of "secret combinations" (Ahlstrom, 1:606–8; O'Dea 1957, ch. 2). Morgan had announced his intention to publish an account of Masonic rituals, so the populace assumed he was murdered by Masons. More than a dozen trials were held between 1827 and 1831 in western New York, but few of those charged were convicted, and those who were convicted received only light sentences.

However, between 1826 and 1830, the Anti-Masonic party emerged as a major political force in western New York. Its 1830 convention stated flamboyantly: "When intimations were thrown out that appeal would be made to the laws, more than one freemason has been heard to say, that the judges were masons, the sheriffs were masons, and the jurymen would be masons, and set at defiance the requirements of justice" (*Proceedings* 1830, 23). It was asserted that, as a result of the Masonic oaths to keep the rituals of the lodge secret and to protect another member of the fraternity in all circumstances "right and wrong," Masons were "at full liberty to conceal others' murders and treasons" and the judges were corrupted (*Proceedings* 1830, 48).

The Book of Mormon describes secret oaths to "get gain," secret murders, secret combinations, and infiltrations of the government characteristic of anti-Masonic charges against the Masonic order. Morgan had made a point of the Masons wearing a lamb skin about the loins, also an identifying mark of the combination in 3 Nephi 4:7 (Morgan 1827, 24). An earlier anonymous work, *Joachim and Boaz*, stated that "every brother has an apron of white skin, and the strings are also of skin" (1807, 11). The Book of Mormon bands of robbers are called "secret combinations" and threaten the government (Alma 37:22; Hel. 2:8–11; 6:17–38; 3 Ne. 5:5; 9:9; 4 Ne. 1:42; Eth. 8:22–23) while Masonry was referred to as a "secret combination of murderers" who posed a threat to the laws of society (*Wayne Sentinel*, 27 Sept. 1828; *Palmyra Reflector*, 10 Nov. 1829; Bernard 1830, 464–68). Claims that secret societies

had caused the overthrow of the French monarchy and had infiltrated the American government, corrupting the courts, received great attention in anti-Masonic rhetoric (Barruel 1798; *Proceedings* 1830, 98–99, 107–8). Finally, the secret oaths and identifying signs were discussed in both contemporary sources and the Book of Mormon (*Proceedings* 1830, 81–83; 99–100; *Wayne Sentinel* 28 July, 1828; Morgan 1826, 55; Alma 37:27–29; Hel. 6:21–22).

As Richard Bushman has argued, however, only certain aspects of the Book of Mormon secret societies resemble anti-Masonic expressions (1984, 131). The Book of Mormon does not describe such Masonic characteristics as elaborate rituals, degrees of initiation, competing orders and fraternities, legends of the Ark of the Covenant and Hiram Abiff, the mythic heroic figure of Masonry, that were typical objects of ridicule in anti-Masonic rhetoric (Bushman 1984, 130–31). A frequent charge against Masonry, also absent from the Book of Mormon, was that it displaced Christianity by being a religion in itself (*Proceedings* 1830, 43–45, 79–83, 102–7).

Book of Mormon bands of robbers were not a quasi-religious fraternity, but rather resemble bands of robbers and insurgents in the ancient Near East identifiable in legal materials from early Babylonia to Josephus (Welch 1985a; Lutz 1937, 241; Daranl 1961; Sorenson 1985, 300–309). According to John W. Welch, a law professor and Book of Mormon scholar, *robbers* (*gazalan*) in ancient Near Eastern law applied technically to those who lived outside the community which they plundered and robbed (Welch 1985a, 3; Jackson 1972, 46). These robbers were an organized society with their own leaders and code of conduct, bound together by ritual oaths (Lutz 1937, 241; Welch 1985a, 6–7). The common mode of operation was for the band to sweep down from the mountains, plunder isolated villages, and return to their hideout, usually in the mountains (Judges 9:34–36; 2 Chr. 21:16–17; Jackson 1972, 6–7). The government and military controlled and eliminated these bands under martial law — the law applied to outsiders bearing the death penalty — rather than under the laws applicable to members of the tribe or society (Jackson 1972, 11). Hence, the robbers constantly attempted to weaken the government and infiltrate the military so their plundering would go unpunished (Welch 1985a, 9; 2 Chr. 21:16–17, 22:1). The penalty for these robbers under martial law was death (Jackson 1970, 63; Welch 1985a, 10).

The Book of Mormon secret societies differ from Masons in the precise ways they are similar to ancient Near Eastern bands of robbers. The Book of Mormon secret societies were not a continuous brotherhood, but were five different groups springing up in different periods.

1. The first band originated among the Nephites about 52 B.C. when Pahoran's three sons, Pahoran II, Pacumeni, and Paanchi all wanted to succeed him as chief judge (Hel. 1–2). When Pahoran II was chosen, Pacumeni and his followers acceded; but Paanchi and his supporters mounted a rebellion which ended with Paanchi's execution for rebellion after a trial "according to the voice of the people." His followers hired Kishkumen to murder Pahoran II and entered into an oath not to reveal the identity of the murderer. Following the murder, Pacumeni was appointed as chief judge "according to his right."

Kishkumen reappeared a year later when his plot to assassinate the chief judge, then Helaman I, was discovered by a loyal servant. Helaman sent his military troops to take the "band of robbers . . . that they might be executed according to the law." Gadianton, Kishkumen's successor, took his band "into the wilderness."

2. About 25 B.C., the band of robbers, by now a distinct social group with its own laws, murdered the chief judge and his son (Hel. 6). Their oaths are reminiscent of anti-Masonic rhetoric:

> [The Nephites] did unite with those bands of robbers, and did enter into their covenants and their oaths, that they would protect and preserve one another in whatsoever difficult circumstance they should be placed, and they should not suffer for their murders, and their plunderings, and their stealings . . . they did have their signs, and their secret words; and this that they might distinguish a brother who had entered into the covenant, that whatsoever wickedness his brother should do he should not be injured by his brother, nor by those who did belong to the band, who had taken the covenant (Hel. 6:21–22).

By 24 B.C., the band "did obtain the sole management of the government" and was eradicated only when Nephi II exposed the chief judge's murderer and the conspiring corrupt judges (Hel. 8:1–4, 27–28; 11:10).

3. About 12 B.C. a group of robbers formed from Nephite dissenters established headquarters in the mountains, and attacked isolated villages (Hel. 24; 3 Ne. 4). Their strength challenged the Nephite army. After ten years of continued raids and plundering, the robbers demanded that the Nephites capitulate and accept its leaders in exchange for protection from plundering. The band was eliminated only when the Nephites adopted a "scorched earth" policy and retreated to a stronghold where they endured seven years of siege, starving the robbers, then sentencing them to death under martial law.

The first three Book of Mormon bands differ from Masonry in significant ways. They maintained a separate social identity ("a band of robbers") from the society which they plundered. Nowhere in anti-Masonic rhetoric were Masons referred to a distinct band of robbers. The Gadianton robbers lived in the mountains and attacked the Nephites in the lowlands (Hel. 11:25–31; 3 Ne. 1:27; 2:17; 3:20). The Masons were never identified as a group which held out in the mountains and attacked as marauding robbers. Both Near Eastern societies and the Nephites tried the robbers under martial law, and assigned responsibility for dealing with them to the military. Americans looked to their civil sheriffs, and Masons stood trial in the usual criminal courts.

4. About 29 A.D. a fourth secret society began among the corrupt judges and lawyers in a family-based, secret organization after Nephite society disintegrated. These families, organized for plunder, recognized their own leaders and sought to establish their own law. This band resembles neither ancient Near Eastern robbers nor Masons but rather the Mafia or Cosa Nostra crime rings based on family organizations.

5. The Jaredites showed a pattern of secret conspiracies to murder rival claimants to the throne, which spawned counter-conspiracies (Eth. 7–9). This pattern differs from both the Nephite robbers and the Masons, but resembles

Old Testament stories of Abimalech and Jehoram murdering their brothers and sparking a counter-rebellion (Judg. 9; 2 Chr. 11).

Herod's oath to Salome, which resulted in the death of John the Baptist, parallels the plot of the daughter of Jared to entice a murderous oath from Akish (Matt. 14:9; Eth. 8). The binding power of the oath, though singled out by the Masons (*Proceedings* 1830, 46), is also common in the ancient world. The Qumran Enoch and Ethiopic Enoch (c150 B.C.) echo Ether 8:15–16 and Helaman 6:21–22:

> The chief [executor] of the oath . . . spoke to Michael to disclose to him the secret names so he would memorize this secret name of his, so that he would call the oath in order that they shall tremble before it and the oath. He [then] revealed these to the children of the people, [and] all the hidden things and this power of this oath, for it is power and strength itself. The Evil One placed this oath in Michael's hand (1 Enoch 69:13–15).
>
> And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: I fear ye will not do this deed, and I alone will have to pay the penalty for this great sin. And they all answered: let us swear an oath, and bind ourselves by mutual promises not to abandon this plan; but to do this thing. Then they all swore together and bound themselves by [the curse] (4Q Enoch 1:3–4.)

This extended analysis of Book of Mormon robber bands and Masonry shows that the book differs in important respects from Joseph Smith's society, although Helaman 6:21–30; 8:3–4; 3 Nephi 6:28–30 and Ether 8:10–16, 22–26 appear to be influenced by anti-Masonic terminology and concerns. They may be explained best, it seems to me, as Joseph Smith's independent commentary on Masonry, sparked by his reflection on Nephite secret combinations.

The King James Bible. At least one modern source was undisputably used in the Book of Mormon — the King James Version of the Bible — in three primary ways. First, the Book of Mormon adapts many phrases, particularly from the New Testament, to a new context. A single passage from 2 Nephi 9:12–28 attributed to the prophet Jacob about 560 B.C. demonstrates this method:

Wherefore, death and hell must deliver up their dead; and hell must deliver up its captive spirits and the grave must deliver up its captive bodies, and the bodies and spirits of men will be restored one to the other . . .	and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works (Rev. 20:13).
And when all men have passed from death unto life . . . they must appear before the judgment seat of the Holy One of Israel, and then cometh the judgment, and then they must be judged according to the holy judgment of God.	
And assuredly, as the Lord liveth, for the Lord God hath spoken it, and it is his eternal word, which cannot pass away, that they who are righteous shall	. . . my word shall not pass away (Matt. 24:35).
	. . . and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let

be righteous still, and they who are filthy shall be filthy still; wherefore, they who are filthy are the devil and his angels and they shall go away into everlasting fire, prepared for them; and their torment is as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flame ascendeth up forever and ever and has no end. . . . But behold, the righteous, the saints of the Holy One of Israel: they who have believed in the Holy One of Israel, they who have endured the crosses of the world and despised the shame of it, they shall inherit the kingdom of God, which was prepared for them from the foundation of the world, and their joy shall be full.	him be righteous still (Rev. 22:11). Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt. 25:4). And the devil . . . was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone . . . And death and hell were cast into a lake of fire (Rev. 20:10, 14). . . . [Jesus] endured the cross, despising the shame (Heb. 12:2). blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world (Matt. 25:34). . . . that your joy might be full (John 15:11).

Jacob's speech reinterprets the KJV snippets into a new synthesis on death, resurrection, and the judgment. It is conceivable that the phrases approximate the meaning of an original text, and the intricate structure of the passage, known to scholars as ascending synthetic inclusion, seems to require such an original. Hence, these phrases may represent interpretation of an original text using the KJV New Testament and a nineteenth-century theological framework. Yet it is clear that the KJV New Testament phrases have become part of the structure itself. This mode of using the KJV, replicated throughout the Book of Mormon, suggests that Joseph Smith freely adopted KJV phraseology and concepts to present his "translation."

The Book of Mormon also quotes entire chapters from the KJV, including Exodus 20:2–17; Isaiah 2–12; 48–54; and Malachi 3–4. Since these chapters are all from the Old Testament, it is possible that they appeared in the Nephite record in some form, even though Joseph Smith clearly used the KJV translation.

Quotations from Isaiah 49–54 by Nephi I represent a special problem. Probably a majority of scholars maintain that Isaiah 40–66 was written after the Babylonian exile about 587 B.C. by an unknown author called "deutero-Isaiah." Some scholars also posit a "trito-Isaiah" in chapters 56–66 (McKenzie 1983, xv–xxiii; Eissfeldt 1965, 304–46). Other scholars argue for the unity of Isaiah (Gileadi 1982; Gozzo 1964, 1281–83; Sperry 1968, 493–512).

Douglas Jones, a respected Old Testament scholar, agrees with others that certain disciples of Isaiah in the exile expanded and explained basic passages from the original prophet to console the exiles and give them hope of return in chapters 40–55 (Jones 1955, 227–44; McKenzie 1983, xx–xxiii; Nibley 1973, 144–47). This hypothesis deserves serious consideration. Significantly, before the coming of the resurrected Christ, the Book of Mormon does not quote from "trito-Isaiah," chapters 56–66, which many scholars regard as devoid of the words of the original prophet Isaiah (McKenzie 1983, xx–xxiii; Eissfeldt 1965, 343–46). Scholars also usually regard chapters 1 and 24–27 as post-exilic (Eissfeldt 1965, 232–37). Again, the Book of Mormon does not quote from

these chapters. Nephi and Jacob refer, not to the "book" of Isaiah but to the "words of Isaiah," possibly a collection of "words" or sayings written by the eighth-century prophet which may not have included chapters 56–66 (1 Ne. 15:20; 19:23–24; 2 Ne. 6:4–5, 14; 11:18). Possibly the resurrected Christ "updated" the Nephite scriptures by quoting Isaiah 52, 54, and 66:18–19, Malachi 3 and 4, and Micah, together with various New Testament scriptures, just as he restored the words of the Lamanite prophet Samuel which the Nephites had failed to record (3 Ne. 23:9–14). Hence, the Book of Mormon may anticipate the "Isaiah problem" and can be reconciled with the deutero-Isaiah/trito-Isaiah hypothesis.

In any case, Joseph Smith clearly used the KJV Old Testament to render the Book of Mormon translation. The Book of Mormon also quotes the KJV Sermon on the Mount from Matthew 5–7. As Krister Stendahl, dean of the Harvard Divinity School, observed, the Matthew version has been transformed in 3 Nephi by presenting the resurrected Christ in terms taken from the gospel of John (1978, 139–54). 3 Nephi shows Christ as the deified lawgiver and the mediator who weeps for joy in the presence of small children, and suffers with, because, and on behalf of the house of Israel (3 Ne. 17; 19:6–36). The compassionate Savior of 3 Nephi reconciles the resurrected glory of the Christ with the humanity of Jesus in ways possibly unmatched elsewhere in Christian thought. Furthermore, the visit of the resurrected Christ in 3 Nephi goes beyond the KJV to capture many striking aspects of the forty-day post-resurrection ministry of Christ reported in noncanonical sources (Nibley 1982, 121–40). Much of 3 Nephi appears, nevertheless, to interpret the KJV text. Krister Stendahl's observations concerning the use and interpretation of the KJV in 3 Nephi is very relevant:

> The biblical material behind the Book of Mormon strikes me as being in the form of the KJV . . . . I have applied standard methods of historical critics, redaction criticism, and genre criticism. From such perspectives it seems very clear that the Book of Mormon belongs to and shows many of the typical signs of the Targums and the pseudepigraphic recasting of biblical material. The targumic tendencies are those of clarifying and actualizing translations, usually by expansion and more specific application to the need and situation of the community. The pseudepigraphic, both apocalyptic and didactic, tend to fill out the gaps in our knowledge about sacred events, truths, and predictions. . . . It is obvious to me that the Book of Mormon stands within both of these traditions if considered as a phenomenon of religious texts (1978, 152).

The Book of Mormon also provides extended interpretations of KJV passages. KJV Isaiah 29 prophesies that a voice will speak out of the dust and a marvelous work and a wonder will be revealed. In 2 Nephi 26:15–18 and 27:1–35 it becomes a prophecy of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and Martin Harris's visit to Professor Charles Anthon. Moroni writes (8:42–46) how faith, hope, and charity have the power to transform humans into the likeness of God, apparently an interpretation of KJV 1 Corinthians 13:3 and 1 John 3:2. Even if the Nephites learned a similar doctrine from the resurrected Christ, the language Joseph Smith used clearly comes from the

KJV. Ether 13:3–11 also expands KJV Revelation 21:1–17 about the New Jerusalem, or eschatological city in which God himself will dwell.

What, then, may we conclude from the Book of Mormon's use of modern sources? Only that the Book of Mormon *as translated* and presented by Joseph Smith relied on the KJV and was influenced by nineteenth-century American culture in rendering its message. While source criticism is useful to determine dependence, "source criticism per se reveals only that separate sources were used in the composition of the document. It has no way of knowing ". . . *who* used them" (Slingerland 1977, 97). For example, it is possible that an ancient source contained on gold plates underlies the Book of Mormon, but Joseph Smith uses the KJV both for language and to clarify, expand, and interpret the thought of the original text.

If the expansion theory of the Book of Mormon is correct, then the vast majority of studies, both pro and con, have assumed far too much by simply pointing to parallels. Both ancient and modern sources could have influenced the text published in 1829 without ruling out either. Furthermore, some aspects of the Book of Mormon, such as robber bands, Israelite government forms, and desert imagery in Lehi's dream, suggest an ancient text, though they do not prove it.

Analyzing the Expansions: Motif Criticism

Motif criticism (as Slingerland calls it) analyzes the comparative development of theological ideas in a document and is another useful mode of scholarly analysis to help determine authorship and provenance (1977, 98–103). For example, analyzing the comparatize development of the concept of Christ in the synoptic gospels and the gospel of John suggests that John was written later (R. Brown 1966, lxxxiv). It is possible to analyze Book of Mormon doctrines to determine whether they resemble pre-exilic Israelite thought or nineteenth-century Christianity.

Anachronisms

For example, several Book of Mormon terms are obviously anachronistic. Referring to the people at Jerusalem as "Jews" and to those not belonging to Israel as "gentiles" became common only after the return from the exile in the fourth century B.C. The Book of Mormon indicates that *Jew* is an interpretation: "I have charity for the Jew," Nephi says, adding, "I say Jew, because I mean them from whence I came" (2 Ne. 33:8). The additional clarification suggests that *Jew* may not have been used commonly to refer to "those at Jerusalem." These, and other terms such as *church*, *Christians*, and "alpha and omega" have been explained as "translator anachronisms" (Tate 1981, 260 n10).

Hugh Nibley suggests that Joseph Smith used modern terms to translate words which did not have connotations assumed in modern usage. For example, Nibley argues that *church* and *synagogue* in the Book of Mormon may be expressed in Hebrew as *yahad* (a unity), a word the Qumran covenantors

used to refer to their community, or possibly as *'edah* (community) (1973, 187–88). *Church* assumes an ecclesiastical organization in modern usage which we should not read into the Book of Mormon because such an organization did not exist in pre-Christian times, even by the book's own account (2 Ne. 9:2; Mosiah 18:17). Instead, pre-Christian Book of Mormon religious communities were governed by priests who taught the people, with a chief high priest presiding over all communities (2 Ne. 5:26; Jac. 1:18; Mosiah 6:3; 18:18; 25:19; Alma 1:3; 4:4, 18; 6:1; 30:20). No deacons, bishops, or apostles are mentioned in Nephite communities before the coming of Christ. Elders are only unordained community leaders in the Israelite sense (1 Ne. 4:22, 27; Alma 4:7, 16; 6:1).

Baptism

Many Book of Mormon doctrines are best explained by the nineteenth-century theological milieu. For example, though there may have been ritual washings performed in the tabernacle and temple, there are no pre-exilic references to baptism (Exod. 29:4; 40:12; Lev. 8:6). Yet Jacob explains repentance and baptism as if his hearers were completely familiar with the concept: "He commandeth all men that they must repent and be baptized in his name, having perfect faith in the Holy One of Israel, or they cannot be saved in the kingdom of God" (2 Ne. 9:23–24). It is difficult to see this passage as anything but the Christian baptism of repentance necessary for salvation. Ritual washings were never seen as necessary to salvation in the Old Testament. It is interesting that immersion is not mentioned, given the controversy over the modes of baptism in Joseph Smith's day (Ahlstrom 1:535–47; Backman 1971, 94–99). Though Nephi saw (in a vision) Jesus baptized by John the Baptist, supposedly by immersion (1 Ne. 11:27), the practice of baptism by immersion is first explicitly mentioned in the Book of Mormon when Alma founds his community near the waters of Mormon (Mosiah 18:10). Alma does not, however, perform a Christian baptism. He baptized by "authority from the Almighty God" and not in the name of Jesus Christ, and his baptism is not associated symbolically with the death and resurrection of Christ or the remission of sins, but symbolizes entering into a covenant with God (Mosiah 18:10, 13). A striking parallel is the Qumran practice of ritual immersions as a sign of repentance upon entering a covenant and a cleansing by the spirit of truth (1QS, 2–8 in Vermes 1968, 45; and Gaster 1976, 44–65; Soggin 1978, 184–99).

Salvation

The Book of Mormon also addresses several problems that simply were not, and could not be, problems for Israelites. For example, the salvation of infants and those who had not heard the gospel arises only if a soteriology is adopted which excludes the unbaptized or non-Christians. In Hebrew thought non-Israelites are not thus excluded (Dubarle 1970, 34–35).

Nineteenth-century Methodist theology taught, however, that non-Christians and the unbaptized could not be saved. The Methodist solution

resembles the Book of Mormon's. John Fletcher (1729–85), a Methodist theologian in America, stated that "Christ died for the entire human race, first to procure absolutely and unconditionally a temporary salvation, for men universally, and secondly, to procure a particular redemption, or an eternal salvation, conditionally for all men, but absolutely for all that die in infancy . . . and for all adults who obey him and are faithful unto death" (S. Dunn 1837, 258–59; Slatte 1977, 85). The Book of Mormon teaches that those who "have died before Christ came, in their ignorance, not having salvation declared unto them" have part in the first resurrection, "and little children also have eternal life" (Mosiah 15:24–25).

The Book of Mormon doctrine of atonement and free will shows influences of a theological conflict over depravity, grace, and the role of the will in salvation, all central to the conflict between Calvinism and Arminianism in the early nineteenth century (Ahlstrom 1:489–512). Calvin and his followers believed that persons are incapable of meritorious acts, and the atonement applied Christ's undeserved grace to those predestined to salvation. Human will or choice had nothing to do with salvation, for humans were captives of their depraved nature and could not avoid sin (Calvin 1961, 3.13.6; Edwards 1846, 185–97). In contrast, salvation in Arminian theology depended on an individual's free choice to accept Christ's freely offered grace (Merritt 1824; Banks 1817, 170). The idea that the atonement freed persons from their depraved "natural" state and restored them to the state enjoyed before the fall of ability to choose between good and evil is a distinctive Arminian concept taught in Joseph Smith's day (T. Smith 1980). The popular nineteenth-century theologian Nathan Banks taught: "Those gentlemen who urge the doctrine of total depravity against the truth [of moral agency] seem to forget one very important trait in the Gospel system, viz., the atonement of Christ, and the benefits which universally flow from it to mankind, by which they are graciously restored to the power of action" (1815, vii).

Such developed ideas of free will enabled by the atonement are not found in Israelite thought but are presented in 2 Nephi 2:8–9, 26–29 and 10:24. Lehi predicted that the Messiah would come to "redeem the children from the Fall. And because they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon." The choice which gives rise to free agency in the Book of Mormon (2 Ne. 2:27; 10:23–24) is invariably the choice between the way of life and the way of death also found in Deuteronomy 30:15, 19; such freedom is never said in the Old Testament to be made possible by the atonement.

The Fortunate Fall

The concept that the fall of Adam benefitted humankind by fulfilling the plan of God (*felix culpa*) and making the moral growth of humans possible is a Christian interpretation which developed very early in Christian thought (Theophilus, *Ad Autolycus* Bk. ii, 24–25, A.D. c175; Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* III.xvi; III.x.2, A.D. c200). The same concept appears in 2 Nephi 2:17–26 and Alma 42:2–14. An Arminian influence on the Book of Mormon

seems evident in its stress on the paradoxical commandments God gave Adam and Eve and idea of "opposition in all things" to emphasize that choices among alternatives are necessary to moral freedom (Lovejoy 1960, 44–68; Hick 1978, 208–15; 287–89). In contrast, there simply is no pre-exilic interpretation of the fall of Adam. Indeed, the fall of Adam is not mentioned in the Old Testament after Genesis 2:4–3:23, although the myth of the fall was probably available in sixth-century Israel in some form (Nordio 1975, 54–64).

The doctrines of original sin and the fallen nature of humankind are also foreign to pre-exilic Israelite thought. The fall of Adam was never linked with the human condition in pre-exilic works, as it is in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 10:6; 2 Ne. 2:15–16; 9:6; Mosiah 3:16–27; 4:7; Alma 12:22; 18:36; 22:13; 42:2–10; Hel. 14:16). Human "nature" was not considered inherently sinful in Israelite thought — if one can meaningfully speak about a Hebrew concept of "human nature." The idea of *nature* is Greek rather than Israelite (Lovejoy and Boas 1935). Humankind was impotent and dependent on Yahweh for well-being in Israelite thought, but not evil by nature (Wolff 1964, 235–37). Teachings of original sin and depravity first appear in the Bible in Paul (Rom. 5:12–21).

The Atonement

The satisfaction theory of atonement elucidated in Alma 34:9–17 and 42:9–17 is a medieval theological development. The idea of atonement as necessary to satisfy two opposed but ontologically necessary attributes of God — his mercy and his justice — was first suggested by Anselm of Canterbury in his A.D. 1109 treatise, *Cur Deus Homo?* The satisfaction theory was premised on medieval concepts of law and justice and assumed that justice required full retribution for sin while mercy acquitted the sinner and did not require such penalties. The conflict in God's nature could be resolved only by a sinless individual upon whom justice had no claim but who would allow justice to be done vicariously through his suffering. The suffering would have to come from one having both human and divine natures, however, because an infinite being had been offended by human sin, and only an "infinite atonement" could satisfy the demands of justice. Thus, Christ's undeserved suffering provides infinite merit which can be dispensed vicariously to depraved creatures who stand in need of Christ's grace. It is possible to detect influences of this theory in Alma's presentation of God's plan, which also shows Arminian influences in its description of vicarious sacrifice:

> Mercy could not take effect except it should destroy the work of justice. Now the work of justice could not be destroyed; if so, God would cease to be God.
>
> And thus we see that all mankind were fallen, and they were in the grasp of justice; yea, the justice of God, which consigned them forever to be cut off from his presence.
>
> And now, the plan of mercy could not be brought about except an atonement should be made; therefore God himself atoneth for the sins of the world, to bring about the plan of mercy, to appease the demands of justice, that God might be a perfect, just God, and a merciful God also (Alma 42:13–15).

The Concept of Messiah

Several quasi-Christian concepts are presented in the Book of Mormon as new revelations requiring explanation and elucidation by Lehi, Nephi, and Jacob in the fifth century B.C. The idea of "a Messiah" is introduced as a new revelation in Lehi's call: "the things which he did read in the book, manifested plainly of the coming of a Messiah, and also of the redemption of the world" (1 Ne. 1:10). The initial Book of Mormon concept of "a Messiah" is vague, requiring Nephi's clarification: ". . . even a Messiah, or, in other words, a Savior of the world . . . and [Lehi] also spake . . . concerning this Messiah, of whom he had spoken, or this Redeemer of the world" (1 Ne. 10:4–5). Nephi explains that the Son of God is the Messiah with whom Lehi spoke, as though it were somewhat novel. Lehi never uses *Christ*, *Jesus*, or "Son of God" to refer to the Messiah (K. Brown 1984, 25–26). Nephi consistently uses *Redeemer*, as Lehi first referred to the Messiah (1 Ne. 10:14; 11:27). The term *Christ*, the Greek equivalent of Messiah, meaning "the anointed one," was first used by Jacob as a proper name after it was revealed to him by an angel (2 Ne. 10:3).

When Nephi attempts to prove that the prophets knew of the Messiah, he refers only to nonbiblical prophets: "The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, yieldeth himself, according to the words of the angel, as a man, into the hands of wicked men, according to the words of Zenock, and to be crucified according to the words of Neum, and to be buried in a sepulchre, according to the words of Zenos, which he spake concerning the three days of darkness" (2 Ne. 19:10). Presumably, if Nephi had had more definite sources about the Messiah, he would have cited them.

The idea of a Messiah who dies for the sins of others, then rises from the dead, was unknown in ancient Israel (Klausner 1956), though competent scholars have maintained that Isaiah's suffering servant refers to an individual identified with Israel through his vicarious suffering and death as Yahweh's servant (Rowley 1952, 59–88; Eissfeldt 1965, 340–41). Early Christians identified the suffering servant with Christ. A similar development occurred in Nephi's thought; he learned from an angel that God himself would appear as a man and be delivered to the wicked (1 Ne. 19:19).

Furthermore, when Alma discusses the coming Christ about 74 B.C., he appears to be familiar only with prophecies of Zenos and Zenock. Their statements are vague: "Ye must believe what Zenos said; for behold he said: Thou hast turned away thy judgments because of thy Son" and "[Zenock] said: Thou art angry, O Lord, with this people, because they will not understand thy mercies which thou hast bestowed upon them because of thy Son" (Alma 33:13, 16). Alma knew Lehi's prophecies since he kept the records (Alma 36:22), but he did not cite Nephi's much more explicit vision, possibly because his audience was not familiar with it, although why they would know Zenos and Zenock instead remains mysterious.

The Afterlife

Concepts of an afterlife appear to undergo development in the Book of Mormon. An angel introduced "hell" as "the depths" of a river to Nephi

(1 Ne. 12:16). The Hebrew *sheol* means essentially the depths of the earth and abode of the dead (Wolff 1974, 102–5). When Nephi explains the meaning of the river of filthiness in his dream to his unbelieving brothers, he sounds as if a "hell . . . prepared for the wicked" is new to him (1 Ne. 15:29). This idea of hell is also new to Nephi's brothers, for they want to know if "hell" is experienced after death or in this life (v. 31). Nephi explains that "there is a place prepared, yea, even that awful hell of which I have spoken . . . wherefore the final state of the souls of men is to dwell in the kingdom of God, or to be cast out" (v. 35).

The concept of an after-life may have been new to Laman and Lemuel; pre-exilic Hebrews did not have a refined notion of life after death (Wolff 1974, 102–5). *Sheol* may have been considered in Lehi's day as a place where the "shades" (*rephaim*) of the dead languish in a dismal half life (Ps. 16:10; 88:10–11; Isa. 14:9; Prov. 21:16; Dubarle 1970, 34–35; Eichrodt 1:205–8). Robinson maintains, however, that the concept of after-life did not develop until after the return from the exile (J. A. T. Robinson, 3:38–53). Apparently a more archaic idea of death as a final destination, the end of human existence, coexisted with other ideas of afterlife in ancient Israel (Job 10:21–22; R. Smith 1979). This may be what Lehi means when he refers to the grave (another meaning of *sheol*) as a "sleep of hell" and a "place of no return" (2 Ne. 1:13–14). He also assumes that his sons could be cut off from God's presence and "destroyed forever" (2 Ne. 1:17). *Sheol* was often thought of as final ruin outside the presence of God (Ps. 9:14–18; 30:10; 88:5–13).

God's love is inconsistent, however, with final ruin in *sheol* for Lehi. Relying on the language of the Psalmist, he rejoices: "The Lord hath redeemed my soul from hell; I have beheld his glory, and I am encircled about eternally in the arms of his love" (2 Ne. 1:15; Ps. 16:10–11). It should be noted, however, that Lehi's entire person or "soul" had been redeemed from hell even before his death. An alternative to death as the end of human existence and *sheol* as a languishing existence outside the presence of Yahweh began to take shape before the exile, premised on Yahweh's universal sovereignty, with all power, including power over death and *sheol*. Thus, the righteous could anticipate eternal fellowship with Yahweh beginning in this life (Ps. 73:23–28; Wolff 1974, 109–10). It is this concept of life after death that Lehi seems to express.

It was difficult for pre-exilic Hebrews to conceive of life without the body because they did not think of mortals in dualistic terms of corruptible body and eternal soul. The term *soul* (*nephesh*) connoted the entire person in Hebrew thought, consisting of the breath of life or "spirit" (*ruah*) plus the body (*basar*) (Tresmontant 1962, 12–56; Eichrodt 1967, 131–50). The discussion of the grave delivering up the body and hell delivering up the spirit (2 Ne. 9:10–13) is thus awkward and perhaps inappropriate given Hebrew anthropology, though the parallelism of hell and grave suggests the natural Hebrew word pair of *sheol* and *abbadon* as in Job 26:5–6: "The shades (*rephaim*) tremble from under, and the waters with their inhabitants. Sheol is naked before him, and abbadon has no covering" (Watters 1976, 200). Jacob also

refers to the "monster death and hell" which has the dead within her grasp (2 Ne. 9:10, 19).

Sheol was often personified in Hebrew thought as an insatiable monster or demon with wide-open jaws waiting to swallow the dead (Prov. 1:12; Isa. 5:14; Heb. 2:5). Jacob makes the location of the body and spirit after death clear; the *nature* of existence in hell or paradise before the resurrection remains unclear. The concept of after-life appears to have remained that of a dismal half existence where nothing further could be accomplished or enjoyed, or "the night of darkness wherein there can be no labor performed" (Alma 34:33; Eichrodt 1:210–16). Jacob specified, however, that the righteous ultimately go to a place of royal glory and the wicked to never-ending burnings after the resurrection and judgment, as in the Serehk scroll or Revelation (2 Ne. 9:14–16; 1QS IV, 12–14 in Vermes 1969, 76–77; Rev. 20:10, 14).

Nearly 450 years later, when Alma attempts to discover the nature of the intermediate state between death and resurrection, he apparently cannot find an answer in available sources but an angel explains that the wicked go to eternal burnings and the righteous to a paradise even before the resurrection (Alma 40:7–23).

The Resurrection

The resurrection in the Old Testament is first mentioned in Isaiah 26:19 ("Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead") and usually attributed to deutero-Isaiah or trito-Isaiah in the fourth century B.C. Ezekiel 37:5 ("Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live"), is usually dated to 350–338 B.C. (D. Russell 1964, 366–79; Charlesworth 1:xxxiii–xxxiv). In contrast, the Book of Mormon has a well-developed concept of universal resurrection brought about by the Messiah's death and resurrection (2 Ne. 9:10–16; 26:13; Jac. 4:11–12; Mosiah 15:21–22; 16:7–11; Alma 16:20; 27:28; 33:22; 40:2–21). However, Lehi teaches that the wicked will be destroyed "body and soul," thus precluding a universal resurrection. The earliest references to salvation in the Book of Mormon are not of bodily resurrection but of the "redemption of the world" (1 Ne. 1:10; 20:20; 2 Ne. 1:15; 2:3, 4:31). Nephi sees in vision the resurrection of the Messiah but does not mention resurrection for humans (1 Ne. 10:11).

The Devil

Pre-exilic Hebrews did not have a concept of a personal devil who tempted individuals and opposed deity (Eichrodt 1:205–8). In the Old Testament, the adversary is a counselor in the heavenly court, a son of God, not quasi-divine opposition (Ps. 89:7; Job 1:1; 1 Chron. 21:1). The adversary is thus a "role" in pre-exilic writings rather than a specific demi-god who explains the origin of evil and who tempts individuals as in the New Testament, whose idea of the devil and demons is influenced by Zoroastrian dualism (J. Russell 1977, 79–91). The early Hebrews did not equate the serpent of the Eden story

with the devil (Nordio 1975, 105). A significant development in the concept of the devil is Isaiah 14:12–14 where he has attributes of the Assyrian/Babylonian king and is linked with the fallen morning star, which may have given rise to the later Jewish view of Satan as a fallen angel (Eissfeldt 1965, 320; D. Russell 1964, 235–62).

Lehi describes Satan: "I, Lehi, according to the things which I have read, must needs suppose that an angel of God, according to that which is written, had fallen from heaven; wherefore he became a devil having sought that which was evil before God" (2 Ne. 2:17). Lehi treats the idea of the devil as a fallen angel as a new interpretation of what has been written, one that he must "suppose" is justified by the writings available to him. Lehi then equates this fallen angel with the serpent of Eden, apparently another novel interpretation requiring explicit identification: "Wherefore he said unto Eve, yea, even that old serpent, who is the devil, who is the father of lies . . ." (v. 18). The temptation in Eden thus becomes part of Lehi's explanation of the existence of evil.

Devil is used in only two places prior to Lehi's discussion. The mists of darkness in Lehi's dream symbolize the "temptations of the devil, which blindeth the eyes, and hardeneth the hearts of the children of men, and leadeth them away into broad roads, that they perish and are lost" (1 Ne. 12:17). Such a symbolic reference to the devil does not necessarily connote a personal devil, but merely personifies temptation. In 1 Nephi 14, the devil is associated with the great and abominable church, a usage which Joseph Smith clearly borrowed from Revelation 17:1–18:3 to expand the original text. Lehi's interpretation of "what is written" is thus the first reference to a personal devil in the original Book of Mormon source.

1 Nephi 13–15 can be distinguished as Joseph Smith's expansion through motif criticism. Its denunciations of the devil's great and abominable church depend on Revelation and appears to express anti-Catholicism characteristic of nineteenth-century New York (Ahlstrom 1:666–81). These chapters contain ideas foreign to pre-exilic Israelites, such as a "church," a personal devil, and Jews and gentiles. The expansion can be distinguished from the original text because the angel's purpose in 1 Nephi 11–12 is to explain the symbolic significance of Lehi's vision. The interpretation ceases at 1 Nephi 12:18, and the vision attributed to Nephi thereafter no longer explains Lehi's dream but presents unrelated prophecies of very specific historical events including the discovery of America.

What then can be concluded from the presence of developed Christian doctrines in the Old Testament sections of the Book of Mormon? James H. Charlesworth, an expert in the Pseudepigrapha, quoted Mosiah 3:8–10, then observed:

> In these three verses we find what most critical scholars would call clearly Christian phrases; that is, the description is so precise that it is evident it was added after the event. . . . How are we to evaluate this new observation? Does it not vitiate the claim that this section of the Book of Mormon, Mosiah, was written before 91 B.C.? Not necessarily so, since Mormons acknowledge that the Book of Mormon could have been edited and expanded on at least two occasions that postdate the life of Jesus of

> Nazareth. It is claimed that the prophet Mormon abridged some parts of the Book of Mormon in the fourth century A.D. And it is likewise evident that Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century had the opportunity to redact the traditions he claimed to have received (1978, 125).

Though I am informed that Charlesworth does not consider the Book of Mormon to be an ancient document, his hypothesis should still be taken seriously. The Christian motifs in the Book of Mormon require either that a Christian has been at work during some stage of the compilation or that it is Christian in origin (Slingerland 1977, 100). A study of the editorial tendencies may determine whether the Christian motifs derive from Mormon or from Joseph Smith. In 1 and 2 Nephi, Jacob, and Enos, however, expansions must come from Joseph Smith because the small plates were not abridged by Mormon.

Analyzing the Expansions: Form Critical Analysis

Form criticism is the study of oral, ritual, or literary forms underlying a written text. Israelite authors were much more dependent on fixed forms of speech than modern authors (Hayes 1973, 60–62). Because forms are subtle patterns that usually are not evident except through scholarly analysis, it is somewhat unlikely that someone unfamiliar with form content or the purpose underlying the form would simply duplicate or use it in an appropriate context. Hence, form critical analysis may be the best, perhaps the only, method of detecting ancient influences in the Book of Mormon, especially if the mode of translation inherently entailed interpretation from a Christian perspective. I will focus on three Book of Mormon forms: the ritual form of the covenant renewal festival, the prophetic lawsuit of Abinadi's trial, and Lehi's call.

The Covenant Renewal Festival

A Christian expansion in Mosiah's speech is detectable on form critical grounds. Mosiah 2–5 would appear to be reminiscent of a nineteenth-century camp/revival meeting on first reading (M. Thomas 1983). At a predetermined location where the people would sometimes camp in tents for several days, the revivalist would build a stage or stand (Mosiah 2:27) from which he would preach and call his audience to a sense of their awful guilt (3:19). Those who were convicted in sin would come forward crying, "What shall we do?" (4:1–2). They would be admonished to accept Christ (4:2–11). Many would experience a change of heart (5:1–4) and sometimes would fall to the ground as if dead or exhibit physical spasms. The names of those who experienced conversion would sometimes be recorded (6:2; C. Johnson 1955, 122–44, 170–91; Sweet vol. 4; Cleveland 1959; Young 1853, 34–38; Ahlstrom 1:507–23).

However, not all of Mosiah 1–6 can be explained as a nineteenth-century camp meeting and conversion experience. No nineteenth-century camp meeting was convened by royal proclamation requiring the attendance of the entire nation to be present at the temple where the king would consecrate his son as

his successor (Mosiah 1:9–10). Furthermore, those attending brought firstlings of their flocks for burnt offerings according to the Law of Moses (2:3–4).

Several studies have explicated a coronation and Israelite covenant renewal festival underlying Mosiah 1–6 (Ricks 1984; Tvedtnes 1978; Thomasson 1983; Welch 1985b; Nibley 1957, 256–69 and 1973, 279–82). Though the exact nature of pre-exilic festival(s) in Israel is not totally clear, form critical scholars have identified six elements of covenant renewal rites, which Stephen Ricks has demonstrated in King Benjamin's speech: (1) a preamble identifying the author of the covenant; (2) a historical prologue enumerating the mighty deeds of Yahweh on behalf of his people; (3) stipulations of obligations of the covenant; (4) a record of the covenant itself and provisions for its preservation and periodic reading among the people; (5) a list of witnesses; and (6) curses and blessings for breach or obedience (Mendenhall 1955, 32–35; McCarthy 1972; Ricks 1984). Further, the continuity of festival rites from pre-exilic to post-exilic times can provide some idea of the covenant renewal festival and its relation to the rite of consecrating the new king (Weinfeld 1985; Eaton 1979, 9–37; Bloch 1980, 181–243).

In addition to the covenant renewal itself, the festival includes ten formal elements, also identifiable in Mosiah:

1. The king convened his people by proclamation to the temple (Mosiah 1:10, 2:1; Menahem 1978, 291). John H. Eaton, an old Testament scholar who has treated the elements of the festival in deutero-Isaiah, states that

> The institution and conduct of the festival were considered to be ordinances of Yahweh (Ps. 81.5–6) executed by the king, as the stories of David, Solomon, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Jeroboam II, Josiah, etc., make clear. Having been responsible for the construction and maintenance of the installations, the appointment of ministers, and the very institution of the festivals, it was the king who finally called the people from far and wide to the great pilgrimage gathering (1 Kings 8.1 cf., 2 Kings 10.21). He then presided over the festival, taking the leading part in the worship (1979, 19).

2. The people willingly made a pilgrimage to the temple (Mosiah 2:2; Menahem 1978, 300–302), for it signified that they were to be counted in a formal census among the fellowship of those who gathered at the ritual center as one nation (Eaton 1979, 11). Benjamin noted that his people were too numerous to be counted, and the usual census was therefore impractical (Nibley 1957, 259; Mosiah 2:2). Those attending made sacrifices to God and gave gifts to the king (Mosiah 2:3; Tvedtnes 1978, 155; 2 Sam. 6:13, 18–20; 1 Chron. 16:2–3, 43). They dwelt in booths or tents, commemorating Israel's life in the wilderness (Mosiah 2:5–6; Lev. 23:13–15; Exod. 33:8–10; Tvedtnes 1978, 159; Harrelson 1964, 126).

3. The ceremony began with a formal preamble identifying the maker of the covenant: "and these are the words which [Benjamin] spake and caused to be written" (Mosiah 2:9). Ideally, the festival took place at the time of succession to the throne, with the old king presiding (Eaton 1979, 24–25; Ricks 1984, 155–56). The king delivered his address from a "tower" or scaffolding made especially for the occasion (Mosiah 2:7; 2 Chr. 6:13; Neh. 9:4; Tvedtnes 1978, 159). The wooden tower was usually placed within the temple

precincts, but King Benjamin's tower was placed outside the temple walls because the crowd was too large (Mosiah 2:7; Sotah to the Mishnah 7:8, 26).

4. The covenant recognized Yahweh as the true king and the earthly king as his servant (Mosiah 2:10–19; Eaton 1979, 12–13, 29–35; Tvedtnes 1978, 154; Nibley 1957, 262; Ps. 93:1; 97:1; 99:1). As Eaton noted, "In the festal hour . . . Yahweh overpowers chaos, takes his kingship, makes right order, sends forth life, and enters into intimate communion with his liberated people. The triumphant proclamation 'Yahweh has become king' or 'Yahweh is now king' expresses the heart of this exciting utterance" (1979, 12).

King Benjamin recognized the same relationship: "If I, whom you call your king, who has spent his days in your service . . . do merit any thanks from you, O how you ought to thank your heavenly King!" (Mosiah 2:19). The Paragraph of the King (Deut. 17:16–20) was often read at the festival to remind the people that the earthly king was a servant who could not usurp Yahweh's authority. As Moshe Greenberg (1986) noted, "Such a conception of a humble king seems paradoxical, if not quixotic. It is unparalleled in antiquity, and remained in Israel too an unrealizable attempt to break human pride for the good of society and the greater glory of God."

5. The king recounted God's mighty deeds and past kindnesses which obligated the people to enter into the covenant (Mosiah 2:20–25, 34; Tvedtnes 1978, 153; Ricks 1984, 156), particularly the creation, the deliverance from bondage and the exodus (Josh. 24:4–8; Deut. 1:6–3:29; 4:10–13; 6:20–25). God was designated as the Creator and the source of life and all earthly things (Mosiah 2:20–25; Tvedtnes 1978, 153; Deut. 6:24–25). As Eaton noticed, "The gifts of God to his king culminate especially in the bestowal of 'life,' a life which extends beyond immediate deliverance and even beyond a good natural life-span to an everlasting prospect. This everlasting life can to a large extent be explained as a continuance of the dynasty . . . but this concept does not exclude a king's hope that he personally would enjoy nearness to God even after physical death. In the ideal, the quality of royal life, as a specific gift and also in consequence of the king's being seated in God's aura, was so rich that it could challenge the usual negative conception of after-life (1979, 32). Benjamin also praises God as "him who has created you from the beginning, and is preserving you from day to day, by lending you breath, that ye may live" (Mosiah 2:21).

6. The king recited individual covenant stipulations (Mosiah 2:22–24; 4:6–30; Exod. 21:1–23:19; Josh. 22:8; Ricks 1984, 156–57). The reciprocal covenant obligations are clear in Benjamin's speech: "Behold, all that he requires of you is to keep his commandments; and he has promised you that if ye would keep his commandments ye should prosper in the land . . . and secondly, he doth require that ye should do as he hath commanded you; for which if ye do, he doth immediately bless you; and therefore he hath paid you. And ye are still indebted unto him, and are, and will be, forever and ever" (Mosiah 2:22–23). They parallel the Deuteronomist's covenant promise: "Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do" (29:9).

7. The people entered into a covenant and agreed to be witnesses of the proceedings (Mosiah 5:5; 6:1; Ricks 1984, 157; Exod. 19:8; 24:3; Neh. 10:29). King Benjamin reminded, "Ye yourselves are witnesses this day" (Mosiah 2:14). Similar witness formulas are found in Israelite covenant renewal festivals: "And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses" (Josh. 24:22; Jansen 1955, 362). Benjamin's people were "willing to enter into a covenant with our God to do his will, and to be obedient . . . all the remainder of our days" (Mosiah 5:5). The Israelites administered a similar oath at the festival of the renewal of the covenant: "Stand this day all of you before Yahweh your God . . . that thou shouldest enter into a covenant with the Lord thy God, and into this oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day: That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God" (Jerusalem, Deut. 29:10–14).

Like King Benjamin, Ezra recited the book of the law from the tower to his convened people at the post-exilic covenant renewal festival (Ezra 8:1–5). When he had read the covenant and blessed the people, "all answered Amen, Amen, with lifting their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshipped the Lord with their faces to the ground" (8:6). Similarly, when Benjamin had finished his covenant speech, the people fell to the earth and expressed a willingness to enter into the covenant recognizing God as king for all that he had done for them (Mosiah 4:1; 5:1–4).

8. The blessings of obedience and the curses of disobedience were then enumerated (Mosiah 2:22, 24; 5:9–10; Ricks 1984, 157–58; Exod. 23:20–33; Deut. 27:15–17; 28:2–3; Josh. 24:19–20). The people were divided into two camps on the right and on the left symbolizing the righteous and wicked (Josh. 8:33; Deut. 27:11–13; Tvedtnes 1978, 174). Benjamin warns: "I would that you should take upon you the name of Christ, all you that have entered into the covenant with God that ye should be obedient unto the end of your lives. And . . . whosoever doeth this shall be on the right hand of God . . . and . . . whosoever shall not take upon him the name of Christ . . . findeth himself on the left hand of God" (Mosiah 5:8–10).

9. The proceedings of the covenant ceremony and names of the covenantors were recorded for reading at later festivals (Mosiah 2:8–9; 6:3; Exod. 19:7; 24:7; Deut. 27:2–4; Neh. 9:34–38; Josh. 24:26; Ricks 1984, 159). Benjamin then appointed priests and teachers "that thereby [the people] might hear and know the commandments of God, and stir them up in remembrance of the oath which they had made" (6:3).

10. The people were dismissed and returned home (Mosiah 6:3; Josh. 24:28; 1 Sam. 10:25–26). A formal conclusion is found in Samuel's covenant renewal: "Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it before the Lord. And Samuel sent all the people away, every man to his house" (1 Sam. 10:25). Benjamin seems to have also made a formal dismissal: "And it came to pass that when king Benjamin had made

an end of all these things . . . he dismissed the multitude, and they returned, every one, according to their families, to their own houses" (Mosiah 6:3).

Thus, in many ways a formal covenant renewal ceremony better explains most of Benjamin's speech than seeing "camp meeting" influences. However, as Stephen Ricks notes, Mosiah 3:1–23 (on Christ's mission), 4:1–5 (the audience's conviction of sin), 5:1 (Benjamin's request for responses), and 6:4–5 (the beginning of Mosiah's reign), do not reflect the covenant form (1984, 159). In my view, they are better explained as Joseph Smith's nineteenth-century expansions.

Other points of parallelism that received a nineteenth-century interpretation include the physical arrangements of Passover and *sukkoth* tents for each family as at revivals or camp meetings. Lorenzo Dow, a famous circuit preacher contemporary with Joseph Smith, pointed out this parallel in his sermons (1854, 248–50). Joseph Smith appears to have interpreted the king's tower as the preacher's altar, from which he called his audience to repentance (Thomas 1983, 20). Joseph Smith interpreted the acclamation of the king as a Christian confession (Mosiah 4:1–5; Exod. 24:3, 7; Josh. 24:16–18, 22; Nibley 1957, 265). It seems reasonable that Joseph Smith cast the response of Benjamin's people in the form familiar to him from revivals where the people would fall to the ground and cry out, "What then shall we do?" and "Have mercy on me, Jesus" (Thomas 1983, 20; Ahlstrom 1:526–28). The people's prostration may have originally reflected their subservience to the new king (Nibley 1957, 264–65; Tvedtnes 1978, 160; Neh. 8:6).

The covenant oath may have suggested to Joseph Smith the deliverance from sin common to revivals (Mosiah 5:1–4). Finally, Mosiah 3:5–4:8 seems to be nineteenth-century expansions on the atonement stressed at covenant renewal (Tvedtnes 1978, 159–60; 1QS ii, 25–iii, 12). As John Eaton states: "Since the festival meant close encounter with God, the need for purification, atonement and forgiveness was readily acknowledged . . . . The ministry of atonement carried out annually by the post-exilic high priest was largely inherited from the king" (1979, 11, 33; Ezek. 45:17; 1 Kings 8). I see the cry for mercy in Mosiah 4:2 as typical of revival preachers and hence a possible expansion by Joseph Smith: "And they viewed themselves in their own carnal state . . . and they cried aloud with one voice: O have mercy, and apply the atoning blood of Christ that we may receive forgiveness of our sins" (Mosiah 4:2).

In Mosiah 7–8, 25 many of the same covenant renewal rituals are repeated, but with fewer Christian elements. Limhi sent a royal proclamation which required his people to convene at the temple (7:17/1:10). Limhi also initiated his festival with a formal preamble: "When they had gathered themselves together he spake unto them in this wise, saying . . ." (7:18/2:1, 9). He then recounted the mighty deeds of God, especially the exodus from Jerusalem to the new land (7:19–20/1:6–7). Limhi reminded his people: "Ye are all witnesses this day" (7:21/2:14), pronounced the curse of bondage upon them, but promised them that they would be blessed with deliverance if they entered a covenant to be obedient to God (7: 25, 29–30/2:22, 24; 5:9–10). Limhi

then recited the reciprocal stipulations of the covenant: "If ye will turn to the Lord with full purpose of heart, and put your trust in him, and serve him with all diligence of mind, if ye do this, he will, according to his good pleasure, deliver you out of bondage" (7:33/5:5). Limhi had Benjamin's words read, evidently as a renewal of the same covenant which Benjamin's people had entered (Mosiah 8:2/6:1). Limhi then formally dismissed his people (8:4/6:3). He caused the records from which he had read to be brought to him, and they evidently became part of the Nephi record (Mosiah 8:5).

Similarly, Mosiah in Mosiah 25, required his people to convene, numbered them according to tribal affiliation, saw them divide into two bodies, read to them from Zeniff's record (which Limhi had also caused his people to hear), recounted the mighty deeds of God, emphasizing the deliverance of Limhi's people, and had them enter a covenant through baptism "after the manner of" Alma's baptism at the waters of Mormon (25:18; 18:10). Immediately following the festival gathering, Mosiah granted Alma power to ordain priests and teachers over the various churches (25:19/6:2). The probable expansion of Benjamin's speech stands out in contrast with the less "Christianized" covenant festivals in Mosiah 7–8 and 25. The established Book of Mormon ritual tradition is also evident from these later convocations.[1]

The Prophetic Lawsuit

Old Testament scholars have recognized numerous prophetic speech forms such as the Messenger Speech, the Proclamation of Judgment, the Woe Oracle, the Lament, the Ethical Sermon, and the Parable. Another prophetic speech form, the prophetic lawsuit, has been thoroughly analyzed by old Testament scholars (Huffmon 1959, 285–95; Limburg 1969, 291–304; Nielsen 1978; Boyle 1971, 338–63; Harvey 1967; North 1970; Von Waldow 1963). Although they describe some elements differently, they agree on these:

1. Suit Announced: The prophet announces that Yahweh accuses or complains against his people, usually for breach of the Sinaitic covenant, in the language common to Hebrew lawsuits. The prophet emphasizes that Yahweh initiates the lawsuit; the prophet is merely his messenger (Limburg 1969, 301; Nielsen 1978, 74).

2. Witnesses Called: Witnesses are sometimes summoned to appear, usually the people of Israel, heavenly hosts, or the heavens and earth (Hos. 4:1; Isa. 1:2; Nielsen 1978, 29).

3. Accusations: Yahweh lists the people's omissions and crimes against him (Nielsen 1978, 29).

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[1] For another doctrinal expansion on an underlying ritual form, see the Testament of Levi, c180 B.C., which seems to have a Judeo-Christian baptismal ceremony worked into Levi's coronation as high priest, a ceremony influenced by early covenant renewal and royal consecration forms (Danielou 1964, 325–27; Widengren 1963; Jansen 1955). The Qumran scrolls also document a covenant renewal ceremony involving ritual immersion (Leaney 1966, 95–106; O'Connor 1969, 543; Wernberg-Moller 1957). Qumran also reinterpreted the Deuteronomic Feast of Weeks to require a yearly renewal of the covenant and ritual atonement, looking forward to the coming of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (Delcor 1976, 290–92).

4. Defense: A defense is sometimes offered but is more often implicit in a rhetorical question put to the accused. Of course, the accused has no defense against Yahweh (Nielsen 1978, 28; Huffmon 1959, 290). Yahweh is willing to forgive if people repent (McGuire 1982, 3).

5. Judgment: Yahweh acts as both prosecutor and judge, pronouncing the curse if the people will not repent (Nielsen 1978, 74).

6. Covenant Elements: Sometimes the formal covenant renewal elements of historical prologue, covenant stipulations, and provisions for recording the covenant are included (Harvey 1967).

One of the best examples of a prophetic lawsuit is found in Hosea 4 (Jerusalem Bible trans.):

Witnesses called: "O Sons of Israel, listen to the word of Yahweh";

Suit announced: "for Yahweh accuses the inhabitants of the country";

Accusations: "There is no fidelity, no tenderness; no knowledge of God in the country, only perjury and lies, slaughter theft, adultery and violence, murder upon murder";

Judgment: "Therefore this country will mourn, and all who live in it shall languish, even the wild animals and the birds of heaven; the fish of the sea themselves are perishing";

McGuire (1982) identifies three prophetic lawsuits in the Book of Mormon — Mosiah 12–17, Jacob 2, and Helaman 13. Abinadi's accusations against the people of Noah and his prophetic diatribe against the wicked priests of Noah are excellent examples of prophetic lawsuits.

Suit announced: "Behold, thus saith the Lord, and thus he commanded me, saying, Go forth and say unto this people";

The Lord as witness and accusations: "I have seen their abominations and their wickedness and their whoredoms";

Implicit defense and judgment: ". . . for unless they repent I will visit them in mine anger. . . . And except they repent and turn to the Lord their God, behold, I will deliver them into the hands of their enemies; and they shall be brought into bondage; and they shall be afflicted by the hands of their enemies. And it shall come to pass that they shall know that I am the Lord their God, and I am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of my people (Mosiah 11:20–21).

Abinadi's diatribe charges breach of the Sinaitic covenant: He declares that the people must repent and return to the Lord as "their God," and come to know that "I am the Lord their God, and I am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of my people" (Mosiah 11:22). At Sinai, Yahweh required his people to enter a covenant recognizing him as their God: "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" (Exod. 20:5). Recognizing Yahweh as a jealous God is equivalent to a covenant to renounce other gods (Exod. 34:14). Because they have broken the covenant, the Lord will be slow to hear Noah's people even as Yahweh was slow to hear the children of Israel in the wilderness after they transgressed the covenant (Mosiah 11:24). Finally, the Lord would not deliver them but would lead them back into bondage (Mosiah 11:21–24), where the Israelites had been

required by covenant to recognize Yahweh as their God because he delivered them from bondage (Exod. 20:2; Mendenhall 1955, 32–35).

Abinadi's second "lawsuit" adds some elements of covenant renewal by declaring judgment for failure to repent:

Suit announced: "Thus has the Lord commanded me, saying, Abinadi, go and prophesy unto this my people";

Accusations: "for they have hardened their hearts against my words, they have repented not of their evil doings";

Judgment curses: "Therefore, I will visit them in my anger, yea, in my fierce anger will I visit them in their iniquities and abominations . . . this generation shall be brough tinto bondage, and shall be smitten on the cheek; yea, shall be driven by men, and shall be slain; and the vultures of the air, and the dogs, yea, the wild beasts shall devour their flesh. . ."

Record and witnesses: "Yet they shall leave a record behind them, and I will preserve them for other nations which shall possess the land, yea, even this will I do that I may discover the abominations of this people to other nations" (Mosiah 12:1–2, 8).

Abinadi delivers his third "lawsuit" speech before king Noah's priests (12:16–19). The actual trial setting was often an occasion for the prophet to deliver his indictment of the people before witnesses (McGuire 1982, 8–9). King Noah appears to have understood the full significance of Abinadi's role: "Who is Abinadi, that I and my people should be judged of him?" (11:27). Abinadi accuses the priests: "Wo be unto you for perverting the ways of the Lord! For if ye understand these things ye have not taught them; therefore, ye have perverted the ways of the Lord" (12:28). The priests offer in defense that they teach the Law of Moses. Abinadi further accuses: "If ye teach the law of Moses why do ye not keep it? Why do ye set your hearts on riches? Why do ye commit whoredoms and spend your strength on harlots?" Abinadi then names the priests as witnesses of their own iniquity: "Know ye not that I speak the truth? Yea, ye know that I speak the truth, and ye ought to tremble before God" (12:30).

Abinadi then reminds the priests of the Sinaitic covenant by presenting the historical prologue and covenant stipulations: "I know that if ye keep the commandments . . . which he delivered unto Moses in the mount of Sinai, saying: I am the Lord thy God, who hath brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything in heaven above, or things which are in the earth beneath" (12:33–37; Exod. 20:2–4; Deut. 27:11). Abinadi then became a type of Moses delivering the law, for his "face shone with exceeding luster, even as Moses' did while on the mount of Sinai, while speaking with the Lord" (13:5), while he reminds the priests of the remaining commandments (13:11–24; Weinfeld 1985, 30–35).

Though the priests found Abinadi guilty of reviling against the king, his suit shows that Noah, not Abinadi, is the unfaithful vassal (McGuire 1982, 15). As a sign of prophetic irony, the sentence of death by fire executed on Abinadi becomes the Lord's sentence on Noah (Mosiah 17:15).

The prophetic speech form and metaphors in Abinadi's diatribe show evidence of an ancient text. Additionally, many aspects of Abinadi's trial conform to Israelite legal procedures (Welch 1981). Abinadi was initially arrested, charged, and tried by the people as was the practice under Hebrew law (Welch 1981, 2). Abinadi was found guilty of false prophecy and reviling against the ruler of the people, actionable charges under Israelite law (Deut. 18:20; Exod. 22:28). Abinadi was taken before the king, apparently because the laws of Mosiah forbade a capital punishment without consent of the ruling authority (3 Ne. 6:24–25; Lev. 24:10–22). The priests were convened as a judicial body of witness and accusers (2 Chron. 19:8; Jer. 26:10). Abinadi appealed to God as his witness (Mosiah 13:3). A priest, Alma, offered a defense for Abinadi and voted in favor of his innocence (Welch 1981, 13–14). Perhaps strangest from the standpoint of American jurisprudence is that if Abinadi had recanted, the charges of blasphemy would have been dropped (Mosiah 17:7–8). It was common for an Israelite court to plead with the accused to recant so that prosecution of the judgment would not be necessary (Welch 1981, 16). In short, it is difficult to see any trace of American jurisprudence in Abinadi's trial, though it conforms to what would occur under Israelite legal procedure.

At the same time, Abinadi's prophetic speech is interrupted by clearly identifiable expansions of the text. After delivering the covenant stipulations, Abinadi states: "The time shall come when it shall no more be expedient to keep the law of Moses" (Mosiah 13:27). This statement is surprising in light of his denunciation. Abinadi's view of the law of Moses as a lesser law given to lead the hard-hearted Israelites to Jesus echoes Galatians 2:16 (Mosiah 13:28–32). Further, Abinadi declared that "if ye keep the commandments of God ye shall be saved" (Mosiah 12:33). In the next chapter, however, his words are put into the mouths of Noah's priests: "Ye have said that salvation cometh by the law of Moses. I say unto you that it is expedient that you should keep the law of Moses *as yet*" (Mosiah 13:27, italics added). Mosiah 13:28–32 appears to be Joseph Smith's expansion to clarify Abinadi's view that the law of Moses was sufficient for salvation by having Abinadi explain that the law of Moses, then sufficient, would not always be so. Noah's priests do not charge Abinadi with reviling against the law, as they surely would have had he declared that the law of Moses would be done away.

Mosiah 14–16 are also best explained as Joseph Smith's expansions or interpolations. Abinadi refers to a messianic prophecy by Moses, probably with Deuteronomy 18:18–19 in mind (Mosiah 13:33). He then states, however, that "all the prophets who have prophesied ever since the world began — have they not spoken more or less concerning [the Messiah]? Have they not said that God himself should come down among the children of men, and take upon him the form of man, and go forth in mighty power upon the face of the earth . . . and that he himself should be oppressed and afflicted? Yea, doth not Isaiah say . . ." (Mosiah 13:34–35).

At this point, the King James Translation of Isaiah 53 is read into the text. This passage comes from a section of Isaiah commonly attributed to deutero-Isaiah; but even without that problem, it is commonly accepted that the KJV

translators made a chapter division in the wrong place. The poem about the suffering servant actually begins at Isaiah 52:13. It is highly unlikely that Abinadi would break up this poem by beginning with the present chapter division.

Furthermore, Abinadi prophesies that the Messiah will come "as a man," to be scourged by wicked men. Nowhere else in scripture does a prophet state that God would come among men as a man and be scourged except for Nephi's prophecy (1 Ne. 19:10); and it is clear that Abinadi is attributing these words to some prophet: "Have they [the prophets] not said . . ." (13:34). Thus, Nephi must have been the source of Abinadi's prophetic quotation. Noah's priests have either not heard of the prophecy or disapproved of it, for they charge Abinadi with blasphemy for saying that "God himself would come down among the children of men" (Mosiah 17:8). Since Noah's priests had access to the brass plates which contained the law of Moses and the "words of Isaiah," and since Abinadi must have quoted from a prophecy not generally known or accepted by Noah's priests, Isaiah cannot be the source. I suggest that Joseph Smith provided the Isaiah quotation in the place of Nephi's own prophecy.

Both the Nephi and Isaiah quotations are formally appropriate in Abinadi's prophetic lawsuit, for the "suffering servant incurs the legal prosecution and covenant curses ensuing from a vassal's failure to keep the covenant," though it is clear he is innocent because he will survive the ordeal and be raised, according to Nephi's words, or have seed according to Isaiah (Gileadi 1984, 123). It also seems that in addition to Moses, Abinadi has the prophets identified by Nephi (Neum, Zenos, and Zenock) in mind as "all of the prophets who prophesied" about the Messiah (1 Ne. 19:10). Hence, the underlying ancient text is identifiable because we can identify the source relied upon elsewhere in the Nephite record.

Mosiah 15–16 appear to be Joseph Smith's expansions to explain how God becomes man. Mosiah 15 does not discuss the relationship between the Father and Son in the Godhead as is often assumed (Alexander 1980, 25). Rather, Joseph Smith here addresses, through Abinadi, how the Son can be both fully man and fully God. Mosiah 15 adopts a genetic theory of Christology wherein the Son is deemed to partake of the nature of mortality because literally descended from humans in the flesh, though also truly God because he is also begotten by God the Father through the spirit (Mosiah 15:2–3). Hence, the Son partakes of both the nature of humanity and of the Father, "and thus the flesh becoming subject to the Spirit, or the Son to the Father, being one God . . ." (Mosiah 15:5). Abinadi further explains that the Son can become subject to death in the flesh by virtue of his mortality and can thus "make intercession for the children of men," thereby satisfying the demands of both mercy and justice by virtue of his dual humanity-divinity (15:7–9).

Mosiah 15 thus attempts to answer theological questions that were asked only after the council of Nicea in A.D. 325, and the answer is premised on Anselm's medieval satisfaction theory. Joseph Smith also resolves a problem raised by interpreting Isaiah 53 to apply to Jesus. Isaiah speaks of the servant's

"seed." How, then, could this passage refer to Christ who had no seed? Joseph Smith interprets "seed" as a metaphor for the prophets who testify of Christ to resolve the problem (15:10–13).

The next chapter, Mosiah 16, can be identified as Joseph Smith's expansion on motif critical grounds. Here Abinadi says we are "carnal and devilish" by nature as a result of the Fall, themes that stem from Paul and Calvin. Further, the language attributed to Abinadi clearly assumes that Christ had already come: "If Christ had not come into the world, speaking of things to come as though they had already come, there could have been no redemption. If Christ had not risen from the dead, or have broken the bands of death that the grave should have no victory, and that death should have no sting, there could have been no resurrection" (Mosiah 16:6–7). These verses depend on 1 Corinthians 15:55–56.

The Prophetic Commission and Throne Theophany

The description of Lehi's vision in 1 Nephi 1 contains a characteristic Hebrew literary form, the prophetic commission and throne theophany (Ostler forthcoming). The prophetic commission form was placed at the beginning of the words of the prophet as a means to publicly vindicate his exceptional status as the emissary of the heavenly council and Yahweh (Habel 1965, 232; Baltzer 1968, 568). Examples are Isaiah 6, Jeremiah 1, and Ezekiel 1–3 in which these typical elements appear:

1. Historical introduction of place, and setting, almost always with the name of the reigning king and prophet's previous vocation. Some scholars assert that the historical introductions are invariably the work of later editors who sought to establish the words of the prophet as revelation (Tucker 1977, 65–70). Nephi thus begins Lehi's record: "In the commencement of the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah (my father, Lehi, having dwelt at Jerusalem all his days) . . ." (1 Ne. 1:4).

2. Divine confrontation: Either God or an angel unexpectedly appears in glory. As Lehi "went forth" and prayed, "there came a pillar of fire and dwelt on a rock before him" (1 Ne. 1:6). The pillar of fire is symbolic of the glory of God's presence and echoes God's promise to Moses: "I will stand before thee on a rock . . ." (Exod. 17:6).

3. Reaction: The prophet is frightened, feels unworthy, and is often physically overcome. Lehi "did quake and tremble exceedingly . . . and he cast himself upon his bed, being overcome with the Spirit and the things which he had seen" (1 Ne. 1:6–7).

4. Throne theophany: The prophet sees the heavenly council and God sitting upon his throne surrounded by angels. Lehi not only sees God seated on his throne surrounded by angels but also sees one descend, having a luster like the sun, followed by twelve having the brightness of stars (1 Ne. 1:8–10). Yahweh was typically envisioned as symbolically surrounded by the sun and stars which represented the hosts of heaven in Hebrew thought (Ostler forthcoming). Like Ezekiel, Lehi received a book which caused him to cry, "Wo, wo, unto Jerusalem" (1 Ne. 1:12–13; Ezek. 2:9–10; 3:1–3).

5. Commission: The prophet is commanded to deliver a message to Israel. Nephi's retelling obscures Lehi's commission, but this element is evident from his activities after the vision and from God's declaration, "Blessed art thou Lehi, because of the things which thou hast done; and because thou hast been faithful and declared unto this people the things I commanded thee" (1 Ne. 2:1).

6. Protest: The prophet protests the commission by claiming he is unable or unworthy to accomplish the task. This element is usually absent when the reaction element is present (Hubbard 1974, 63–64). Because both Ezekiel's and Lehi's calls include the reaction element, they do not include the protest.

7. Rejection: God warns the prophet to expect rejection. Lehi hears that his people would reject him and Jerusalem would be destroyed, no matter what his efforts (1 Ne. 1:13, 19–20).

8. Reassurance: God assures his prophet that he will be protected and able to fulfill his commission, even in the face of hopeless rejection. The Lord assured Lehi that he would deliver him from his enemies (1 Ne. 1:20).

9. Conclusion: The commission form usually concludes formally with a statement that the prophet has begun to carry out his work. Lehi's call concludes by noting that he preaches to his people and the Lord blesses him for obedience to his commission (1 Ne. 1:19–21).

Although there were numerous accounts of theophanies in nineteenth-century literature, they do not take the form of the prophetic commission (Ostler forthcoming). Lehi's vision is clearly better explained by the prophetic call form than by nineteenth-century influence.

What, then, can be concluded from the presence of covenant renewal festivals, Hebrew legal procedure, prophetic speech forms, and prophetic literary forms in the Book of Mormon? Only that ancient forms have been used to compose the book *as we know it.* Once a form has been established, anyone, modern or ancient, who knows it may use it (Slingerland 1977, 98–99). Further, form critical studies of the Book of Mormon are hampered to the extent that a given form depends on precise language. For instance, the prophetic lawsuit form in the Old Testament is most clearly signalled by the verb *rib* ("to accuse"), and the commission is most often indicated by *slh* ("to send a word"). Joseph Smith could have been aware of these forms and rituals from reading the Old Testament, though Lehi's call contains some unique developments evidenced in the pseudepigrapha, such as an intercessory prayer and ascension to heaven.

Nevertheless, the force of the evidence provided by form criticism should not be overlooked. It is unlikely that Joseph Smith independently discovered and consciously used these forms through his own research, especially since Benjamin's speech strongly suggests that Joseph saw it not as a Hebrew festival, but as a camp meeting. It is not persuasive to suggest that he used these forms unconsciously because it begs the question. We simply have no idea how such results could be produced subconsciously. Can those who view the Book of Mormon strictly as Joseph Smith's work contend that he was "subconsciously" a genius in comparative literature and truly concerned with the Sinaitic cove-

nant and Hebrew legal procedure? Because forms are subtle patterns that are usually evident only through scholarly analysis, it is unlikely that one unfamiliar with content of the form would simply duplicate it randomly, and less likely that he or she would use it in the proper context. Hence, when we find ancient forms underlying the Book of Mormon text, it is reasonable to believe that Joseph Smith used an ancient source, as he said he did.

Other Evidences of Ancient Origin

Other studies also suggest that some aspects of the Book of Mormon are better explained as ancient rather than nineteenth-century:

1. Resemblances between Israelite law, international treaties, and laws governing war and oath forms (Rasmussen 1982; R. Johnson 1982; Morise 1982).

2. Hebrew, Egyptian, and classical names which appear in the Book of Mormon but not in the Bible (Nibley 1973, 192–96; Nibley 1957, 242–54; Nibley 1948, 85–90; Carlton and Welch 1981; Tvedtnes 1977). Though many of these names could be biblical variants, others are difficult to explain as Joseph Smith's inventions. Paanchi, Pahoran, and Pacumeni, for example, are Egyptian names which are sometimes transliterated exactly as they stand in the Book of Mormon, while Korihor is a close variant of Herihor, predecessor to 'Amon-Pi'ankhy in about 734 B.C. (Baer 1973).

3. Description of military, social, and political institutions of sixth-century Israel corroborated by the Lachish letter and other recently discovered sources (Nibley 1982b; Nibley 1952, 4–12, 20–26, 107–18; Nibley 1957, 47–111; R. Smith 1984).

4. Accurate and consistent geographical detail (England 1982; Nibley 1952, 123–28).

5. Ancient forms of government (Bushman 1976; Nibley 1973, 281–82; Nibley 1952, 20–26; Nibley 1957, 82–86).

6. Evidence that the Book of Mormon assigned value to the cardinal directions with south representing the sacred and north the profane (Alma 22; 46:17; Eth. 7:6). It also presents a social organization revolving around a ritual center from which government, territorial order, and communal sanctity flowed. The moral order of life and understanding of the covenant were also linked to territoriality (Olsen 1983). These symbolic aspects of territoriality are common in ancient societies.

Some studies also conclude that the Book of Mormon's literary structure is uniform, not one that reveals expansions. For example, many of the book's messages are, like Hebrew scripture generally, imbedded in its structure rather than in its discursive doctrines, as impressive as they may be. Some studies have demonstrated an ingenious structure characterized by literary typologies, or exposition of symbolic similarities between peoples, places and events (Tate, Rust, and Jorgensen, all 1981).

Other unifying structures are the various forms of parallelism (synthetic, antithetic and synonomic) that are the basis of Hebrew poetry (Welch 1969 and 1981). Steven Sondrup (1981) has demonstrated that the poetic paral-

lelism of 2 Nephi 4 resembles poetic structure in the Psalms. Noel Reynolds (1982) has argued that chiasmus (inverted parallelism) is the organizing principle for the entire book of 1 Nephi.

Finally, some proponents of wordprint studies suggest that the translation is very literal — the appearance of noncontextual words showing patterns that differ significantly from author to author in the different books. This is a far-from-fixed field, however, and the wordprint analysis of the Book of Mormon has been both critiqued and defended (Larsen and Rencher 1982 and 1986; Croft 1981).

Do such studies rule out the possibility of modern expansions and interpretations in the Book of Mormon? No. Such literary characteristics are not necessarily impossible to explain in terms of a nineteenth-century context. For example, Puritan preachers like Samuel Mather and Jonathan Edwards often analyzed the Bible typologically (Brumm 1970; Bercovitch 1972). Indeed, George S. Tate is surely correct that *type* is a translator anachronism in the Book of Mormon (1981, 260–61, n10). Chiasmus can also be found in some nineteenth-century works, including the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Abraham (D&C 88:34–38; 98:18–38; 132:19–26; Abr. 3:16–19). Thus, the assumption that chiasmus is an exclusively ancient poetic device appears to be false. Further, many Book of Mormon chiastic passages presuppose a doctrine of Christ developed beyond anything found in the Old Testament (Mosiah 3:18–19; 5:10–12; 2 Ne. 25:2–27; Alma 36; 41:13–15).

New World Archeology

Despite vigorous debate, no concrete evidence exists establishing a Book of Mormon archeology (Sorenson 1985; Coe 1973). I am not qualified to assess the evidence in this field; however, if a civilization like Ebla could remain undiscovered until 1976 in an area of the world where more archeological exploration has been done than anywhere else, it appears too early to draw firm conclusions on the basis of infant New World archeology. Book of Mormon culture does not seem to have been the type likely to leave numerous, distinctive remains, especially where the people lived in tents around a ritual center even near the apex of their civilization (Hel. 3:9). Further, expectations about discovering Book of Mormon relics are often misformed by comparison with biblical archeology. The survival of archeological remnants in the humid, hot environment where Sorenson believes the Book of Mormon civilization existed should not be compared with discoveries in the arid biblical environment where only one partially preserved metal sword has been discovered that dates to the time of Lehi. The chance that a similar sword could survive in a central American environment is remote.

Any argument from silence is admittedly weak. Nevertheless, we must distinguish between evidence which counts against a proposition and the mere lack of evidence. John Sorenson has made a strong case that the book's claims are plausible if one is willing to accept that Joseph Smith was neither a zoologist nor metallurgist and therefore did not describe animals and metals with

scientific precision. That is, if one is willing to recognize that Joseph Smith interpreted the translation, the book's claims to antiquity are plausible.

This discussion of source, motif, and form critical studies is far from exhaustive. There is too much that we do not know to claim anything like a definitive analysis of the issues discussed. Instead, this section has intended merely to demonstrate that it is likely that Joseph Smith expanded the Book of Mormon and to show how modern expansions can be identified by critical methods. A competent explanation of the book must account for both ancient and modern influences.

Those who have seen only the modern aspects of the book have overlooked its detailed and precise reflection of Israelite literature, culture, and social structure. Yet some doctrines in the book's pre-Christian sections are simply too developed and too characteristic of the nineteenth century to explain as pre-exilic ideas. The presence of the KJV in the book is, it seems to me, indisputable.

If these observations are at all accurate, then only a view that accommodates both the ancient and the modern aspects of the Book of Mormon can fully account for it. We must thus examine the process by which Joseph Smith produced the Book of Mormon.

THE TRANSLATION PROCESS

Joseph Smith's role as translator of the Book of Mormon has become more complicated as new information has come forth. He apparently became aware of the gold plates, the interpreters, and the breastplate through a messenger who visited him by night; he found their location apparently by looking into his seer stone.[2] The lost 116 pages of Lehi's record were translated through the

[2] According to a Martin Harris interview, "These plates were found at the north point of a hill two miles north of Manchester village. Joseph had a stone which was dug from the well of Mason Chase, twenty four feet from the surface. It was by means of this stone he first discovered these plates. . . . Joseph had before this described the manner of finding the plates. He found them by looking in the stone found in the well of Mason Chase. The family had likewise told me the same thing" (1859, 164).

Joseph Knight, Sr., said that Joseph saw the plates "so plain in the vision that he had of the place" that he immediately recognized the place when he visited the hill. Knight also recalled that, when Joseph laid the plates down and could not find them, "he thot he would look in the place again and see if it had not got Back again. He had heard people tell of such things." This statement seems to refer to Joseph's expectations formed by money digging. The personage, continues Knight, told Joseph he couldn't have the plates then because "you have not Done rite; you should have taken the Book and gone right away" (Jessee 1976, 30–31).

The 1832 account partly written and partly dictated by Joseph Smith, Jr., states that "an angel of the Lord came and stood before me and it was by night and called me by name and he said the Lord had forgiven me my sins and he revealed unto me that in the Town of Manchester Ontario County N.Y. there was plates of gold upon which there was engravings which was engraven by Maroni & his fathers the servants of the living God in ancient days. . . . He appeared to me three times in one night and once on the next day and then I immediately went to the place and found where the plates was deposited as the angel of the Lord had commanded me and straightway made three attempts to get them and then being excedingly frightened I supposed it had been a dreem or Vision but when I considered I knew that it was not therefore I cried unto the Lord in agony of my soul why can I not obtain them behold the angel appeared unto me again and said unto me you have not kept

medium of the "interpreters," described by Joseph as "two transparent stones set in the rim of a bow fastened to a breastplate" and later commonly called the Urim and Thummim (JS — H 52; Jessee 1984, 215). Emma Hale Smith Bidamon described the sequence in a letter to Emma Pilgrim 27 March 1870: "Now the first that my husband translated was by the urim and thummim, and that was the part Martin Harris lost. After that he used a small stone, not exactly black, but was a rather dark color." According to Joseph Knight, Sr., Joseph Smith described the interpreters: "He went on to tell the length and width and thickness of the plates, and said he, 'they appear to be Gold.' But he seamed to think more of the glasses or the urim and thummem then he Did of the Plates, for, says he, 'I can see any thing; they are Marvelus. Now they are writen in caracters and I want them translated' " (Jessee 1976, 33).

William Smith also gave a detailed description of the "spectacles" in a 4 July 1891 interview in which he said that he himself had put on the breastplate and interpreters and looked through the stones:

> We asked him what was meant by the expression, "two rims of a bow," which held the [interpreters]. He said a double silver bow was twisted into the shape of the figure eight, and the two stones were placed literally between the two rims of a bow. At one end was attached a rod which was connected with the outer edge of the right shoulder of the breast plate. By pressing the head a little forward, the rod held the Urim and Thummim before the eyes like a pair of spectacles. A pocket was prepared in the breastplate on the left side, immediately over the heart . . . . William informed us that he had, himself, by Joseph's direction, put the Urim and Thummim before his eyes, but could see nothing, as he did not have the gift of Seer. He also informed us that the instruments were too wide for his eyes, as also for Joseph's, and must have been used by larger men. The instruments caused a strain on Joseph's eyes, and he sometimes resorted to the plan of covering his eyes with a hat to exclude the light in part (W. Smith 1924).

Lucy Smith described the breastplate in similar detail. She said, "He handed me the breastplate spoken of in his history. It was wrapped in a thin muslin handkerchief, so thin that I could see the glistening metal, and ascertain its proportions without any difficulty. It was concave on one side and convex on the other, and extended from the neck downwards, as far as the center of the stomach of a man of ordinary size. It had four straps of the same material, for the purpose of fastening it to the breast" (1853, 107). Emma Smith (1879) described the plates with similar concrete detail: "The plates often lay on the table without an attempt at concealment, wrapped in a small linen table cloth, which I had given him to fold them in. I once felt of the plates, as they thus lay on the table, tracing their outline and shape. They seemed to be pliable like thick paper, and would rustle with a metallic sound when the edges were moved by the thumb, as one does sometimes thumb the edge of a book."

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the commandments of the Lord which I gave unto you therefore you cannot obtain them for the time is not yet fulfilled therefore thou wast left unto temptation that thou mightest be made acquainted with the power of the advisary . . . for now I had been tempted of the advisary and saught the Plates to obtain riches and kept not the commandment that I should have an eye single to the glory of God" (Jessee 1984, 6–7). Joseph added in his 1835 account of the vision of the angel: "I saw in the vision the place where they [the plates] were deposited" (Jessee 1984, 76).

David Whitmer gave a similar description: "There were golden plates, 8″×10″ each, as thick as sheet tin, and all bound by three rings, a large portion of the volume sealed, the loose pages engraved with hieroglyphics. Also with the plates was a pair of spectacles set in silver bows" (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 Dec. 1885, p. 3). Though the evidence of the plates' existence will probably never be explained to everyone's satisfaction, it is hard to escape the conclusion that for Joseph Smith and his associates, the plates, breastplate and spectacles were very real.

After the 116 pages were lost, Joseph Smith apparently used only the seer stone to translate by placing it in his hat, putting his face in the hat to shut out external light, and reading the translation as it appeared in the stone in English (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 49–55; Lancaster 1962; Jessee 1976, 35). He apparently did not need the plates during this portion of the translation. Since Joseph Smith transcribed "Caractors" from the plates themselves on the Anthon document, however, apparently with an accompanying separate translation, he clearly saw a close connection between what was written on the plates and his translation (Jessee 1976, 34; Bushman 1984, 86).

When Oliver Cowdery's attempt to translate using the "rod of Aaron" failed after apparent initial success, Joseph received a revelation directed to Oliver that gives perhaps the only contemporaneous, personal insight into the translation process: "You have supposed that I [God] would give it to you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me; but behold I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right, I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you . . . therefore you cannot write that which is sacred, save it be given you from me (Book of Commandments 1833, 8:20–21).

It seems reasonable to believe that these instructions reflected Joseph's own experience, suggesting that the translation was not merely mechanical or "automatic" but involved human thought and feelings as well as divine response. In 1835, Joseph described the Book of Mormon as "coming forth out of the treasure of the heart . . . bringing forth out of the heart, things new and old" (D. Hill 1977, 104). Joseph Smith appears to have believed that the book was a complex product of "things new and old," both human and divine. The message reflected in his stone may thus have mirrored in part the "treasure" of his own heart as he dictated "by the gift and power of God." A congressman who heard Joseph speak in Washington, D.C., stated: "The Mormon Bible, [Joseph Smith] said, was communicated to him, *direct from heaven.* If there was such a thing on earth, as the author of it, he was the author; but the idea he wished to impress was, that he had penned it as dictated by God" (Ehat and Cook 1980, 34, italics in original).

Joseph Smith did not "translate" if translate means he knew ancient Egyptian or Hebrew and rendered it into English. The term *translate* usually means to render from one language into another; but Joseph Smith did not know ancient languages. He used *translate* to cover a wide range of revelatory activities that did not necessarily entail either access to ancient documents or knowledge of ancient languages. For example, he "translated" through the stone a

"parchment" hidden up by John the Beloved Disciple, that he never possessed (HC 1:35–36; D&C 7). He "translated" the entire KJV Bible through inspiration without reference to original documents, without knowledge of Greek or Hebrew, and apparently without the seer stone (Matthews 1975, xxix, 21, 40). He received the book of Moses in June 1830 by revelation, not through the Urim and Thummim. He also "translated" vignettes of what we now know is the Book of Breathings, but meant by "translation" only an explanation of certain figures or pictures in relation to the book of Abraham (Ashment 1980, 12).

The mode of translation appears to have involved a mode of revelation. The closest phenomena to Joseph Smith's experiences are probably found in the prophetic tradition which he intentionally adopted. Joseph's state of consciousness differs from shamanistic possession, classical mysticism, and most reports of automatic writing in that he did not lose consciousness of his surroundings or become dispossessed of his personal identity (Gowen 1975, 57–60; A. Parker 1975, 121–25). Further, there is no evidence that he claimed to hear a voice or take dictation from another personality, unlike cases of spirit writing or channelled texts. As anthropologist Simon Parker noted, Israelite prophecy manifested various types of trance states; but possession trance, in which the prophet is dispossessed of personality, was rare. The spirit of God overpowered the prophet but did not obliterate his personality. Rather, the prophet became extremely self-aware of both personal unworthiness and of the unmistakable call to deliver a message (S. Parker 1978; D. D. Russell 1964, 159–73).

Since Joseph asked questions during translation, he was conscious of both himself and his surroundings (Newell and Avery 1984, 26). Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer reportedly helped Joseph with the "pronouncing of some biblical words" (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 Dec. 1885, p. 3). In 1839 Joseph Smith explained, "When you feel pure Inteligence flowing unto you it may give you sudden strokes of ideas" (Ehat and Cook 1980, 5). Perhaps when Joseph looked into his stone he felt such a surge of "pure intelligence" flowing into his mind, and whatever he then spoke would represent the translation as given to him by God.

The translation process involved both human and divine interaction and was therefore interactive rather than automatic or mechanical. Certainly Joseph Smith did not believe that it ruled out clarification and expansion. For example, Joseph authorized numerous, mostly minor grammar, changes in the 1837 edition of the Book of Mormon. He also instructed the printer to add "or out of the waters of baptism" in the 1840 edition to clarify an Isaiah phrase, "the waters of Judah," found in the 1837 edition, without reference to either the plates or seer stone (*Saints Herald* 30 [March 1883]: 146–47). He clarified theology by adding explanatory phrases. For example, the 1830 edition of 1 Nephi 11:21 reads: "And the angel said unto me, behold the Lamb of God, yea, even the Eternal Father" (Ch. 3, p. 25). The 1837 edition reads: "And the angel said unto me, behold the Lamb of God, yea, even the Son of the Eternal Father." These changes indicate that Joseph Smith had a

much freer idea of scripture than many of his contemporaries or his present fundamentalist critics.

Of course, seeing the Book of Mormon as, at least in part, a function of Joseph Smith's interpretive activities is not new. B. H. Roberts suggested more than fifty years ago that Joseph Smith was partly responsible for the "modes of expression" of the Book of Mormon (Madsen 1982, 14). Hugh Nibley suggested about twenty years ago that the Book of Mormon reflected a process of expanding and explaining similar to that found in Isaiah:

> What we have in Isaiah is a lot of genuine words of the prophet intermingled with other stuff by his well-meaning followers. . . . The transmitter of Isaiah, we are told, 'adapted the words of the master to contemporary situations, expanding them and adding further oracles'. . . . Since all the prophets tell the same story, any prophet is free to contribute anything to the written record that will make the message clear and intelligible. The principle is illustrated throughout the Book of Mormon, and indeed by the very existence of the book itself — a book that shocked the world with its open-ended production susceptible to the errors of men and amenable to correction by the spirit of prophecy . . . . We have come across a great tradition of prophetic unity that made it possible for inspired men in every age to translate, abridge, expand, explain, and update the writing of their predecessors (1967, 143, 150–51).

Nibley also suggests that it is the "prophet's prerogative" to bring scriptures up to date and apply them to contemporary situations. Indeed, such expansion is ubiquitous in Judeo-Christian works accepted as scripture. All Old Testament texts are at least partially the product of editing and reworking. Some include extensive additions and deletions. Deuteronomy assembles numerous pre-exilic traditions and also introduces post-exilic traditions, implicitly attributing them all to Moses (Weinfeld 1972; Friedman 1981a, 1981b; Mayes 1983). As Raymond Brown explained, ancient concepts of "authorship" were much broader than our own:

> In considering biblical books, many times we have to distinguish between the *author* whose ideas the book expresses and the *writer*. The writers run the gamut from recording secretaries who slavishly copied down the author's dictation to highly independent collaborators who, working from a sketch of the author's ideas, gave their own literary style to the final work . . . . Even if we confine authorship to responsibility for the basic ideas that appear in the book, the principles that determine the attribution of authorship in the Bible are fairly broad. If a particular author is surrounded by a group of disciples who carry on his thought even after his death, their works may be attributed to him as author. The Book of Isaiah was the work of at least three principal contributors, and its compositions covered a period of over 200 years . . . . In a similar way, David is spoken of as author of the Psalms, and Moses [as] the author of the Pentateuch, even though parts of these works were composed many hundreds of years after the traditional author's death (Brown 1966, lxxxvii).

It is in this broader biblical sense that we may see Joseph Smith as justified in attributing the Book of Mormon to the prophets whose names it bears.

A good example of the type of conceptual translation that I propose is found in the Gospel of John. New Testament scholarship has demonstrated that Matthew, Mark, and Luke expand upon the words of Jesus in light of a

post-resurrection understanding provided by the later church (R. Brown 1967 and 1986, 16–17). The Gospel of John, however, represents an entirely different thought-world. Jesus speaks of the kingdom of God more than fifty times in the synoptics but speaks of the kingdom of God in John only once. Instead, John speaks of eternal life. Jesus does not demand repentance in John as he does in the synoptics, but rebirth.

The historic Jesus presumably spoke the idiom of Palestinian Judaism found in the synoptics, whereas in John, his thought-world resembles that of Qumran (Braun 1962). As Leonard Goppelt, the late New Testament theologian at the Universities of Hamburg and Munich, stated: "Whenever one wishes to compare Johannine with synoptic statements, it is a preliminary requirement to translate the former back into the conceptual language of the latter. Only in this way can one determine to what extent genuine words and sayings of the earthly Jesus will emerge from behind their formulation in Johannine diction" (1981, 1:15). We are thus compelled to speak, not merely of rendering words from one language into another, but of translating from one thought-world into another — even though both systems deal with the same Greek language in this case. The translation gives not merely the words spoken, but also an interpretation of the true meaning of the words spoken by Jesus.

The author of the gospel of John has placed several sayings from the synoptics in a new conceptual framework, explaining and expanding them. For example, Jesus is reported as saying: "Truly, truly, I say unto you, unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (RVS John 3:3). This appears to be John's "translation" of this saying: "Truly, I say unto you, unless you turn and become like a little child, you will never enter the kingdom of God" (RVS Matt. 18:3). The saying is further expanded in John 3:4: "Truly, truly, I say unto you, unless one is born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." Thus, the saying of the earthly Jesus is translated into the thought-world of the post-Easter Church. John recounts not merely Jesus' historical acts, but also their religious meaning. If Jesus offers food, he offers the bread of life. If he gives water to a Samaritan woman, it is the water of eternal life. We see vividly in the Gospel of John how the author's conceptual framework has reinterpreted and added content to help us understand what the sayings and actions of Jesus meant.

I suggest that we view the original, ancient text of the Book of Mormon much as scholars view the expansion of the words of the historical Jesus in the New Testament. Joseph Smith gave us not merely the words of the Book of Mormon prophets, but also the true meaning of the text within a nineteenth-century thought-world. The translation was not merely from one language into another but was also a transformation from one thought-world to another that expands and explains the meaning of the original text in terms that Joseph Smith and his contemporaries would understand. Translation "by the gift and power of God" thus entails much more than merely rendering from one language to another.

A PRELIMINARY THEOLOGY OF REVELATION

The expansion theory of the Book of Mormon has far-reaching implications for our ideas of revelation and scripture. What does revelation mean if the Book of Mormon is best interpreted as an ancient text that has been translated, explained, and expanded within a nineteenth-century framework? Several concepts of revelation have developed in the history of Christian thought. All accept the basic assumption that God communicates with mortals, but the mode and content of the communication has generated disagreement.

Christian fundamentalists see revelation as a truth disclosed in propositional form, reduced to writing in the Bible. In this view, every word of the Bible is considered equally inspired and all writers exhibit total harmony. Biblical statements can be accepted as axiomatic premises which build upon each other logically and are consistent with every other part of the Bible and general reality. While scribes may sometimes write down wrong words, the propositional view of revelation holds that prophets are passive communicators of God's infallible words (Dulles 1983, 37–52). The propositional theory sees God as an omnipotent deity who can insure by coercive power that prophets hold his exact views, express the message in totally accurate ways, and are devoid of shortcomings that would detract from God's message.

The propositional model dominated Christian thought well into the eighteenth century. Though Mormonism has not officially elucidated a view of revelation, Mormons tend to accept this propositional view, partly because it was the dominant view among early converts and partly because Joseph Smith's early revelations tended to reinforce this view. However, a revelation to Joseph rejected the dogma that the Bible is the sole repository of God's revelations and made allowances for human participation in fashioning scriptural expressions: "These commandments are of me [God]; and they were given unto my servants in their weaknesses, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding" (D&C 1:24).

The view that the Bible is the sole source of God's revelations is thoroughly unbiblical. Its writers did not anticipate a single, authoritative canon. Nowhere do they teach that the Bible is God's sole revelation. Such a view was impossible because the Bible as we know it did not exist until after they wrote it. They did not see themselves as writing scripture containing a manual to the church or a handbook of axiomatic truths, but as bearing witness to God's mighty acts in history.

Scholars like Oscar Cullmann (1967), G. Ernest Wright (1952, 1968), and, more recently, Wolfhart Pannenberg (1970) suggest that the core of the biblical narrative is a confession of God's saving acts which reveal his attributes and purposes for all humanity. In this view, revelation consists not in passively conveying God's very words but in interpreting historical events as God's acts. Thus, revelation is not merely a historical chronicle of God's acts, for interpretation of the event as God's act requires the prophet to see what others do not perceive and to reveal about history what is not evident from the mere occurrence of the events or historical evidences (Dulles 1983, 55).

The Book of Mormon lends itself to this model of revelation, for its primary concern is not history *per se*, but God's dealings in history. The history of the book provides a moral framework for interpreting history as God's saving acts. Other theories of revelation include revelation as human self-realization, symbolic mediation of the inexpressible and inaccessible, or a paradoxical statement of truth arising from personal encounters with the divine (Hansen 1985).

A Mormon Model of Revelation

The model of revelation I propose here is that of creative co-participation. It seems to me that the Book of Mormon makes most sense if it is seen as both a revelation to Joseph Smith and as Joseph's expansions of the text. This view requires a theology of revelation focusing on interpretation inherent in human experience. This view is grounded in two fundamental premises: (1) There can be no revelation without human experience and, (2) there can be no human experience without interpretation. According to this view, revelation is continuing, dynamic, and incomplete. It results from free human response to God.

Revelation must remain in some ways the product of irreducible experience and divine communication. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to assume that we have pure experiences devoid of interpretation upon which we simply overlay an interpretation distinct from the experience itself. Of course, we can give different interpretations to our experiences at later points in our lives, but that does not mean that the initial pre-reflective experience was devoid of interpretation until reflection could occur. There is no experience without interpretation; rather, interpretation is inherent in, and makes possible, meaningful human experiences. As Edward Schillebeeckx stated, to experience revelation "is experience *and* interpretation at the same time. In experiencing we identify what is experienced, and we do this by classifying what we experience in terms of already known models and concepts, patterns or categories. . . . Religious faith is human life in the world, but experienced as an encounter and in this respect a disclosure of God. This latter is not an interpretation in the sense of a theory which is subsequently presented as a retrospect on *recalled* experiences; it is the *particular way* in which religious men in fact *experience* the events in their lives" (1983, 32). We experience our world through conceptual paradigms or assumptions that give order and meaning to the chaos that confronts us. There is a synthetic unity present in human experience that is not present in the mere datum of the experience itself. As Francis Bacon stated, "The human understanding is of its own nature prone to suppose the existence of more order and regularity in the world than it finds" (1955, 71).

A paradigm is a set of broad assumptions which are presupposed in experience, including the experience of revelation. These paradigms are so powerful that when they change, our perceptions of the world and our understanding of our most basic experience changes with them. We bring our experience to consciousness by interpreting it within a framework of meaning. Yet we are usually unaware of the categories of understanding, to use Kant's terminology, that we inherently employ in the act of extracting meaning from the chaos of

stimuli from which we fashion our experience. As Kant said, "We cannot think of any object except by means of categories; we cannot know any subject that has been thought except by means of intuitions, corresponding to those concepts" (1970, 128). These categories of experience are *a priori* ("before experience") or assumed in experience. Quine aptly stated, "The totality of our so-called knowledge or beliefs, from the most casual matters of geography and history to the profoundest laws of atomic physics or even of pure mathematics and logic, is a man-made fabric which impinges on experience only at the edges. . . . [A paradigm] is like a field of force whose boundary conditions are experience" (1961, 38–39).

When individuals attempt to verbalize their experience, they further interpret by using a conceptual framework of language. Concepts affect how we perceive, however, even before we interpret and explain. The way we conceptualize the world influences how we will perceive it. Further, language is not merely a more or less systematic inventory of various items of experience, it also contains a creative, symbolic organization which not only refers to experiences already acquired but actually defines experience. Language constitutes a logic, a general framework within which we categorize reality (Bishin and Stone 1972, 159). Anyone who has learned to think in another language knows that there are expressions and nuances of thought that cannot be translated into English, for the cultural frame of reference necessary to understand the concept is missing. As Michael Polanyi (1962) noted, culture and language entail a tacit knowledge which impacts upon how we conceptualize experience. We assume a structure of reality in the act of attempting to communicate about our experience.

These observations about experience are crucial to understanding revelation, but they are not the total explanation of revelation. If they were, nothing new could be learned in revelation; revelation would be a mere restatement of cultural and preconceptual presuppositions. Revelation is not experienced from God's viewpoint, free of cultural biases and conceptual limitations, but neither is God limited to adopting existing world views or paradigms to convey his message. Revelation is also a revolution in human thought, a real breakthrough that makes new understanding possible. In Mormon theology, revelation is necessarily experienced within a divine-human relationship that respects the dignity of human freedom. God does not coerce us to see him as God; that is left to the freedom of human faith. Revelation cannot coerce us because the divine influence is, of metaphysical and moral necessity, persuasive and participative rather than controlling. We exercise an eternal and inherent freedom even in relation to God. Revelation becomes a new creation, emerging from the synthesis of divine and human interaction. Revelation is part human experience, part divine disclosure, part novelty. It requires human thought and creativity in response to the divine lure and message (Cobb and Griffin 1976, 101–5).

The ultimate reality in Mormon thought is not an omnipotent God coercing passive and powerless prophets to see his point of view. God acts upon the individual and imparts his will and message, but receiving the message and

internalizing it is partly up to the individual. In this view, revelation is not an intrusion of the supernatural into the natural order. It is human participation with God in creating human experience itself. Revelation is not the filling of a mental void with divine content. It is the synthesis of a human and divine event. The prophet is an active participant in revelation, conceptualizing and verbalizing God's message in a framework of thought meaningful to the people. Human freedom is as essential to revelation as God's disclosure.

This creative co-participation theory of revelation resolves the tension between propositional and experiential understandings of revelation. As Edwart Schillebeeckx noted, "Religious language only becomes valid in a full context of experience of this language — both linguistic and non-linguistic. The demand means that the propositional understanding of revelation cannot be excluded, but must be kept in a right relation to the experience with which this propositional language is associated" (1983, 54). To adequately and properly interpret scripture and religious doctrine, we must understand the entire structure of the paradigm or world view from which its experience with God is expressed. No element of the paradigm can be rightly understood unless we also understand how it relates to other concepts entailed in the paradigm. Understanding the dominant paradigms operative in the Book of Mormon is essential to understand its message.

The Book of Mormon as Revelation

Understanding the role of interpretive experience of revelation within an assumed paradigm is important to the claim that the Book of Mormon is the revelation of an ancient text interpreted within a nineteenth-century framework of thought. It would not be necessary for Joseph Smith to be aware of his expansions and interpretations of the Book of Mormon simply because they were a part of his experience. In fact, he seems to have been unaware of how his nineteenth-century framework and theological categories or past experiences affected the Book of Mormon or his other revelations since he appears to have believed, despite recognitions in revelation to the contrary, that the words used were God's (D. Hill 1977, 141). Even if Joseph had been aware of his presuppositions, however, it would have been impossible for him to escape the influence of his culture and the necessity of rendering the translation in a conceptual framework meaningful to his contemporaries. We are all limited by language, culture, and conceptual presuppositions.

It also appears that the usual relationship existing between a translator and an identifiable, objective text did not exist for Joseph Smith, for the ancient text merged with his own thought processes. Though Joseph Smith did not lose self-consciousness, the distinction between the text being revealed and the person receiving the revelation apparently dissolved. What we have therefore is neither an ancient document nor a translation rendering an ancient document from one language into another. The Book of Mormon as we know it is a "text-as-revelation" — the revelation *is* the text.

However, the presence of translator anachronisms or expansions in the book show that Joseph Smith imposed an interpretation on the text which was

foreign to the ancient text, but not an interpretation alien to his revelatory experiences which produced the book. In other words, he did not perceive the ancient text and then consciously interpret it as he pleased; rather, the text is the revelation he experienced within his own conceptual paradigms.

The Urim and Thummim or seer stone — the implements Joseph Smith used to aid his production of the Book of Mormon — are instruments to spark human creativity in response to the divine lure. Joseph also used his seer stone for what we today would consider secular purposes; but the most important purpose of his instruments was to open the channels of human receptivity to divine inspiration. Such creativity is a way of hearing God's voice. But the voice heard in revelation is not a solo by God. It is a chorus in which the experience of the prophet and God merges. The idea of revelation proposed by the expansion model recognizes the translation process as truly by "the gift and power of God," a synthesis of human creativity responding to divine persuasion. The Book of Mormon demonstrates that process, a book reflecting both old and new, both the human heart and a divine revelation.

The expansion theory, premised on a concept of revelation as creative co-participation, also helps us to understand the historical development of Mormon doctrine. The Book of Mormon reflects the influence of Joseph Smith's earliest belief structure in its synthesis of passages from the KJV and contemporary theology with nineteenth-century concerns. Joseph Smith's interpretive framework was largely derived from Christian Primitivism, a particular orientation within nineteenth-century Protestantism (M. Hill 1968). As Quine noted, there is "a natural tendency to disturb the total system [of thought] as little as possible" and to make adjustments within a paradigm before abandoning it for a new paradigm (1961, 39). In expressing the message of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith's revelatory experiences naturally assumed the world view arising from his culture. Later revelations, however, necessitated so much revision in this basic set of assumptions that the paradigm reflected in the Book of Mormon was largely abandoned.

Book of Mormon doctrines of God, human nature, heaven, and hell have been refined, expanded, and perhaps superseded by further light and knowledge. The Book of Mormon doctrine of God, though not explicitly trinitarian, is not the developed tritheism that now characterizes Mormon thinking (D&C 130:22). The doctrine of a single heaven and single hell was refined by a vision of the three degrees of glory (D&C 76). Joseph Smith's later revelations about the nature of uncreated spirits or "intelligences" was so revolutionary that an entirely new metaphysic was necessary to adequately express its implications (Ostler 1982, 59–62). Many of these developments surprised some of Mormonism's earliest converts, like David Whitmer, who expected revelation to continue building logically within the paradigm of Primitive Christianity. Joseph Smith's modern-day critics have similar expectations about scripture and revelation, but I find their views to be too restricted and inadequate in light of biblical scholarship. Revelation isn't like that, not in the Bible and not in the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith's continuing revelations proved to be revolutions in thought rather than restatements of an established world view.

It would be a mistake, however, to think of the Book of Mormon as obsolete or displaced by later developments. Almost every important development in Mormon thought, from the preexistence to salvation for the dead, from polygamy to the notion of Zion, was foreshadowed in the Book of Mormon. Its concepts of atoning grace freely accepted and of morally significant free agency are responsible for much of the distinctive character of modern Mormon theology. The Book of Mormon teachings on social justice and the hope for Zion will continue to shape Mormonism's future. Moreover, Mormons have adopted an interpretation of the Book of Mormon that sees the book as a preparatory gospel to modern Mormonism, much as the Old Testament was a preparatory revelation of Jesus' gospel for Paul. For example, Book of Mormon teachings on the salvation of children foreshadowed the doctrine of salvation and baptism for the dead.

The salvation history of the Book of Mormon has given modern Mormonism its sense of now carrying forward God's plan in a new chapter of salvation history. God continues to show his will in mighty acts through history. The religious genius of the book was its ability to speak to Joseph Smith's world and answer the theological dilemmas facing those looking for further light and knowledge. The book's essential mission to bring people to the new-yet-old gospel revealed to Joseph Smith could not have been accomplished had the book not effectively communicated the fully developed Christian message expected by the early converts to Mormonism.

The creative co-participation theory of revelation may also help us come to grips with critical biblical scholarship and wider problems facing the historicity of the Book of Mormon and biblical records. An appreciation of pre-reflective categories that shape and give context to human experience — sometimes limiting and prejudicing understanding of the divine disclosure — suggests a need to continually render the divine word relevant to modern culture. While it is clear that the Book of Mormon and biblical experience of revelation require assent to the belief that God's disclosures can sometimes be reduced to propositional form, it does not mean that any particular statement of revelation is the final and complete word on any given subject.

Scripture should not be considered a set of axiomatic propositions from which we can logically derive all truth and define answers to all problems. The works constituting the Judeo-Christian scriptures were written in different times, at different places, by different people, living in different cultures, facing different problems, asking different questions, and, even when asking the same questions, often receiving different answers. There are clearly different world views represented among the writers of the Bible. The self-righteousness of biblical literalism that insists on "one true understanding" of reality is simply irresponsible in light of disagreement among biblical writers. While the fundamentalist speaks of *the* biblical view of God or *the* biblical concept of justification, the more informed person speaks of biblical concept*s* of God, or concept*s* of justifications, and view*s* of humanity. We should expect, therefore, that our present revelation is still incomplete and will yet be augmented by future revelation if we are able to hear God's message.

Some may see the expansion theory as compromising the historicity of the Book of Mormon. To a certain extent it does. The book cannot properly be used to prove the presence of this or that doctrine in ancient thought because the revelation inherently involved modern interpretation. When we find aspects of the book that show evidences of an ancient setting or thought that is best interpreted from within an ancient paradigm, we should acknowledge the possibility that an ancient text underlies the revelation. Such a model does not necessarily abrogate either the book's religious significance or its value as salvation history. After all, much of the Bible is a result of a similar process of redaction, interpolation, and interpretation, yet its spiritual power is attested to by two thousand years of revealing God's mighty acts to later generations.

I would agree with the rabbis, Qumran Covenantors, and transmitters of the biblical texts that prophetic expansion and explanation of scripture enhances, not reduces, its religious value. Such scripture is twice inspired: once to the original prophet-author and again to the prophet who restores meaning and explains, or who gives new meaning and insight into the ancient records by reinterpreting them.

What of the historical significance of the events related in the Book of Mormon? First, the historical identity of the prophets revealed through the Book of Mormon is not altered in the least by textual expansion. Second, the powerful message of the book is that if God is not God of all, he is not really God at all. The visit of Christ to America is the central historical event to which the entire book is oriented. The historicity of this event can hardly be doubted if one accepts, as I do, that there is anything ancient about the book at all. Its message of the compassionate lawgiver appearing to the Nephites is a perfect and intimate revelation of the nature of God — a being worthy of our worship, devotion and love. Third, one of the primary messages of the book is its ethical interpretation of history. Its history is, in fact, a cycle of righteousness to social prosperity, social prosperity to class divisions and materialistic pride, and materialistic corruption to social disintegration and spiritual ruin. We cannot afford to ignore this message grounded in the history of the Book of Mormon people.

In sum, the message of the book is also historical. It is a warning to us from a people so concerned with wealth and war that they were unable to escape self-annihilation. The grief of Mormon for the total destruction of his once-great nation is a vivid reminder to our culture which has the capacity to destroy every living creature on the face of the earth. The salvation history of the Book of Mormon is a prologue to our own experience, a gift given in the hope that we can escape their fate.

In the final analysis, however, the value of the book as scripture is not whether its history is complete and accurate, but whether it adequately bears witness of God and what is ultimately most valuable. The Book of Mormon is not a history and was not meant to be; it is a revelation of the experiences of God and the salvation history of an ancient people. For many, it has become a means of encountering God. The judgment that a book is worthy of the

designation of "scripture" is a judgment made within a community. A work is included in a community's canon only by common consent of its members — only when the community values the work as an expression of itself, of its identity and values. The community is established as a sacred community when it begins a new chapter of salvation history, when the experiences of the community are defined as a continuation of the experience with God and his purposes identified in the scripture.

The Book of Mormon is thus a sacred book because (1) it serves as a means of spiritual conversion, revealing God to those who accept it as sacred; (2) it mediates the values of the community which it created and which now embraces it as a foundational statement of faith and normative ethics; and (3) it reveals the way to become reconciled with God. The value of the book as scripture includes its historicity and transcends it.

Conclusion

This essay has attempted to identify and define some expansions of the Book of Mormon and to demonstrate the value of such a model as an explanation of the book. The expansion model requires coming to grips with larger issues concerning the historicity of scripture and the plausibility of revelation as a partial explanation. Evidences concerning the historicity of the Book of Mormon certainly will never be explained to the satisfaction of all, but a universally acceptable proof is not necessary to show that many of our common assumptions about scripture prevent an adequate interpretation of scriptures and their historicity.

The conclusion that the Book of Mormon is pious fraud derived from nineteenth-century influences does not logically follow from the observation that it contains KJV quotations and is expressed in terms of a nineteenth-century world view. Nor does it follow that doctrinal developments cast doubts on whether earlier expressions reflected an authentic encounter with God. All expressions of revelation must be communicated within their author's framework of thought, a framework limited by its assumptions. Nor does it follow that if the book derives from the revelation of an ancient source it must be explained exclusively in ancient terms. Fundamentalist views of revelation and scripture that give rise to such assumptions are grossly inadequate.

The views expressed here logically preclude taking scripture as a source-book of axiomatic truths which can be wielded as a sword of the excluded-middle to exclude all who disagree on religious issues with *the* true understanding. They do not, however, exclude taking seriously the possibility that God is involved in human experiences giving rise to scripture.

The Book of Mormon is worthy of serious consideration and respect. It is a sufficient foundation for the community which reveres it as scripture. The refusal to engage the richness, complexity, and even the problems of the Book of Mormon will impoverish our religious lives as individuals and as a community.

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After Sutter's Mill: The Life of Henry Bigler, 1848–1900

M. Guy Bishop

HENRY WILLIAM BIGLER marched west with the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican War (1846–47) and by January 1848 was an employee of Johann Sutter, constructing a saw mill on the American River northeast of Sacramento, California. On 24 January, Bigler noted in his journal that "some kind of mettle was found [which] looks like goald" (Gudde 1962, viii; Extracts, 1932, 95). While he almost certainly had no idea of the significance of James Marshall's find, Henry Bigler was a conscientious diarist, and his entry later earned him a place in the history of the Gold Rush. In 1848 Henry rejoined the Latter-day Saints in the Great Salt Lake Valley and lived another fifty-two years, participating in and recording his observations of many significant local and regional activities.

Between 1848 and his death in 1900, Henry William Bigler worked as a gold miner, a Mormon missionary to the Sandwich Islands, a farmer and devoted family man, and, for over twenty years, as an ordinance worker in the St. George Temple. His extant diaries and day books not only chronicle obviously noteworthy events but provide an almost day-to-day narrative of his life. This study considers the period from the months immediately following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill until his death over a half-century later.

Upon his arrival in Salt Lake City Henry Bigler took up a temporary residence with his sister, Emeline. Her husband, John W. Hess, had returned east on the Mormon Trail to assist his mother in crossing the Plains (Autobiography, 2 Nov. 1845; Diary, 28 May 1848; Hess 1931; Jenson 1:463). Henry Bigler found the inhabitants of Salt Lake City busily at work building roads, cutting timber, constructing adobes, and preparing to build permanent homes. Pleasantly surprised that a city lot had been reserved for him, he soon erected a small, one-room house on the site (Gudde 1962, 129–31). After having been

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a vagabond for about three years, Bigler now looked forward to settling down among his people in the Great Basin. He was over thirty years old and as yet had not had the opportunity to marry and begin a family.

Then at the close of the October 1849 General Conference, Brigham Young instructed John Smith, the elderly uncle of Joseph Smith, Jr., to send someone to California to mine gold for him so that he could spend his declining years in comfort. Smith chose Henry Bigler. For Bigler this was "an unlooked for request," one which he found most disagreeable. Nevertheless, within a few days he was "[m]akeing preparations to get gold for Father John Smith . . . it was with Considerable strugle with my feelings that I consented to go." This so-called gold mission was a difficult undertaking for Henry Bigler, and his distaste for it was no doubt intensified when several of the Saints, apparently unaware that he had been called to the gold fields, accused him of being a "Jack Mormon" for disregarding Brigham Young's counsel for Church members to stay in Salt Lake City (Journal, 8 Oct. 1849).

Just prior to his departure Henry Bigler recorded, "Last night I dreamed I was not going to the mines but was on my way to the Pacific Islands on a mission to preach the Gospel" (Diary, 16 Oct. 1849).[1] He would be called to just such a mission less than one year later. By September 1850 Bigler and other Mormons were mining for gold at Slap Jack Bar on the Middle Fork of the American River, but with little success. At the month's end Charles Coulsen Rich, an apostle and the Church's representative on the West Coast, visited them. He had come to call several of the miners, including Henry Bigler, on proselyting missions to the Sandwich Islands. Bigler's dream of the previous year was about to be fulfilled. While he had accepted the earlier call to assist Father Smith with mixed emotions, he welcomed this assignment. In truth, most of the men were happy to go since digging gold was back-breaking work, and they had also experienced much sickness in recent months. "The turn of things was not looked for," wrote Henry Bigler, "[but] all felt it was for our best good" (*Union*, 13). Apparently Charles C. Rich felt that the men could preach the gospel and also live more inexpensively in Hawaii than in the gold fields (Journal, 25 Sept. 1850). Obviously a quest to bring additional converts to the religion would outweigh the original concerns of their call to California. Bigler's seldom-failing optimism and willingness to serve the cause was characteristic of many mid-nineteenth century Mormons.

Within a month Bigler and nine associates had left Slap Jack Bar to preach Mormonism in Hawaii: including Hiram Clark, Thomas Whittle, George Q. Cannon, James Keeler, Hiram Blackwell, James Hawkins, William Farrer, John Dixon, and Thomas Morris (Cannon 1879, 11). In late November they secured passage aboard the *Imaum of Muscat*, a British vessel bound for the Orient with an intermediate stop at Honolulu. They were required to furnish their own bedding, while meals, supposedly from the captain's mess, were pro-

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[1] According to the minutes of the 30th Quorum of Seventies (LDS Archives), Bigler volunteered for missionary service to Hawaii on 23 December 1848. The thought of a Sandwich Islands mission must have been on his mind.

vided. The food was a source of constant complaints for the entire voyage of nearly four weeks, during which many of the missionaries were almost constantly seasick. Henry Bigler reported that immediately after clearing Hawaiian customs at Oahu, he and several others hurried to a "temperance Hotel" to partake of refreshments in celebration of their safe arrival (Cannon 1879, 4–7; *Union*, 15–16). After securing adequate lodging in Honolulu, the missionaries climbed a "convenient mountain" where they constructed a crude altar, sang hymns, and dedicated the Sandwich Islands for the preaching of the gospel. As George Q. Cannon, one of Bigler's companions, recalled: "Having thus dedicated the land and ourselves to the Lord, one of the Elders spoke in tongues and uttered many comforting promises, and another interpreted. The spirit of the Lord rested powerfully upon us, and we were filled with exceeding great joy . . . The sun was sinking low in the heavens when we got through" (1879, 9).

Two days later companions were paired and assigned areas of labor. Hiram Clark, who had been called as mission president, chose Thomas Whittle as his partner. Since Honolulu was considered the centerpoint of the islands — largely due to the size of its white population — Clark and Whittle stayed there. Four of the remaining elders were assigned to preside over the various remaining islands. Henry Bigler was selected to direct proselyting activities on Molokai. Presiding elders drew lots to choose their companions. Bigler drew Thomas Morris; but before the two men could leave for their assignment, President Clark advised Morris to stay at Honolulu to work, probably because Morris was short of funds. As a consequence, Bigler went with George Q. Cannon and James Keeler to labor on Maui (Journal, 15 Dec. 1850; Cannon 1879, 10–11; *Union*, 16).

At Lahaina, the principle town on Maui, the three Mormon elders looked for opportunities to spread their message. On 20 December they contacted the governor of the island, a "half-white" named James Young whose father had been one of the first Americans to settle among the Hawaiians. They boldly asked to preach in the royal palace, at the time unoccupied. Young promised to check into the possibility but never gave them a firm answer and was very evasive. George Q. Cannon thought that the governor "dare[d] not to grant us any favors" (1879, 13–14) and told the missionaries it would be a "hard matter" to convert the natives (Journal, 20 Dec. 1850). Then they sought and obtained permission from a Reverend Mr. Townsend Elijah Taylor, pastor of the Bethel Chapel at Lahaina, to hold meetings in their facility. Three days before Christmas 1850, Henry Bigler preached the first Mormon sermon delivered on Maui to a congregation of white residents and seamen. Bigler stated that he was chosen because "I was the oldest [and] must lead out." While the text of his remarks was not recorded, he and his companions were unable to generate any interest among the Americans on the island. "There was not a great many white folks living at Lahaina," Henry Bigler recollected, "and the few who did [reside there] did not seem to take an interest in our preaching." In fact, they were asked *not* to preach again (Journal, 22 Dec. 1850; *Union*, 17; Cannon 1879, 14).

Bigler, Cannon, and Keeler soon began to question the Anglo orientation which the Mormon missionaries had all initially followed. They now wondered whether they should also preach to the natives. "It [was] true that we had not been particularly told to preach to the natives of these islands," Cannon wrote, "but we were in their midst, [and] had full authority to declare unto them the message of salvation." Furthermore, the three men found it a "hopeless labor" trying to convert the local white population (1879, 14).

Reorienting their proselyting was not without its problems, however. Their most pressing concern was to learn the language. Not just on Maui but throughout the islands, the native peoples could not be taught until the Hawaiian language had been mastered. Some of the elders met the challenge head on, but for others it was simply too much. Bigler, Cannon, and Keeler each appear to have studied hard and, to varying degrees, experienced success. Cannon seemed to have a particular gift for the task. He reported that one evening, while attempting to converse with some natives, he felt an "uncommonly great desire" to understand them. Then, all at once, he experienced a "peculiar sensation" in his ears. He jumped up from his seat and excitedly told Henry Bigler and James Keeler what had just happened. They both expressed the belief that Cannon had received the divine gift of interpretation. From then on he could understand what the natives were saying and became so skilled in the language that he was later assigned to translate the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian (Cannon 1879, 15, 58–61; *Union*, 26).

For others the ability did not come so easily, if at all. In a letter to Henry Bigler dated 1 December 1851, Cannon, then laboring on another island, told him of James Hawkins's difficulties. Hawkins was reportedly very discouraged because he could not learn the language and was having little success proselyting. In George Cannon's opinion, Hawkins should forsake English entirely and communicate only in Hawaiian (Cannon to Bigler and Farrer, 1 Dec. 1851).

For Henry Bigler, Hawaiian did not come without great effort, but he kept struggling until he conquered it. In an 1852 letter to Elder William Farrer, another Mormon missionary in the islands, Bigler mentioned that "I am increasing in the language thank the Lord." But over a year later in a journal entry he lamented, "I never can speak fluently and . . . I cannot understand readily what a native sayes when speaking." Bigler then wrote, "I have wanted this language so bad some times that I could not rest and when a lone to give vent to my feelings it would seam as if my heart strings would burst" (Bigler to Farrer, 26 June 1852; Journal, 28 Aug. 1853).

Many of the elders, including Bigler, also experienced problems in adapting to the Hawaiian culture and diet. In February 1851 Bigler mentioned that Hiram Blackwell was intent upon returning home to Utah. In Blackwell's opinion, the natives were "so low and degraded" that it was not worthwhile to spend time preaching to them. However, Bigler had told him that he felt a "fair trial" had not yet been made (Journal, 2 Feb. 1851). Bigler believed that "the Hawaiian race was once a favored people of the Lord and must have had the law of Moses and observed its teachings but through transgression they

fell into darkness, error, and superstition, as regards the true God, . . . and as time rolled on the greater became their ignorance, until at last they became a wild and savage nation" (*Union*, 23).

The native foods were also a challenge. In August 1853, he chose to go hungry as he had "a great many times on these islands" rather than partake of boiled fish. He found it particularly difficult to eat shark, although he thought "flying fish" palatable if roasted — but never in the morning! The traditional dish of *poi*, a paste made from taro, if clean, was "about as good eating as I all most wish for." But he did the best that he could since, in his own words, "I hate like the duce to go hungry" (Journal, 18 Aug. 1853).

By mid-April 1851 half of the original missionaries had left Hawaii. Those who remained included Cannon, Keeler, Hawkins, Farrer, and Bigler. Even Hiram Clark, the mission president, had left seeking more success in the Marquesas Islands. Clark had tried to persuade the others to accompany him, but seeing no "propriety" in his proposal, they chose to stay where they had been sent to labor. Concerned, Bigler and his remaining brethren directed a letter to Brigham Young requesting additional assistance. Nine new elders were called to the Hawaiian mission at the Church's general conference of October 1852 and arrived at Honolulu four months later (*Union*, 27–30).

Now the greatest stumbling block to the Church's growth in the islands was the mounting opposition of other denominations. Between the summer of 1851 and February 1853, Cannon and Bigler both recorded confrontations with representatives of other churches. Cannon's proselyting activities displeased a Presbyterian minister at Wailuku on the eastern shore of Maui who was determined to stop the Latter-day Saint encroachment. To Cannon's agitation, he publicly attacked Joseph Smith and the heresies of the Mormons in a "most abusive discourse." "My first impulse," wrote the youthful missionary," was to jump [up] and tell the people he had told them a pack of falsehoods." Instead he privately confronted his adversary after the service. They discussed the "falsehoods" for half an hour, but the recantation which Cannon sought was never offered (Cannon 1879, 30).

In October 1852 Henry Bigler recorded confrontations with a Calvinist minister and a Catholic priest. According to Bigler's account, the priest had initially perceived the Mormon elders only as misguided individuals and had treated them with courtesy. The Calvinist, on the other hand, charged them outright with being emissaries of the devil. In what must have struck the missionaries as an interesting reversal of roles, Bigler and his companion found the priest attempting to convert *them* to Catholicism. But when that failed and the missionaries began to enjoy some success among the natives, the two clergymen joined forces to fight the Mormons (*Union*, 27–30).

When the promised new missionaries arrived early in 1853, Henry Bigler was appointed presiding elder on the island of Oahu where he spent the remainder of his first Hawaiian mission. During this time he worked hard at improving his language fluency, tried to strengthen the native converts to Mormonism, and fought the mounting opposition from other denominations and, occasionally, from government authorities. The nine new elders from Utah

had brought with them a copy of what would become, for mid-nineteenth century Mormons, both a blessing and a curse — a copy of the document which officially recognized the Church's practice of plural marriage. Although "Celestial Marriage," as faithful practitioners preferred to call it, had been introduced by Joseph Smith on a limited, and secretive, basis over ten years earlier, Brigham Young's formal recognition in October 1852 of the doctrine certainly provided the Hawaiian foes of Mormonism with additional firepower. The word spread rapidly. In mid-April 1853 Bigler observed that "The Rev. Mr. [John] Emerson [a Protestant clergyman on Oahu] had been preaching and telling the natives that it is a fact that the Mormons have got more wives than one." Ironically, Emerson's source was Henry Bigler! The elder was quite willing to defend the belief as a "sacred" law of God and made no attempt to downplay its practice in the Utah Territory. It was illegal in Hawaii, thanks to Protestant opposition to the earlier native customs and, according to Bigler, was accepted in principle by most of the native Saints (Journal, 17 April 1853).

The missionaries faced another problem during 1853 which was beyond anyone's ability to counter. Beginning about May and lasting until the end of the year, the Hawaiian Islands were devastated by an outbreak of smallpox, perhaps introduced by the passengers or crew of an incoming chip. Oahu was hardest hit, and Henry Bigler found himself in the middle of the epidemic. After a few isolated cases in May and June, the disease soon spread rapidly to the more distant areas of Oahu. Over 2,000 deaths ultimately resulted from the outbreak (Kuykendall 1933, 185; Kuykendall and Day 1948, 127; Judd 1966, 310–11). Bigler, then in Kahaluu, northeast of Honolulu, first mentioned smallpox on 12 July when some natives were afraid that he might be a carrier of the disease. The following week he was in the village of Puheemiki, which had suffered much from the epidemic. He reported several deaths there and many people who were ill. At about the same time he received a letter from William Farrer in Honolulu informing him that "the Smallpox [was] so bad that they had not been able to hold any meetings" (Journal, 12 July, 20–21 July 1853).

As the outbreak spread, Bigler expressed concern that Oahu might soon become depopulated. His sympathy for the victims was evident in a 6 August 1853 entry: "I went to see Sister Dennis who is very low with the small pox and I never seen any person in all my life hardly that I felt so sorry for as I did hur. . . . I am afraid she never will recover she was a awful sight to look at and my verry soul was filled with pity for hur" (Journal, 6 Aug., 24 Aug. 1853; Kuykendall and Day 1948, 74). When called upon to bless a sick child, Bigler wrote: "I was called in to look at a sick boy with the small pox this exceeded anything I have seen yet the stench was allmost intolerable and he seamed to be a perfect mass of corruption from head to foot. Poor little fellow how I felt for him [I] told his father . . . to nursh [nourish] him well with ginger tea and keep him from the wind and from drinking cold water (Journal, 2 Sept. 1853).

At first, Bigler had been afraid of the disease and "dreaded to go near where it was," but he soon overcame his apprehensions and actively worked to

aid the afflicted. Though he was disturbed by the suffering of the Hawaiian Church members, he reaffirmed his devout faith when he wrote of the dead and dying, "Perhaps they are taken for a wise purpose in the Lord" (Journal, 16 Nov. 1857).

In February 1854 the original missionary party, including Bigler, was instructed to prepare to return home soon. Official word came from Brigham Young the following April (Journal, 20 Feb. 1854; Young to Missionaries, 1 April 1854). For Henry Bigler, his first mission to the Sandwich Islands had been very much of a growing experience. After three and a half years in Hawaii he apparently had a solid grasp of the language and customs of the people, had made some life-long friendships with men who would continue to play a part in his later years, and had demonstrated time and again his religious dedication. Contrary to the expectations of those elders who had earlier left their Hawaiian missions, the gospel had established a firm foothold in the islands.

The homeward-bound missionaries landed at San Francisco on 12 August 1854. Bigler worked for several months in the Santa Cruz area to outfit himself for the rest of the journey. In the spring of 1855 he returned to Salt Lake City through the Mormon settlement at San Bernardino and took up residence in Farmington near John and Emeline Hess. On 18 November he married Cynthia Jane Whipple, whose family he had met during the previous years while in California. The bridegroom was forty, the bride twenty. With his new wife and a milch cow, a gift from his father, Bigler began to farm. In October 1856, a daughter, Elizabeth Jane, was born to the Biglers (Gudde 1962, 133). Then only four months later, Bigler's long-delayed domestic life was to be interrupted by yet another summons to Church duty. On his way to Salt Lake City in February 1857, he happened to meet Brigham Young who told him to "prepare for another mission to the Sandwich Islands" and requested that he submit a list of all others "whome I knew had the language" (Journal, 28 Feb. 1857). Two months later at April conference eleven missionaries, including veterans Bigler, William Farrer, James Hawkins, and John Woodbury, were called to Hawaii. They were supposed to leave by the end of the month, but their departure was delayed until mid-May. Once again it was a heart-wrenching separation for Henry Bigler, no doubt magnified by leaving behind his wife and baby. As he was about to go, Bigler blessed his family and gave them over the God's care, "not knowing when I would see them again perhaps not for several years." Although he felt this mission to be a "hard trial," Henry Bigler was, as usual, "willing to do anything the Lord required . . . however great the cross mite be" (Journal, 14 May 1857).

The party of elders went first to Carson Valley, Nevada, then worked in northern California to earn passage to Hawaii. While in California Bigler stayed with his wife's uncle, Eli Whipple, and had an interesting discussion with Mrs. Whipple, "who has been a Sister in the Church." She asked him if his wife, Cynthia Jane, was "willing for [him] to have another wife." When Bigler responded affirmatively, Mrs. Whipple proceeded to offer her views on plural marriage. "She said it was polygamy that had destroyed all the mor-

monism she had," and that she wished to hear no more of it. Henry Bigler told her that if she would "throw off all prejudice" regarding the doctrine and then humbly pray that she would learn it was a correct principle (Journal, 23 July 1857). A journal entry the following year (24 March 1858) reported that Sister Whipple had mended her ways and was now supportive of the Church once more. While willing to defend the practice of plural marriage, Bigler never practiced it himself.

The Mormons sailed for Hawaii in August 1857. The cold and damp gave Bigler an ear infection which lasted for several weeks and appears to have left him partially deaf. The ship dropped anchor in the Honolulu harbor 4 September, and Bigler commenced his second mission to the Sandwich Islands. Things were not as he remembered, however. "Everything seams dead and dieing," he wrote. "My soul was paned to hear the Elders all testify that there was no Saints except here and there" (Journal, 13 Sept. 1857).[2] Following a conference at Honolulu in late September Bigler reported that "the work on this island is at a low ebb." The next month at a gathering of Mormon elders, Mormon membership was reported as 3,192. In October 1853, the estimate had been near 3,000. An 1853 census of full- or part-Hawaiians showed 2,778 who gave Mormonism as their religious preference (Journal, 13 Sept. 1857; Schmitt 1973, 43). During this same meeting, Bigler was sustained by his associates as mission president.

He does not comment on the call; but at a preaching meeting he conducted in October, he felt as if he were "preaching to the walls" due to the lack of interest (Journal, 4 Oct. 1857). Brigham Young must have been having similar doubts about the growth of the Church in the Sandwich Islands. In a September letter to Silas Smith, Bigler's predecessor, Young observed:

> The reports . . . have for a number of years agreed in one thing, that is; that the majority of the Saints on those Islands have either been dead or dying Spiritually . . . Having taken the matter into consideration I think it best for all of the Elders (with one or two exceptions) to come home. . . .
>
> You had better wind up the whole of your business and return with most of the Elders as soon as possible (Young 4 Sept. 1857; Journal, 20 Nov. 1857).

Bigler immediately forwarded a copy of these instructions to all Mormon missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands along with his advice to be prepared to move upon further notice.

By the following spring most of the missionaries had left the islands, and only Bigler and a few companions were left. Another letter from President Young, dated 4 February 1858, arrived in mid-April advising the remaining elders of conditions in Utah and urging their hasty return: "You are all, without regard as to *when* you were sent, counselled to start for home as speedily as you can wind up your affairs and obtain passage money, not even leaving

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[2] By the mid-1850s Protestant and Catholic missionary groups were being similarly rebuffed as the natives joined with more worldly settlers in intemperance, sexual vices, and other social forms of backsliding. According to one student of the subject, "The . . . retreat [from strict, Puritanical behavior] became a route in the fifties . . . The apparent victory for frivolity was complete by the late sixties and early seventies" (Daws 1967, 34).

one Elder who has been sent there . . . Try to inform br[other] Alvares Hanks and the Elders in Australia . . . that they are all recalled" (see also Journal, 20 April 1858). He warned of the mounting threat of Johnston's Army, who, according to Young, intended to kill "every man, woman, and child" who would not renounce the religion. In an attempt to bolster the defenses of the Mormon kingdom in the Great Basin, Young not only recalled the missionaries to the Sandwich Islands and Australia, but also Latter-day Saint settlers from outside of Utah.

Nine days after he received Young's letter, Bigler wrote in his journal that all of the elders had secured passage on a vessel bound for California, though the only available space was in steerage. It was, wrote Bigler, "the horriblest, stinkingest place I ever was in. I had not been there 2 minutes before I was seasick." On two consecutive Sundays during the voyage, the missionaries were asked to preach. Henry Bigler was delighted and, on 9 May, observed that the people paid "good Attention" and that the following week they rendered "sincere thanks" for the services (Journal, 9 May, 16 May 1858). Regardless of whether the other passengers were truly interested in Mormonism or simply seeking a diversion from the monotony of the trip, the preaching lifted Bigler's spirits. They dropped anchor at San Francisco on 19 May 1858.

At the San Francisco post office, he picked up a letter from his wife who was living with her father. They had moved to Provo the first part of April as part of Brigham Young's strategy to move the Saints southward and, if necessary, lay waste to northern Utah when the federal troops approached. Cynthia Jane told Henry that the soldiers were at Fort Bridger and "they sware they will come in [to Salt Lake City]." The Church members expected to move again shortly and were said to be determined to leave their settlements "in ashes" if required (Journal, 9 May 1858). Such reports must have increased his anxiety, but Bigler again found it necessary to work in northern California to raise funds for the rest of his journey. He started on the last leg of his return trip in early September. The crisis with Johnston's army had passed, and Brigham Young approved the return of the exiles from northern Utah to their homes. When Henry Bigler was reunited with his family 27 October 1858, they were once again living in Farmington. "[I] found my wife and little family all well and glad to see me," he wrote, "everything appeared to be right side up" (Journal, 27 Oct. 1858; Gudde 1962, 133–34).

Between October 1858 and April 1869, Henry and Cynthia Jane Bigler had four more children. He recorded each birth, including the name and blessing, in his journal. In 1862, he blessed his newborn son, Henry Eugene, that as he grew to manhood he might "do much good in helping to build up the Kingdom of God that you might be an ornament in His kingdom and an honor to your parents." Three years later he similarly consecrated little Jacob Edwin that he might "grow up to manhood . . . [and] help build up the Kingdom of God on earth" (Journal, 3 Sept. 1862; 24 April 1865).

Bigler's most poignant record occurred in April 1869 when Cynthia Jane gave birth to a frail daughter, Emline Elvira. His blessing to her was a parent's pleading for divine intervention to spare his child's life. "O God my Eternal

Father I take this child in my arms to bless it . . . and I pray the[e] . . . that thou wilt bless it with thy holy spirit and with health that it may live to a good old age and not die that its life may be presious in thy sight that thou wilt not let the powers of Darkness destroy its tabernicle [tabernacle]." Despite this fervant plea, Bigler's small daughter died the following August (Journal, 23 April, 5 Aug. 1869).

The final stage of Henry Bigler's life, for which detailed documentation is available, commenced in 1877 when he became an ordinance worker in the St. George Temple. Since 1875 Bigler had held a similar assignment at the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. Then, in late October 1876 he noted that "President Young told me that he would like me to go work . . . in the St. George Temple ("Extracts," 1962, 143). Henry Bigler was willing. During much of this period he kept detailed day books of his activities. This assignment, which included some monetary compensation, was apparently in return for his years of selfless service to the Church. And, interestingly, several of his temple co-workers were former missionary associates from the 1850s in the Sandwich Islands.

The St. George Temple, dedicated 1 January 1877, was the only temple operating until the Logan Temple was completed in 1884. Thus for a number of years the St. George Temple was the center of Mormon religious activity. And Henry Bigler was a participant in and chronicler of that activity. Wilford Woodruff initially directed the ordinance work. Following Brigham Young's death in 1877, Woodruff assumed other assignments, and John D. T. McAllister was called to direct the temple. Official records as well as many individual journals all indicate that during these years Henry Bigler was very active as a temple worker.

Bigler took a regular role in the dramatized endowment ceremony, performed numerous baptisms for the dead, and was often listed as a witness to various temple ordinances for the living and proxy ordinances for the dead. Bigler notes:

> 30 October 1877 — I went to the Temple and witnessed 258 baptisms for the Dead.
>
> 20 November 1877 — Today I acted as proxy for Br[other] Aaron Benedict West, being baptized 56 times for his dead relitives.
>
> 5 March 1878 — Witness to baptisms for the dead . . . , 482 baptisms.
>
> 1 January 1880 — gave endowments today

Often Bigler's ordinance work was directed toward the salvation of his own relatives or former friends. On 9 May 1878, he acted as proxy in the endowment ceremony for Edward Conner, a deceased "friend of mine"; on 5 February 1882, he assisted some of his relatives who were "working in the Temple endowing their Dead"; and on 22 October 1889, "I was endowed for John A. Sutter [Johann Augustus Sutter]," his acquaintance from forty years earlier. He continued as an active ordinance worker in the St. George Temple for nearly a decade more.

In 1898, just two years before his death, Bigler was honored by the Society of California Pioneers during the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the gold

discovery at Sutter's Mill. Thanks to the efforts of historian John Shertzer Hittell, the four surviving members of James Marshall's work crew on that epic-making day were invited to San Francisco to participate in the gala commemoration. All of Henry Bigler's expenses were paid and George Q. Cannon generously furnished him with a new suit of clothes ("Extracts," 1962, 143).

This jubilee extravaganza climaxed a life seldom punctuated by such grandeur. The Bigler story was, for the most part, unspectacular. But, Erwin G. Gudde's closing summation that his "niche" in the pageant of the American West rested on the premise that he "accidentally" became the chronicler of certain significant events between 1846 and 1848 was misleading (1962, 135). Whether as a Mormon missionary to the Sandwich Islands, an ordinance worker in the St. George Temple, or a husband and father from a rural community in the Utah Territory, Henry William Bigler, the observer and recorder, made a contribution to Western American history.

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The Ambiguous Gift of Obedience

Lavina Fielding Anderson

IT STRIKES ME THAT MORMON INTELLECTUALS, possibly excluding those occasions when Orson Pratt may have had lunch with B. H. Roberts, now constitute a genuine subculture within the larger host culture of Mormonism. We have our own heroes, mentors, and martyrs. We have our own publications. The Sunstone Symposium, the Association for Mormon Letters, and the Mormon History Association constitute, if not general conferences, at least specific conferences. Many of us assume a minimum number of common beliefs — for instance, that a search for the truth does not simultaneously preclude a search for the facts and that loving the Church and living within it do not eliminate either freedom or the pain and joy that result from exercising that freedom. No doubt the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life will more fully explore the fascinating relationship between this intellectual subculture and the larger host culture, but it is a relationship that is now and has for some time been tension-fraught and painful to many.

That is why the issue of obedience is so unquestionably timely and why I want to reflect in a personal way on what obedience means to people like me. I am assuming, for the purposes of these remarks, that you are also people like me: that at some point, in the temple, you made a covenant of obedience that moves the whole question beyond the simple level enjoined in the scriptures upon any Christian, a covenant that you renew from time to time and that perhaps comes to your mind with particular force when particular events occur. I think, for instance, of the obedient silence of a Gene England on a topic which, to him, lies at the heart of the gospel's power. You are, no doubt, familiar with others.

Examples like this seem to pose the dilemma of obedience most clearly to people like me. As cases, they have the virtue of being behavioral: you can tell

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if Gene is being obedient by what he actually does. Clearly we do not come up with those particular behaviors on our own; we are being obedient to an external requirement. These imposed requirements have prompted the indignant question from some friends: "Why do you put up with that?" Such a question carries with it the clear implication that the questioner would simply remove himself or herself from the situation in which such a requirement might be made.

There is a great deal of talk about "unrighteous dominion," integrity, and violations of free agency when such occasions arise. The situation is, of course, more complicated than that. I have found it helpful to recall, in addition to scriptures on unrighteous dominion, other scriptures fraught with equal ambiguity: God's patience with what clearly seems to be Gideon's sign-seeking using bedewed and dry fleeces (Judges 6) and his seeming impatience with the quite natural question of Zacharias in the temple about his future fatherhood. I remember the terrible test of Abraham's obedience where Abraham and Isaac together, willing to fulfill God's commandment, found instead a ram in a thicket. I contrast that with Jephtah, judge of Israel, who vowed to sacrifice the first thing that met him on his return from what he hoped would be the deliverance of his people. When that thing was his daughter—his only child—and when she was willing, like Isaac, that the vow be fulfilled, there was no ram in the thicket for her (Judges 11). What do these examples tell us about obedience?

One observation forced upon us by the ambiguity of experience is that there are always two points of view in play. Michael Quinn talks about "God's truth," the truth upon which "man's truth" must break if there is a conflict (Quinn 1985b). His splendid essay on authorized post-Manifesto marriages documents in painful detail the breaking of one truth against another (Quinn 1985a). I think of Nephi and his rebellious brothers — Nephi who was always right, obnoxiously right; his brothers who were — granted — snivellers, selfish, and small-minded but who also had some justification for feeling "oppressed" by a brother who wished to dominate and rule over them, always getting his own way. Despite the numerous debates that Nephi himself records of their two positions, it is Father Lehi who is most enlightening for me: "Ye have accused him," he tells his two elder sons, "that he sought power and authority over you; but I know that he hath not sought for power nor authority over you, but he hath sought the glory of God, *and your own eternal welfare*" (2 Ne. 1:25; italics added). Could it be that the person we perceive as oppressing and dominating us is really actuated by concern for our eternal welfare?

A second observation is that whenever an organization exists, this same ambiguous question of obedience will also exist. Part of growing up is learning to accept this ambiguity. Peter and the other apostles boldly declared before the Sanhedrin: "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). There is wonderful clarity in seeing the angel yourself, hearing the voice yourself, receiving the vision yourself. But whenever the word of God is transmitted through another, we must decide as individuals whether he or she is telling the

truth — God's truth, not just wishful thinking or self-deception. Whenever the word of God is transmitted through an organization, the question will inevitably arise: Am I obeying God or rather am I obeying men? Without going through the arduous process of seeking revelation for ourselves upon the point in question (which we all are enjoined to do) and receiving confirmation (which rests in God's good pleasure and which we may not control), we cannot be sure whether the ultimate source of a particular commandment is in fact God or rather men.

We can explore questions of obedience, not only in the scriptures but also within our own history as an organization. In so doing, we must observe that the social context in which our obedience is asked for and given has changed dramatically. I'd like to label the difference in these two changes prompt obedience and informed obedience. Prompt obedience does not mean that questioning does not accompany a command or that it is not obeyed without pain. Such questionings and pains are, however, private. The process of prompt obedience does not acknowledge them or allow for their incorporation into the process of obeying the directive. This type of obedience is sometimes called blind obedience, but I regret the negative connotations it has acquired and prefer an alternative appellation.

The illustrations of this principle may seem stereotypical, but that is because they have entered our folk culture as symbols, rather than as specific events. We hear stories of how Brigham Young would have a list of names read from the pulpit in conference; and whatever their private situations and feelings, a score of men would leave their families for missions. A brief conversation with another family and they would leave their home and farm for a new settlement. We look at such manifestations of obedience and wonder, "Would I have done that? *Could* I have done that? Should *they* have done that?" Was Brigham Young arbitrary? Were the Saints mindless sheep? The questions come close to the bone as we remember Mountain Meadows.

In asking such questions, we stand clearly in the late twentieth century, not the nineteenth. We forget the kind of personal relationship that existed between Brigham Young and his people. This kind of intense intimacy no longer exists between General Authorities, let alone the prophet, and the mass of Saints today. It is hard to analogize the same fealty Brigham's people must have felt for him and the union they felt with him — feelings which I believe he reciprocated — when most of us can no longer even name all of the General Authorities, let alone recognize them, remember conversations with them, or even recall memorable sermons from each. We relate to an image — in many cases a polished and conventional image — reflected by the official publications and the careful formality of general conferences. The Public Relations Department speaks for the Church, and the realm in which General Authorities express opinions in public is a narrow one. The Church is too big, its bureaucracy is too big, for the trust that comes from personal relationships.

We also need to accept that much of the functioning of the Church is the functioning of a bureaucracy. Why, then should we be surprised when it acts like a bureaucracy? Joseph Smith announced an essential principle when he

explained that a prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as a prophet. Similarly, General Authorities who are also managers of departments are apostles or seventies only when they are acting as such, and that does not necessarily include all of the times they are acting as managers. The same can be said of stake presidents and bishops. Sometimes they act as administrators and sometimes as stewards. I feel that being able to separate the two functions is extremely useful.

Furthermore, our segment of the twentieth century is characterized by a mistrust of organizations and institutions. We think of Huebner, standing against the great betrayal of the Third Reich, of Nixon's betrayal of the American presidency. There is less trust in doctors, judges, policeman. In some ways, this is good because people must take responsibility for thinking through issues and making informed decisions.

Applied to the Church, it produces what I call "informed obedience." In the Church context, however, it has mixed results. Let me tell you two stories. A friend of mine in the Pacific Northwest told me recently that his elders' quorum president had advised quorum members to sign up for a service project. They would be gone from their homes from Friday afternoon until late Saturday and were to bring hammers, saws, screwdrivers, and other construction tools. He would give them no other details. My friend wanted to know more: What was the project? Where was it? Who was it for? Did it involve just their quorum or other quorums in the stake? Was this the quorum president's idea or was he acting on instructions from someone else? My friend explained, "I work about sixty hours a week. I have a wife and a new baby. If the Church wants my whole weekend, I have a right to know why." He also mentioned that he had been involved in service projects before that had been unnecessary: repairing homes for people whose monthly incomes exceeded his own, helping move people who did not require it and had not done any planning so that many hours were wasted, etc. The quorum president refused to respond to these questions or those of the others in the group. There was considerable confusion and resentment. My friend did not sign up.

This situation raises some questions. Should my friend have swallowed his questions and decided that the quorum president would be responsible for his resentments? Should he have prayed until he felt better about accepting the assignment? What is the responsibility of leaders in such cases?

The second story shows a useful contrast, I feel, in demonstrating the operating style of Cathy Stokes, president of the Hyde Park Ward Relief Society in Chicago. A relatively recent convert, she said she was surprised to call women up for compassionate service assignments and have them agree to anything. As she describes it: "I mean, the washing machine is running over, Jeremy is gouging out his brother's eye, her husband left Tuesday with the car payment and hasn't been back, and she's caroling, 'Why, I'd be happy to take a casserole over to Susi.' Because I'm the Relief Society president, right? Now, before I ask anybody to do anything, I kind of visit and find out where they are in their lives and what's going on — to see if maybe they need some help before I start asking them to help someone else."

Informed obedience is, obviously, very time-consuming. It will probably never be very popular with highly bureaucratized organizations if they have a choice because it replaces a focus on rapid and efficient task performance by basically interchangeable workers with a focus on understanding and owning the process. This means that leaders cannot simply concentrate on end products but must spend a great deal of time promoting the process of understanding, allowing experimentation and even mistakes, and honoring the process itself as important. My mission president once said that he felt his primary purpose was to send every missionary home with a testimony; convert baptisms were secondary. He had based this decision on appraising the results of previous mission presidents whose emphasis had been on the baptisms, but it meant that he was sometimes seen as out of step by his own superiors. Convert baptisms are quick and easy to count. The faith of a returned missionary who goes back to raise her five children to be spiritually healthy and happy or to serve as a sensitive and loving elders' quorum president can be fully appraised only years later and then usually indirectly. Then too, many people who are asked for reasons and information when they have asked for obedience become frustrated and impatient. "It would be so simple just to do it and get it over with rather than carp and niggle," they think. "And besides that, I don't know the reasons myself."

If we make due allowances for the limitations of our own point of view and accept the built-in conflicts involving obedience that come with any organization, we still need to decide what to do about it. Prompt, unprocessed obedience is probably not possible for intellectuals on a very wide range of issues because it counters their personality and training. For that reason, informed obedience is a much better operational strategy. Still, I think a much more worthwhile goal is mature obedience, consecrated obedience.

I like to hear children sing, "I Am a Child of God." I don't like to hear adults sing it. I'm sorry it's in the new hymnal. *Everybody*'s a child of God. All you have to do to be a child of God is to be born. Big deal. The hard part is to become an adult of God. Most of us get stuck in being an adolescent of God. We whine. We sulk. We have spurts of devotion and conformity followed by either rebellion or terminal sloth. We are dependent, frightened, arrogant, insecure. We want someone to tell us what to do and get mad when they do it.

The adolescent model is, it seems to me, instructive for another reason. Jean Baker Miller's psychological work attacks the whole way we have viewed the task of growing up for the past hundred years. For me, the parallels with becoming spiritual adults is inescapable.

> From Erik Erikson to Daniel Levinson, psychological models of human development posit that the truly well-integrated and functioning human being is the person who has "gone through a series of painful crises by which the individual accomplishes a sequence of allegedly essential separations from others and thereby achieves an inner sense of separated individuation. [Finally] when the individual arrives at the stage called 'Intimacy,' he is supposed to be able to be intimate with another person(s), having spent all of his prior development geared to something very different." . . .

> In Daniel Levinson's *The Seasons of Man's Life*, men are first supposed to move away from their mother and then, gradually, from everyone else. If they have a mentor, for example, at some point — in their thirties — they're supposed to break away from him. He calls this "becoming your own man." Of course, about ten years later, this "independent man" has a midlife crisis, and Levinson never asks why.

Miller denies that a sense of self develops through differentiation. Instead, she argues, we pass through a "stage of development she calls 'agency in community.' If, as she asserts, children develop because of their positive relationship to a caretaker, then they develop not a separate sense of self, but rather a more complex sense of self that becomes defined and refined as they enter into ever more complex relationships with others" (Miller 1985, 44).

Much of what I term adolescent behavior between people like us and the Church we love/hate seems an attempt at differentiation through separation, the classic adolescent crisis. This process nearly always involves disobedience ("I'll show you. You can't tell me what to do.") and nearly always involves pain. Pain has limited utility. I think that the circumstances which produce growth are very often and perhaps inevitably painful, but my own experience has been that growth itself is intensely pleasurable — even joyful. There is, in short, no virtue in making things difficult on purpose.

Thus, I wonder if our painful resistance of what we perceive as oppressive measures in the Church can sometimes be the wrongheaded working out of the wrong model — of the individuation-through-differentiation model that produces alienation and a lessened capacity for intimate experiences — including, I believe, a lessened capacity for intimate experiences with the Savior and the Holy Ghost. I wonder if a more fruitful path might be the model proposed by Miller, that of "agency in community," where we acquire a more complex sense of self.

I am, in my own life, struggling with an image of what consecrated obedience might be, trying to understand what the Lord, in love, is asking me to offer him in my whole life. Part of that life, that love, and that obedience is expressed through the Church. The Church shapes and colors my religious life, but it does not wholly comprise my religious life, nor does it determine the quality of my religious life. Obedience to the Church is not just a me-versus-them issue but one element in a much larger and very dynamic relationship.

Mature obedience, I feel, has to be motivated by love, not fear. It has to be deeply rooted in a testimony of the redemptive sacrifice of the Savior and a profoundly personal knowledge that he loves and values me — not my brilliant intellect, not any of the particular roles I might play, but the core-me. It is not an exchange of responsibilities and duties but the interplay, complexity, and richness of an ongoing, intimate, powerful relationship.

The questions still remain. Should we obey? Of course. But whom? and what? and when? Is disobedience justified? Of course. But to whom? and to what? and when? In hammering out answers to those questions on a daily basis within our own wards and stakes we exercise our "agency in community" and, in fact, find that we *are* agents within our community. To offer someone — whether the Lord or another fallible mortal like ourselves — blind, re-

flexive obedience is a terrible gift that can only be asked for in ignorance and given in abdication of self. To offer someone informed obedience is the act of a responsible agent, but it can produce an adversarial relationship that becomes spiritually sterile if the demands for information exceed the ability of the community to provide them — with loss to both.

To offer mature obedience is an act of loving responsibility in a dynamic where the primary tension lies, not between the individual and the community, but between the individual and the Lord. To someone holding out for fully informed obedience, mature obedience may look blind because part of the information it accepts will not be rational. To someone who wants prompt obedience, mature obedience may even look like disobedience since it will be based on principle rather than programs and practices.

If this seems ambiguous, that's because it is. Growing up spiritually is an ambiguous process. It requires accepting ambiguity. But I know of no other process that gives us power in proportion only as our love increases so that we can use power worthily. And we should never ask an organization to do our growing up for us.

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from the laurel

Linda Sillitoe

we come playing flute
and violin the notes
lift limber as the green
aspen see how we sway
as the music unwinds
and yet keep our form
see how we fill empty jars
with arpeggios we bear
pots of crescendos in our hands

you recognize our clothing
the way you know the wallpaper
above your own bed
yet we are unfamiliar now
we are like spirits stepping out
from the sealing bark of trees
we come clothed in our ŏwn light
weaving sonatas we have
composed ourselves

call us wife mother daughter
in your own language
but our music is the wind
that draws us into light
we are out now
and never shall that fear
in our legs shield us
our hands no longer
wave another's leaves

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Juanita Brooks's *Quicksand and Cactus*: The Evolution of a Literary Memoir

Levi S. Peterson

JUANITA BROOKS HOLDS AN UNDISPUTED PLACE among Mormon historians. Her landmark and still definitive history of the Mountain Meadows massacre was first published by Stanford University Press in 1950 and reprinted by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1962. By 1979, it had gone through its sixth printing. Yet her most substantial contribution was in the writing of biographies and the editing of pioneer diaries. Among her biographies, two are outstanding: *Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah* (St. George: by the author, 1942) and *John Doyle Lee: Zealot — Pioneer Builder — Scapegoat* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1961). At least two of the diaries which she edited with detailed annotation are unexcelled: *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, 2 vols., in collaboration with Robert Glass Cleland (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955) and *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society-University of Utah Press, 1964).

Consequently, when the autobiography of this woman who had given voice to so many other Utah lives appeared in 1982, it met an approving host of loyal readers. A first printing quickly sold out, and the Mormon History Association honored the work with its 1982 Best Book Award. A respectable number of reviews appeared in regional periodicals, most of them unreservedly, even eloquently, positive. According to one reviewer, "It is in fact something of a gentle comedy, a charming parable on life in Dixie. . . . She miniaturizes, domesticates, reduces the grand scheme to the small manageable detail" (Shepperson 1983). Another wrote, "There are dignity and delight in equal measure . . . . The transparent surfaces of Juanita's unhurried prose play, as in Willa Cather, over unsuspected depths" (Mulder 1984).

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A few reviewers had reservations. One was unhappy that the account brought Brooks's life only to early middle age: "Her memoir ends where her career begins. It contains only the slightest insights into her jousting with church leaders high and low while digging out facts that made her books and articles important" (Johnston 1983). Another noted the disparity between the two parts into which the work is divided. The second half, which treats her early adulthood, "Lacks the depth, comprehensiveness, and continuity of the first half; chapter titles are often misleading, unrelated stories are sometimes strung together without transition, and even the selection of topics is disappointing. This section of the book does not adequately convey a sense of the significance of Brooks's life and works on Utah letters" (Hefner 1983).

The manifest inconsistencies of *Quicksand and Cactus* can easily puzzle, if not annoy, a reader. Its two halves differ so sharply that they might have been written by different authors. Noting the unexpected halt of the account, the reader is provoked to ask, Why this much and no more?

Many of these inconsistencies lie in the circumstances of Brooks's life and in her compositional process. Granted ideal circumstances, she could have written a better autobiography. As it is, she did well enough. Despite its imperfections, it is a compelling, even remarkable literary work, surely one of the best of Mormon memoirs.

The first twenty-one chapters of *Quicksand and Cactus*, "Wide Wonderful World," cover Brooks's childhood to age thirteen. They are not expository, nor do they advance by the cohesive chronology of ordinary narrative. Rather they have the flavor and episodic organization of the personal essay. Some resemble fiction. One, "The Outsider," was in fact published separately as a short story. They progress casually, almost haphazardly, through the experiences of the girl Juanita Leavitt, who, although she narrates in the first person, is by no means the single center of attention. Her setting is Bunkerville, Nevada, on the Virgin River, a Mormon village unchanged from frontier times. Surrounding her are a multitudinous family, quaint neighbors, domestic animals, the irascible river, and the stark desert.

These chapters achieve a frequent, though not infallible, felicity of style — simple, concrete, quietly evocative of scene and setting, often laconic and wry: "Pa was a messy washer. He needed a bigger dish, for one thing. He'd sozzle and slosh around — hands to elbow, and head all over, often wiping long dirty streaks onto the towel. Then he'd stand straddle-legged and bent at the knee to try to see in the mirror" (Brooks 1982, 12–13).

Often the depiction of family and neighbors is satiric, emphasizing their foibles and eccentricities. Hence the men of Bunkerville are seen relaxing at noon during the annual cleaning of the Big Ditch: "Men who would shrink from speaking from the pulpit would wax eloquent over the shovel handle; men who turned to stone if asked to address the meeting could entertain the crowd with ease. Here the cloak of sanctity was torn off, tainted jokes were told, testimonies of the over zealous were repeated amid hilarity that was suppressed in church. Here, too, originated tall tales that became legend" (Brooks 1982, 108). A sampling of irreverent tales is provided. A man named Chris,

hearing noises in the night, commanded the evil spirit in his home to depart. Hearing further noises his wife rammed a broomhandle under the bed. "The Spirit of Evil gave a squeal and came out so fast it knocked Chris down, tipped the table over, and scattered tinware from hell to breakfast!" (Brooks 1982, 108–9). It was, of course, a pig.

Frequently it is the girl Juanita whom Brooks satirizes, treating with a cheerful irony her frail, ungainly body or her unsuspecting naivety. Juanita and her sister Charity accompany their father on his mail run to the railroad town of Moapa, where they absorb the marvels of rushing trains and exotic persons. Unable to blow out the electric light in their boarding house room, Juanita encloses the burning bulb in a drawer for the night. She also endures the incredulity of the proprietress who upon learning that Juanita is older than Charity shrieks: "Lordy, Lordy! Can you beat that! The little one here says she is fifteen whole months older! Whoooooeee!!!! Who ever heard tell of such a thing!" (Brooks 1982, 71).

The second half of *Quicksand and Cactus*, entitled "That Untravell'd World," is composed of sixteen brief chapters and an epilogue added by the publisher. They recount a heroic story. Juanita finishes high school, briefly teaches grade school, marries Ernest Pulsipher, and bears a son, Ernie. Her simple ambition at this moment is to be a rural wife. Shortly after their wedding Ernest is diagnosed as having cancer. Fifteen months later, Juanita is a widow. Accompanied by Ernie, she goes to college on the most meager of means. She graduates from BYU, accepts a position in English and debate at Dixie College, and eagerly seizes the opportunity for a sabbatical at Columbia, where she takes a master's degree in English. She returns to Dixie as dean of women, buys a house, and settles into a fruitful life as a professional woman. Then matchmakers align her with Will Brooks, the sheriff of Washington County, recently a widower. There the autobiography prematurely ends as Juanita Leavitt Pulsipher, thirty-five, assumes the Brooks name, which she will make famous.

These chapters proceed by conventional narrative, chronicling the notable events of her life. Although there is no likelihood of mistaking them for literary essays, they have beneath their placid expository surface some share of kinetic style and compelling episode, some stirring of passion and hope.

For example, on a lonely night in Salt Lake City, where Juanita waited with the suffering Ernest, a stranger knocked at the door and asked whether there was trouble within. He entered and gave a blessing to Ernest, who then slept soundly and awakened refreshed and temporarily renewed. It was a miracle. "He told the most incredible story: He lived way down on the Wasatch Boulevard, or above it. As he sat relaxed in his chair, he had such a strong feeling that he was needed somewhere that he got his overcoat and hat and started out. He caught the first streetcar north to North Temple, changed to another for the high Avenues, got off at the stop near the Ensign Ward church, and walked to our little house" (Brooks 1982, 236–37).

In the summer of 1923, working as a cook at a gypsum mill in southern Nevada, she suffered sexual harassment from a barbaric, predatory man, whom

she privately called Old Judas. On one occasion the man cornered her in a room:

"I turned around quickly, the butcher knife still in my hands, and faced him.

" 'Damn your dirty heart!' I said slowly. 'You dare to touch me, and I'll split you from stern to gudgeon!' "

She found herself again threatened on the mailtruck as she returned home at the end of the summer. He stopped the truck in a remote place and informed her that he meant to have sex with her.

"This time I had no defense; I did not care to argue or discuss this matter; I could only pray silently: 'Dear Lord, God help me!'

"Little Ernie had gone to sleep; he was lying between us, his head in my lap; it would be easy to slip a cushion under it, but I had no intention of doing it. I would remain where I was; he would have to drag me out" (Brooks 1982, 167–69).

Again a miracle. To this remote, unlikely spot came a man leading a lame horse, who cheerfully insisted on tying up his animal and riding the mailtruck into town, unwittingly foiling Judas' plan.

Despite such vivid episodes this section of the autobiography is weaker, less satisfying. Too often its sentences are prosaic and merely factual, its events arid and without emotion. An illustration is the brief account of Juanita's love for her cousin Albert Leavitt in the winter of 1916–17. Church music brought them together, she serving as organist, he as choir director. "Before we knew it," she writes, "we were going steady, and becoming altogether too fond of each other." Their fathers, conspiring to sever the attachment, succeeded in having Albert called on a mission. Brooks recounts this turn of events impassively: "Though for a while I was very lonely, I soon adjusted" (Brooks 1982, 198).

The actuality was much more poignant as an incident told long afterward by her sister Charity reveals. Albert had been gone perhaps a year. One night Juanita and Charity were in the kitchen of their parents' home where a fire burned in the range. Kneeling, Juanita read a letter from Albert in the flickering light of the open firebox. Tears glinted silver on her cheeks as she finished each page and quietly put it into the fire. Charity pitied her yet dared say nothing. Later Juanita explained. Albert had met a young woman whom he hoped to marry when his mission was over; he hoped Juanita would understand (Rowley 1985). In the printed account there is nothing of tears or firelight — only "I soon adjusted."

Neither of the two sections was written under propitious circumstances. When Brooks composed the first between 1944 and 1949, she was distracted by a multitude of family affairs, community activities, and historical projects. She had determination but little time. When she composed the second between 1970 and 1975, she had time but neither peace nor health.

Brooks had little tolerance for either idleness or solitude. Upon their marriage in 1933, she and Will composed an instant family of five sons — her one and his four. Within five years, they had added a daughter and three more

sons. They took in nephews and nieces and gave lodging to an unending troop of itinerant friends and relatives. Unquestionably Brooks found fulfillment in cooking meals, comforting wailing offspring, and sharing their robust enthusiasms. During the Depression years, she also undertook the duties of Relief Society president of the St. George Stake, vigorously implementing the new welfare program of the Mormon Church. She served regularly as a Sunday School teacher in her ward. Similarly she gave enthusiastic supervision, nationally recognized, to a WPA (Work Projects Administration) project for collecting pioneer diaries in southwestern Utah. From 1944 to 1952 she worked as a field representative for the Huntington Library, collecting pioneer documents for its archives. From 1950 to 1960 she was again a full-time teacher of English and debate at Dixie College.

As if she were not busy enough, Brooks also yearned to write. She aspired to a novel but settled instead for freelance articles about current events and episodes from the history of Dixie. Over the years she placed a surprising number in *The Improvement Era*, *Arizona Highways*, and other regional journals. With incredible luck she placed two articles about her pioneer family and community in *Harper's* — "A Close-up of Polygamy," 1934, and "The Water's In," 1941, articles very like the chapters of the first section of *Quicksand and Cactus*.

It was Dale Morgan who in 1944 fired Brooks with a perhaps premature ambition to see the story of her childhood placed with a national publisher. Morgan's work on the WPA Utah Writer's Project had awakened him to an interest in Western history which he, unmarried and totally deaf, would pursue with a singular devotion for the rest of his life. As WPA colleagues, Brooks and Morgan had begun in 1941 an intellectually intimate correspondence that would continue for many years. The development of the first half of *Quicksand and Cactus* may be closely followed in the letters they exchanged between St. George and Washington, D.C., where Morgan had found wartime employment.

"I want to tell you about Juanita Brooks," Morgan wrote to another correspondent in early 1944, "and a new book of which I am what you might call the spiritual father. Some weeks back I got to thinking about Juanita, her valiant and rather extraordinary life, her remarkable knowledge of the history and folkways of the southern Mormon frontier, and so on. Accordingly I wrote her that she was commanded to write a book, in some degree autobiographical, but with a large basis of social history, a kind of passionately personal book about that life she knows so well. I outlined in general what the book would be, and told her that her whole life had literally been a preparation to write it. Well, the idea struck fire in her mind, and she now sends me thirty or forty pages she has dashed off — a couple of short chapters, ideas for other chapters, reminiscences, etc. The material is absolutely wonderful!" (Morgan to McQuown 1944).

Quickly Brooks and Morgan fell into the relationship of student and mentor. Drafts went back and forth, Brooks revising as she found time, Morgan marking, annotating, and commenting both on the drafts and in his letters.

In June, 1944, she mailed Morgan a manuscript of completed chapters about her childhood and an outline of chapters about her early adulthood. Morgan recommended an immediate submission of the unfinished work, believing it of sufficient promise to elicit a contract. Having successfully placed his history of the Humboldt River, he was confident in his knowledge of the ways of eastern publishing.

The first attempt was Houghton Mifflin's Life in America competition. Scenting a certain victory, Morgan exulted in a 20 June 1944 letter: "I can tell you, Juanita, I feel proud to have played any part in the conception and development of this book. It is a rich and mature statement of life, and a glowing (if unconscious) revelation of a wise and gallant personality. It will be a memorable book when it is finished, and no one else could have written it so well. I am sure it will be a great success in every way, artistic and financial" (JB 1:7). At the end of July, however, Houghton Mifflin rejected the work. Thereupon Morgan actively took on the task of finding a publisher. In August 1944, he wrote to Bernard DeVoto for suggestions and followed a variety of other leads. In early October he submitted the manuscript to Farrar & Rinehart and, upon that firm's rejection, submitted in late October to H. E. Dutton.

Brooks's spirits went predictably up and down during this process. On 11 October she wrote with a half-incredulous excitement: "I daren't hope too much; I daren't say a word except to Will, but if ever we really land anything, I'll stage a celebration for sure!" (DM 71:161). Earlier, recalling that she had provided historical material for Maurine Whipple's novel *Giant Joshua*, she brooded: "I have always said that a quail has its place as well as a canary, but I feel like a quail. Perhaps I should stay with the one thing which I have been able to do — collect material for others to work into best selling novels" (13 Aug. 1944, DM 71:161).

Following the Dutton rejection, Morgan himself was sobered. Tacitly admitting the strategical error of submitting a preliminary draft, he now wanted Brooks to finish and polish the work before further submission. Since editors had shown little enthusiasm for the outline of her later life, Morgan recommended that she concentrate on the chapters about her childhood, advice which she heeded. During the first half of 1945, further rounds of revision and criticism ensued. Despairing of success, Brooks drudged on, apologizing as she mailed a revised draft on 10 March 1945, "I'm heartily sick of it, and ashamed that after all my promises to myself and to you, it should not be more complete and better done" (DM 71:161). Her interest was shifting to a new project, her collecting of diaries for the Huntington Library having recently led to a modest fellowship for writing a history of the Mountain Meadows massacre.

Brooks's connection with the Huntington opened other doors for *Quicksand and Cactus*. Alerted to her work on the massacre, the firm of Alfred A. Knopf became interested in the autobiography and solicited a submission. By November 1945, Knopf had read and rejected it. In early 1948 Rinehart invited Brooks to submit *Quicksand and Cactus* along with the now-completed manuscript of *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*. In April the firm regretfully declined both.

At Morgan's suggestion, Bobbs-Merrill requested to see the autobiography in January of 1949. By now Stanford University Press had accepted the manuscript on the massacre, a fact so bolstering to Brooks's confidence that she undertook a major revision of the autobiography, substituting a third person fictional character named Sal for the first person Juanita of the earlier drafts. In a letter to D. L. Chambers at Bobbs-Merrill on 10 February 1949 she explained her fictionalization: "While I can see that it may lose something in authenticity, I hope that it may gain in vitality. I had felt that, to justify a book, the subject of an autobiography should have achieved distinction in some field, while a good story may be just a good story" (JB 2:7). Her efforts were in vain. Bobbs-Merrill rejected her manuscript, and the fictional chapters joined the others in her files where all would rest undisturbed for many years. By 1949 six eastern publishers had given *Quicksand and Cactus* a close, respectful look and had determined that it would not sell in a national market.

Fortunately Brooks had cracked an insular market in the West. *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, published in 1950, established her reputation as a Utah historian, and her fame expanded steadily thereafter. However, her reputation would remain regional. Her *Harper's* articles notwithstanding, she would never achieve a national readership.

Brooks's early labor on *Quicksand and Cactus* was more profitable than she, in her discouragement, might have recognized. She had learned much from Dale Morgan, whom Charles Peterson, in his introduction to the published work, justly calls a "stern taskmaster" (Brooks 1982, xxviii). Sometimes Morgan scolded her for her stylistic lapses. With an extraordinary perspicacity for one untrained in literature, he urged her to get "a sense of relaxed richness into your prose. Don't be in such a hurry to say things that you say them in pedestrian fashion, in other words. Build up what you are saying with the richness of all the sensory perceptions so that what you are writing becomes an experience in itself, not just a narration of an experience" (13 Nov. 1944, JB 1:7). He fretted constantly over the disorganization of the work. "No matter how excellent your stories are . . . your book must lead somewhere; it must have a cumulative impact" (12 April 1944, JB 1:7). He also had strong reservations about her tendency to work in "the borderland of fiction," rearranging the facts of her life for dramatic impact or inventing dialogue which she could not have actually remembered. He warned against the inclusion of tall tales and folklore, which "arouse so strong a suspicion that they lead one to question the historicity of some of the other chapters" (26 April 1945, JB 1:7). For Morgan, there was no room in autobiography for an imaginative enlargement upon fact.

It may be fairly said that Brooks's work under Morgan's tutelage was an indispensable training for the successes which lay ahead, amounting to, again in Charles Peterson's words, "a stiff seminar in the historical method" (Brooks 1982, xxix). It was indeed a seminar, not only in historiography but in creative writing as well, an intense experience in advanced technique. One can scarcely imagine a more lucky eventuality in Brooks's professional life than the extraordinary course in home study that Morgan gave her.

However, it is apparent from the published *Quicksand and Cactus* that Brooks did not entirely produce the qualities Morgan recommended. The first section remains episodic in structure, and its style fluctuates between a plodding simplicity and a colloquial brilliance. It has little of philosophic texture or literary allusion; rather it smacks of common sense and rural acuity. Abundant in folktales and imaginary dialogue, it occupies a misty terrain somewhere between history, folklore, and fiction. Still, as a work of literature it makes its own way. Delighting as well as informing, it reveals a universal human nature among the customs, foibles, and wonders of a tiny desert community now lost in the past.

By the mid-1960s Juanita had become a venerable folkfigure sought by numerous clubs and fireside groups, who eagerly paid her bus fare in return for her willing discussion of the Mountain Meadows massacre or of her own life. In informal circumstances, her wit and integrity deeply affected her listeners. Often she gave oral renditions of chapters from her dormant autobiography. One was "The Outsider," which Golden Taylor of Utah State University asked in 1963 to include in an anthology of short fiction typifying Western life: "I realize that you tell it with the utmost fidelity as autobiography, but just a touch of fiction would justify its inclusion" (4 Dec. 1963, JB 5:8). Brooks was agreeable, the written chapter already having, as Morgan had lamented, a fictional tone. In 1967 it appeared in Taylor's compilation, *Great Western Short Stories* (Palo Alto, California: The American West Publishing Co.), augustly positioned between Willa Cather's "Neighbor Rosicky" and Hamlin Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw."

John Greenway, an editor who heard "The Outsider" at a folklore conference in Logan, wanted to publish it as an example of literary folklore. Respecting Taylor's prior right, Brooks obtained his consent before agreeing. Shortly Greenway's interest expanded to other accounts. Consequently "Old Tubucks," "The Outsider," and "Selah" appeared in a 1964 issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* under the supertitle "Memories of a Mormon Girlhood." Brooks did not disabuse Taylor and Greenway of their belief that she was putting the accounts into writing for the first time. When it seemed to enhance the prospects of publication, she was entirely capable of a discreet dissemblance.

In 1960, Brooks and her husband moved to Salt Lake, where she had convenient access to the sources of her editing and writing and where she delighted in an association with well-to-do, highly cultivated people. Although Will professed satisfaction with city life, his joy when visiting southern Utah was so undisguised that in 1963 Brooks agreed to return to St. George. In early 1970, Will died. The bell of the St. George tabernacle tolled as it had in early days and a great crowd assembled for the funeral, including Utah's governor, who delivered an impromptu eulogy. It was a mark of respect for Brooks as well as for her husband. She and he had bonded along hundreds of surfaces and in burying him she buried a part of herself. Publicly she remained industrious and courageous. When Norma Mikkelsen, director of the University of Utah Press, proposed a resumption of work on *Quicksand and Cactus*, she agreed.

She returned to Salt Lake in late 1970, bringing the earlier *Quicksand and Cactus* chapters jumbled together in a box, and settled down to work.

Dale Morgan was no longer an influence. Brooks's correspondence with him had long since grown sporadic. In 1971, he died of cancer. A new source of encouragement was Trudy McMurrin, assigned to Brooks as a developmental editor by the university press. Assisted by Mikkelsen and McMurrin, Brooks made a selection of first-person chapters giving a coherent account of her childhood and prepared to go forward from where they stopped. She established a routine of talking about her subject matter with McMurrin, as if she could best generate ideas by an oral process. There were long telephone conversations, discussions at lunch, interchanges at Brooks's house as McMurrin drove home from the press. When at last she seemed ready to write, McMurrin provided her with summary outlines, "little descriptions of what she said she was going to write" (McMurrin 1985). As drafts emerged from Brooks's typewriter, McMurrin picked them up, read them, and returned them with encouraging endorsements. One can see emergent details of the published version in a letter Brooks wrote Todd and Betty Berens, western history buffs from California, 4 August 1974: "I must contact Norma at the University Press today, also. Now that I have myself working in the dining room of the boardinghouse at the Gyp Mine and plaster mill I can summarize the season in a few sentences. Writing the account of the winter with one dress will be, I think, fun to do. I'm never sure when to go into detail" (Brooks 1974).

It was a protracted, sometimes painful process. Aging and temperamental, Brooks found herself suffering renewed grief as she sifted the memories of her brief marriage to a dying man and of the privations of her early widowhood. Another problem arose as she completed the chapters about her widowhood and approached her life with Will. She had married a family, as she often told people, and she now found it impossible to organize a complex account that would synthesize and track each of the children of the composite Brooks family.

There were many distractions. Friends took her to concerts and plays. She accepted incessant invitations to speak before groups. Numerous relatives came by to visit or find lodging. She also worked on other books — an edition of the journal of Martha Spence Heywood, a biography of Emma Lee. Nonetheless, considering the time she disposed of, the page count of her continued autobiography was meager. At home alone, she behaved like a recluse. She kept her drapes closed at all times, ate abstemiously, and worked at irregular hours of the day and night in a barren basement room. She wrote to the Berens 21 June 1975: "I'm trying desperately to finish this *Quicksand & Cactus* deal, but find it hard to stay with it — hard to follow my own advice to others 'Glue the seat of your pants to the seat of the chair and *stay there.*' "

Gradually it dawned on McMurrin that supposedly finished portions of *Quicksand and Cactus* were permanently disappearing. "I should have been meticulously and frantically making copies of everything and I realized that too late," McMurrin recounted, blaming the low budget of the university press. Brooks was, in fact, suffering early symptoms of a debilitating senility. With a gallant attempt at humor, she wrote pathetically to the Berens 30 August 1976:

"My only worry is that I am more and more aware that OLD AGE has stepped around the corner, grabbed me, and said, 'I Got You!' " As 1977 dawned, Brooks's children boxed her manuscripts, closed the house, and took her home to St. George to stay. At seventy-nine she had come to the end of her writing career. These melancholy facts explain the abbreviated nature of the second section of *Quicksand and Cactus.* Brooks suffered, with Will's death, a sapped determination and, with the advance of her disease, a deteriorated competence.

Behind the publication of *Quicksand and Cactus* is a story of creative editing. Despite the earnest efforts of Mikkelsen and McMurrin, the manuscript materials had remained in a formidable disarray. Many chapters existed in multiple versions offering confusing recombinations of incidents and ideas. Such was the lack of dates and unifying themes that an order for the whole work was still by no means obvious. For this reason, the University of Utah Press did not make further negotiations with the family for publishing the work. Karl Brooks of St. George, acting as his mother's executor, hired a professional editor to compile a publishable manuscript but soon found the arrangement unsatisfactory. In late 1980, he approached Howe Brothers of Salt Lake, whose energetic young proprietor, Richard Howe, agreed to prepare and publish the work. Enlisting historian Charles Peterson to write a biographical introduction, Howe consulted Trudy McMurrin and studied the correspondence between Brooks and Morgan to clarify the evolution of the early chapters. He spread manuscripts across the carpet of his living room and for three months methodically sorted, collated, and harmonized. He dated the composition of the chapters through the apparent age of paper, the distinctive traits of the several typewriters Brooks had used over the years, and the frequent appearance of carbon copies on the backs of ruined pages of other manuscripts Brooks was known to have been working on.

Like a sleuth Howe contemplated internal and external evidence and arrived at an arrangement of chapters which seemed logical. According to Howe: "I would say the first third of the book was more or less intact. The second third of the book I had to do a little more collating and the last part I had to do even more." Still, Howe asserted that he did very little actual writing: "If I did any, it was no more than a total of maybe a paragraph or two. Any time that I felt a transition was needed, I know I would do this; a couple of times I went to that third person narrative and picked a transition up from there and stuck that in a place or two and I think that I consulted with Karl when I did that" (Howe 1985). Thus it was finally Richard Howe to whom fell the perhaps unenviable privilege of determining the order in which the autobiography of Juanita Brooks would present itself to the world.

Quicksand and Cactus will be a forever unfinished work. That fact does not invalidate its beauty. There is a propriety in its incompleteness. There was something unfinished about Brooks's living personality. Although her courage, wit, and critical intelligence made her the close friend of sophisticated people, she remained unsophisticated and rural. Not only was she the chronicler of pioneer Utah, she was a living remnant of it. That was part of her charisma.

There was a feral grandeur about her, something of the solidity of granite found in the wild. There is a similar dignity about her autobiography. It is rough and unfinished but not hollow; it is filled at the center.

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Turning

Dian Saderup

Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
Thanks to its tenderness, its joys, its fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

— Wordsworth

In July 1984, I attended testimony meeting in my home ward in Salt Lake City. As the previous month's crop of infants were blessed, I thought that after the sacrament I would go home. It was a Fourth of July weekend and I was sunburned, sleepy, and not much in the mood for testimonies about the star-spangled banner. Besides that, I was hungry. But when the sacrament was over, I stayed. I thought my motivation was guilt, but now I know it was grace.

I don't recall that anything out of the ordinary was said. Marge Aldredge* got up to thank the Lord for her blessings, both temporal and spiritual, and for the privilege of living in our free land. I looked hard at her face; for the first time I could see her age in it. She had been Relief Society president twelve years ago when my family moved into the ward from California, a woman of boundless energy who claimed never to have had a sick day in her life. Two years ago, her youngest son, age eighteen, had been killed in a motorcycle accident. This was the first time I had heard her speak publicly since then. As she

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* Names and certain details related in this essay have been changed.

talked and wept, uttering the phrases of gratitude I had heard countless times from countless other Church members, I thought: Her boy is dead. She has borne the death of a son.

Then a nervous young man with a crewcut who had blessed his first child, a daughter, that day both laughed and cried as he thanked God for his wife, home, job, and his chance to serve in the National Guard. When he sat down, his wife, who still wore a blue-sprigged maternity dress, took the traveling microphone and talked about the sweet spirit of their little Rachel and how glad they were that she had been sent to them. When she had finished, her husband leapt to his feet again and said, "I was so excited I forgot to mention Rachel in my testimony, and she's why I stood up in the first place." We all laughed.

Next, a Young Special Interest woman in her early thirties stood. Her short blondish hair was styled in neat curling-iron ridges. She wore a black polyester skirt and a white ruffled blouse; her figure was plumpish. She had recently returned from a trip east where people, upon learning she lived in Utah, had beset her with questions about our spring flooding. "You mean you don't have to have police squads to keep looters from the flooded homes?" they'd queried with apparent astonishment. To us, the YSI woman said, "Brothers and sisters, the floods have been the most wonderful missionary tool. We are so lucky to live in Zion where we all love each other and take care of one another."

Although a YSI woman myself, I could find little resemblance to her. I wear my hair in a crown of braids, suspect polyester of causing cancer, and heap deprecations and deprivations upon myself if the scale rises two pounds above my ideal weight. My feelings about the Salt Lake City floods are decidedly more ambivalent than hers. Nevertheless, I felt something quicken in me as I listened to her. I knew from a brunch held in her home several months before that she had long ago purchased china, silverware, and stainless pots and pans. She had anticipated marriage, a husband, children — in the way some of my more sophisticated friends and I either parody in fun or decry in anger. Yet now, I felt a dark squeezing in my chest, and I knew the silent disappointment of her clean house and unchipped dishes, and the ache of her empty bed.

Other ward members rose, each in his or her own unremarkable way bearing testimony to, and expressing gratitude for, God, Church, family, country — the faith and institutions that grant meaning to their lives, as well as to my own. As I looked over the congregation from my near-the-back seat, I — who had wanted to sneak home for a peanut butter sandwich — felt something like awe swelling in me. There was so much *life* sitting within the four walls of that chapel. And it didn't matter that Patty Anderson had bought china at age twenty-one and thought Salt Lake the ultimate Zion, or that Greg Parsons felt moved in a Church meeting to thank God for the National Guard. I sensed how impossible it is to come anywhere near approximating verbally the urgent, tangled life we feel within. So we use commonly heard phrases to interpret and express the mystery of our unique human experience. As we sang the

closing hymn, "Oh Beautiful for Spacious Skies," the silver, fair, and dark heads of the congregation shone through my tears like a shining sea.

Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise?
'Tis but to know, how little can be known,
To see all others faults, and feel our own.
— Alexander Pope

Then in January, I sat in a specially convened conference of University Stake. The recently sustained stake president began his remarks by quoting from the official handbook: nonstudents — who comprised over a third of the stake — were to return to their resident wards. At that conference, four wards were dissolved, including my own. Since that time, two more have been disbanded. As I listened to the president's remarks — logical, organizationally sound, and devastating to countless nonstudents who depended upon their singles wards for both spiritual community and vital social interaction — I wept with anger. When he concluded, at least twenty people from various parts of the chapel hurried out.

For them and for others like them, the decision would mean vastly increased loneliness and perhaps alienation from the Church. I thought of Bryant Holmes, a young deaf man who had recently returned to the Church after several years of inactivity and was now tentatively, shyly, reaching out to new friends and spiritual counselors in our ward. He lived alone and worked as a dishwasher at a local hotel. Where would he now make that essential contact with those his own age who could help him "hear" with written interpretations of meetings and rudimentary signing? How would we explain the stake president's talk to him? "You're not a part of his stewardship, Bryant"? "It doesn't matter that in your resident ward your home teachers — business men with large families — only came twice in three years. That's where you belong"?

In the ward where I grew up, the Scoutmaster, father of four sons, was zealous and disciplined, with an unflagging hold upon the iron rod. We had two Scout patrols in our ward. My brothers were the driving force in one, and they insisted upon naming their patrol "The Vegetables," which caused no small stir among the adult leadership. For their insignia, they sketched a large cabbage on a piece of chamois and mounted it on a pool cue. Since no official pronouncement limited LDS troops to such rugged names as "The Wolverines," "The Vegetables" they remained, cabbage and all. My brothers became known among the leadership, however, as troublemakers and general wild cats. At the Scout jamboree that summer, Gary fell, hurting his arm. He told the Scoutmaster repeatedly that he was in pain, but Brother Smith accused him of exaggerating to avoid working on merit badges and forced Gary to go on a ten-mile day hike. When Gary got home from the jamboree, my mother took him immediately to the hospital. He had a broken arm. That same Brother Smith had once publicly told a young priest from an economically troubled home that he was unfit to administer the sacrament because he was wearing cowboy

boots. The boy never participated in that ordinance again and soon stopped coming to church at all.

Until recently, a friend of mine who is the mother of two daughters served as social relations leader in her stake. When her stake president learned that she had returned to school full time to work toward a master's degree in French literature, she was released. The president explained that it was important for women in positions of authority to set "the proper example" for the married and young single sisters in the Church. He counseled her not to let "this schooling thing" keep her from having more children — without a word of inquiry as to her physical or emotional capacity to bear more children or any effort to understand her own hopes, fears, and aspirations.

These incidents illustrate attitudes among some members as well as leaders in the Church that, in practice, run counter to the spirit of love for individuals and freedom for individuality that is so central to the gospel. People feel pressured to conform to official guidelines and cultural expectations — subtly, yet so intensely that some forget the very thing we as Church members have linked hands with God to do: save souls — our own and our fellows — by love unfeigned, kindness, and pure knowledge. Just as I felt the mystery and joy of common fellowship and humanity with the Church in that testimony meeting a summer ago, so have I also felt a division, a breech, between myself and members of the mainstream Church community. And I have been troubled.

For nothing, said she, is more common than to call our own condition, the condition of life.

— Samuel Johnson

I didn't tell you everything about Jim Smith the Scoutmaster. The fast Sunday after the jamboree where Gary broke his arm, he rose to express sincere regret at his own serious misjudgment. Many years after that, he stood again in contrition, this time over a more pervasive failing he had come to see in himself: he had been inflexible, judgmental, on occasion unkind, and lacking in those qualities that ought to distinguish a Christian and a Latter-day Saint. I don't think Jim Smith was ever a bad man, just sometimes — as he himself said — "misguided" in his efforts to love and serve God.

My married friend's insensitive stake president who released her from her calling because she had returned to school has never apologized. I am quite certain he sees no need to. It has occurred to me that I may be judging him as severely as he, in my perception, judged her. Until recently I'd forgotten or unconsciously rejected a simple moral exercise in relation to this man: When you find yourself at odds with another, try to step into his shoes, try to see the world from where he stands — even if he refuses to do the same for you. For me, this seems a first and basic step toward any fruitful understanding between people.

I've realized that this priesthood leader is trying to fulfill his calling, to faithfully watch over his stewardship in the way he truly believes the Lord would have him do. His gifts lie not in creativity of thought or originality of

expression, but in energy, motivation, and unswerving devotion to whatever cause he believes right. This man has been given a huge responsibility, and, doubtless, feels great urgency to fulfill it. Therefore he leans heavily upon the pronouncements, as he hears them, of those in authority over him. For him, earth life is a treacherous journey, and only the inspired words of the Lord's anointed prophets and apostles help make the path back to God clear. In Church scripture, teaching, and practice — both biblical and modern — I find a good deal of support for those premises. Indeed, my own views, to a startling degree, lie in sympathy with his, though they are more tentative and are held in juxtaposition with other truths I feel are of equal importance.

If I am correct, this stake president sees salvation through safety. In a world characterized by random violence, precarious joys, and chaotic experience of uncertain meaning, he is searching for sanctuary, security, hope, faith— and hopes to impart those vital intangibles to those he guides. All of us, I believe, construct spiritual and emotional frameworks of some sort through which we encounter and interpret reality; and thus we preserve, with varying degrees of effectiveness, some elemental sense of ourselves and the world around us through life's confusing storms. For whatever reasons, my friend in French literature failed to fit — and therefore threatened — her stake president's framework. Likewise, her stake president failed to fit the framework she and I share, which we felt to be more elastic than his.

This exercise in empathy, simplistic as it may seem, has helped me become more understanding, accepting, and respectful of honest differences in sentiment and insight among Church members. I have made partial reconciliation with my University Stake president. When I went to talk to him, I learned that he had chosen to follow the handbook in the sincere belief that his stake — undeniably an organizational mess prior to the decision — would now serve its members more effectively. Who knows? Maybe he is right. I told him frankly, however, that I did not consider the handbook rigid law, superceding personal inspiration for particular circumstances. I saw it rather as a source of guidance for leaders of enormous diversity in both spiritual understanding and commitment — guidance offered in the hope of maintaining some essential unity within a farflung church made up of human beings with countless limitations. It couldn't address individual circumstances. Only we could. He didn't agree.

All of us have a story. All of us have a voice. All of us have a vision — and all are limited by our own mortality and the possibility of error. I like to picture the Church as a wheel with Christ as the hub. Each individual life path is a spoke feeding into that hub. We all start our mortal journeys in our own particular places on the rim of the wheel — each with his or her unique strengths and weaknesses. Because of this, though we may be baptized into the strait and narrow way, we each journey through different territory. Different experiences give us various prides, prejudices, perceptions, and testimonies as we progress toward Christ, the central hub. Some spokes lie close to one another; others may be on opposing sides of the central focus. I believe that Joseph Smith actually saw God and that the Church established through him is literally the kingdom laid to prepare the world for the millennial reign of the

Savior. Because of this I feel a duty — if not always the disposition — to bear with those of my fellows whom I see, at times, opposite me — to respect the real rigors, perplexities, and triumphs of their unique paths. And I feel to watch for the divine fire that will, in tangible reality, flare now here, now there among us.

The kingdom will go forward, despite our collective differences and failings, and we will all play our several parts: some of us shepherds, some of us followers, some conformists, some dissenters, some critics, some apologists. The wheel will continue to turn, and we may one day find that those spokes which are now on opposing sides of the hub have together created an essential tension — a dynamic balance — between mutually necessary opposites.

The Future belongs still more to the heart than to the mind. To love, is the only thing which can occupy and fill up eternity. The infinite requires the inexhaustible.

— Victor Hugo

Last night I lay in bed for hours, thinking about my evening spent at Kiwanis Park in Provo. A group of young men from one of the resident wards was practicing softball. The pitcher, a stocky fellow with sunburned arms, kept ball after ball flying over home plate. The batter was a tall, leanly muscular man, balding, enthusiastic; he popped the balls one after another into the outfield where a handful of players loped to catch them or simply let them drop, as they called out to him, "Nice one, Kyle!" or "Woo-*ie*!" Safely to the side of home plate, a three-year-old in Star Wars pajamas chased the occasional missed balls. On the far side of the field, a girl in a red dress and bare feet also watched their play. A daughter? A girlfriend of a young team member? The wind ruffled her blond hair and red skirt and moved through the trees. An earlier storm had left the grass damp and deep green. Thunderheads still boiled over the mountains toward Spanish Fork. In the dusk, the fading sunlight seemed iridescent, as though this grass, these men, the girl and her red dress, the trees, and the torn clouds were frozen in a shimmering instant of time. I watched silently for half an hour until dark brought their play to a close.

While I watched that simple game, all the abstractions, the philosophical questions, the debates, the arguments I have pondered these past few weeks while writing this essay simply melted from my mind. For a moment, none of it mattered. I was content just to be — alive and in touch with the instant, unreflecting life that moved, like the wind in the tall trees, before me.

But why then did I stay awake thinking about that scene when the participants in it had long since gone to sleep? I wish sometimes that I could simply enjoy a softball practice, that my feelings and thoughts could begin and end on the field. But inevitably I feel compelled to interpret events around me. That doesn't mean that I am more sensitive than those players to real life — indeed, I often think just the opposite is true since I tend to intellectualize and step back from experience. But by nature, as a writer, I cannot help attempting to

order the jumble that is reality and, by that ordering, to heighten and clarify the way I experience it. I believe that people with artistic vision create many of the images through which members of a society view themselves and the world around them. There are few things more powerful than a story. In the LDS community we need artificers who can tell stories in words or paint or music — stories that capture the particular, that hum a single human song through our bones and thereby tell us something of the whole of our experience as a people and as members of the human family.

That all sounds quite lofty. A month ago we had a missionary farewell in our ward. The program lasted forever. It was packed with pretty girls in Gunnie Sax dresses singing sappy songs: "He takes some paper in his hand and with a pencil draws a man, the dream of what he'd really, really like to be. . . ." Nearly every member of the boy's large family spoke, and we were regaled with his accomplishments from grade school on up: student-body president in junior high, seminary officer and graduate in high school, ranked second in the state in skiing, etc. I was in a lousy mood anyway and felt like throwing tomatoes at the crowd on the stand: What does skiing (or throwing tomatoes!) have to do with preaching the gospel? It is such petty things, along with the more serious sort of grievances mentioned earlier, that tend to estrange me from my people and make me want to tell my stories from *without* rather than from within their community. But if I accept the teachings of Christ, and the claims of the restored Church — the body of Christ in need of every member, as Paul expressed it — how can I justify such willing schism?

I think of the Rudolphs, a delightful German couple in my parents' ward, who celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary several years ago. Two of their sons had died many years ago in war. This past year, Sister Rudolph has battled cancer. She is not afraid to disagree with doctrines with which she cannot sympathize, and maybe because she is elderly no one much minds. During one of my visits with her she said with characterisitc eloquence, clapping her hand down on the arm of the sofa, "I don't care if it's the prophet speaking, or an apostle, a bishop, or Brother Astin in Sunday School — if he expounds a doctrine I can't understand, I won't believe it. I judge every issue in my heart and if it feels true then amen to it, but if it doesn't I can't see that the Lord would hold me responsible for not believing it. In this Church you don't have to accept anything that isn't true, no matter who says it is!" At her side, Brother Rudolph, a retired machinist who has never lost his thick German accent, said, "Mudder, vat vill Diana tink wit you talking like dat?"

He tends their beautiful coral-colored rosebush hedges and meticulously groomed yard and, in his own words, doesn't have "particular interest in Mudder's books vou can see all about de place. She's got up towards four hundred volumes," he added with pride. Brother Rudolph brought me a plateful of German delicacies made by his granddaughter. His frail, excitable wife took one.

"It is so goot to see her eat, efen a cookie," he said. "Vit de chemoterapy she vas nauseated for fife mont's."

"I'm just a sack of bones now," Sister Rudolph said. "Herman would fix me a big dinner every night. My favorite foods. Pot roast, browned potatoes,

carrots from the garden — did you ever see such a garden as his? He was hoping to put some appetite in me; it was a shame to see it all go to the dog night after night. I never knew Herman could cook such a beautiful pot roast. But damn those drugs, I couldn't eat a thing."

"Mudder," was all Brother Rudolph said.

"Excuse my language," she apologized to me, "but sometimes regular words just don't seem to fit the situation."

We talked for another hour. I basked in the almost-tangible bond of their love, built over decades of trial, rejoicing, error, and success. The texture of accumulated life shared between Brother and Sister Rudolph radiates with joyous mystery. Her mind is as clear and active as almost any I have encountered, while Brother Rudolph, I venture to say, has scarcely an intellectual bone in his body. Yet I have never seen marital love and union more complete, more refreshing, more subtle. Maybe I am foolishly idealistic, but I nurture the hope that one day my bond with the Church will be as deep, rich, and mysterious as the bond Eveline Rudolph has with her husband. I may find myself unlike my fellow Church members in many ways, but there is always the possibility — through time and endurance in collective experience — of transcendence, of tolerant, fruitful love, and humble respect.

Last Sunday in Church I listened carefully to both the Relief Society and Sunday School lessons, one on friendship, the other on the Last Supper. Each was exceptionally fine, but at the end of the first I found myself wishing I could feel so nourished by and united with my fellow Saints every Sunday, not just now and then. At the end of the second lesson, however, an announcement was made that Tasha Bevin — a four-year-old Salt Lake girl kidnapped earlier in the week — had been found safe in an abandoned school in Idaho. One united cry of rejoicing swept the nearly full chapel, and tears streamed down many faces, male and female, young and old. At that moment, the differences between us seemed very few, and I realized that love is the only lens through which we may view reality — ourselves, our fellows, and the world — aright. Our minds, our intellects, may become fully enlightened — here and in the eternities — only when suffused with that perfect love which comprehends all things.

I watched the deacons as they passed the sacrament: young, awkward boys bearing bread and water of whose significance they probably had little understanding. But did any of us? The trays passed down the pews hand to hand as, one after another, the ward members partook. Each ate and drank with the familiar ritual motion. And it struck me, like a sudden gust of wind on a still night: We all partake of the same loaf, we all drink of the same cup. What right have I to boast? Who am I to judge? Or any of us? It is, after all, by grace we are saved, after we have done all in our halting mortal ways that we are able. That grace seemed to me then the greatest mystery of all. And then I seemed to be looking through clear glass; things were no longer complex, confusing, tangled, and dark but simple and spiritually liberating. Faith — in God and in each other; humility — for our own imperfections and those of our brothers and sisters; endurance — despite conflict; love — sustained through-

out disappointment with our fellows; and gratitude — for God's grace and the human grace we may share with one another: these seemed to be the best gifts we could give or receive.

It was a singular moment of simple clarity of vision. We will live our countless lives, and I believe the wheel that is Christ and his Church will continue to turn until one morning that vision is fully realized. The words of an old Shaker hymn with its lovely melody played over and over in my mind that afternoon:

'Tis the gift to be simple, 'tis the gift to be free,
'Tis the gift to come down where we are to be;
And when we find ourselves in the place just right,
'Twill be in the valley of love and delight.

When true simplicity is gain'd,
To bow and to bend we shan't be ashamed;
To turn, turn will be our delight
Till by turning, turning we come round right.

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Pierced and Bleeding

Barbara Elliott Snedecor

SINCE MY CONVERSION TO THE CHURCH almost fourteen years ago, I have struggled on various levels to come to terms with the atonement of Jesus Christ. At times, while young deacons passed gleaming trays among the believers I knew best, I watched as others unobtrusively swallowed torn pieces of bread, then raised tiny cups to their lips, and I wondered. What does this most frequent ordinance mean? As an adolescent, I often watched the hands of my father, himself a new priest in the Church, break and ask God to bless and sanctify the bread and water. As a new wife, I tenderly held the large hands of my husband, palms up, in my much smaller hands, as silence was the song in the chapel. And now, as I seek to teach my two young sons some level of the deepest reverence that I feel during the minutes of the sacrament, I often look at the pink and padded hollows of their innocent hands. For there is something about the hand that most directly teaches me what Christ has accomplished. For me, there must always be a terrible and sacred moment when I confront the nails that were driven through my Savior's hands and wrists.

Perhaps there is something wrong with me, but my reverence seems incomplete without that awful image. For a moment, when the vividness of the picture hammers through my mind, I feel the blow of the metal crushing the sinews and bones in that most beautiful hand, feel again the agony of the second nail through his wrist, the shattered nerve. I hear the shouts of the crowd, see the sacred blood spill from the veins of a man who did not but who did have to die. For me! And I have learned why men like Jacob and Nephi labored so diligently to pound out in metal their words so that we might "believe in Christ, and view his death, and suffer his cross, and bear the shame of the world" (Jacob 1:8).

As I suffer a particle of Christ's cross and seek to understand the necessity of the violence associated with his atonement — the groaning of the earth —

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I think of other deaths that I have known. I remember the somewhat transparent skin on the body of my grandmother in the last week of her life, the way the bones seemed to protrude through her skin, the horrible bedsores that appeared too quickly, despite the sheepskin and the endless turning of her body. I remember the rounded oval of her mouth, her lips dry and cracked, the awful sound of her dying breaths. I remember how brittle her hair felt in my hands as I reached out to stroke her forehead. And I remember, too, the morning when we woke to find her dead. She died on Easter morning. What a reverent sense of victory I felt, for I knew that another had borne the sting of her death, the victory of her grave.

And I think, too, as I raise the cup to my youngest son's lips, how it felt to find his apparently lifeless, six-month-old body in the crib one awful morning. His body limp, head rolling back as I picked him up, eyes dilated, I realized as I laid my hands on his head to give him a mother's blessing that I might not see him again till the resurrection. Days later, with the intravenous tubes taped to his tiny head, the monitors making it difficult to pick him up, he smiled faintly at me, and I knew he would live. And that feeling of reverent victory over death returned.

I think, too, of the shame involved in Christ's atonement. I think of the heart-hurting sorrow he felt to be flogged and degraded and beaten and spit upon and hung up on a cross. But even more than his physical shame and abuse, I think of my part of the shame that he alone bore in Gethsemane. For I have done at least one shameful thing in my life and have imploringly sought the sweet balm of repentance. I have felt such utter guilt. And that is the shame that the Savior bore, the shame of the guilty and penitant and hurting heart. Not the shame of the ignorant, I think, for shame implies a sense of recognition of wrong. And to bear the shame of the repentant heart seems a much heavier burden, for the guilt of the penitant is broken and contrite. It is my shame, multiplied without end.

So what is there left for me to do but to feebly help bear his cross, for he has borne mine. The weight that I bear, of course, can never equal his, but that is as it should be. For he has borne it all in Gethsemane. As I attempt to consecrate, to serve, to bear another's burdens, I hope I am, in some way, helping to bear the awful weight of Christ's heavy cross, to soothe the pain of the nails in his hands and wrists.

The Veil

Mary L. Bradford

OUR FAMILY HAD JUST FINISHED the pre-service reception, and Brother Holbrook, the funeral director, had just closed the doors to the Relief Society room. As Mother's surviving sisters and their families filed past the coffin for the last time, my own sister took my hand and whispered, "You have to be the one to veil her face, Mary." Startled, I remembered a scene from twenty years ago when I had joined my husband in bidding farewell to his aunt. We had watched while her eldest daughter placed a yellow rose in the stiffened hands and bent down to lay the temple veil over the beloved face. This was the only time I had seen this ritual.

My brother pronounced a prayer over the coffin that Dad, my brothers, my sisters, and I had chosen a few days before. It turned out to be the least expensive choice and the one that "looked most like Mother" with its brocaded exterior and rose-covered interior. We then had to decide whether or not to leave it open for "viewing." When the Holbrook family reconstructed her cancer-ravaged face, working from photographs and prosthesis, Dad liked it, so the lid remained up. Her name went up too at the entrance to the mortuary on a small marquee: *Lavinia Mitchell Lythgoe.* A warm memory brushed my cheek when I first saw it: Her name written on a slip of paper for an eight-year-old daughter to keep on her pillow while Mother vacationed for the first time since her marriage. She had aspired to be a painter and a writer. She enjoyed seeing her name in print.

At first I thought it would be excruciatingly difficult to stand beside that reconstructed face while the real one with its delicate, slightly tipped nose and red-headed skin tones looked out from a colored photograph near the guest book. But by the end of the evening, I was able to rest my hand casually on the satin rim of the coffin, even laughing as I reminisced with friends and rela-

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tives. The rest of my family seemed relaxed, too, certainly more so than when our ordeal began two days before.

Dennis had arrived from Boston and I from Virginia to stay with Dad and plan the services with Tom and Gaye, who lived in Salt Lake City. On the flight out, I had made up my mind to speak at the funeral even though a nerve ailment had left me with a speech impediment. As eldest child, I challenged the others to do likewise. After some discussion, Tom decided to sing, Dennis to speak, and Gaye to pray. We also chose Rex Curtis, former bishop and husband to my mother's niece, to deliver one of his fatherly, comforting sermons. Ione Palfreyman, ward organist, would play, and Gaye's husband, Al, would pronounce the invocation. During this itme, we alternately laughed, argued, cried, and suffered from migraine. (We called it our "group migraine," a condition we inherited from Mother.) Later, while searching through his personal papers, Tom found a long-forgotten slip of paper on which Mother had dictated the very program we had just created.

We then spent the next few hours in a fruitless search for Mother's temple clothes. We did find *my* temple dress, however, the one in which I had taken out my own endowments twenty-six years before. "I wish I could lose enough weight to wear a dress like that," Mother had said at the time. It pleased me, then, to deliver this dress to the Holbrooks even though it was now much too large to clothe Mother's wasted body.

Our search had also uncovered the first of a collection of diaries beginning about 1918 and ending a few months before her death. The small red diary of 1928 recounted her courtship and engagement with Dad. As Dennis read it aloud, Dad exclaimed, "Land! Mother had all the men after her!"

"As soon as she met you, Dad," Dennis told him, "she never could see anyone else."

The question in all our minds during this emotionally heightened and curiously mirthful period was "How will we get through the program without breaking down?" As the only one in the family to be neglected when musical talent was being passed out, I believed that Tom's part would be the most grueling. Apparently, he thought so too: After the program went to the printer, he called to say that he had decided to "get it over with" first.

Tom was the one who had watched with Dad during the day and the night of Mother's leaving. It was he who heard the doctor say, "Let her go. Your Mother has chosen it." It was he who prayed her through her last agony, he who called the mortuary. Tom's baritone voice always carries such a wallop, even in a less emotional time, that Dennis, Gaye, and I doubted our ability to follow him.

Dennis and I then decided to type out our remarks and to practice them until we could read them aloud at least once without crying. I chose my words carefully, and although it is not my habit to speak from a prepared text, I now breathed courage from the typed pages.

In spite of our careful plans, however, I was unprepared for the moment when, leaning over the coffin, I heard myself whisper, "I'm sorry, Mother," and pulled the veil down. I was able to control myself only because my next act had to be mounting the steps to the pulpit.

When I heard Tom's voice soaring out over the chapel benches, I said to myself, "If Tom can sing, I can speak," and was able to fulfill the prophecy made by one of my friends: "You will be able to speak. The Holy Ghost has promised to be with those who mourn."

I spoke of Mother's inherent joyousness as expressed in her diary: "My birthday! Oh, how wonderful to be alive!" and "Glorious Christmas day! We awoke and found Santa Claus had been." When, as a child, I had learned that she and Dad were responsible for all the miraculous gifts, she swore me to secrecy and inducted me into the Santa Claus Club. "Santa Claus is real. He lives in the hearts of those who continue to believe in giving." Santa Claus was a symbol of her delight in all special occasions, in holidays, in visits from friends, relatives, home teachers, and visiting teachers. These visits were faithfully recorded throughout her diaries, ending in late 1979 with the lonely line, "No one came today."

My eulogy centered around Mother's search for her mission in life. She had said to me only two years before: "I know I was spared for some mission," and then, after a wistful pause, "The trouble is I don't know what that is yet." After puzzling for some time over this remarkable admission, I had finally decided that Mother had suffered from the same seething ambitions that inform my own life, ambitions completely apart from the lives we live through others. When Gaye recited Mother's last words to her — "My mission is now over" — I wondered: Had she reviewed her own accomplishments and found them good?

"Like Mother," I said, "my goals have always been to leave something behind and to take something with me when I go."

Dennis, a historian, also recreated scenes from her diaries, quoting from an oral history interview he had conducted with Mother and Dad some years before. "Leo and I rode up Parleys Canyon and stopped and talked for a long time. Oh, wonderful! Wonderful! I became engaged!" Then much later, after Dad's cataract operation: "It was so good to have him home again. I love him so much and after forty-seven-and-a-half years of married life!"

Rex Curtis was satisfying in his evocation of Mother's devotion to her family and her church, and Gaye's and Al's simple prayers made us feel that we had portrayed Mother at her best.

Of course, some questions remained unanswered, even unasked. Why had she allowed her beautiful face to be eaten away by skin cancer, an ailment that, in its early stages, could have been easily cured? During that fifteen-year ordeal, our family had fasted, prayed, remonstrated, and argued until Dad had finally forbidden any more discussion. We watched as she took to her bed in a darkened room, unwilling to look at herself or others, behind a growth the size of a gas mask. It was then that Dennis sent a letter to President Kimball asking for advice. President Kimball's phone call to my mother began a chain of events that finally brought her to the care of a specialist who understood that "your little mother has been afraid of doctors all her life."

He was right, of course. But I knew the cause was more complicated than that. I knew it could be traced to her ill health as a child when another doctor

had advised her mother, "Enjoy her while you can. She won't live long enough for you to raise her." Her survival led to a consuming interest in health and illness, to long hours in "health lectures" and much reading in a stack of books dedicated to cures most medical experts would call "quack." I saw that she might even have become a doctor herself.

During the years when the "sore" was growing, I had felt personally responsible. As the eldest, I was sure I could persuade her to seek help. A three-day family fast finally allowed me to relinquish my burden. I came to believe that as long as Mother had her wits, she had the right to choose. The life extension granted her may have been the gift that allowed her to declare, "I was saved for some mission."

When the sun burst out over her gravesite during our last prayer that dark January day, we felt satisfied and we felt that she was satisfied. After being fed by the Relief Society, we went home with Dad to help him prepare for his time alone.

Two days later, with a few women friends at a luncheon, I found myself describing the veiling ceremony. Afterwards, I chided myself for voicing such an intimate experience, and over the next week the memory kept intruding on my cleaning, organizing, and helping Dad with his finances. Dad, Tom, Dennis, Gaye, and I pored over photograph albums Mother had kept for so many years, exclaiming over the hodgepodge collection. Childhood pictures crowded against recent ones in no particular plan. Who was that handsome man with the elaborate sideburns? That lovely lady in the mutton sleeves? Why had Mother kept that unflattering picture of me as a fat teenager, along with an old photo of a boyfriend I can no longer call to mind? It was a treasure hunt and a guessing game.

From albums we moved to drawers, chests, boxes under beds. My old cedar chest, where I had stored my wedding dress, was now filled with yarn and dolls — mine and Gaye's. Other chests held my red lace prom dress, tatting and crochet from Grandmother's day, and a wooden pencil box given to me in the first grade as an inheritance from Grandmother. All through the house were boxes filled with letters and junk mail, jewelry, and notebooks. We zipped back and forth in time as if on a crazy amusement ride, sorting, categorizing, seeking significance. Mother's lifelong habit of never throwing anything away which had always irritated me now seemed a blessing. Most of the treasures of our childhoods were still in the house along with the artifacts of her life that would help us to understand her.

I remember a passage from Eudora Welty's *One Writer's Beginnings*: "It seems to me, writing of my parents now in my seventies, that I see continuities in their lives that weren't visible to me when they were living" (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 90).

I was sleeping in my mother's room. As I lay in her bed asking myself why she had chosen to die in such a narrow, uncomfortable berth, I gazed at her walls. A picture of me in wedding finery, a painting of the Great Salt Lake she had painted for my wedding present, a watch I had given her for her fiftieth wedding anniversary. As I gazed at these and other keepsakes, the

experience of the veiling continued to hang over my spirit. I had always believed the veiling of a woman's face to be an insult, harking back to primitive purdah. And yet now other more cheerful images also came: a doll being lifted from a large box through a veil of tissue paper, and later, a smooth floral box revealing long-stemmed roses protected by a veil of moist white paper. How sweet the smell! How romantic the promise! But remembering only seemed to deepen the sting I was feeling.

After going home to Virginia, I tried to write in my diary. But I found myself stopping at the moment of the veiling. For several days I could not write. Then, one day I received a note from Maureen Ursenbach Beecher who had been at the luncheon. "I treasure your sharing the moment of the veiling of your mother's face," she wrote. "I would not have thought of that part of our ritual until it came to me, so I appreciate knowing in advance. I kept hearing the Bach music of a similarly beautiful, painful moment: *Es druckten Dein lieban Hande/Mir die getreuen Augen zu* — the idea that one might go in peace if it were the loved one's loving hands which pressed the eyelids shut. That office in our family will be my sister's by seniority and proximity, but it pleases me to know that it will be lovingly done. For moments of anticipated tenderness, Mary, much thanks."

At that moment my veil of confusion lifted, as if Maureen had actually taken my experience and edited it for me. I knew that when Mother had finally worn out her body and could no longer "face" the loss of her face, she had chosen to give up the struggle, allowing her body to be laid away like an antique doll, too fragile to be disturbed.

As I write this essay, I think of another statement of Welty's: "Writing fiction has developed in me an abiding respect for the unknown in a human lifetime and a sense of where to look for threads, how to follow, how to connect, find in the thick of the tangle what clear line persists. The strands are all there: to the memory nothing is ever really lost" (p. 90).

So I honor what is unknown about my mother — the essential mystery of her being. I close the lid, and I am thankful.

Sacred Histories

Lisa Bolin Hawkins

Come, my child, hark to the tale
The poets weave for our world:
Hear the prophets sing the song
Of earth rolling on her wings —
Behold, the story of spirits,
The trail a pillar of light blazes.
Forsake all else and follow;
Study, my son, my daughter,
For the time, rapt and joyous,
You watch victory unscrolled.
And after silence,
Trumpet songs, unsealings, and time no longer,
Still we will have the Books, my child,
The Books.

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Dale Morgan's Unfinished Mormon History

Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History edited by John Philip Walker (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 414 pp., $20.95.

Reviewed by Gary Topping, Utah State Historical Society.

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT to say too much in praise of John Phillip Walker's new contribution to Mormon historiography, a field that is bursting with recent major studies. Walker's book deserves a place on the shelf among those. How can one go wrong with a book that freshly illuminates two such endlessly fascinating characters as the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith and the brilliant historian Dale L. Morgan?

Although Dale Morgan (1914–71) was known through his prolific publications primarily as a historian of the American West (not the least of Walker's services in this volume is an apparently exhaustive bibliography of Morgan's published writings), his consuming life's work was a history of the Mormons. He began research on that history in the 1930s, plugged away at it for most of the rest of his life, but never finished it because of a protracted series of sidetracks forced upon him by the necessity of making a living. At the time of his death, he had completed a scant four chapters and two appendices, with three more chapters in rough form.

Publication of those chapters alone would have been a worthy project for Walker, for they represent an amazing mastery of the sources available at that time and some of the most felicitous writing in the literature of Mormonism. (The Reorganized Church cooperated somewhat, but the Utah church did not, once it saw the direction of his research.)

These chapters, however, would have made a fairly slim volume. Instead, Walker used the available space to include fifty of Morgan's letters to his friends — primarily Fawn Brodie, Juanita Brooks, and Madeline McQuown — in which he discusses, debates, and offers instruction in the writing of Mormon history. Brodie at the time was finishing her biography of Joseph Smith, Brooks was working on *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, and McQuown was writing a still-unpublished biography of Brigham Young. The result is not only an expansion in size, but an expansion in intellectual importance as well, for the letters give us, for the first time, a close look at Morgan's personal life and his approach to his craft as a historian.

It is somewhat unfortunate that these letters reveal only the mature Morgan, after most of his basic research on the Mormons was finished and his basic interpretive framework established. As important as that is, it would have been even more useful if we could have had a glimpse of Morgan during his college years and the years with the WPA, a significant period of discovery and gestation. If we could see more intellectual process in operation, it would be easier for us to avoid falling into the mistaken conclusion that Morgan approached the Mormons with his mind already made up, and it would lend more weight to his protestation to S. A. Burgess of the Reorganized Church

that "I am as willing to find things in Joseph Smith's favor as to find things against him" (p. 162).

Setting aside for a moment Morgan's Mormon research, this book eloquently demonstrates the acute need for a probing study of Dale Morgan, the man and the historian. Here, truly, was a first-rate mind and, though this book reveals little of it, perhaps the finest historian of the far West. It ought to be a stinging rebuke to Western historiography that, fifteen years after Morgan's death, this is the first published attempt to deal in any sophisticated way with Morgan's life and work. To a large degree, no doubt, this omission is due to the Bancroft Library's slothfulness in processing the immense collection of Morgan papers in their care (this also explains the lack of earlier Morgan letters in this volume), but blame also rests upon the infamous shortsightedness of Western historians, who are characteristically more concerned with enumerating buffalo chips and .45 caliber bullets than with exploring the larger philosophical and methodological dimensions of their craft. So Western historiography is the poorer, and its poverty is nowhere so nakedly evident as in its neglect of Dale Morgan.

It is a fortuitous circumstance that Morgan's history of the Mormons (it might more properly be titled, in this fragmentary form, a study of Joseph Smith, since it barely gets us up to the publication of the Book of Mormon) should appear at this moment, when the documents offered by Mark Hofmann have sparked among Mormon historians an intensive reconsideration of the cultural environment of the early Mormon Church, since Morgan's interpretation is rigorously environmental in its focus. Disinclined to take anything Joseph Smith said or did at face value, Morgan gives us a secular view of the origins of Mormonism. The Mormon phenomenon, in his view, was religious Jacksonian democracy in which received authority and tradition counted for nothing, and a man could work out a whole new destiny in the New World, not only through possession of a universally available priesthood, but through direct communication with God, establishing new institutions.

The general climate of Jacksonian democracy, together with its localized upstate New York occult accoutrements, was for Morgan a sufficient explanation for the origin of Mormonism. This thoroughgoing environmentalism drew Bernard DeVoto's criticism of Morgan in a letter as a frustrated sociologist who ignored personal factors; and it distinguished him from DeVoto and Fawn Brodie, who sought, in addition to impersonal environmental forces, an explanation of Joseph Smith in abnormal psychology. The Mormon prophet was not insane, Morgan countered; he was merely the right man in the right place at the right time.

If Morgan's view is not environmental determinism, it is dangerously close to it, and a truly convincing secular interpretation of the origins of Mormonism will have to deal more profoundly with personal factors than Morgan was inclined to do. No faithful Mormon, of course, will accept any account of environmental factors that allows no room for some sort of divine intervention, and Mormon scholars recently have been looking for ways to synthesize the secular and the divine. That synthesis is a ways off, though.

Denied access to vitally important sources, deprived of adequate research funds, (Morgan enjoyed one Guggenheim Fellowship but was denied a renewal), shut out from the security and sabbaticals of a teaching career by his total deafness and lack of formal qualifications, Morgan limped along with lesser jobs and lesser writing projects and never finished his Mormon book. As this fragment indicates, it is our loss.

BRIEF NOTICES

The Price by Karl-Heinz Schnibbe with Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1984), 126 pp., $6.95.

IF YOU'VE EVER WONDERED what Mormons were doing in Germany during Hitler's rise to power, you may be interested in this book. Karl Heinz Schnibbe was a Mormon teenager in Nazi Germany who, along with several of his friends, most notably Helmuth Huebener, tried to spread a voice of reason throughout Nazi Germany by distributing mimeographed tracts of BBC broadcasts. Schnibbe sketches his life in Germany, the mood and activities in his Mormon branch, his anti-Nazi activities, and his capture, trial, and sentencing. Huebener was executed. Schnibbe's years as a political prisoner and later prisoner of war in Russia are recounted, as well as his attempts to return to a normal life after seven years of harsh deprivations.

The book is short and may leave some questions unanswered, but it is a fascinating look at someone who tried to make a difference and the consequences of that choice.

Moments That Matter by Hoyt W. Brewster, Jr. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1986), 83 pp., $7.95.

HOYT W. BREWSTER is identified on the cover as a Ph.D., noted Church teacher and popular lecturer as well as manager of curriculum planning and development for the Church. This little book is a collection of "true stories about choices, decisions, and the differences they can make in our lives." For the author and many of his sources, life's choices are clear — either we choose right or we choose wrong. We move closer to exaltation or we follow Satan. Many of his stories involve Word of Wisdom choices — the cigarette passed up, the sip of wine taken in a moment of weakness. Most stories have been previously published and some appear in Church lesson manuals.

The author admonishes us to be single minded, to beware of those "who would persuade us to bend just a little . . . . They may feign friendship, but they should be recognized for the wolves of prey that they are" (p. 78). We should beware also of lost opportunities, heed the advice of our leaders, and listen to the promptings of the spirit. Otherwise we may put in eternal jeopardy our spiritual progress.

Saltair by Nancy D. McCormick and John S. McCormick (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 109 pp., $9.95 paper, $19.95 cloth.

FROM THE TIME MORMON PIONEERS settled the Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1847, people have looked to the Great Salt Lake for recreation. In 1870 two lakeside resorts began operation. By the turn of the century eight resorts had been built, four on the south shore and four on the east. The most popular and best remembered was Saltair. The Mormon church built it in 1893 with two things in mind: to provide "wholesome" recreation for Mormons so they would not have to patronize non-Mormon resorts, and to develop a "Coney Island of the West" that would advertise Utah as no longer a strange, isolated land of curious people and practices. Mormon leaders, in other words, wanted to have the best of both worlds — they wanted to join the world and at the same time minimize its influences and avoid its excesses. In less than a decade the first goal had clearly triumphed at the expense of the second. *Saltair* is the first full-length history of that resort. It contains chapters on previous "pleasure resorts" on the Great Salt Lake; the Mormon church's construction of it; its golden years from 1893 until its destruction by fire in 1925; its subsequent rebuilding; its hard times during the Great Depression of the nineteen thirties; and its

World War II years and after. The book is illustrated with more than one hundred old photographs, advertisements, and postcards and concludes with a brief bibliographical essay.

The Next Time We Strike: Labor in Utah's Coal Fields, 1900–1933 by Allan Kent Powell (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1985), xix, 272 pp., $19.95.

The Next Time We Strike is the first complete history of the struggle for unionization in the Utah coalfields. The introductory chapter provides an overview of significant developments within labor and the coal industry in the state. Subsequent chapters deal with major labor strikes in 1901, 1903, 1922, and 1933, clandestine efforts to establish a union foothold in the 1910s and 1920s, and the major mine disasters at Winter Quarters on 1 May 1900 when 200 miners were killed and at Castle Gate on 8 March 1924 when 171 men lost their lives.

Miner attempts to organize a union were resisted by mine owners through such measures as company spies, blacklists, yellow-dog contracts, discharges, smears, and calls for the National Guard. However in 1933 when New Deal labor policies encouraged the establishment of labor unions, mine owners were forced to choose between the more conservative United Mine Workers of America or the radical, communist led National Miners Union. Despite three decades of bitter opposition to the United Mine Workers, mine owners suddenly found themselves allies with their former enemy in a successful attempt to defeat the National Miners Union efforts in Utah.

The conduct of Mormon Church leaders toward the union movement is carefully documented, and the attitudes of Utahns to the non-Mormon, Southeast European immigrants who came to mine Utah coal, provide an interesting and seldom seen glimpse of Utah and Mormon history.

Pioneer Trails West by The Western Writers of America, Don Worcester, editor (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1985), xx, 292 pp., $24.95.

WRITTEN BY NINETEEN CONTRIBUTORS, this book covers all of the major trails which developed as a result of westward expansion. Included is a chapter on the Mormon Trail written by S. George Ellsworth. He includes a brief historical account of the Mormons and the reasons behind their move west; information on the two stages of the development of the trail; an account of the first group over the trail; the experiences of a "typical experience for emigrants"; outfitting posts, etc.

The Hotel: Salt Lake's Classy Lady. The Hotel Utah, 1911–1986 by Leonard J. Arrington and Heidi S. Swinton (Salt Lake City: The Westin Hotel Utah, 1986), viii, 101 pp., $19.95.

OPENING IN 1911, the Hotel Utah has played an important role in the history of Salt Lake City. The Hotel was built under the direction of Joseph F. Smith who as Trustee-in-Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints held 3,650 of 10,000 shares. Smith was also the first president and director of the Utah Hotel Company. The book, which is arranged chronologically, discusses the construction and management of the hotel and then goes on to discuss each significant historical period in the hotel's history. The book also gives a chronology of the hotel as well as a list of the officers, directors, and managers.