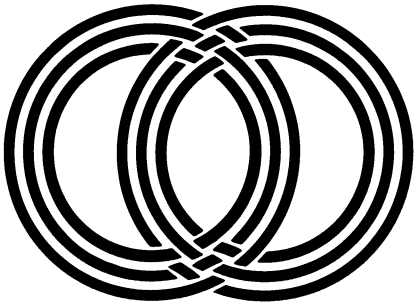
TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, Vol. 20, No. 2, Summer 1987

CONTENTS

LETTERS 4

1986 *DIALOGUE* WRITING AWARDS 6

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

MONOLOGUES AND DIALOGUES: A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE — *Robert A. Rees* 9

SIN AND SEXUALITY: PSYCHOBIOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOMOSEXUALITY — *R. Jan Stout* 29

NOTES ON APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION — *Steven C. Heath* 44

SPIRITUAL SEARCHINGS: THE CHURCH ON ITS INTERNATIONAL MISSION — *Garth N. Jones* 58

FRIENDSHIP AND INTIMACY — *Margaret Hoopes* 76

THE BINDING OF ISAAC: A VIEW OF JEWISH EXEGESIS — *Harris Lenowitz* 90

FOUR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MORMON FAMILY: CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON CHASTITY, CONGUGALITY, CHILDREN, AND CHAUVINISM — *Tim B. Heaton* 101

NOTES AND COMMENTS

RELIGION AND SUICIDE: A RECORDS-LINKAGE STUDY — *Phillip R. Kunz* 115

PERSONAL VOICES

FAMILY SCRIPTURES — *Laurel Thatcher Ulrich* 119

A CELEBRATION OF SISTERHOOD — *Claudia L. Bushman* 128

"NO MORE STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS" — *Nell Folkman* 136

MEDITATIONS ON THE HEAVENS — *Emma Lou Thayne* 143

FICTION

WILD SAGE — *Phyllis Barber* 148

POETRY

DISCOURAGEMENT	*Frederick G. Williams*	25
LULU: ON THE DEATH OF A SISTER	*Frederick G. Williams*	26
FOR BROTHER DE MIK	*Dian Saderup*	42
RECOLLECTIONS FROM AN EX	*Karen Marguerite Moloney*	88
SONS	*Connie Hendrickson Jorgensen*	142

REVIEWS

POLYGAMY EXAMINED — *Linda King Newell* — 154
Mormon Polygamy: A History *by Richard Van Wagoner*

MOVE OVER, *FORTUNE* "500" — *William P. McKinnon* — 156
The Mormon Corporate Empire *by John Heinerman and Anson Shupe*

ART CREDITS

Judith Mehr, whose oil paintings and water colors are featured in this issue, moved from the San Francisco area to Salt Lake City in 1978, when she began a full-time career as a visual artist. Her talent was immediately recognized by the Church, which commissioned several works, including portraits of General Authorities. Her latest project for the Church is a seven-by-twenty-three foot mural to be installed this summer in the Genealogical Library Building. Her work has also been purchased for inclusion in many corporate, government, and individual collections, has been featured in four issues of *The Ensign*, and has been shown in many group exhibits in California and Utah.

Front Cover: "Old Woman in a Garden," oil on canvas, 36″×24″, 1983.

Back Cover: "Aunt Grace Posing," oil on canvas, 30″×24″, 1982.

p. 28 "Retirement," oil on canvas, 32″×48″, 1986.

p. 57 "Eggs and Bowls," oil on canvas, 16″×24″, 1982.

p. 75 "Kitten in a Garden," oil on canvas, 36″×36″, 1984.

p. 100 "Fragments," oil on canvas, 30″×42″, 1980; used by permission of the Museum of Church History and Art.

p. 118 "California Roots," oil on canvas, 12″×16″, 1981.

p. 135 "Crimson Pears," oil on canvas, 18″×26″, 1985.

p. 141 "Eggs and Apples II," oil on canvas, 14″×20″, 1980.

p. 147 "Summer Flow," watercolor, 14″×19″, 1980.

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DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including doublespacing all block quotations and notes. 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.

LETTERS

No Crusades

Thanks for your hard work and dedication. I realize that the current atmosphere of conservatism and orthodoxy can sometimes be frustrating for those of us who need to ask questions for which there are no easy answers, but it is nice to know that we are not alone. From everything I've ever read in the scriptures, I have to believe that the Lord really wants us to know the truth of all things and not be contented with the status quo. At the same time, we have an obligation to be true to ourselves and the knowledge that is revealed to us and need to respect the free agency of those around us.

Please don't ever get caught up in the crusading spirit. Those who do tend to be more concerned with "winning the glorious quest" (whatever that quest may be) than simply being dedicated to the truth and teaching it with compassion and understanding. Thanks again for your courage and willingness to sacrifice in behalf of all of us.

Jane A. Geller
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

The 100 Percent Myth

Richard J. Cummings's claim to have only a 15 percent testimony (Summer 1986) leads me to point out that anyone who thinks he has a 15 percent testimony must believe there is a 100 percent testimony out there somewhere. This isn't true. The core of each person's testimony is composed of several items, differing in composition from the core of every other Mormon's testimony. Saint A may hold dear Articles of Faith 1, 2, and 4, while also being attracted to practices 34, 45, and 115. Saint B may cling to Articles 49, 1, and 7 together with practices 108, 92, and 359.

Moreover, the list of articles and practices changes from season to season. The following nineteenth-century items are now "out," for example: blood atonement, temporal polygyny, the temporal kingdom of God, the Adam-God theory, and speaking in tongues.

Academically sophisticated Mormons, such as Professor Cummings, quite naturally are attracted to a different set of core testimony elements than some of the businessmen down on Temple Square. Just because there are presently more businessmen than academics among the General Authorities doesn't mean that professors have to be like-minded to be good Mormons.

Joseph H. Jeppson
Woodside, California

Mutual Endeavor

Thank you for your invitation to return to the fold as a subscriber. I'm a warm friend of DIALOGUE and also appreciate all the fine things you are doing in the Mormon literary field. As you probably know, the forty books I wrote and published in the past years, many of them concerning the same audience, qualify me to the same interest and endeavor.

I hope you realize the important role you play in our mutual world. Thank you for inviting me to again join you in the

field of our common heritage. Unfortunately for me, total blindness has forced the verdict. For fifty years I managed with one eye to carry on a career of journalism and editing many books concerning the American West. This last year I lost the sight of the remaining good eye. Total blindness is hard for me to accept. But from it there can be no reprieve. No longer can I see my beautiful world. As an author, no longer can I write, read, or share in the literary world. I must therefore leave it to you. God bless you in your endeavors. And thank you for again asking me aboard.

Paul Bailey
Claremont, California

P.S. This note was scribbled in the world of total darkness. I hope you can read it.

Disappointed in "Nephite"

We received our winter issue of DIALOGUE and read with interest and appreciation many of the articles.

However, when we read the short story by Levi S. Peterson, "The Third Nephite," we had a different feeling. We were both disgusted, embarrassed, and ashamed of the ridicule that was placed on the person who was supposed to be an apostle of Christ, hand chosen by him in the flesh. We were offended by the language that this character used. We were also disappointed in the foul language and the frequent use of the name of Deity. We were ashamed of the type of character Otis was, and of his actions and language.

If this story was meant to be humorous, we certainly missed the point completely. We are embarrassed for the author and will be careful in the future to omit his writings in our reading.

This is not the kind of reading we want in our home. It is not what we would recommend to our friends or grandchildren. If there is more like it published in DIALOGUE, we will cancel our subscription.

Herman and Maude Fielding
Othello, Washington

Unheard "Shout"?

Steven Heath (Fall 1986) noted that the polygamist inmates in the Territorial Penitentiary raised the hosannah shout in the spring of 1886. Rudger Clawson was one of the approximately fifty men residing in bunkhouse number three, then occupied exclusively by Latter-day Saints, when the shout was raised. In his "Penitentiary Experiences, 1884–87" (LDS Historical Department Archives), he records that the proposal to offer up the sacred shout was individually assented to by the assembled brethren.

He then notes that the shout was given in the daytime "filling the room with a great volume of sound, which I am sure escaped through the [two] windows and entrance into the open air. The shout was given with earnestness and force almost sufficient to raise the roof, and yet, strange to say, not a prisoner outside of that little company in the bunk room appeared at the door, nor did any one of the guards rush up to learn the cause of so great a disturbance."

The shout appears to have been offered to and heard only by the heavenly hosts.

Melvin L. Bashore
Riverton, Utah

EDITORS' CORRECTION: Several readers have asked us to identify the five founders of DIALOGUE and to correct an error in our opening statement in the Spring issue (pp. 4–5). Eugene England and Wesley Johnson served together as managing editors from 1966 through 1969 when Gene left Stanford. Wesley Johnson continued as managing editor through 1970. Others in the original group were: Frances Menlove who served as manuscripts editor, Paul Salisbury as publications editor, and Joseph Jeppson as Notes and Comments editor. Wesley Johnson will explore in detail these people's roles in the founding of DIALOGUE in his history of the journal which will appear in the winter issue as part of DIALOGUE's Twentieth Anniversary Celebration.

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1986 DIALOGUE Writing Award Winners

LOWELL L. BENNION ESSAY PRIZE

$350: Eugene England, "Easter Weekend: A Personal Fiction"

HISTORY

First Place $300: Alan Taylor, "Rediscovering the Context of Joseph Smith's Treasure Seeking"

First Place $300: Ronald W. Walker, "Martin Harris: Mormonism's Early Convert"

Second Place $200: Kent E. Robson, "Objectivity and History"

Third Place $100: Jeffery O. Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households"

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

First Place $300: R. Jan Stout, "Sin and Sexuality: Psychobiology and the Development of Homosexuality"

Second Place $200: Warner P. Woodworth, "Brave New Workplace"

Third Place $100: Tim B. Heaton, "Four Characteristics of the Mormon Family: Contemporary Research on Chastity, Conjugality, Children, and Chauvinism"

PERSONAL ESSAYS

Awarded for excellence in the personal essay, $200:

Harold T. Christensen, "Memoirs of a Marginal Man"

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Family Scriptures"

Jerilyn Wakefield, " 'And Baby Makes Two': Choosing Single Motherhood"

THEOLOGY/RELIGIOUS STUDIES

$200: Harris Lenowitz: "The Binding of Isaac: A View of Jewish Exegesis"

FICTION

First Place $300: Karen Rosenbaum, "Long Divisions"

Second Place $200: Levi S. Peterson, "The Third Nephite"

Third Place $100: Phyllis Barber, "The Whip: A Mormon Folktale"

POETRY

First Place $100: Emma Lou Thayne, "Meditations on the Heavens"

Second Place $75: Marden Clark, "August 6"

Third Place $50: Karen Marguerite Moloney, "Recollections from an Ex"

DIALOGUE: 1987 WRITING AWARDS

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT announces over $2,000 in awards to encourage new writing in Mormon studies and letters. First-place awards of $300 will be made, with the number and amount of other prizes awarded at the discretion of the judges.

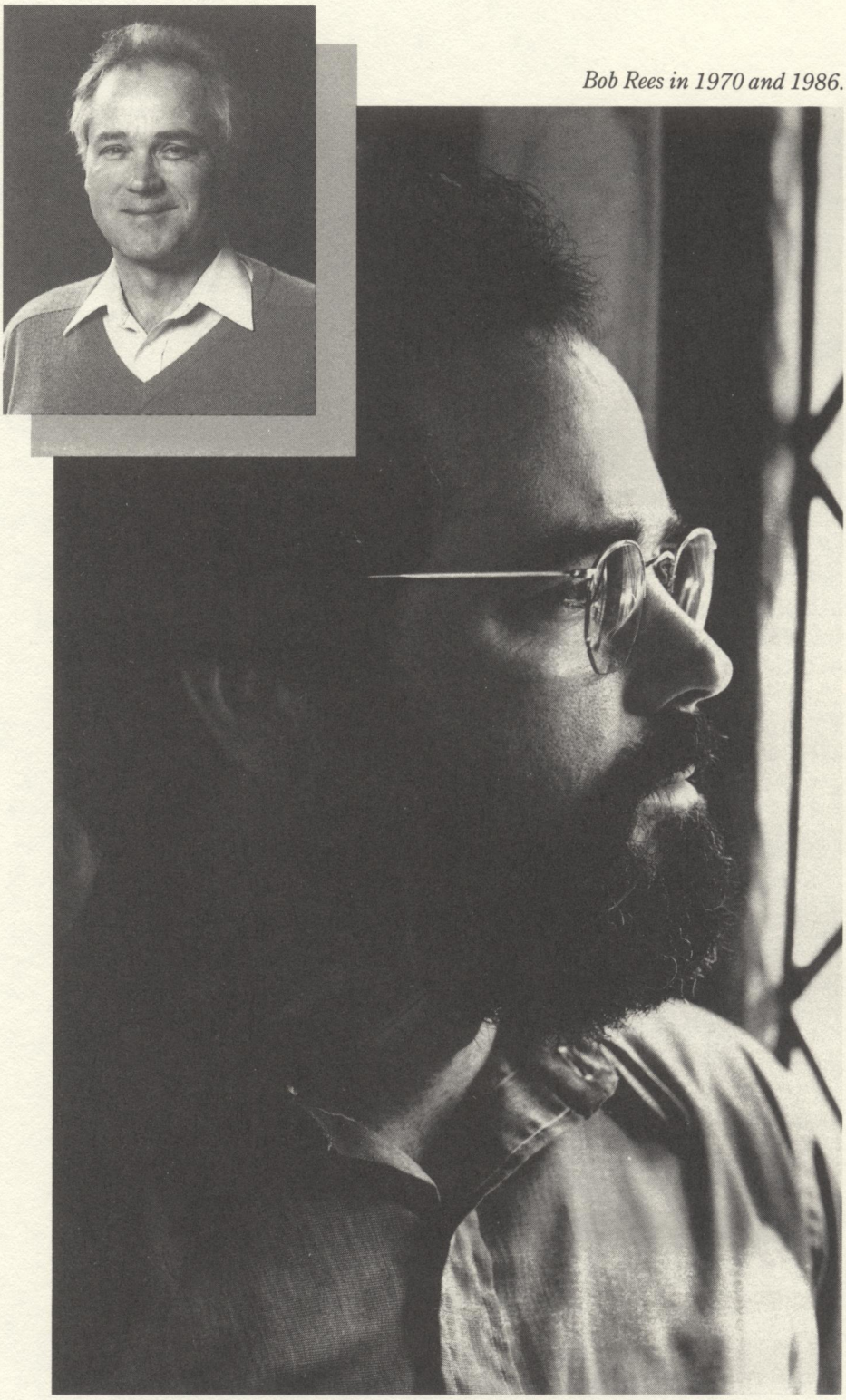
A separate $350 prize to honor Lowell L. Bennion will be awarded to the outstanding essay concerning the expression of Christian values and gospel principles in thought and action. Essays considered for this prize will be judged on their expression of Christian beliefs and values, insights on their application, exploration on the challenges of Christian living, and gracefulness of style.

Manuscripts submitted at any time during the 1987 calendar year will be considered for the prize, provided they have not previously been submitted to DIALOGUE nor previously published nor are being considered for publication elsewhere. DIALOGUE reserves the first right of refusal and, at the time it announces the prizes, will inform the author if his or her manuscript is being considered for publication. DIALOGUE also reserves the right to edit manuscripts in its usual fashion in preparation for publication.

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

Manuscripts must be typed and double-spaced throughout, including block quotations and notes, and follow *Chicago Manual of Style*'s author-date citations (13th ed.). One original and two photocopies of each manuscript must be submitted with a self-addressed stamped envelope no later than 31 December 1987. In general, manuscripts should not exceed forty double-spaced pages, including notes.

All manuscripts will be judged on the basis of their contribution to their field, clarity and felicity of expression, and responsible, innovative thought. Judges will be selected by the DIALOGUE Executive Committee from its board of editors, staff, and other qualified persons. Winners will be announced in the Summer 1988 issue.



Bob Rees in 1970 and 1986.

Monologues and Dialogues: A Personal Perspective

Robert A. Rees

I

"In the beginning was the dialogue."
— Hugh Nibley's translation
of John 1:1 (1978, 282).

ENGAGING IN DIALOGUE IS ONE OF THE FIRST EXPERIENCES we have as human beings. Even when our communication is only inarticulate gurgling, we are participating in some kind of communication. Entering into dialogue with another, whether human or divine, is one of the experiences we bring from the preexistence. As Hugh Nibley says, "In the beginning was the Logos [counsel, discussion], and the Logos was in the presence of God, and all things were done according to it. . . ." If that is the pattern of heaven, it should be even more so on earth, where understanding is more critical.

Never was the importance of dialogue brought home to me more clearly than during the six years I edited DIALOGUE. Out of those many exchanges — dialectical, impassioned, personal, spiritual, scholarly, and poetic — came many good things. I firmly believe we are in a better place as a people and as a church because of what has been published within the covers of this journal. To begin with, we can now talk about a number of topics openly that we were not free to discuss twenty years ago. And our dialogue is more reasoned and sensitive. On the other hand, there are still too many among us who are threatened by open and honest discussion, and too many others whose voices are silenced by intimidation or fear. We have come a long way; we still have a long way to go.

ROBERT A. REES is assistant dean of the College of Fine Arts, UCLA, and director, Department of the Arts, UCLA, University Extension. He was editor of DIALOGUE *from 1971 to 1976. He and his wife, Ruth Stanfield Rees, are the parents of four children — all of them, plus Ruth, currently students at the University of California. He is also bishop of the Los Angeles First Ward, a singles group.*

I feel that meaningful dialogue touches every aspect of our lives. In the following pages, I try to say something about the ways in which it is essential to the fully spiritual and intellectual life. I have drawn upon my own questions, real and imagined dialogue, excerpts from a book of sayings my wife Ruth kept of our children while they were growing up, quotations I have gathered over the years, scriptures, and other bits and pieces of human thought and imagination. Together, I hope they convey how important dialogue (and DIALOGUE) is to me.

II

ON EDITING *DIALOGUE*

I was editor of DIALOGUE for about six years. It was a very exciting time to be alive and publishing an independent journal among the Mormons. It was a period of great foment in the society at large and this was certainly reflected in the Church. Wes Johnson, one of the first editors, wrote recently about a project he is working on at BYU called the "*Dialogue* Oral History Project," through which a number of people associated with the journal from its inception will be interviewed. I decided to interview myself as a preliminary run-through for Wes's project.

RAR: You were associated with DIALOGUE for about eight years, first as book review editor and issue editor and later as general editor. What was it like?

Me: Well, the first word that comes to mind is exhilarating. There was lot of excitement in the air in those days. The idea of an independent journal among the Mormons was still not widely accepted; and in fact, there was a lot of hostility toward not only the journal but toward those associated with it. So part of what we were doing was trying to show there was a place for a journal like DIALOGUE.

RAR: How did you do that?

Me: Well, for one thing, we attempted to stabilize DIALOGUE financially. We tried to broaden the list of subscribers, solicit contributions from foundations and individuals, and stay on a regular publishing schedule.

RAR: Were you successful?

Me: Not entirely. We struggled with the business matters and our lateness in getting the journal out became something of an embarrassment. We took a number of measures to catch up; but it seemed that with sagging subscriptions, rising costs, lack of staff, and other problems, I often felt like Sisyphus. But why are you asking these questions? Get on to something significant, or at least interesting.

RAR: Ah! It looks as if I've touched a sensitive nerve.

Me: Well, there was a lot of blood, sweat, and anguish that went into those six years, a lot of personal sacrifice; and it seems all some people remember is that we were sometimes late.

RAR: Okay. What would you like to be remembered for then?

Me: Each of the editors has given his or her (with the current editors, his *and* her) special imprint. I have respected the work of Eugene England and Wes Johnson before me and Mary Bradford and Linda and Jack Newell after me. I am not sure what most distinguishes my editorship, but we attempted to publish essays and articles on the most important subjects facing Mormons. We tried to give voice to many points of view, to present reasoned and responsible scholarship, to publish more art and literature, to publish interesting personal voices and religious expressions, to make the journal absorbing.

RAR: Of all the things you published in those six years, of which are you most proud?

Me: That's a hard question, but I suppose the "Black Issue" as we called it.

RAR: Why?

Me: Because it was such an important subject, especially to Latter-day Saints of my generation. Until we published Lester Bush's article, there had not really been a responsible, comprehensive examination of this issue.

RAR: What effect do you feel the article had?

Me: Perhaps it was one of the factors that helped create a climate where the idea of blacks receiving the priesthood could be understood and accepted.

RAR: Do you have any confessions to make about being an editor?

Me: Sometimes I composed letters to the editor.

RAR: What! That's scandalous! Why did you do that?

Me: Because I knew that was the section people read the most and I had some important things to say. It was also a way I could comment on other articles and letters without identifying myself as editor.

RAR: What pseudonyms did you use?

Me: I'm not telling.

RAR: Did you pay any personal price for editing DIALOGUE?

Me: Well, it may have cost me tenure because I was devoting more time to it than to some of the scholarly projects my department wanted me to be involved in. I don't regret that, but I do regret the fact that it was a hardship on my family at times. Ruth especially bore the brunt of my zealousness to publish an independent journal. She supported me when it seemed that no one else did and did a lot of the hard and demanding work on the journal without ever receiving much credit for it.

RAR: Knowing what you know now, would you volunteer to do it again?

Me: Without question.

RAR: Why?

Me: Because I have a passionate concern for the life of the mind and the spirit in the Church. I love the Church with all my heart, and I firmly believe that it will survive to bless as many people as possible only if there is a climate for open and honest discussion of whatever issues are important to any of us. We don't have anything to fear from free inquiry and open dialogue; we have much to fear from repression of ideas, intimidation of dialogue, and uncharitable judgments. I am an inquiring, thinking person, but I am also a true believer, a faithful follower of the Savior, a devoted member of the Church. I believe I am both of these because of the Church, and I believe I can be both of these in the Church. It is, in fact, a dialogue between those two fundamental, integral parts of myself that I think offers me the best chance of working out my salvation with fear and trembling. In actuality, I don't see how I can possibly escape the tension I often feel between what my mind thinks and what my heart knows. That tension makes for a dynamic life, a life of growth and challenge as intellect and faith have a dialogue with one another. I think that dialogue is essential for the ultimate flowering of the Christian life.

III
ON KNOWING TRUTH

"Truth is a lie."
— Picasso (Kehl 1983, 62)

"I am a lie that always tells the truth."
— Jean Cocteau (Kehl 1983, 15)

Knowing truth is difficult; talking with others about knowing truth is sometimes impossible. Two brief dialogues with my daughter, Julianna, when she was seven illustrate this:

1

Julianna: How do we know Jesus is true?

Me: Because the Holy Spirit tells us it is true.

Julianna: How do we know the Holy Spirit is true?

2

Julianna: How do we know the Church is true?

Me: Because the Holy Ghost gives us a good feeling in our hearts that it is true.

Julianna: What makes our good feeling better than Josh's [the Jewish boy down the street] good feeling?

Obviously I didn't have any answers that would satisfy her.

As Mormons, we sometimes act as if we have all the truth or as if we were the only ones who have truth. Apparently this is not a new phenomenon. A hundred and fifty years ago Thoreau, in commenting on someone who was so self-assured, said, "He was so Mormon-like." [1]

On the other hand, we do feel we have been blessed to know that some things are true. I have myself spoken the words, "I know the gospel is true," perhaps thousands of times and they still have a profound and sacred meaning for me. But I am also trained in the scientific method and am skeptical of many things that others say are true.

The problem with having all the truth is that it leaves us closed to all the truth. As William James says, "The greatest enemy to any one of our truths may be the rest of our truths," or as John Cage says, "We learn nothing from the things we know" (Kehl 1983, 49, 20).

Knowing whatever truth we know should leave us humble. The history of philosophy is a chronicle of human inability to come to any ultimate truth through logical or cognitive ways. As Will Durant says in the preface to one of the volumes in his *Story of Civilization*, "I know no more about the ultimates than the simplest urchin in the street" (1957, VIII) The history of religion, on the other hand, (including our own) is a chronicle of the way that "truth" shifts from context to context and from century to century. Apparently Brigham Young believed some things as truth that are now considered false doctrine. And doubtless many of those things we now consider beyond question will indeed be questioned by the next generation.

What does all of this mean for the possibilities of dialogue? Most of all, it means that we need to be open to truth and to revising our ideas about some of the things we "know" to be true. I'm not suggesting that truth is relative, that testimonies are negotiable or that some things are not ultimately true. What I am saying is that all the truth on what is true is not yet in and that we have a greater chance to know more truth if we are willing to have our truths examined. What we do know should leave us humble about how little we know. As Hugh B. Brown of the First Presidency said in his 1969 address on intellectual freedom at BYU:

> While I believe all that God has revealed, I am not quite sure that I understand what he has revealed, and the fact that he has promised further revelation is to me a challenge to keep an open mind and be prepared to follow wherever my search for truth may lead. . . . We have been blessed with much knowledge by revelation from God which, in some part, the world lacks. But there is an incomprehensibly greater part of truth which we must yet discover. Our revealed truth should leave us stricken with the knowledge of how little we really know. It should never lead to an emotional arrogance based upon a false assumption that we somehow have all the answers — that we in fact have a corner on truth. For we do not" (1969, 11–12).

---

[1] I first heard this quotation more than thirty years ago in a class on the American Renaissance from Robert K. Thomas at BYU. When I called him, he confirmed that it was an authentic quotation but wasn't sure where it could be located. A scholar at the University of California at Santa Barbara who is editing Thoreau's journals is looking for it.

IV
ON KNOWING GOD

> "The world is a kind of
> spiritual kindergarten where
> millions of bewildered infants
> are trying to spell God's name
> with the wrong blocks."
>
> — E. A. Robinson (1897)

We Mormons tend to be so assured, so certain in our knowledge of God, that it sometimes seems as if there were nothing about him that we feel we don't know. Thoreau said that some people "speak of God as if they enjoyed a monopoly of the subject" (1970, 282); and in the Church it seems we have no dearth of people who are anxious to tell us what the Lord says on any given subject.

The more I have come to know about God, the less I know of him. If it is true that he created us in his image, then it seems more true that we tend to create him in ours. Certainly my understanding of God has changed over the span of fifty years. When I was a boy, he was surprisingly like my father: while I knew he loved me, I was also scared to death of him and felt that at any given moment I was only a step away from the fires of hell.

When I joined the Church at the age of ten, God became a little less threatening; but during my adolescent years, I was still pretty anxious about our relationship, especially as I was struggling with my emerging sexuality. I didn't really understand much about the love of God, however, until I took Reid Bankhead's class, "Jesus the Christ," at BYU. There, for the first time, I began to understand something about the Atonement and experienced God's love through his Son in a personal and profound way.

During the '60s and early '70s when I was a young graduate student and later assistant professor, God suddenly developed a strong social conscience: he was concerned about civil rights and about the wars on poverty and in Viet Nam and wasn't any more tolerant than I of conservative, hide-bound, red-necked, anti-intellectual Mormons.

Later as I struggled to raise four bright, independent children and to make a marriage work, God seemed to center his attention on domestic matters. Like me, he was wrestling with the dichotomy between free will and authority, between autonomy and intimacy. God and I both had beards during this time, but I had a lot more trouble with mine than he did with his.

Last year when I became a bishop of a ward with 225 single adults, I began to understand for the first time how hard it must be to be God. I found myself wanting to make things happen outside people's agency: to make pain and guilt and loneliness go away, to erase the abuse that so many of my congregation suffered as children, to reorient some people sexually, to magically make one member of my congregation fall in love with another. I think of how hard it must be to be God, to see all this suffering and heartache, this deep anguish

of soul and not be able to solve it all and still make agency the central principle of being.

There was a period of time in these years when God and I grew a little distant. I found myself asking him questions which he didn't seem to answer. Our "dialogue" reminded me of the lines from one of Robert Frost's poems:

> I turned to speak to God
> About the world's despair;
> But to make bad matters worse
> I found God wasn't there.
>
> God turned to speak to me
> (Don't anybody laugh)
> God found I wasn't there —
> At least not over half (1965, 204).

Only later did it occur to me that God was either not speaking because he himself didn't know how to answer me or, what was more likely, like Job, I didn't know enough to understand the answers that were there all along.

Lately, God has become more real to me as I have had to seek his guidance on a daily basis as a bishop. Because I have experienced his love in my life and witnessed it working in the lives of others, I have come to understand as I never had before what the scriptures mean when they say that "God is love." His love is the one inexhaustible and irreducible force in the universe. It is the power by which we and the worlds move and have our being. He is my father and I am his son, and I am trying to learn to love him better.

But at the same time I am having a more intimate experience with God, I am also getting a new glimpse of his greatness and glory and a greater sense of my insignificance in the presence of his unfathomable mind. And I realize how very little I know about him. This has been brought to me by the daily news coming from the far reaches of God's infinite territory — outer space:

Item: Mysterious arcs, four to seven times longer than the diameter of the Milky Way, curve around clusters of galaxies that are 3 billion light years (that is, 3 billion times 6 trillion miles!) from earth.

Item: Cosmic strings or "threads" of pure energy send off electromagnetic radiation that could induce electric currents as large as 100 quintillion ampers.

Item: One recently discovered superdense star spews X-rays at a temperature of 50 million degrees farenheit with 100,000 times the luminosity of the sun.

Item: A neutron star ten miles in diameter is so dense that a cubic inch would weigh 100 billion tons on Earth.

Who is this being, this master of light and time, who governs the vast reaches and regions of space? How can he create a sun 100,000 times brighter

than our sun and still care if I am tolerant or kind or chaste? How can he be so far away that light still travels to us from stars he created trillions of years ago and yet be so near that I can sometimes feel his presence? How can he exist in light and power beyond my ability to imagine and yet lift the burdens from the Saints in my ward? I confess I don't know how; I only know that he does. Like Emerson, I feel that "all I have seen teaches me to trust my creator for all that I have not seen" (8:338)

For me, all the unanswered and unanswerable questions, all the theological and philosophical conundrums, all the perplexities and mysteries come down to these two central and eternal facts: God is, and he loves us.

V

ON THINKING AND IMAGINING

> "Perhaps the imagination is the true teleological organ in our evolution, directing all change."
>
> — Ihab Hassan (1972, 177)
>
> "The dimensions of the universe are five: three in space and one each of time and mass. What are the dimensions of mind?"
>
> — Ihab Hassan (1972, 177)

What makes us most human is that we think. What makes us most divine is that we dream. Our brain is used for both — to travel to outer space or explore a world as vast as space within our own subconscious, to dream new worlds and then people them, to create chaos and then order it. There are no newer or braver worlds than those we create each night in our dreams or each day in our imaginations.

What makes dialogue to vital, so exciting, is that we are engaging no less than another potential universe each time we converse. Each mind holds an eternity of memory, an infinity of possibility. A single cortex of the brain easily remembers what it would take even the world's most sophisticated computer much longer to find.

Children, before we teach them to stop wondering, understand the majesty and mystery of the brain, as illustrated by the following dialogue, which took place between my son Maddox, then age nine, and his sister, Julianna, then age eleven:

Maddox: Do you know what's faster than the speed of light?

Julianna: No.

Maddox: I made it up and I think it's right, though nobody else says so.

Julianna: Well, what is it?

Maddox: The speed of brain.

And yet there are those who are afraid of this white star, this exploding supernova in our heads, who would convince us that others are better equipped than we to do our own thinking, who are frightened by the imagination. Anyone who doubts that we should be responsible for our own thoughts should consider the following advice of President Hugh B. Brown to the students of BYU: "Preserve, then, the freedom of your minds in education and in religion, and be unafraid to express your thoughts and to insist upon your right to examine every proposition. We are not so much concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox as we are that you should have thoughts" (1969, 9–10).

If, as the scientists of the Enlightenment felt, the purpose of human beings is to think God's thoughts after him, we must use our minds more, not less. The Prophet Joseph Smith, whose mind was certainly expanded on numerous occasions, understood this well. He said, "We consider that God has created man with a mind capable of instruction, and a faculty which may be enlarged in proportion to the heed and diligence given to the light communicated from heaven to the intellect; and that the nearer a man approaches perfection, the clearer are his views and the greater his enjoyments" (1973, 51).

Joseph Smith also knew the power of the imagination, as the following quote illustrates: "Thy mind, O man! if thou will lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss and the broad expanse of eternity — thou must commune with God" (HC 3:295). It is the imagination that makes communication with God possible — or at least richly so.

The most important function of the imagination is that it liberates us. As Wallace Stevens says, "The imagination is the liberty of the mind" (1951, 138). Had we not the capacity to think in images, to feel the power of symbols, to know poetic truth, our minds would be caged and we couldn't effect change. If in the Church we can imagine change beyond policy and practice, beyond culture, perhaps even beyond doctrine itself, we may become agents of change and thereby help transform the Church, even glorify it in new ways. As Ihab Hassan says, "Liberations come from some strange region where the imagination meets change. . . . We need to re-imagine change itself, else we labor to confirm all our errors" (1972, xv–xvi).

One of the dangers of living within an authoritarian system is that it encourages a tendency to take a one-dimensional approach to truth, to see one meaning only in what we are told. The scriptures are poetic and the temple ceremony symbolic precisely because the Lord recognizes that our imaginations have the capacity to find multiple meanings in things. Not to use our imaginations leaves us on a terrestrial plane and deprives us of the glories of paradise. As Wallace Stevens says in *Esthetique du Mal*:

> To lose sensibility, to see what one sees,
> As if sight had not its own miraculous thrift,
> To hear only what one hears, one meaning alone,
> As if the paradise of meaning ceased
> To be paradise, it is this to be destitute.
> This is the sky divested of its fountains (1959, 120–21).

VI

ON WOMEN

"If it came out of woman, man,
you'd better believe it." (1970s saying)

The dialogues about women and women's rights in the Church during the past two decades have been interesting to be a part of. For all of the resistance to it, the women's revolution may turn out to be the most significant revolution in history, if for no other reason than it has the potential to effect the liberation of the entire human race.

One of the most significant results of the revolution is that it has raised consciousness in many people and has caused a number of Mormons, especially men, to revise their ideas about what it means to be female — and male, for that matter.

As with many burning political, social, and religious issues, there are paradoxes within Mormonism on women's rights. On the one hand, the idea of a Mother in Heaven is revolutionary and liberating; but on the other, the Church is still strongly patriarchal and male dominated, and many young women grow up in the Church somehow feeling that they are second-class citizens. No rhetoric will erase that feeling; only concrete changes in Church and human behavior will.

The important thing is that a dialogue has begun and will continue; attitudes are shifting. While there are still some instances of gross chauvinism and insensitivity, there are signs — in official programs, publications, and policies, and in the attitudes of individual Church leaders — that we are making progress. And women are beginning to shake the foundations, as illustrated from the following dialogue recorded thirteen years ago between my daughter Jennifer, then thirteen, Julianna, eight, and me:

Julianna: Daddy, why can't girls hold the priesthood and give blessings and be bishops?

Me: [some obviously weak answer about God loving girls as much as boys, etc.]

Julianna: Gee, even God is a male chauvinist!

Jennifer: Well, Julianna, I believe that within my lifetime, I will hold the priesthood.

Who knows what will happen with women in the Church's future? Whatever it is, one thing is certain: we can never go back to where we were, and that's good.

VII

On Culture

"I know the sound of one hand
clapping, but what is the sound of
two hands not clapping?"
— Variation on a Zen koan

Maddox: Do you know what I hate about church?

Me: No, what?

Maddox: There's no clapping. If you really like a good talk, people ought to be able to clap.

It is interesting how much our openness to dialogue is related to culture. Mormons come out of the Judeo-Christian tradition with its strong emphasis on rationality. For all our cultural anti-intellectualism, we are far more comfortable with traditional logic than with mysticism or the Eastern "way of knowing." If one doubts this, one need look no further than the discomfort most Mormons feel with Joseph Smith's magic and mysticism. We are comfortable with feelings as long as they stay within acceptable limits, as anyone can tell by the uneasiness Mormons experience when someone prays or bears his testimony in other than conventional language. If during a public prayer a Pentecostal visitor begins saying, *sotto voce*, "Yes, Jesus. Praise the Lord," one can feel the discomfort moving across the congregation like a wave.

Before I joined the Mormon church at the age of ten, I used to go to a Pentecostal church in East Los Angeles and also to one in Long Beach with an aunt and uncle (he played a mean sax in the church's music ensemble). Those services, which were somewhat strange to me then, were, if nothing else, *alive*. But I have never quite felt elsewhere the rollicking joyfulness of praise and glory that I have felt in black churches I have visited. There it is impossible not to feel with one's entire body and soul what praise is. James Baldwin, who was himself a preacher in such a church starting from the age of thirteen, speaks of this experience: "There is no music like that music, no drama like the drama of the saints rejoicing, the sinners moaning, the tambourines racing, and all those voices coming together and crying holy to the Lord. . . . I have never seen anything to equal the fire and excitement that sometimes, without warning, fill a church, causing the church, as Leadbelly and so many others have testified, to rock" (1963, 47). Mormon churches don't rock very often, but perhaps it wouldn't be such a bad idea if they did. Certainly, as we welcome more and more converts from Third World countries, we may have to revise our ideas as to what constitutes appropriate religious expression.

I have been involved in three conferences of American and Chinese writers over the past four years, one of which involved a three-week visit to China. Being in that "other country" was one of the most remarkable experiences of my life. It opened my eyes to another culture, another way of seeing, in a way I had not experienced before. It was feast of dialogues, not only with the Chinese, but with the American writers as well. It was particularly stimulating and enlightening to have discussions daily with Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder, both of whom are Buddhists (Allen, Tibetan, and Gary, Zen). They are equally at home in both Orient and Occident and have forged a connection between the two traditions that allows for the mixing of Zen koans with Western dialectical thinking. Coming out of the Ming Tombs, Gary repeated the following koan:

Emperor: Please set my mind at rest.
Priest: Show me your mind.
Emperor: I have no mind to show.
Priest: There. I have set your mind at rest.

We need to enter into dialogues with other cultures, other points of view, other minds and spirits. We may have something important to learn from the Australian aborigines, from native Americans, from Africans. We may need to let go of some of our prejudices, our ways of thinking, and break through the comfortable walls of our culture if we are to find new truth. As John Sorenson says, "When the time comes that Mormons in the central homeland come to the realization that they too are constrained by cultural ways which have nothing directly to do with the gospel they espouse, the result could be a kind of Copernican revolution with attendant new insights into the Church and the scriptures and the meaning of life" (1973, 27). Let the revolution begin!

VIII
ON DARKNESS

"Hello Darkness, my old friend
I've come to speak with you again."
— Paul Simon (1965)

"There's a darkness on the edge of town."
— Bruce Springsteen (1978)

"I've tasted darkness, and I like it!"
— reported statement of an inactive returned missionary to his stake president

Everyone is afraid of the dark. Darkness scares me, especially my own. Some people seem to like darkness and even to have a dialogue with it. Mark

Twain's mother used to pray for Satan because she said that of all God's creatures he needed it the most (1969, 44). But a dialogue with darkness, as Melville's Ahab discovered, may have an ultimate price. Melville may have felt, as did the seventeenth-century poet, Henry Vaughan, that in God there is "a deep but dazzling darkness" (1957, 523); but most of us aren't that curious.

I know about my own darkness well enough, but only once in my life have I felt I was actually in the presence of Darkness. This happened during a trip to London last summer. After seeing *Les Miserables*, I walked through the Soho district to get to my hotel; and there on a seamy and squalid street, I looked on the face of darkness. A man, well dressed though disheveled, staggered toward me. As I looked in his face, "his hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin" (Owen 1963, 55–56), his eyes, which didn't see me at all, seemed to contain the very depths of hell. It was almost as if darkness had a sort of light of its own shining out. I had two impulses — to run after him and ask what could possibly have happened to him and to run in the other direction as fast as I could. Instead, I stood gazing after him. Soon, he turned the corner and was gone, but his face is as vivid in my memory as any I have ever seen. I think this was the first time I really understood what the scriptures mean when they speak of the "mystery of iniquity." (2 Thess. 2:7).

Most of us would rather not have a dialogue with darkness — and with good cause — but there is no reason why we shouldn't have a dialogue about darkness. In fact, one could argue that unless we do, darkness will have a greater hold on our lives. There is a reluctance in Mormon culture to talk about the darkness in our past. To the extent that there is darkness at the edge or even at the heart of Mormonism, we can be free from it only as we are willing to talk about it. If anyone doubts this, he should consider how long the dark shadow of Mountain Meadows has fallen on the Church and how much it has receded in recent years as we have faced the truth about what Mormons did on that dark and desolate landscape. If, as Job says, God "discovereth deep things out of darkness" (12:22), we have to believe we can too.

IX
On Love

"I would rather be loved than saved."

— from a bishop's interview

These words haunt me. The woman who spoke them ten years ago was convinced she could not have both love and salvation and therefore had to choose between them. Sometimes the dialogue within us is between the need to be loved and the need to be saved. (Is a love in the arms worth two salvations in the burning bush?) Sometimes in the Church we can't make up our minds as to which is the most important, but always it is a devil's logic that convinces us we must choose. Can there be any salvation without love? And

isn't love itself the highest expression of salvation? Of course, she was speaking of another kind of love: she simply wanted someone to hold her, and the cross seemed a long way from her loneliness.

I have had several conversations with this woman since becoming a bishop last April. I first met her about four months ago when she quickly stuck a tithing envelope in my hand and darted out the door. The second time I was quicker and invited her into my office. She came reluctantly. I knew she had been disfellowshipped for getting pregnant and then having an abortion. She couldn't talk, just shook her head upon my invitation; tears welled in her eyes. She thought she had chosen love over salvation and, in reality, had spent the next ten years out in the cold experiencing neither. But something drew her back, slowly, tentatively. It was, I am convinced, God's love. She is still not sure she believes she is worthy of it, but I feel that in time that love and the love of a bishop and friends will heal her wounded self-esteem.

Nothing is so powerful as love. More than anything, it heals us, makes us whole, infuses us with light and energy, transforms us. It is the power that makes us godly and ultimately can make us gods. It is also the power that makes true dialogue possible.

In *The Road Less Traveled*, Scott Peck defines love as "the will to extend one's self for the purpose of nurturing one's own or another's spiritual growth." He adds, "The principal form that the work of love takes is attention. When we love another we give him or her our attention; we attend to that person's growth. . . . By far the most common and important way in which we can exercise our attention is by listening" (1978, 81).

Perhaps God speaks to us in a still, small voice so we will have to work harder at listening. As we strive to listen to the quietness and subtleness of his voice and as we plead for him to listen to ours, we become more adept at listening and talking to one another. As our capacity to love increases, we become less argumentative, less strident, less judgmental. Out of love, we may still be critical and even confrontive, but our motives will then be nurturing the other person's spirituality, not winning an argument or putting another person down.

It is easy to be abstract about love, to say we love the whole world or everyone in our ward. Far harder it is to love someone who lives in our home or perhaps even our home teacher. It is actually within the small circle of the people who are closest to us that we learn to love and then to grow outward from that center. Christ is the only one who can truly say that he loves the whole world because he loves each one of us personally and particularly in a way we are incapable of. But we can love those we are called to love.

It is here within the landscape of our daily lives that love makes its meaning. It is on this ground where we must learn the heart's work. As Robert Frost says in "Birches" (where he speaks of getting away from earth for awhile): "Earth's the right place for love;/I don't know where it's likely to go better" (1965, 78). This reminds me of a dialogue I had with my son, Maddox, when he was six:

Maddox: Dad?
Me: What?

Maddox: I want to watch you when its time for you to go to heaven. I'll bring all my friends.

Me: Why?

Maddox: So we can all grab hold of you.

Me: Why would you want to do that?

Maddox: So you couldn't go to heaven and would have to stay here.

Earth *is* the right place for love — our's and God's. It is interesting to note that we don't seem to be able to escape from his love. Even when we run from him, the freedom to run is a gift from him.

I thought about this during the past Christmas season. I consider myself a faithful disciple, or at least a disciple who tries to be faithful; and yet as I have examined the breadth and depth of my commitment to him, I have the sense that something may be lacking. I see myself in my imagination bringing my gifts to lay before him, but perhaps there is something I have not brought, one gift I may have kept back for myself. Perhaps it is something I have not been willing to sacrifice, or a sin I have not fully repented of, or some weakness I am not willing to come to terms with. My feeling may be something like that expressed by Annie Dillard in a recent essay: "[God], I ran from you. I am still running, running from that knowledge, that eye, that love from which there is no refuge . For you meant only love, and love, and I felt only fear, and pain. So once in Israel love came to us incarnate, stood in the doorway between two worlds, and we were all afraid" (1982, 141).

In some sense, all of us stand between those two worlds, and speaking and listening to one another helps us to reconcile them. It is that task, entering into meaningful dialogues, that we must learn to do better. I am still striving to learn how to have better dialogues — with God, with his Church, with my wife and children, with my brothers and sisters, with myself. Love gives me hope.

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Discouragement

Frederick G. Williams

Discouragement,
is the adversary's vision of the work
revealed to and
accepted
by us.

FREDERICK G. WILLIAMS, associate professor and chairman of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is the author of six books and numerous articles. He serves on the high council of the Santa Barbara Stake and as director of the Institute of Religion at UCSB. His most recent volume of poetry is entitled Perceptions *(1985).*

Dr. Williams and his younger sister, Nancy Lou, were born in Argentina while their father was serving as mission president. Between periods at home, the family lived four more times in South America, their father having worked for the U.S. government in Venezuela and Uruguay, as first mission president in Uruguay, and in private business in Peru. Nancy Lou married Gerald L. Tolman in 1962 and bore four children. She had a beautiful soprano voice, was an avid genealogist, and shared her husband's ornithological interest. She was killed in an automobile accident in Mexico on a bird-watching expedition.

Lulu: On the Death of a Sister

Frederick G. Williams

Gone
from the pampas.
The only brunette;
her first airplane flight at six months.

Gone
from the desert city.
"Where's Daddy?" . . . there's a war.

Gone
from the Orinoco.
Beaches; warm waters that caress.
Deceptive beauty.
Dysentery.
"Is she still here?"
So pale.

Gone
from the Banda Oriental;
Cololó, Watercress,
Liz, with dark hands, washcloth.
Lulu . . . *choquilate* on her face.

Gone?
from 10126 Dorothy Avenue
to Calle Brito del Pino 1527.
"Elder — tell me a story,
give me some candy."
A blue school middy . . . "Hurry, you're late.
Your brother and sisters are out the door."
Don't speak Spanish this morning.
Don't speak English this afternoon.

Hurry to Arizona,
now to California.
How many homes is that? How many trips?
How many planes? How many ships?
Many, many.
"Where's home?"
Is the Rimac home?

I can run fast,
I can jump,
I can swim,
I can laugh.
I can dance,
I can sing.
Look . . . I'm a queen.

In Arizona — boys,
in California — boys.
At Brigham Young, boys, boys.
I sing in the Tabernacle;
I sing, sing, sing, and dance.

Southern California Mormon Choir.
"Hello, I'm a service rep." Hurry,
there's a man.
"What do you know about me?
Would
    you
        like
            to
                know
                    more?"
"I would . . . I do, I do."

One, two, three, four children; hurry. Another home.
Search, search and research. "Who are you?"
Sing, sing — cockatiel, cockatoo.
Put things in order.
Another trip; hurry, hurry. Twenty-seven years old.

— Gone
To Mexico?
— To heaven.
— To sing?
What does it mean?
— Gone home.

O childhood playmate, teenage companion,
your life unfolded,
a melody, a flower
transplanted.
Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice greatly!

Reprinted from Frederick Granger Williams, *From Those Who Wrote: Poems and Translations* (São Luís: Serviço de Imprensa e Obras Gráficas do Estado, 1975). Used by permission.

Sin and Sexuality: Psychobiology and the Development of Homosexuality

R. Jan Stout

IN THE FALL OF 1970, I was a young psychiatrist with five years of clinical experience in private practice. I had been certified by the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, and I felt that I grasped the basic and latest theories concerning the cause and cure of homosexuality and other so-called sexual deviations. I had been asked to participate in examining this provocative subject in a televised panel discussion on the local public television station, KUED. In preparation, I reviewed various texts on the subject, which almost universally presented the prevailing thesis: Homosexuality is a learned behavior, an illness to be treated and corrected, and can with proper therapy be cured in over 25 percent of cases. Homosexuals have failed, psychoanalytically speaking, to successfully traverse the pitfalls of psychosexual development as outlined by Sigmund Freud. To be sure, scattered reports in the literature suggested a genetic or hormonal basis for the disorder but did not convince the majority of clinicians, including myself. That panel of 1970 certainly understood, even if they did not openly discuss, that homosexuality was, and still is, considered a major sexual sin by my church, culture, and the entire Judeo-Christian tradition stretching back more than two thousand years.

After presenting my views and reviewing current literature on the subject, I felt satisfied, confident, and correct. There was no serious debate on the issue, and I returned home to the congratulations of my wife, friends, and colleagues. Sixteen years later, I can state that what I presented was wrong and simplistic. The evolving change in my views came by examining new research, gaining more clinical experience, and looking for alternate explanations to clarify some of the mystery surrounding the development of human sexuality and specifically homosexuality. Understanding these issues has enormous implications for our

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perception of sin and moral responsibility. No one should ignore the dilemma, for perhaps one in ten of all men and a smaller percentage of women are not heterosexual.

No consensus exists regarding the causes of homosexuality. As with virtually all other aspects of human behavior, we see a spectrum of opinions, theories, and conjecture. Different scientific disciplines advocate different points of view and bias and ignore important contributions from other disciplines. Behaviorists, biologists, sociologists, anthropologists, geneticists, historians, lawyers, and political scientists have all offered explanations. Judd Marmor, a highly respected psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, and authority on homosexuality, has observed:

> The most influential theory in modern psychiatry has been that of Sigmund Freud, who believed that homosexuality was the expression of a universal trend in all human beings, stemming from a biologically rooted bisexual predisposition. Freud, in line with the strong Darwinian influence on his thinking, believed that all human beings went through an inevitable "homoerotic" phase in the process of achieving heterosexuality. Certain kinds of life experience could arrest the evolutionary process, and the individual would then remain "fixated" at a homosexual level. Furthermore, even if the development were to proceed normally, certain vestiges of homosexuality would remain as permanent aspects of the personality, and these universal "latent homosexual" tendencies would be reflected in "sublimated" expressions of friendship for members of one's own sex and in patterns in behavior or interest more appropriate to the opposite sex — for example, artistic or culinary interests or "passive" attitudes in males and athletic or professional interests or "aggressive" attitudes in females (Marmor 1965, p. 2).

Now, almost fifty years after his death, many continue to advocate Freud's controversial theories; but I suspect that he would be the first to revise those theories, given new information on human sexuality.

My own thinking on this subject has been influenced by a major shift in psychiatry's "nature-versus-nurture" debate of the past two decades. Behaviors once thought to be entirely psychological in origin have been demonstrated to be profoundly influenced by genes and neurochemistry. Disorders such as schizophrenia, manic-depression, panic attacks, and debilitating anxiety have now been shown to have strong biological causes and can no longer be adequately explained by the theoretical models of intrapsychic conflict, poor parenting, and social learning defects. A prominent psychoanalyst discussing the relationship between neurobiology and psychoanalysis, including research in sexuality, recently warned, "We should be extremely uncomfortable with any theory that is incongruent with neurobiologic discovery" (Cooper 1985, p. 1402).

THE COMPLEXITIES OF HUMAN SEXUALITY

Few subjects arouse, confuse, intrigue, and provoke like the study of human sexuality. The search for understanding extends from the book of Genesis to Freud, Masters and Johnson, and Desmond Morris's *The Naked Ape*. The music of sexuality plays from infancy to senescence, waxing and waning, reaching moments of intensity and long periods of plateau. Sexuality binds and

splits relationships, confuses and enlightens, produces profound ecstasy and unbearable guilt.

Only in the twentieth century, using the scientific method, have we been able to study sexuality with sophisticated neurobiological, anatomical, and hormonal research. Much folklore surrounds this subject, and we are in the process of trying to separate fact from fiction. The brain is the ultimate sexual organ, and everything else flows from it. A complex interplay among the neocortex (cerebrum), the limbic system and hypothalamus, and the brain stem contributes to the sexual experience. Hormones, especially testosterone, fuel this interaction in both males and females (Hales 1984).

Embryology (Effects of Nature)

Sexual differentiation begins when by chance a sperm meets an egg and initiates a chain of events that ultimately produces a sexually oriented male or female. To understand human sexuality, one must understand embryology, the science of intrauterine development of the fetus. John Money, founder of the Johns Hopkins Psychohormonal Research Unit, says that the basic embryonic plan, at least for mammals, is inherently female — the "Eve principle," as he calls it (Money 1984). In embryo, we all start out female, then a little more than one-half of us respond to the Adam principle as the result of the Y chromosome, which acts on undifferentiated fetal gonads to create testes. Thereafter, the change to male is controlled by male hormones, the androgens. Nature seems to have more difficulty creating male sexual identity and anatomy, which helps explain why many more males than females experience sexual variations (Morano 1979). Testosterone makes the brain less feminine and more masculine. Animal studies have demonstrated that "depending on the amount of testosterone present in the environment, we can produce effeminate males, fully capable of male sexual function but with female behavioral traits, or we can produce demasculinized males, incapable of male sexual behavior later even in the presence of testosterone; the converse can be done to females. The fetal mouse brain is exquisitely sensitive to the organizing effect of hormones" (Cooper 1985, 1400).

A recent hypothesis suggests that neural pathways imprinted at crucial stages of brain development later profoundly affect sexual behavior and choice of a sexual object. Certainly, without the secretions from the embryonic testis no male organs can develop. It now seems possible that subsequent sexual feelings and behavior will also be influenced by testosterone produced in utero. Variations in the amount secreted or blocking of the hormone's actions by maternal stress or drugs have been shown to make major differences in the eventual sexual life of the developing embryo (Dorner 1983). Animal studies, although difficult to generalize to humans, have confirmed the crucial role that prenatal androgens have in sex-role behavior when puberty arrives (MacCulloch and Waddington 1981).

A recent, unconfirmed study by Zuger suggested that early effeminate behavior in male children is congenital and is the best single indicator of later homosexuality (Zuger 1984). A new book has suggested the same conclusion.

Richard Green, a UCLA psychiatrist in *The Sissy Boy Syndrome and the Development of Homosexuality* chronicles the development of forty-four boys who preferred traditionally feminine activities at an early age. Three-fourths of them grew up to be gay or bisexual, Green found. He felt that these boys' early preference for feminine activities may reflect an innate tendency toward homosexuality. A reviewer summarized:

> They were chosen for the study because from very early childhood, their behavior was considered out of the mainstream of normal sexual development. Many dressed up in girls' or women's clothing and reported that they wanted to be girls, not boys. When asked to draw pictures of people, they would often draw females rather than males . . . Many scientists agree that the causes are complex and involve a combination of biological and environmental factors — some beyond parents' control. Green's research and similar studies contradicts the belief that homosexuality is simply the result of a domineering mother and a weak father" ("Sissy" 1986).

The effect of hormones on the brain is not inevitably all-or-nothing. It is possible to be masculine without being also completely unfeminine, or conversely, to be feminine without also remaining completely unmasculine (Money 1984). This may help explain why we see such a wide spectrum of human sexual behavior and appearance.

Duane Jeffery has examined the problem of intersex developmental defects in humans. He states that primitive gonads, the "ovotestes," are each part female tissue (ovarian) and part male (testicular). Genetic and developmental conditions can produce syndromes of intersex confusion that lead to both medical and theological difficulties. He does not explore the question of homosexuality and limits his discussion to the anatomical and gender identity disorders, concluding, "The very existence of human intersexes poses some interesting unanswered questions in LDS traditions and beliefs (Jeffery 1979, 108).

Jeffrey Keller recently (1986) addressed the question "Is sexual gender eternal?" Despite reassurances from various General Authorities that "there is no mismatching of bodies and spirits," modern biology has demonstrated numerous examples of physical and hormonal miscues that challenge our theological concepts.

In a few females, the excessive production of testosterone by the adrenal glands during gestation causes a relatively rare condition called the andrenogenital syndrome (AGS). These girls are born with masculine genitalia that can be mistaken at birth for that of a boy. The condition can be surgically repaired and treated with hormones, and the girls develop a normal feminine physique and undergo normal puberty. Yet, a large percentage of these girls grow up as tomboys who show little interest as teenagers in dating. As adults, "a startling 37 percent are homosexual or bisexual or have sexual fantasies about women" (Hales 1984, 23). Again, testosterone is the powerful hormone of desire that affects the developing male and female prior to birth. Significantly, it is well known that testosterone given after puberty does not alter the direction of sexual choice but may intensify the general libido.

The regulation of testosterone in utero is a biological, congenital, developmental event and does not represent a true genetic disorder (that is, coded, specific, preembryonic information carried by DNA in the genes of chromosomes). The genetic (inherited) transmission of homosexuality has been suggested by some investigators, but current research, with the exception of a single study, does not seem to favor this thesis. Kallman (1952) studied eighty-five homosexuals who were twins; and although the concordance rates for overt homosexual behavior were only slightly higher than normal for the forty-five dizygotic pairs, the rate was 100 percent for the forty monozygotic pairs. This finding suggests the presence of a definite and decisive genetic factor in homosexuality, but Kallman's findings have not been confirmed by other researchers. On the contrary, quite the opposite was found by Kolb (1963), showing no concordance in his identical twin study (Marmor 1976). The development of sexual identity comes after conception and is unlikely to be the result of specific information carried in the chromosomes. I believe that the crucial factor is the timing and amount of testosterone released in utero by the developing embryo. We will all have to wait for further studies to illuminate these various biological hypotheses.

The Environment (Effects of Nurture)

It has long been argued that behavioral sex in human beings is learned. It has long been assumed that infants have a neutral gender role. Toys, dress, and play patterns all begin working to determine ultimate sexual orientation. Little girls are supposed to like pink, and boys are inclined to blue. Girls are given dolls, and boys receive toy trains and trucks. Sex roles are supposed to work out just fine if the child is given clear and unambiguous messages about his or her sexual destiny.

As early as 1905, Sigmund Freud began probing the family backgrounds that could produce homosexuality and other sexual deviations (Marmor 1976). Every clinician, including myself, learned that passive, weak, or absent fathers, coupled with strong, dominant, and castrating mothers set up the perfect climate for the induction of homosexuality. Inability to form a satisfactory identification with an adequate father figure and development of a strong, unconscious fear or hatred of women was the prerequisite for this psychosexual disorder. Indeed, many cases seemed to bear out Freud's observations, but all of these clinical studies are by their nature retrospective and in selected populations. Recent research on large, randomly selected populations of homosexuals shows no valid statistical correlation with this family pattern. Many men with backgrounds similar to those supposed to produce homosexuality do not grow up to become gay.

A similar type of reasoning regarding the cause of schizophrenia was suggested in the 1960s and was widely accepted. "Schizophrenogenic" mothers were accused of giving repeated double-bind messages to their offspring, creating bizarre thinking, delusions, and hallucinations. Few psychiatrists familiar with current research in genetics and brain chemistry would advocate the

1960s kind of explanation for a disorder that is now clearly seen as a brain disease.

Other learning theories and behavioral hypotheses have been suggested but generally are subject to flaws similar to those that we see in Freud's original postulates. A study from the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea involving Sambia men and boys revealed that strong homosexual conditioning did not result in adult homoerotic behavior. Despite heavy reinforcing of unlimited fellatio in prepubertal boys and youths and powerful teachings that female bodies are poisonously dangerous, Sambia men are almost always heterosexual. As youngsters, the boys are very close to their mothers and are told the secret of masculinity — a man is only the shell of a man unless he drinks plenty of semen. The boys engage in homosexual activities, which they regard as pleasant, and sexual relations with women are strictly taboo. As marriage time approaches, the young men develop the "desire for women as gripping for these tribesmen as it is anywhere else." Upon marriage, in the late teens or early twenties, the taboo is reversed — homosexuality is forbidden (Stoller 1985). This is a rather troublesome outcome for behaviorists who insist that positive and negative reinforcement shapes sexual preference. The results also imply that teaching or recruiting young males to become homosexual is unlikely to produce homosexuality except in those who are biologically predisposed. In addition, these learning theories blame parents and families, implying that in some mysterious way they cause or can prevent the emergence of homoerotic behavior. Although fascinating, these speculations ignore much of the biological basis for human sexuality.

However, environmental factors are not unimportant. On the contrary, we can say that homosexuality, transsexuality, and transvestitism are probably determined by many psychodynamic, biological, sociocultural, and situational factors. Environmental factors can profoundly shape the style, expression, and quality of sexual behavior in all of us, whether straight or gay. Yet, as we have seen, considerable evidence exists for the fundamental biological determination of sexual identity and object choice, and evidence for core, environmental causes is questionable. Apparently environment fine tunes the instrument of sexuality but neither creates nor organizes its direction. More difficult research is needed, but the evidence accumulated over the past two decades for the biological causality of sexual and gender identity, although inconclusive, is persuasive.

SIN, SEXUALITY, AND RELIGION

Religions have a vested interest in advocating a sexual code of conduct. The Judeo-Christian tradition has long regarded the monogamous human family as the finest and best way to provide offspring loving security and moral integrity. Anything that threatens this goal threatens achievement of a moral universe; it is not surprising that homosexuality and other sexual variations are met with such antipathy in our culture. Religious leaders from the Apostle Paul to modern-day prophets have strongly condemned sexual deviancy. For many years in the Mormon church, homosexuality was referred to as "the sin

that has no name" (Anonymous 1978). Homosexuals have found no home in Christian or Jewish faiths.

In other cultures, attitudes toward homosexual activities vary widely. A 1952 study of seventy-six societies observed that in 64 percent of the societies homosexuality was considered normal and acceptable, at least for some members of the community. In the remaining 36 percent homosexuality, though condemned, continued to occur secretly (Marmor 1976).

The accepted assumption has been that homosexuals have chosen their lifestyle and have knowingly entered into sin. Spencer W. Kimball has written, "Homosexuality is an ugly sin, repugnant to those who find no temptation in it, as well as to many past offenders who are seeking a way out of its clutches" (Kimball 1969, 78). Society at large has generally agreed with this conclusion. Patrick J. Buchanan, now a White House staffer, implied divine punishment in the AIDS plague. In 1983 he wrote, "The poor homosexuals — they have declared war on nature, and now nature is exacting an awful retribution" (Clark et al. 1985, 20). He apparently made no reference to the plight of innocent children, hemophiliacs, and others who contracted the disease.

Do homosexuals consciously choose their sexual identities? Are they more capable of doing this than those of us who are heterosexual? Is not sexual identity something to which we awaken rather than something that we decide by some rational, moral process? Do you remember choosing to be straight when you were thirteen? I have never met or treated a homosexual who felt that he or she had a choice in the matter. From their earliest recollections, they knew that in some way they "were different," and all felt confused, guilty, and frightened.

Mormon homosexuals experience a special, poignant pain. How can they fit into the celestial plan of things? Where do they go to resolve the conflicts surging within their realm of moral responsibility? How do they reconcile their feelings with divine revelation?

Sensitive and thoughtful articles in *Sunstone* and DIALOGUE have examined this issue. Marvin Rytting acknowledges, "I do not know *the* answer. But I do know that I cannot condemn my gay friends. Nor can I insist that they change nor that they should forgo love. All I can do is care about them — and accept them. I am convinced that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has room for them. I hope that some day the Church can make room, too" (Rytting 1983, 78). The problem is illustrated in John Bennion's fictional interview between a tormented young man and his stake president, who expresses acceptance, love, and empathy but offers no resolution to the agonizing dilemma of the young man's homosexuality (Bennion 1985).

THE CLINICAL SPECTRUM

The personality spectrum among homosexuals is as diverse and complex as it is among heterosexuals — "from passive ones to aggressive ones; from shy introverts to loud raucous extroverts; from theatrical, hysterical personalities to rigid, compulsive-obsessive ones; from sexually inhibited, timid types to sexually promiscuous, flamboyant ones; from radical activists to staunch conservatives;

from defiant atheists to devout churchgoers; and from unconscionable sociopaths to highly responsible, law-abiding citizens" (Marmor 1976, 382). The homosexual stereotype of the limp-wristed, effeminate fag is as distorted as is the Rambo stereotype for heterosexual men.

Every occupation, social class, race, and creed is represented in the gay and lesbian world. Many are married, have children, and lead quiet, conservative lives. Sexual drive and the exclusivity of homosexual interest vary widely. A 1970 study of participants in the impersonal sex of public restrooms found that 54 percent were married and living with their wives and children in middle-class homes and were, for all intents and purposes, just "average guys next door" (Humphreys 1970).

The same variations occur among Mormons. In an anonymous monograph published in 1978, a homosexual author states, "We belong to your priesthood quorum, we teach your Sunday school class, we pass the sacrament to you each Sunday, we attend your primary classes, your faculty meetings, your family reunions and your youth conferences. We sell you your groceries, we keep your books, we police your streets and we teach your children in school. We preside over your wards and even your stakes. We are your sons, your brothers, your grandsons, and who knows but by some riddle of nature, we would be you" (Anonymous 1978, 56). From my own clinical experience of twenty-four years, I can attest to this diversity.

The families of homosexuals, whether parents, wives, husbands, siblings, or children must often live with confusion, anger, shame, and sorrow. They feel helpless and guilty. Perhaps several million homosexuals and lesbians have chosen marriage as the "perfect closet" in which to hide their secret. *Married and Gay* chronicals the poignant struggles experienced by those who find themselves living in these unions (Maddox 1982). Single-parent mothers worry that lack of a strong male figure will foster the development of sexual inversion in their sons. Yet, in his famous "Letter to an American Mother" Sigmund Freud wrote, "Homosexuality is assuredly no advantage, but it is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness; we consider it to be a variation of the sexual functions produced by a certain arrest of sexual development" (Marmor 1976, 385).

Some men struggle for years to change their orientation or to experience an inkling of heterosexual interest. Beyond traditional psychotherapy, scripture reading, and Church counseling, some have sat for hours viewing pictures of naked men while receiving painful electric shocks for negative behavioral conditioning. Some claim a cure, which many view with skepticism. Others resignedly accept their situation, while still others become bitter, disillusioned, and nihilistic. Some claim they have found love, comfort, and self-acceptance in their homosexuality. The spectre of excommunication looms over all who refuse to change their ways. The most tragic cases seek the ultimate out of suicide. A minority choose to lead abstinate, celibate, or morally neutral lives. The capacity to choose this solution varies widely, just as it does for heterosexuals.

In addition to many homosexuals, I have worked with a few transsexuals and transvestites. These situations represent a different level of core sexual

identity and sex role behavior, respectively. A female transsexual may live with the absolute belief that she is male and be willing to undergo multiple, painful surgical procedures to achieve this end. A pseudohermaphrodite, known to be genetically female, received hormonal therapy and a hysterectomy and eventually proceeded, as a male, to priesthood ordination and a temple marriage.

How can we understand and ultimately reconcile the biological, social, religious, and moral questions posed by such situations? Clearly, there is no easy solution to these most intimate of human circumstances.

Moral Responsibility and Treatability

Confusion and misunderstanding surround homosexuality, and blatant hostility, rejection, and scorn are often directed toward those involved. Critics are often unable to find any redeeming qualities in the homosexual and often see the lifestyle as chosen and learned, refusing to acknowledge possible biological origins. A *Church News* editorial observed in 1978, "Then on what basis do the adherents to this practice demand special privilege? Who are they that they should parade their debauchery and call it clean? They even form their own churches and profess to worship the very God who denounces their behavior — and they do not repent. They form their own political groups and seek to compel the public to respect them. Do other violators of the law of God receive special consideration? Do the robbers, the thieves, the adulterers?" (16 Dec. 1978, 16). Many gays internalize and accept religion and society's abhorrence of their sexual preference and become their own persecutors.

What lies behind these reactions to the homosexual? The severe homophobic is perhaps easiest to understand. These people often harbor serious fears about their own sexual identity. They overcompensate by bullying and brutally teasing gays. Projecting and displacing hatred is a common and convenient way to run from one's own inner conflict.

Many people, in and out of the Church, seem to want homosexuals held fully accountable for their sexual feelings and behavior. Yet, if conscious choice is not involved, can we legitimately invoke the charge of sin? And, if homosexuals do not act on these sexual feelings, have they morally transgressed? Does the revealed word of God in the scriptures supersede the experience and reality of millions of homoerotic individuals? Is it morally responsible to offer promises of cure? What of the larger question in some minds: Would God have anything to do with the creation of homosexuals or transsexuals? What kind of tricks has nature played on us humans? Does the new psychobiology challenge our treasured concepts of human responsibility and free will? Does man's (or woman's) destiny reside in the intricate workings of the hormones and the spiral helix of DNA?

The question of treatment and curability of homosexuality is just as controversial as is its causes. "Treatment implies disease. Disease implies cure and the duty to seek or to strive for cure. Many ordinary people, as well as those judges who sentence homosexuals to some form of therapy in lieu of prison, believe that homosexuality is like dandruff, a condition that one can get rid of if one will only take the trouble" (Maddox 1982, 156). In 1973 the Ameri-

can Psychiatric Association (APA) voted to remove homosexuality from its diagnostic manual of mental disorders. Gay activists demonstrated in San Francisco in support of this decision. Homosexuals were to be distinguished from heterosexuals only by their choice of an erotic object. This variation of human sexuality implied no impairment in judgment, stability, or reliability. An APA statement issued after the vote said of the resolution, "This is not to say that homosexuality is 'normal' or that it is as desirable as heterosexuality" (Roche Report 1974, 8). The debate over treatment issues was never settled by the landmark decision, and attempts to change orientation and behavior of homosexuals continues.

Masters and Johnson's 1979 book, *Homosexuality in Perspective*, has been applauded for its aims but ridiculed for the secrecy surrounding the research techniques and claims of a nearly 75 percent cure rate. Treatment was concentrated in a fourteen-day format with a strong emphasis on behavioral change with a heterosexual partner of the opposite sex. Thoughtful critics suggested that Masters and Johnson were actually treating bisexuals or maladjusted heterosexuals and ignored the psychological aspects of fantasies, emotional attachments and crushes, and arousal patterns of true homosexuals (Marano 1979). Aversion therapy treats subjects with electric shocks or drugs designed to induce vomiting when they are shown pornographic male photos. Many homosexuals find these methods especially onerous. As poet W. H. Auden said, "Of course, Behaviourism 'works.' So does torture" (In Maddox 1982, 167).

In one elaborately structured, four-part study N. McConaghy, of the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, asserted that while homosexual arousal and behavior can be reduced by aversive therapy, a true homosexual orientation cannot be reversed. One hundred and fifty-seven homosexual patients were treated with various forms of behavior therapy. The majority desired to have conscious homosexual feelings reduced or eliminated. The homosexuals lost their strong arousal patterns and sensed a resultant weakening of homosexual feelings. Their basic orientation, however, remained unaltered. No evidence indicates that other treatments are more effective in reducing homosexual and increasing heterosexual behavior (Coogan 1977).

In recent years attempts to cure homosexuality have been replaced by therapeutic goals and strategies designed to improve the quality of life for homosexuals (Lowenstein 1984; Davison 1976). My clinical experience demonstrates that fewer persons enter treatment seeking to change their sexual orientation; rather they come to deal with the anxiety, depression, and conflict attendant to their specific interpersonal struggles, losses, and fears. From my perspective, changing a patient's homosexual nature presents the same challenge as would changing the orientation of a committed heterosexual. Yet, since sexuality represents a spectrum of feelings and behaviors, some individuals can plausibly shift along that spectrum to some degree. The cure reports in the literature come most likely from those people who are both highly motivated to change and have a relatively modest move to make along the continuum between homosexuality and heterosexuality.

Where does this leave the majority of homosexuals, male and female, who have never experienced significant heterosexual feelings or fantasies even though they may have struggled in vain to arouse them? They have been told, "Homosexuality and like practices are deep sins; they can be cured; they can be forgiven. Sin is still sin and always will be. It will not change. Society might relax in its expectations; it may accept improprieties but that does not make such right and approved. Total transformation in ideas, standards, actions, thoughts, and programs can cleanse you" (*Church News*, 16 Dec. 1978, 16).

To remain active, loyal, guilt-free, and accepted in the Mormon church, homosexuals must do two things — remain celibate and abstain from engaging in eroticism with a member of one's own sex. This is *the* moral choice with which they are faced. They did not choose to be homosexual with any conscious, reasoned intent. Nor, for that matter, did any heterosexual choose to be straight. As I have argued, we all awaken to our sexual identity. The questions of moral responsibility come after this awakening. The moral agony for the committed Latter-day Saint who happens to be gay will often last for a lifetime. As Brenda Maddox has stated, "Those who want their gayness and God too are going to have a long struggle. They are asking that the churches, by nature conservative, give up their interest in the personal life of their clergymen and change their philosophy of the purpose of marriage. For full equality under the sacrament, gay Christians [Mormons] may have to wait until easier questions are settled, questions like the ordination of women and the gender of God" (Maddox 1982, 194).

My clinical experience has indicated that the majority of Mormon homosexuals eventually drift away from their faith, live tenuously in the closet, or react with angry disillusionment. They ask, "Why did God make me this way?" That question should trouble all of us. Granted, we do live in a natural universe where biological uncertainties and ambiguities are obvious. Biological equality at birth is a myth. Intelligence, athletic skill, handedness, musical and artistic talent, and a host of other characteristics vary widely among Homo sapiens. Yet, the Mormon homosexual faces a peculiar distress. He or she is commanded to reject the behavior as well as the feelings and fantasies that invade the consciousness of sexual awareness.

Marvin Rytting challenges us to imagine being a confirmed heterosexual suddenly transported to a culture where homosexuality is the norm. Consider the dilemma of facing a hostile majority who insists that, "I must be erotically aroused by men and that it is a sin, a crime, and an illness for me to be attracted to women." He describes the fantasy of going into therapy with a good behaviorist and submitting to multiple shocks to suppress his attraction to naked women. "I can picture myself claiming to be cured to avoid the shocks, but I cannot imagine really being cured," he admits. He describes the attempts to play a passive role, forcing his body to do something that his mind cannot enjoy. He reflects on what it might be like to be a Mormon in this alien culture. "I not only have to deal with the guilt of wanting to have sex with a woman but also the shame of not being married to a man." He

realizes that he would lose any standing in the Church and be told to "grow up and stop being selfish and get married." The fantasy ends as he is filled with unresolvable guilt, withdraws into a lonely and asexual shell, and loses any happiness he had with the Church. His article concludes, "For a while I was comfortable with the position that it was OK to have homoerotic feelings but not to act upon them. After all, the rest of us have to live without sex outside marriage. But even that answer does not fit any more. For me to have sex only with my wife is simply not the same as being eternally celibate." The most difficult part for Rytting in this mythical culture is not giving up sex. "I would go crazy if I had to give up the love and affection and romance — the touching, the hugging, the cuddling. Is it really moral to ask people not to love?" (Rytting 1983, 78).

In many minds, homosexuals do not love but only indulge their sexual appetites in an endless orgy of promiscuous encounters. During the pre-AIDS era, a substantial number of homosexuals did exhibit this behavior. A Kinsey Institute study completed on a large sample of San Francisco gays revealed that "the average male subject had had more than five hundred sexual partners in his lifetime. Among the white males in the study, 28 percent reported more than a thousand" (Maddox 1982, 195). I know of no post-AIDS figures, but I would suspect a significant drop in such behavior.

Such findings are repugnant to most people and reinforce the hostility to the homosexual population as a whole. Yet San Francisco is not Provo, and sensitive, quiet, industrious gay people live in both communities. Love, commitment, sharing, and caring are not virtues restricted to heterosexuals.

Homosexuality is a part of the human condition. Concerns about responsibility swirl around this issue and range from the conviction that "everything is your fault" to "nothing is your fault." The same can be said for a myriad of other human conditions as diverse as poverty, mental illness, drug abuse, and obesity. Clearly, pursuing an extreme position is pointless. We sometimes labor under the illusion that we have more free choice than we can sensibly expect. We are slowly learning the limitations that our biological nature imposes on us. Yet, we are also intentional, rational, spiritual, and moral beings who cannot escape the freedom that consciousness and agency grants to us. How we balance this uneasy alliance between our nature and our nurture is what makes us human.

I do not know the answers, and I suspect that no one among us does. Perhaps the best we can hope for is the willingness to reject prejudice, ignorance, and self-righteousness and to embrace tolerance and understanding. Finally, only fools will fail to recognize that the world brims with such existential and spiritual dilemmas, and the vast majority of these riddles have no simple, tidy solutions. My final question is, "Which of you wishes to shoulder the ultimate moral responsibility when dealing with such profound mysteries?"

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For Brother de Mik

Dian Saderup

Cupped in your papery palm the rose
was like a wound, flowering.
Your wife nodded when we brought it.
Yes, Papa, yes is pretty. Then
she put it in a bowl to float
and wilt on water.

The light turned ruddy on your faces
as we sat, the evening passing.
You told me how it was to be
a lithographer: *Grease and water*
not so friendly with each other,
but I lace them up side to side
on the stone, together they make
my printings nice. When I left
the room was blue.

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Voice still resonant as rosewood,
after the sickness came you told
me about Holland and the Saints
and marrying beautiful Marjorie. She
brought us lebkuchen with sticky
cherries on a slate-colored plate.
When you ate a small piece she said,
See you can eat. Papa can eat.
She made you hold the gray plate
on your knee.

Christmas Eve, the fire cast orange
shadows on the alcoved walls. I
brought a holly wreath. For the first
time you did not rise when I came
into the room. *Oh, not so well,*
you answered me. I heard you breathe.
But that's the way of things. The Lord
has always been good. We watched
the soundless television, a bluish
flickering screen.

Today the sprays of roses, mums,
carnations — red, orange, and yellow —
banked the upturned, silver shining
earth where you lay. *I trust my Jesus,*
you once told me. *I'm just a man.*
And cupped inside this darker day
I grieve, the claret mystery
of the cross, beside me here,
in hiding.

Notes on Apostolic Succession

Steven H. Heath

THE RECOGNITION OF BRIGHAM YOUNG as leader of the Church in August 1844 and the reorganization of the First Presidency under his direction in December 1847 have provided the basic pattern and precedent for apostolic succession. This important event has been discussed in depth by a number of historians (Quinn 1976, 1982; Esplin 1981; Ehat 1982). Apostolic succession since Brigham Young has been treated in an important study by Durham and Heath (1970, 78–175). Succession questions, decisions, and innovations by Young's apostolic successors were considered well into the twentieth century and form a little-studied but important topic of Church history.

THE JOHN TAYLOR SUCCESSION

John Taylor attained his senior position in the Quorum of the Twelve in a unique series of events. In 1861, he was moved ahead of Wilford Woodruff when seniority was established by ordination date rather than age (Durham and Heath 1970, 65–66). Later in 1875, Brigham Young moved him and Woodruff ahead of Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt because they had the longest continuous ordination as apostles (Durham and Heath 1970, 73–76). Taylor, speaking at a priesthood meeting in the Assembly Hall on 7 October 1881, reports that this action took place in Sanpete County in June 1875 (Taylor 1881, 17). The evidence, however, clearly indicates that it occurred at the April 1875 general conference. When the general authorities were sustained 10 April, Woodruff recorded in his journal: "G Q Cannon presented the authorities and when he came to the Twelve, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff was put before Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt, upon this principle" (Woodruff 7:224, 10 April 1875). He then explained the reasons. The Salt Lake *Tribune* announced that Orson Hyde had been "degraded by his dread master

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to third man in the apostolic ranks" and that Elder Taylor had been "promoted to the primacy" (13 April 1875). Exactly what the changes meant was further clarified by President Young at the spirited June meetings in Sanpete when the Twelve were rebaptized (Young, 22–23 June 1875). Despite these actions, Taylor was not sustained as president of the Twelve at any of Brigham Young's remaining general conferences. In fact, Brigham Young declared that he was president of the Twelve at a meeting of the Church United Order in the fall of 1875, since he was the only one whom the Lord had acknowledged as such (Woodruff 7:241–42, 31 Aug. 1875).

When President Young died in August 1877, Taylor had to legitimatize his senior position. At a meeting of the Council of the Twelve and President Young's counselors on 4 September 1877, three important decisions were made: First, that the Twelve should "take their place as the presiding Quorum of the Church"; second, that Elder John Taylor should be appointed President of that Quorum; and third, that Elders John W. Young and Daniel H. Wells "are to stand as Counselors to the Twelve as they did to Brigham Young" (Woodruff 7:372, 4 Sept. 1877). Taylor established his position before the entire Church in a dramatic and impressive manner. At the October 1877 general conference after a number of reports in the opening session, George Q. Cannon announced that the conference would meet in a priesthood solemn assembly at the afternoon session, explained that such assemblies had been held under the direction of the Prophet Joseph Smith in Kirtland, and then gave directions for seating of the priesthood quorums and congregation for the assembly (*Deseret News*, 8 Oct. 1877, Minutes of the General Conference, p. 2). This assembly would offer a public ritualistic acceptance of President Taylor in his new role as presiding priesthood officer of the Church.

The Saints had met in solemn assembly at three previous general conferences. The first occurred at the 17 August 1835 general conference when the *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* was adopted by the vote of the individual priesthood quorums and groups (HC 2:243–46). The second occurred at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple when Joseph Smith and the Twelve were sustained as prophets, seers, and revelators (HC 2:417). The third came with the reorganization of all the priesthood quorums in Nauvoo in April 1841. The Nauvoo assembly was dictated by a revelation (D&C 124) which prescribed the officers to be sustained. Brigham Young was sufficiently impressed by it to assure that all these offices, which included stake priesthood officers and Aaronic Priesthood quorum presidencies, were sustained at every general conference in his administration. President Taylor discontinued this practice after the October 1877 conference (*Deseret News*, 9 April 1878).

Joseph Smith explained the necessity of obtaining a vote of priesthood quorums in solemn assembly, saying that if a resolution had passed through all the quorums, it should be "received as a law to govern the Church" (Jessee 1984, 166).

During the next three years, Taylor gained the admiration of the Church: He reached a settlement of the complicated Brigham Young estate, established a new economic movement in Utah and the Church with the Zion's Board of

Trade, and celebrated the Church's Jubilee anniversary. He then reorganized the First Presidency at the October 1880 general conference using the 1877 solemn assembly script, with minor modifications. The sustaining ceremony in essence sanctions the actions of a new president. His official pronouncements then became the law of the Church. The Taylor script was used to sustain every president through Spencer W. Kimball. A major modification in the procedure was made in April 1986 with the sustaining of Ezra Taft Benson as the Church's thirteenth president. For the first time priesthood quorums were not seated together. The ceremony was also shortened. (For other changes compare Durham and Heath, 141–56 with *Ensign*, May 1986, 73–74).

Taylor had affirmed and established several important apostolic succession principles. He had reinforced the fundamental doctrine, established by Young, that the Quorum of the Twelve presides when the president of the Church dies. He made it clear, as Young had, that counselors to a former president were subservient to the Quorum, even though they may have been apostles themselves. He also initiated the concept that the president of the Twelve is sustained not only as the successor-to-be, but also as the quorum's presiding officer (Durham and Heath 1970, 141–56). But his most significant innovation was his establishment of the priesthood solemn assembly sustaining procedure for a new president.

THE WILFORD WOODRUFF SUCCESSION

Even before Taylor's death, Wilford Woodruff became involved in the succession question. Heber J. Grant raised the most often-asked query about the seniority system: "Is it possible for a younger man or one other than the senior apostle to succeed to the Presidency?" In particular Grant was advocating the possible appointment of Joseph F. Smith as Taylor's successor. To support his views, Grant argued that Woodruff had prophesied at an Ogden stake conference that Smith would become president of the Church. To fulfill that prophecy, the Twelve would have to deviate from the usual order (Woodruff to Grant, 28 March 1887).

In a lengthy reply to Grant, Woodruff defended the established and "inspired precedent." After citing reasons why the president of the Twelve should rightfully succeed, he warned that "it would be a very dangerous precedent for us to set, to depart from the order which God has pointed out" (Durham and Heath 1970, 97–99). He then addressed the question concerning Joseph F. Smith.

> Now if Elder Woodruff delivered such a prophecy by the inspiration of the Lord (which I firmly believe he did) [Woodruff 8:8, 23 Jan. 1881] it will be fulfilled as sure as fate, and that too without deviating from the path marked out by the Lord, and followed by the leaders of the Church. It was said that that prophecy was recorded. I will also make a statement, that I Wilford Woodruff, heard Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Young say that they heard Joseph Smith say in their presence and in the presence of others in 1832, the first time that Joseph Smith ever had an interview with Brigham Young he said Brigham Young would yet be President of the Church, and that was four years before there was any Twelve Apostles chosen, and

> no man knew that Brigham Young would ever be an Apostle (unless God revealed it to the Prophet). And still, after sixteen years of revelation and change, Brigham Young was president of the Church, without turning to the right or left from the path marked out to be the revelation of God. And that prophecy was also recorded. And there was not one chance in ten for that to be fulfilled that there is for Joseph F. Smith to be president of the Church in the regular channel of the order of God (Woodruff to Grant, 28 March 1887).

The Woodruff letter has become a fundamental document in the defense of apostolic succession. Woodruff had expressed both in the letter and his journal that he did not expect to outlive Taylor; however, when he received word of Taylor's death, he immediately understood his position and responsibility as president of the Twelve (Woodruff 8:448, 26 July 1887).

The Quorum of the Twelve, Taylor's counselors, and Daniel H. Wells, counselor to the Twelve, met to consider the new role of the Twelve on 3 August 1887. Woodruff expressed his views first, explaining the presiding authority of the Twelve. The quorum then discussed reinstating Cannon and Smith into the Quorum of the Twelve. This action was adopted by vote, but not without serious discussion of Cannon's dealings in the Bullion Beck silver mine and his handling of Church affairs without consulting the Twelve during Taylor's final days (Lyman 1985, 68–73). The Cannon case was to have a profound effect on Woodruff's attempts to reorganize the First Presidency.

Woodruff brought the reorganization question up for the first time on Tuesday, 20 March 1888, no doubt anticipating an April conference reorganization. Instead the council spent four long days hearing the Cannon case. Five of the twelve — Erastus Snow, Moses Thatcher, Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, and Heber J. Grant — openly opposed Cannon's actions during the last year of Taylor's Presidency. On 23 March, Woodruff, frustrated over the whole affair, spoke strongly about the divisive spirit in council and announced that the reorganization would no longer be considered (Richards, 23 March 1888).

For Woodruff, the affair was one of the most disappointing of his life. He wrote of the painful experience:

> Here we have spent four days in listning to the Accusations of five Apostles against G.Q. Cannon and six sustained him. I never saw as much bitterness manifest against one good man by 5 Apostles since the days of Apostate Twelve against the Prophet Joseph in Kirtland and all through Jealousy as Br Cannon was first Councilor to John Taylor and the blame of any acts of Presidet Taylor that five of the Twelve did not think was right was laid to George Q Cannon. It is painful to record these things but it is true. We have tryed to settle these things but so far we are still apart (Woodruff 8:490, 23 March 1888).

The council was adjourned for the weekend but agreed to meet again on Monday. After another long day on the Cannon case, they "finally came to an understanding and forgave each other" (J. H. Smith, 26 March 1888).

Woodruff did not bring up the reorganization question again until 5 April 1889. By then, all had had a change of heart about Cannon but Moses Thatcher who was still making accusations against Cannon by 3 April. Woodruff reprimanded Thatcher for his insubordination, and after the scolding,

Thatcher finally agreed to the reorganization with Cannon as Woodruff's first counselor. Grant, who had strongly opposed Cannon in 1888, would discuss this incident fifteen years later when George Albert Smith was ordained an apostle in 1903. He advised Elder Smith never to come to a Council meeting "with set desires of having certain motions carried" and cited a personal example:

> At the time referred to by me there were some things advocated by my brethren which did not meet with my approval, and I contended against them, so did Brother Thatcher; and Apostle Erastus Snow agreed with Brother Thatcher and with me in the rightfulness of our views; but he said to both of us that if we did not repent of this spirit of contention and determination on our part to have our way and to carry our point, notwithstanding the fact, he said, that you are striving for that which you regard to be right, you will both lose your positions as apostles. Moses denies that Brother Snow ever made any such remark, but from that moment I avoided Moses Thatcher as contagion, and when I got away from his influence I could see that he was fast losing the spirit, and that the course he was pursuing, which was the course I was pursuing also until I was delivered from him, was right in opposition to the wishes of Presidents Woodruff, Cannon and Smith, although the Presidency was not then organized, and it meant his downfall unless he repented. I thank the Lord for this advice from Brother Erastus, and I have thanked him many and many a time since; and I can truthfully say that from that day to this, although I have a very tenacious disposition, that I have ever felt ready and willing to surrender my views, and that I have not had any such feeling in my heart since to carry a point in this Council (G. A. Smith 1903, 7–9).

The general conference sustained the reorganization in solemn assembly on 7 April 1889. For Woodruff, it was a moment of great pride and satisfaction. Though his apostolic presidency was short compared to Young's and Taylor's, he was frustrated and hurt by the delays. He wanted to insure shorter future transition periods. After a serious illness in the fall of 1892, he advised Lorenzo Snow, president of the Twelve, and other apostles, that it was in the best interest of the Church to have a shortened apostolic presidency (Snow 1906, 110–11; Durham and Heath 1970, 103–4; CR, April 1913, 5).

Woodruff's influence on the apostolic succession question was extremely important: He left a persuasive written document supporting apostolic succession; he established procedures to reintegrate counselors who had previously served as members of the Twelve back into the Quorum of the Twelve; and he laid the groundwork for a shortened apostolic presidency.

LORENZO SNOW SUCCESSION

During the Woodruff presidency, Lorenzo Snow worked hard to unify the Quorum of the Twelve. Woodruff died 2 September 1898, and the new First Presidency was organized eleven days later in an atmosphere of good will. His advanced age of eighty-four was not even discussed (Durham and Heath 1970, 108–11).

His appointment established another important precedent. Snow and his counselors were unanimously sustained by the Quorum of the Twelve on 13 September 1898. A solemn assembly ratified that appointment on 10 Octo-

ber 1898. After the conference, the First Presidency and Twelve met to ordain newly sustained apostle Rudger Clawson. Franklin D. Richards recorded:

> Then to Presidents office where the 1st Presidency and 11 Apostles laid their hands on Rudger Clawson and Pres. Lorenzo Snow ordained him an apostle and into the Council of Apostles. President Snow with 14 hands on his head was set apart and blessed by GQ Cannon then Pres. Snow and 14 set apart and blest GQ Cannon as his First and Jos. F. Smith as his 2nd Counselor. Then Prest. Snow directed Geo. Q. Cannon to bless me as President of the Twelve Apostles, which he did (Richards, 10 Oct. 1898).

For the first time, a Church president had been "ordained" as president by his fellow apostles. Each apostle thus symbolically yielded his keys to the senior apostle. It was a gesture of unity, an outward sign that there was but one head of the Church at a time, even though each apostle received the "keys of the kingdom" at ordination. This innovation became the standard procedure at all reorganizations after President Joseph F. Smith.

The most important succession decision in the Snow presidency was precipitated by the death of Franklin D. Richards in December 1899, which made Brigham Young, Jr., senior apostle. But the relative seniority of Young and Snow's two counselors, Cannon and Smith, was still unclear. The question had been raised several times before, but no action had been taken. On 9 September 1898 when Cannon and Smith were received back into the Quorum of the Twelve, they took their seats after Snow and Richards in this order: Cannon, Young, and Smith. Cannon and Smith were then called on to give an update of the financial condition of the Church, and the meeting closed. Brigham Young, Jr., wrote of the discussion which followed the meeting's end:

> After dismissing talk began by Bro. H.J. Grant about my preceding Jos. F.S. in the Quorum. He thought it wrong and was surprised to see us take our seats with me between GQC & JFS. I said I am willing to be in the quorum any place, felt I was fit to be an apostle; ready to follow Bro Joseph will do just as the Lord wants; Said that I submitted this matter to father one day and he said rather severely "It is just right the way it is, and you let it alone." I never had courage to tackle the question again; still I am of the opinion that when a man is ordained an apostle and seeks to magnify that office, no new man can rank him in (being) set apart to fill a vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve. I am anxious for God through my brethren to decide this question and I yield my views to theirs with all my heart. After left for home at 7:40 P.M. (Young, 9 Sept. 1898).

The First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve met to discuss the problem on 5 April 1900. They decided that apostles took precedence from the date they entered the quorum and that Smith outranked Young (Durham and Heath 1970, 111–16).

The meeting minutes reveal the rationale for this resolution:

> Bro. John Henry Smith said that he regarded this as a very important question from the fact that he understood there had been quite a number of men ordained apostles who had never been voted upon as such by the church. His kinsman, for instance, Joseph Smith, who stood at the head of the Re-organized Church, claims he was ordained an apostle by his father. Of course his claim as such is not before

this Council, neither can it be as he is an enemy to this church. The speaker said he desired greatly to be right on such a proposition as this, and therefore it did not become a question of man in his mind, it mattered not who was involved in it as it was a vital question of principle, and in this light only could be considered. Bro. Smith said he recognized the right of the President of the Church to ordain his sons apostles if he chose to exercise that right, and he took it for granted that the late President Young ordained Brigham and others of his brothers apostles, and he supposed history was correct in stating that Brigham and John W. were ordained before Prest. Cannon; but it struck him that the action of the people on such ordinations was of supremest moment, and therefore whenever their action was taken, that would be considered the basis. On this phase of the proposition, the question of man was simply this: Has a father — himself being an apostle — a right to ordain his son to the apostleship, and that son to preside without the action of the church, his ordination antedating that of the man chosen and acted upon by the church? The speaker said, to his mind there was but one view to be taken to safeguard the church and this council, and to the maintenance of their dignity in the world, such ordinations were dependent upon joint action, first, on the presentation by the First Presidency to the Council of the Apostles for their acceptance, and then to the people for their approval, and then he must be ordained in the proper way; otherwise it would open a door for questions to be sprung entirely unlooked for, and even the claim of his kinsman, Joseph, of the Re-organized Church, might not be barred from a consideration. His view therefore was that the safety of the organization of the church must be based on the action of the people, the action of the Presidency and Apostles, and the final action of ordination after having been passed upon legitimate lines (Minutes 1900, 2–3).

The meeting was the most thorough discussion of succession in the history of the Church. Not only was the Young-Smith case examined in detail, but George Q. Cannon brought up two other interesting cases. The first was one in which he was involved:

Suppose all the Twelve should pass away and I be left as the senior Apostle, (Pres. Cannon here remarked that he ought to say this was prompted with only a natural desire to understand things, and of course with no other) how would I stand as compared with Bro. [Daniel H.] Wells on the question of seniority, he having been ordained an apostle before me, but was not a member of the quorum of the Twelve? President Taylor answered that his prior ordination under those circumstances would make no difference, that I would be the senior member. How would you reconcile that, with the fact that Bro. Wells laid his hands on my head in connection with ten of the Twelve and the First Presidency when I was ordained an Apostle, I asked? That makes no difference, he answered; you are in the quorum of the Twelve and accepted as a member thereof, and the quorum of the Twelve is the presiding quorum if anything happens to the First Presidency (Minutes 1900, 6).

The second case involved Hyrum Smith. After reading Doctrine and Covenants 124:93–95, Cannon explained that there might be special exceptions to this rule:

When this revelation [D&C 124] was given (1841) Joseph was recognized as the only prophet seer and revelator in the church. The Twelve had not received their endowments; but Hyrum was chosen then to be a prophet, seer, and revelator. President Young said after the death of the Prophet Joseph, that if Hyrum had lived he would have presided over this church, for Joseph had ordained him. But, said the speaker, that was a special rule, a departure from the general rule. The church was at sea as to who should be the successor of Joseph, and it was this state of things that

> brought forth the remark from President Young, that if Hyrum had lived — and it was Joseph's wish that he should live, and for that reason he did not want Hyrum to accompany him to Carthage — he would have been President of the church. This was a special revelation from the Lord appointing him; but there has been no departure since the death of Joseph from the rule that now prevails (Minutes 1900, 6–7).

Following Cannon's remarks, Snow expressed his love and admiration for Brigham Young, Jr., then asked the council to sustain the decision that Smith outranked Elder Young. The vote was unanimous. He also spoke about the presidency of the Quorum of the Twelve. He said it was Cannon's right to claim the position, but in order to do so, he would have to resign his counselorship, an option Snow felt should not or would not be taken. In Cannon's absence, Brigham Young, Jr., as senior member was to preside (Minutes 1900, 8; Durham and Heath 1970, 128).

Snow contributed significantly to apostolic succession in his short but exciting presidency. He implemented the Woodruff instruction for a shortened apostolic presidency, he established a formal ceremony for the setting apart of a president, and he defined and clarified the seniority question in the Quorum of the Twelve. But despite these important innovations and decisions, a new succession question arose almost immediately following his death.

The Joseph F. Smith Succession

Following the Snow precedent and Woodruff charge, Joseph F. Smith completed the reorganization of the First Presidency just seven days after his predecessor's death. The reorganization meeting and of the next several general conferences created another important issue: What was the role of the Church patriarch in succession? Smith wanted to elevate the patriarch, the position held by his father, Hyrum Smith, and his grandfather, Joseph Smith, Sr. In fact, on one occasion, he himself had been seriously considered for the position (Woodruff 7:249–50, 9 Oct. 1875). At the reorganization meeting, President Smith called upon his brother John Smith, the patriarch, to set him apart as president of the Church. It was the first time the Patriarch to the Church had ever been involved in a reorganization meeting. A natural question was: Did the patriarch have the authority to set a president apart?

A month later, President Smith, in a meeting with his new counselors John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund, argued that the patriarch should be sustained at conference before the apostles. Lund felt that such a move might cause trouble at a future reorganization and advised caution (Lund, 9 Nov. 1901). Smith took Lund's advice, for the next day at the special solemn assembly general conference called to sustain the new First Presidency, the General Authorities were sustained as usual with one minor change — John Smith was sustained as "Presiding Patriarch" instead of "Patriarch of the Church." In his inaugural address to the Church at the conference, President Smith explained:

> I do not know of any more perfect organization than exists in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today. We have not always carried out strictly the order of the Priesthood; we have varied from it to some extent; but we hope in due time

> that, by the promptings of the Holy Spirit, we will be led up into the exact channel and course that the Lord has marked out for us to pursue, and adhere strictly to the order he has established.

After reading a portion of an 1841 revelation (D&C 124:124) specifying that Hyrum Smith should be sustained first at the April 1841 general conference, he continued:

> It may be considered strange that the Lord should give first of all the Patriarch; yet I do not know any law, any revelation or any commandment from God to the contrary, that has ever been given through any of the Prophets or Presidents of the Church. At the same time we well know that this order has not been strictly followed from the day we came into these valleys until now — and we will not make any change at present. But we will first take it into consideration; we will pray over it, we will get the mind of the Spirit of God upon it, as upon other subjects, and be united before we take any action different to that which has been done (CR, Oct. 1901, 71).

Even though President Smith only advocated that the Patriarch be sustained before the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, as the revelation implied, some of the Twelve were concerned about patriarchal succession. The Twelve had held ascendancy over the patriarch since Brigham Young's succession, but it was evident that the reverse had been true during Joseph Smith's administration. What role would they play in the future? At least one meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve was held early in the administration of Joseph F. Smith to consider the patriarch's role in succession. Brigham Young, Jr., wrote briefly of this important meeting:

> 1:20 p.m. Pres. and Twelve met in the Office and discussed question of Church Historian. It was decided to sustain Br. Jenson, Bishop Whitney, A.M. Musser and B.H. Roberts. This question of Patriarch Jno. Smith, standing next to Presidency, preceeding the Pres. of Twelve. Bro. Jno. H.S. said might change succession of President of Twelve to Presidency. I thought him unnecessarily exercised. Decision on question was delayed for the present, until we could look into it. I said, "Pres. Smith, if the Presidency will decide this question, we will sustain your decision" (Young, 6 April 1902).

If the question was considered again during the Smith presidency, no decision was reached. However, two significant occurrences elevated the patriarchal position. First, President Smith gave the patriarch public prominence by having him speak regularly at general conferences. During the previous three administrations, the patriarch had participated in general conference directly only by giving prayers. Even during Brigham Young's thirty-year tenure, the patriarch was asked to speak at only one general conference ("Minutes of the General Conference," MS 14:35, 1852). The second, and even more significant event, occurred at the October 1902 general conference when the patriarch was sustained as a prophet, seer, and revelator for the first time (CR Oct. 1902, 83).

Though President Smith left the patriarchal succession question open, it is clear that he advocated basic principles of apostolic succession toward the end of his presidency. At the April conference in 1913, he presented his strongest public argument for the established procedure: "There is always a head in the

Church, and if the presidency of the Church are removed by death or other cause, then the next head of the Church is the twelve apostles until a presidency is again organized of three presiding high priests who have the right to hold the office of first presidency over the Church (CR, April 1913, 4–5).

There is no indication that President Smith felt any differently in private. In November 1918, just hours before his death, he reassured Heber J. Grant, president of the Twelve, of the "Lord's Will": "He knows whom He wants to lead His Church, and never makes any mistake" (Lund, 18 Nov. 1918; Durham and Heath 1970, 125).

President Smith, clearly, gave the Church patriarch an elevated and important status but probably never advocated that the Patriarch succeed him and did not press for a change in the sustaining order though he had considered it. With his death in 1918, there was no question about the position of the Twelve.

Heber J. Grant Succession

The Council of the Twelve met 23 November 1918 to consider the reorganization of the First Presidency. After all those present were given an opportunity to express themselves, Anthon H. Lund, second in seniority, nominated Heber J. Grant as president and Rudger Clawson, third in seniority, seconded the motion. Grant then chose Lund and Penrose as his counselors. President Lund pronounced the blessing in setting apart Grant and, in turn, Grant set apart his counselors (Lund, 23 Nov. 1918). This pattern of formal nomination, seconding, and setting apart by the three senior apostles has been followed in every succession from 1918 through 1973 (Kimball and Kimball 1970, 220–21, 268, 388, 409).

President Grant then proposed sustaining Lund as president of the Council of the Twelve. After some discussion, he was. The title, "President of the Council of the Twelve Apostles," had come to mean "successor to be." James E. Talmage records: "It is very evident that President Lund will not be able to attend all the meetings of the Twelve, and it was deemed advisable therefore to sustain and set apart the next in order of seniority, vis., Rudger Clawson as acting President of the Council of the Twelve. This was done, Elder Orson F. Whitney officiating in the setting apart of Brother Clawson" (Talmage, 23 Nov. 1918).

Faced with the same dilemma, Lorenzo Snow had not designated a president of the Twelve, because in his mind the presidency of the Twelve was an active and integral function of that quorum. On two occasions since 1918, acting presidents of the Twelve have been sustained when the president of the Twelve was a member of the First Presidency — Joseph Fielding Smith in October 1950 and Spencer W. Kimball in April 1970. Interestingly, the appointment of Rudger Clawson as acting president of the Twelve was not sustained by the Church until Grant's second general conference in October 1919 (CR, Oct. 1919, 214).

At the 1918 succession meeting, the Patriarch again functioned with the rest of the apostles (Lund, 23 Nov. 1918; Talmage, 23 Nov. 1918). Grant

and the Twelve had recognized the Church patriarch as a prophet, seer, and revelator. He was then Hyrum G. Smith, a grandson of his predecessor Patriarch John Smith and a great-grandson of Hyrum Smith. Hyrum G. pressed for a serious examination of the questions raised by President Joseph F. Smith: Should he not be presented first at conference as the revelations imply and what was his position in succession?

Within two months, the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve considered these points. According to Talmage,

> At intervals for years past, the Presiding Patriarch of the Church has called the attention of the brethren, mostly in private conversation, to the fact that he finds an inconsistency in the order of presiding officials of the Church as they are presented today for the vote of the people, in comparison with D&C Section 124 verses 124 and 125. He has repeatedly asked for a consideration of the matter. Today the decision of the First Presidency and Twelve was made a matter of record to the effect that the Presiding Patriarch of the Church ranks in order of office between the Council of the Twelve and the First Council of Seventy, and that his name should be presented in such order for the vote of the people as has hitherto been done. Revelation to and the history of the Church combine in making plain the fact that no officer stands between the Council of the Twelve and the First Presidency of the Church. However, this was not the plan to which Presiding Patriarch Hyrum G. Smith asserted any claim, but he asked whether, in view of the Lord's having mentioned his great-grand father, Hyrum Smith, first in order of the Priesthood (D&C 124:124), the place of the Presiding Pat. is not that of first officer in the Church, ahead of the First Presidency. As stated, it was the unanimous decision of the Council that the order heretofore observed shall be maintained, unless the Lord reveals another course as the one to be followed (Talmage, 2 Jan. 1919).

Lund recorded additional details of the discussion:

> H.G. Smith felt that he was honored in the place which the Lord indicated in the 124th section in which the Lord said first I give unto you Hyrum Smith to be a patriarch and next Joseph Smith is then mentioned. So Hyrum G felt his place should be first in being sustained, as the apostles are called to look for patriarchs and to set them apart, it is plain that they occupy the higher place. I moved that we follow the example set by the Church heretofore this was agreed to (Lund, 2 Jan. 1919).

This decision determined the basic pattern of apostolic succession, but a few minor refinements since 1918 deserve comment.

SUCCESSION SINCE 1918

Of the six changes in the Church Presidency since 1918, (George Albert Smith, 1945; David O. McKay, 1951; Joseph Fielding Smith, 1970; Harold B. Lee, 1972; Spencer W. Kimball, 1973; Ezra Taft Benson, 1985), only two produced any modification in the expected succession. In addition, actions during the Kimball administration imply several minor changes in succession.

When McKay became Church president in April 1951, he chose Stephen L Richards as first counselor and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., as second counselor, although Clark had been first counselor to both Grant and George Albert Smith. This choice shocked the brethren and the Church (Kimball and Kimball 1970, 268–69; Quinn 1983, 122–26) but made it clear that the choice

of counselors belongs to the president and is not dictated by any previous arrangement. McKay's decision was based on his counselors' seniority and reinforced the basic principles of apostolic succession and the importance of seniority in a powerful way.

McKay died at age ninety-six in January 1970. Joseph Fielding Smith, the senior apostle, was ninety-three. Even the Twelve wondered if an immediate reorganization was appropriate or wise; but when the council met to consider the question, "all agreed it was right to proceed with the reorganization promptly" (Kimball and Kimball 1970, 387) — a reaffirmation of the principle of seniority. At the April 1970 general conference, Harold B. Lee, first counselor, and Spencer W. Kimball, acting president of the Twelve, both spoke on the succession process after the solemn assembly. Kimball explained:

> The appointments have long been made, the authority given, the keys delivered. . . . No running for position, no electioneering, no stump speeches . . . . People talk about precedent. If it is precedent, it has become such by repetition of the revealed order from the beginning. . . . [A prophet] must be certain of his divine appointment, of his celestial ordination, and his authority to call to service, to ordain, to pass keys which fit eternal locks (Kimball 1970, 92–94).

Kimball's persuasive defense of apostolic succession was followed by Lee's address to the question, "How is the president of the Church chosen or elected?"

> The beginning of the call of one to be President of the Church actually begins when he is called, ordained and set apart to become a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. . . . All members of the First Presidency and the Twelve are regularly sustained as "prophets, seers and revelators," . . . This means that any one of the apostles so, chosen and ordained, could preside over the Church . . . on one condition, and that being that he was the senior member or the president, of that body. Occasionally the question is asked as to whether or not one other than the senior member of the Twelve could become President. Some thought on this matter would suggest that any other than the senior member could become President of the church only if the Lord reveals to that President of the Twelve that someone other than himself could be selected (Lee 1970, 28).

Lee concluded his sermon by quoting Woodruff's 1887 defense of apostolic succession and praising Joseph Fielding Smith and the significance of his call. Not since the October 1877 general conference had there been such a public explanation and defense of the principles of apostolic succession. The successions of Lee and Kimball produced no modifications of the law of succession.

Kimball's dynamic administration reconstituted the First Quorum of Seventy with rotating presidents and designated certain General Authorities as "emeritus." At the October 1979 general conference, Patriarch Eldred G. Smith was given emeritus status and the position of Church patriarch was eliminated. For the first time in seventy-seven years, the patriarch was not sustained as a prophet, seer, and revelator. Presumably, this action made the 1919 decision irrelevant. The removal of the patriarch as a possible successor understandably placed the First Quorum of Seventy and its presidents next in the succession line. Since the senior member of this presidency is now appointed, clearly succession by this individual is remote. It is interesting that, so far,

members of the Twelve have not been granted emeritus status. In light of the history of apostolic succession, such a development is unlikely.

The Ezra Taft Benson succession in November 1985 illustrated the Twelve's commitment to established precedent. Although Marion G. Romney was physically unable to function as president of the Twelve, he was appointed anyway. Howard W. Hunter was appointed as acting president to take responsibility for day-to-day affairs of the quorum. It is the first time that an acting president has been appointed because of the president's poor health and not because he was serving in the First Presidency.

If the Brigham Young succession established the basic pattern of apostolic succession, then the important decisions and innovations of each succession have reinforced those principles. For those who have faith in the divinity of these appointments, then the Taylor solemn assembly, the Woodruff letter, the Snow setting apart of a president, and the numerous other decisions are manifestations of God's confirmation and approval. For those who feel that the seniority system has a built-in flaw in the increasing age of the incumbent, the faithful can only point to the accomplishments of the Church's aged prophets. Future succession could be radically different than it is now, but change seems unlikely. The history of apostolic succession points only to the succession of the senior apostle.

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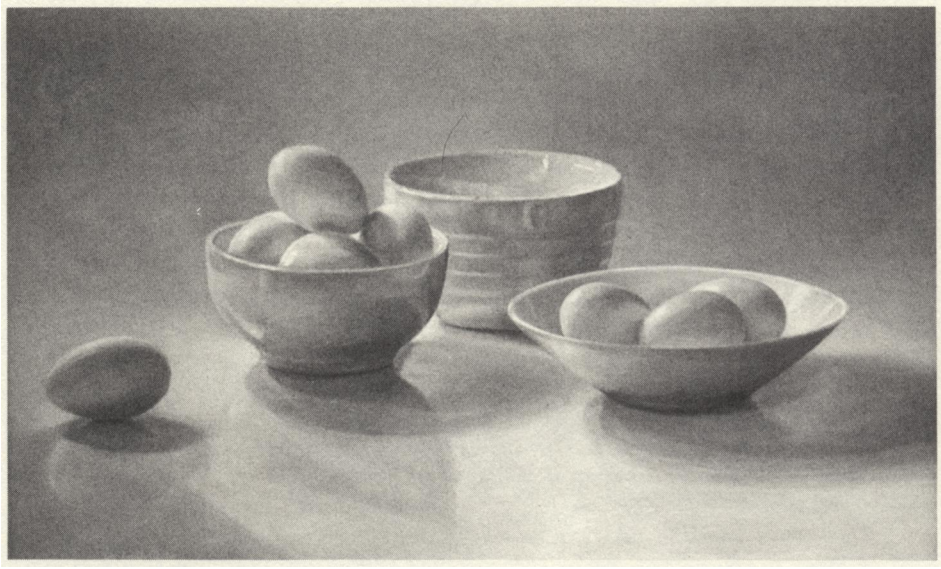

Spiritual Searchings: The Church on Its International Mission

Garth N. Jones

I

> Shall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward. . . . Courage . . . and on, on to the victory (D&C 128:22. Quoted by Spencer W. Kimball, October conference 1982).

EARLY IN THE 1950S, PRESIDENT DAVID O. MCKAY took forthright steps to move the largely domestic church into the international world. Within months after assuming his presidency, he embarked on a series of world tours, much as Pope John Paul of today's Catholic Church has done, visiting places and lands where the Church remained strong — Europe, New Zealand, the South Seas, and the Hawaiian Islands. The work-missionary program and other interesting innovations were introduced. With an increased financial base, the missionary effort moved vigorously into Latin America and Pacific Rim nations in the 1960s. Other prospective fields were tested in the Middle East and South Asia, but the greatest expansion occurred in Mexico and Latin America — still the most productive areas today.

Within this same period, the position of blacks in the Church received increased and increasingly anguished attention (Mauss 1981). In 1978, a new

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Acknowledgments: Writing this essay has been a painful process. It started in late fall 1982 at Mary Bradford's urging. A much different version was presented at the Mormon History Association meetings in Omaha, Nebraska, May 5–8, 1983. I discussed basic concepts at length with L. Jackson Newell who urged continued thought on the subject. It was torturously written and rewritten under the sharp eye of Lavina Fielding Anderson who forced me to rethink many concepts. It required deep soul-searching and endless discussions with my wife, Marie, and my three sons, Edward, Kevin, and Drew. In substance this essay embodies twenty years of my life spent in the Third World countries or at international agencies (United Nations, World Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations).

pronouncement of the General Authorities admitted black males to full priesthood. A whole new subculture in North America with a population of some 28 million was now included in the Church's proselyting activities. Even more important, the Church's message now became truly universal in intent.

Although no Church president failed to emphasize missionary work, it received great impetus from Spencer W. Kimball, who made universalizing the gospel a consistent theme. "The day . . . is here. . . . We must come to think of our obligation to share the message rather than our own convenience" (1982, 5). "The 'grand and glorious objective' of the Church is to assist 'to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of men' " by "proclaiming the gospel, . . . perfecting the saints," and "redeeming the dead" (1981, 96).

As of 1 January 1984, Church membership numbered 5,385,125; 90 countries had organized wards or branches; 189,419 converts had been baptized in the previous twelve months; and 112,000 children had been born to members. There were 31 temples in use and 16 under construction, several of which have since been finished; the Book of Mormon had been translated into 67 languages; 24,503 missionaries had been called during the previous year with another 1,031 couples also serving; and 389,258 young people were enrolled in seminary or institute classes (Deseret News 1984, 6). While Church members report these statistics proudly, sometimes claiming that the Church is the fastest-growing religious body in the world and using exponential projections to show that soon the world will be filled with Mormons, a different statistical context creates a less optimistic picture. The 5 million members contrast with 5 billion inhabitants of the earth. Against 300,000 new members added annually are the 122 million children born each year. In the next decade in Asia alone, every second of the day a child will be born — 3.5 new human beings every second globally. Of this number, some 15 million children annually die — more than 40,000 a day! Still, the world's population by 2110 will be 10.5 billion, or nearly two and a half times the present number (Hunger 1985, 22–35; "Population" 1983, 2).

In Africa where high birth rates and famine go hand in hand, the number of Muslims has more than doubled in the last two decades. Soon, one out of every three Africans will be Muslim (Jones 1986, 39). Catholicism has increased from being a localized church in non-Christian Indonesia of about 250,000 members to 3 million in the last seventy-five years (Jones 1982, 82). In recent years, Buddhism and Hinduism, two of the other great faiths, have experienced strong revivals. Even in the western Soviet Union are found stirrings of Christian revivalism. Only Western Europe seems untouched.

Liberation theology in Third World societies became an element after World War II, with heightened expectations for improved living conditions. Violence and revolution have scarred the last two decades, and the Church has also experienced political turbulences in South Vietnam, Lebanon, Iran, and Nicaragua.

Less spectacular but even more horrifying is the prevalence of mass poverty in Third World countries where the Church attempts entry. The Church was born in poverty. It was immensely successful in the nineteenth and even into

the twentieth centuries in bringing socio-economic betterment to poor peoples. If the Church was not able to bring the faithful to historic Zion, it created smaller Zions elsewhere — Hawaii, Canada, New Zealand, the South Pacific, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. These outposts enjoyed more or less full programs of the Church including access to temples (Hawaii, 1919; Alberta, 1923; Switzerland, 1955; New Zealand, 1958; and London, 1958). Strategically, these Zions were located in countries with stable governments. Their operations constituted little or no drain on the treasury of the domestic church.

In the middle 1960s, the Church began baptizing significant numbers of the "poorest of poor," which in several instances had rejected earlier conversion efforts (Tullis 1982, 302–6; Craig 1970, 66–70; Britsch 1986, 3–66). Many have compared this groundswell with the surge of British converts from the mines and potteries of England 150 years ago. The model of Mormons as upwardly mobile Americans has been problematic, since it presents an ideal of hard work and employability, stable marriages, and large families (Hicken 1968, 135–40; Barney and Wu 1976, 135–36).

However, intense poverty in nearly all societies fragments family structure. Husbands abandon their wives and children. Illegitimate births are high. About a fifth of all Latin American children — from 20 to 35 million — are abandoned, reports the United Nations Fund for Population Activities ("Deserted Children" 1983, 3). Because parents are poor, they are not educated. Because they are not educated, they do not have well-paying jobs or access to sophisticated agricultural techniques. As a consequence, they are malnourished and have inadequate medical care. Because infant mortality is high, parents have large families and die relatively young. The children who survive repeat the cycle, grow up ill-educated, suffering from endemic diseases, malnourished, and poor.

Although any set of generalizations so vast must suffer from inaccuracies in given areas, this picture is not overstated. A sort of matriarchal order evolves with the male role vaguely defined. A striking feature of these nascent congregations is the large numbers of female in contrast to male members. In some missions within this decade — for example, Taiwan and Indonesa, I have been told that the missionaries are specifically instructed to convert only families who are well off! The Church so far has insisted on acknowledging and accommodating only a conventional family structure. Countries with a strong Confucian base—Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan—can meet this requirement. Countries like Brazil cannot, nor can such economically disadvantaged groups in the United States such as blacks and Hispanics.

Since the early 1980s, the world's economy has stagnated. In Mexico and Brazil where the Church has significant numbers of members, high inflation, massive unemployment, and huge foreign debts are a serious problem. Since the mid-1960s, the American middle class has experienced a steady erosion of purchasing power ("Portrait" 1986, 30). At the same time, the percentage of families in the United States below the poverty line has increased from 10 to

12 per 100 families and from 12 to 14 persons per 100. Welfare and social security payments now constitute over 10 percent of all personal income. Utah is ranked forty-eighth in personal income, just above Mississippi and West Virginia (Utah Foundation 1985). Provo is ranked as one of the twenty-five poorest cities because of its large student population ("Richest" 1985).

Furthermore, there are no strong indications that the global economy will measurably improve. The Church and its members could become even more constrained by rising expectations and constricting financial resources. In the United States, the Church has taken drastic measures to strengthen its financial position by divesting itself of hospitals, some schools, and several businesses. It is dismantling its once massive welfare farms and ancillary enterprises — presumably freeing its financial resources for other purposes (Gottlieb and Wiley 1984, 17; Molen 1986, 34–35).

The Church is currently concentrating on souls (temples) rather than minds (schools) or bodies (hospitals or job-producing enterprises). Such an emphasis is somewhat reminiscent of the expansion of the Catholic Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the wake of European imperialism. Constructing cathedrals, even in extremely poor countries like the Philippines, took on high priority. In contrast, in China during the nineteenth century, most Protestant missionary groups concentrated on building hospitals and schools.

During the twentieth century, the Catholics also built impressive medical and educational facilities but usually only after the cathedrals and churches were in place.

Looking at 150 years of missionary efforts, which approach has been more successful? In Muslim Indonesia, at least, the answer is clear. The Catholic strategy has been immensely successful. Its history there of the last seventy-five years has typically followed a systematic pattern: (1) proselyting by doing good works (small schools, health clinics, simple agricultural development, (2) constructing elaborate churches for worship, (3) establishing parochial schools from elementary to university levels; (4) developing quality health-care facilities, and (5) helping converts find gainful employment. Thus, its institutional structure works toward a massive socio-religious uplift for its adherents in providing for a total way of life.

Consequently, building temples first, even though they are mainly designed in Salt Lake City and paid for with American-Canadian tithing, may be the best strategy in perfecting the new Saints. Spiritual motivations have traditionally been more potent than material ones. The critical feature, however, is that spiritual motivations must develop from each person's desire to find the Savior. They can never be imposed by outside means.

How successful will the Church be in persuading, for instance, the Taiwanese Saints to endow their Utah-designed temple with the same religious significance and spiritual power that Utah Saints feel toward their pioneer temples? If the Church cannot perform this task and is unable or unwilling to allow the Taiwanese Saints to produce a temple in their own cultural vernacular — in architectural and spatial terms that are already endowed with sacral

feelings — then these new temples could become abandoned religious structures like those commonly seen in non-Christian areas that were once part of the British or Dutch empires. The transplanted religions flourished briefly when missionaries followed the imperial armies, but they never took root.

Who will pay for all these new temples, chapels, and missionary facilities? What about their maintenance and operational costs? Can the gospel message make these new "poor" converts, or at least their children — upwardly mobile and financially secure? How long will American/Canadian members be willing to make the financial sacrifices necessary to assist their fellow members?[1] They receive increasingly fewer socio-economic returns on their sizeable contributions. Church schools are not accessible to growing numbers of their children. BYU, BYU/Hawaii, and Ricks are filled to capacity. They must go to Catholic or other religious-supported hospitals or hospitals-for-profit for their medical care. In times of economic stress, they turn to government for assistance. Even their chapels are jammed full and operated on an assembly-line like basis. These examples should not be taken in a negative way. They indicate the massive socio-economic transformation of the Church as it moves from its idyllic village unity to a world organization. Not all of this change will immediately result in "good things" for the members of the traditional Church.

It has been many decades since the Saints have been called to pool material goods and to make actual personal and family sacrifices to advance the cause of the gospel. It could be that such a call may again be made. However, the arena in which such sacrifices may be called for will reflect the bureaucratic present rather than the communal past — not wagon trains supplied by the contributions of the faithful rushing out to meet the stranded handcart companies but the institutional church collecting surpluses from its more affluent families and distributing them in distant colonies of largely invisible Saints. Pictures, words, and electronic media may record this missionary activity, but it will still be far away from those whose contributions made the international church possible.

In short, the Church has now committed itself to expansion in the Third World but primarily on its own, still-American terms, thus incurring increasing financial burdens. It seems unlikely that it will be able to continue such a course indefinitely without some major socio-religious modifications. In this

[1] Business writer Greg Critser in his "Salt Lake City, Utah," *Inc. The Magazine for Growing Companies*, January 1986, pp. 23–24, quotes several businessmen that finding money in Utah is impossible. "The nation outpaced Utah by six times in per capita growth of commercial bank deposits. The dollar size of commercial and industrial loans per capita is less than half the national average, and there is no local venture capital. Large family expenditures keep bank savings low. What's more, many practicing Mormon families, who constitute 68 percent of the state population, give 10 percent of their annual income to the Church. Critics say that this is a drain on the state economy, since the Church exports much of the money to build temples and support missionary activities in other countries." This matter is compounded by excessively high population growth. Ken Wells in his "As the Nation Ages, Utah Gets Younger Thanks to Mormons" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 Nov. 1984, 1, 22), asserts that with its perennial baby boom Utah is, in effect, a Third World enclave.

regard, three questions become relevant as it grapples with organizational principles of transition:

1. How will it come to terms with its history as an American artifact?
2. How far can/should it adapt to powerful cultural diversities yet still retain its own socio-religious purity and identity?
3. Where can it make its greatest contribution(s) in spiritually uplifting masses of people living in a troubled world?

II

> We Americans are the peculiar, chosen people — the Israel of our time (Herman Melville, 1850).
>
> Our fingers will be in every pie (Senator Robert A. Taft, 1943).
>
> Our frontiers are on every continent (John F. Kennedy, 1960).

No organization can deny or escape its history, and an organization's past experience powerfully shapes its future behavior (Greiner 1972; Bigelow 1980, 159–60). The Church was not the only new social or even religious movement to emerge from frontier America in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it is one of two or three which have survived (Foster 1984; Shipps 1985). Why?

Some scholars, studying the survival of organizations under desperate environmental conditions, have hypothesized that one source of energy and cohesion lies in group myths — stories so powerful in social context that historical exploits become legends that give meaning and order to a person's life and shape his or her relations to the world (Mitroff and Kilmann 1979, 189; King 1980).

Domestic Mormonism has a history of saga: the courage of the young prophet, the faith and endurance of the people, the repeated persecutions and moves, the witness of divine intervention, and its present-day success. Adele Bannon McCollum, a historian of religions, observes: "I believe that it is this coming together of the historical and psychical in mytho-history which accounts for the great appeal of Mormonism" (1980, 112). The Church uses the myth of heroic struggles as theory to interpret its situations and formulate its strategies (Hedberg 1981, 8; King 1980, 102–7).

Will this hitherto successful myth enable the Church to function effectively in cultures that were not part of its historic past? Part of that myth is the struggle of an exclusive people against a hostile environment, surviving partially by social insulation and isolation as means of confirming the unity and conformity of its members. "Converts," as Jan Shipps has observed, "undergo a process of assimilation roughly comparable to that which has taken place where immigrants adopt a new and dissimilar nationality" (1977, 764).

It is possible to see Mormon exclusiveness simply as ultra-Americanism. During the nineteenth century, the concept of Manifest Destiny glorified the

United States as an exceptional land occupied by exceptional people who had a superior way of life which they were called to extend to others all over the world. God was on the American side (Delbanco 1982; Williams 1980; Ward, 1955, 136–37). J. Reuben Clark, Jr., in his definitive commentary on the Monroe Doctrine, wrote that America's great influence in the world would be by example rather than by conquest. In giving his defense for the United States's long tradition of isolationism, Clark forcefully wrote: "For America has a destiny — a destiny to conquer the world, — not by force of arms, not by purchase and favor. . . , but by high purpose, . . . by a course of Christian living. . . , in a reign of peace to which we shall lead all others by the persuasion of our own right example" (in Hickman and Hillam 1972, 45).

Until World War II, the Church concentrated on building Zion in the promised land very much within Clark's sentiments, with missionaries gathering the pure in heart out of the wicked world.

World War II effectively demolished the century-old international order established following the Napoleonic wars. Pax Americana replaced Pax Britannia. In a sudden shift of history, the United States inherited many international problems after the European empires collapsed, struggling with the new Soviet Union empire for hegemony. This sudden expansion of U.S. influence ushered the Church into a new international age. Hundreds, if not thousands, of devout Saints expatriated as part of their jobs in the American military expansion, foreign aid programs, private business growth, and voluntary association efforts. David O. McKay, a Church president who responded to the new internationalism in both his global tours and his heightened awareness, gave these members their new charter with his phrase, "Every member a missionary." Without specific instructions from higher authority and acting on their own, many LDS expatriates broke ground for subsequent missionary work and would later provide much of the networking to keep the missionary effort moving forward. Such beginnings have never been adequately explored and documented; nevertheless they are clearly evidenced (Jones 1980 and 1982, Hyer 1982; Tullis 1978 and 1980).

This spontaneous development is unique and special. Although the American government often provided these expatriates with the means of residing in their foreign lands, they acted voluntarily and innocently in carrying out their church obligations, apart from the U.S. government. They were again pioneers, engaged in the great cause. For the first time in their lives, many American Saints felt essential to the Church and experienced spiritual reawakenings. This was my family's experience as my wife and I raised our sons in a variety of Third World settings. Baptizing an entire Indonesian family from the slums of Jakarta was a powerful religious experience and an awesome social responsibility.

However, while successful missionary work is always intensely personal, institutional support is necessary to build a community of saints that will endure. Countless small beginnings have been snuffed out because this requirement was not in place. A Pakistani Muslim student who discovered the gospel at Brigham Young University has no future when he returns home. The truth

may make him spiritually free; but unless he has a network of support, he will never be physically free to live out the tenets and precepts. Some cultures are adamantly and militantly opposed to conversion. Some Mormons have been expelled by foreign governments, not for proselyting per se, but simply because their religion is perceived as offensive ("Americans Jailed" 1985; Mayfield 1969). The 1985–86 Israeli resistance to the BYU Center in Jerusalem is another example.

Now, the Church, rather than relying on spontaneous expatriate activity, purposefully sends exploratory missionaries into eastern Europe, builds a temple in East Germany, and prays for the day when it can enter the People's Republic of China. It has infant establishments in India and attracts large numbers of black converts in Nigeria and Ghana. While the United States appears to be past its expansionistic phase, the Church is seeking an ever-wider field of influence in its efforts to become truly a world church. It has been transformed into the prime product of an affluent society. It is solely an American artifact, an international corporation. Its physical structures reflect power and social distance. Its operations are centralized and secretive. For example, financial statements are no longer publicly issued.

Unlike many Catholic or Protestant missionary endeavors, the Church's efforts are adequately financed. Its missionaries live in decent housing. Mission headquarters are clean and respectable. Mormon missionaries abroad are not expected to live like Peace Corps volunteers. They project the image of good, clean-cut, affluent people — all of which is very American.

But behind all of this corporate protection, a sensitive Mormon living in a Third World society will spiritually cry out in the words of Boris Pasternak's poem, "Hamlet":

> Take away this cup, O Abba, Father.
> Everything is possible to thee. . . .
> But the plan of action is determined,
> and the end irrevocably sealed.
> I am alone; all round me
> drowns in falsehoods;
> Life is not a walk across a field.

III

> [Accept a doctrine, and allow it] to go on and grow, you will awaken some day to find it standing over you, the arbiter of your destiny, against which you are powerless, as men are powerless against delusions (William Graham Sumner, 1903, 7).
>
> Verita pontius emergit ex errore quam ex confusione (Truth can no more easily emerge from error than from confusion) (Francis Bacon 1625, 818).

To universalize Mormonism is the primary challenge of today's Church. Here is found its contemporary dilemma: How can it perform effectively in a

broad range of cultural settings yet maintain its socio-religious purity and identity? If the beauty and power of the gospel message derive from its privileged status as a particular communication of God the Father and the Savior, then how can it arbitrarily be shaped to fit diverse cultural demands?

Of the great religions, only Roman Catholic Christianity and Sunni Islam have been globally successful. Both unequivocally seek to be universal religions, the first following the highly organized institutional model of the Roman Empire and the second following a highly congregational approach received from tribal communitarianism. After an intense struggle, Roman Catholicism now accepts a separation of the sacred and secular in governmental affairs while Islam, engaged in the same struggle, has thus far rejected any such separation (McMurrin 1979; Madsen 1979).

Mormonism, especially since the turn of the century, has adopted the corporate model with excessive dependence on institutionalization and bureaucratic behavior (Nibley 1979; Shepherd and Shepherd 1984, ch. 5; Wiley 1985). As business professor Stahrl Edmunds observes, "We Americans are great institutionalists. Like the Romans, we prefer our society tidy, secure, and well-kept by someone else" (1979, 7). In a system that stresses the integrity of the organization above all — even at the expense of individual integrity — Church members frequently suffer from trained incapacity. They are unable to act without orders and are absolutely secure in their convictions. This is, granted, a sweeping generalization; but the best documentation comes from points of sufficient pressure to spark protest: architecture, the activity of contemporary historians, and the fate of the *Seventh East Press*.[2]

Although sensitive Mormons may not agree with the warning of anthropologist Mark P. Leone, they should at least consider it. He notes that Joseph Smith gave his people a modern and sophisticated understanding of the world and of its changing processes in the discernment of truth:

> Mormons were to stand in opposition to all things; God was a man and was contingent. Thus Mormonism began with the idea that truth is relative . . . a product

[2] See, for instance, Martha Sonntag Bradley, "The Cloning of Mormon Architecture," DIALOGUE 14 (Spring 1981: 20–31; Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Battling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel," DIALOGUE 15 (Winter 1982): 69–78; J. Bonner Ritchie, "The Institutional Church and the Individual: How Strait the Gate, How Narrow the Way?" *Sunstone* 6 (May/June 1981): 28–35; Davis Bitton, "Like the Tigers of Old Time," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.–Oct. 1982): 44–48; Rebecca Hall, "BYU Sends Student Newspaper Walking," *Sunstone Review*, March 1983, pp. 2–3. Levi S. Peterson's delightful short story, "The Christianizing of Coburn Heights," in his *The Canyons of Grace* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 79–101, is a hilarious and disturbing parable about the power of conformity in the Church. The official position and a rationale are expressed in Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 259–78, while research documentation, scholarly examination, and personal protests against the results of such a position are expressed in Scott D. Miller, "Thought Reform and Totalism: The Psychology of the LDS Church Missionary Training Programs," with a response by C. Jess Groesbeck, "Thought Reform or Rite of Passage?" *Sunstone* 10 (No. 8, 1986): respectively 24–29 and 30–31; R. Lanier Britsch, "Mormon Missions: An Introduction to the Latter-day Saints Missionary System," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (Jan. 1979): 22–27; Scott Dunn, "The Dangers of Revelation," and Kent Dunford, "The Limits of Revelation," *Sunstone* 7 (Nov.–Dec. 1982): respectively 25–29 and 30–31; and Richard J. Cummings, "Quintessential Mormonism: Literal-Mindedness as a Way of Life." DIALOGUE 15 (Winter 1982): 92–101.

> of the situation in which it is defined. . . . Gradually Mormonism was transformed from a religion whose central truth was a method of perceiving a changing world based on the maintaining of contradictions, to a religion whose truth became fixed and isolated. . . . [As a consequence], while Mormonism possessed a modern and sophisticated understanding of the world, namely the changing nature of truth, it failed to perpetuate the insight. Later generations . . . did not retain Joseph Smith's understanding of change. They passed up Darwin for Linnaeus, Marx for Jefferson, and Freud for the Holy Ghost. They passed up the best insights of the nineteenth century, including those of their own founder. . . .

And by accepting immutable doctrine, Leone concludes, the "church has not given its faithful a handle on the modern world as it has given the world a handle on its faithful" (1979, 221–22, 224).

Certainly there are dangers in responding too fluidly to change. However, when changes reach a threshold stage, a too-rigid response will prevent the transformation necessary if the organization is to survive. Astute students of American organizations have argued since the mid-seventies that the age of management within the corporate model is no longer effective (Reich 1983; Thompson 1975; Waldo 1980). H. Edward Wrapp, professor of business at the University of Chicago and a person of considerable corporate experience, concedes that schools of business in particular and universities in general are not producing good general managers — thinkers and doers who are capable of "getting things done, choosing a strategy and backing that choice, and moving the organization forward" (in Jones 1982, 25–26). In his inimitable way, Hugh Nibley (1983) ascribes this growing organizational frustration to a fatal shift from relying upon leaders to managers. Lester Bush, in his "Valedictory" marking the conclusion of his co-editorship of DIALOGUE, observes: "The Church is in an era of administrative development and growth, requiring administratively gifted ecclesiastical leaders." He adds that when "men of comparable theological sophistication" are again included in the hierarchy, "we will probably see one of the most important reconstructions of the faith since the Restoration" (1982, 30).

A possible direction for change is taking place, not within the official structure, but among the Church's intellectuals, as typified by the writing of the New Mormon History. Although the hierarchy appears to tolerate this new direction as witness the fact that such writers as D. Michael Quinn and Thomas G. Alexander are BYU faculty members, it has also taken steps to officially distance itself from this movement and to take pains not to be seen endorsing it, as witness the closing of Leonard Arrington's productive publishing division when he was Church Historian and its transfer to BYU as the Joseph F. Smith Institute, the long lapse between the selling-out of the first edition of *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* by James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976) and its second printing in 1986, and speeches warning against history that does not engender faith.

The important thing about the Church's position toward New Mormon History is not its ambivalences but rather than its leaders sometimes take seriously what is being written. In organizational dynamics this intellectual activity forces the Church leaders, even though the inevitable bureaucratic forces are

in the direction of distance, to strive to remain close to the membership and listen. Mormon intellectuals may not take kindly to remarks of General Authorities who come down hard on their scholarship, but such actions are evidence that their presence is being felt. As often heard in the Islamic world, "The power of the pen is many times more powerful than that of the sword." Church leaders must weigh the cost of alienating its growing community of intellectuals, for the future of any organization is always written by those who think and care. The New Mormon History numbers many among its practitioners whose sole purpose is not to weaken but to strengthen Mormonism's being.

Robert Flanders, a former member of the Reorganized faith, states it very well: "[New Mormon History] differs from 'Old Mormon History' principally in the shift of interest from polemics, from attacking or defending assumptions of the faith. It is a shift from an evangelical towards a humanistic interest. As the Mormon historian Richard Bushman put it, it is 'a quest for identity rather than a quest for authority" (1974, 34).

I believe Flanders is correct in his assessment. I believe Church authorities constantly search out their variegated constituencies. The new history provides an important organizational means to mold socio-religious thought into evolving patterns of constructive social action. As Aristotle held in *The Nicomachean Ethics* (especially 120–24) and Joseph Smith taught, to be fully human a person must participate in the ordering of his/her society's affairs. Anyone who does not is, to a greater or lesser extent, less than fully human. A beauty and a strength of Mormonism is that it enlarges individuals in just this fashion. Never before, however, has this process been so difficult. The "Great Cause" is now global in character. Professor L. Jackson Newell (1982) rightfully observes that an "enlarging of the Mormon vision of Christian ethics" is imperative in these global times.

Some persons may despair that this enlarging of ethics is not occurring; that neo-orthodoxy is too dominant; that the Church's leaders are too parochial in attitude and experience to see the needs of a complex world. Mormonism is so encased in its own provincial history (or myth) that it has nothing to offer non-Western cultures. In reading the Book of Mormon, one African chief commented skeptically, "If that really happened, then why did not my grandfather tell me about it?" Making Mormon scriptures and Mormon history too contemporary can, in fact, destroy their very credibility. The instinctive attempt to transpose its gospel messages into non-Mormon contexts must be avoided, even though those receptors are not fully versed in the nuances of Mormon history. Historical accounts of God's entrance into these latter days cannot be altered to fit some African chief's beliefs, perpetuated by oral tradition, or conform to the specious theories of some scholar seeking academic promotion. These sacred accounts must be preserved to maintain the integrity of Mormonism. The important thing to remember is that God has spoken through his chosen prophets; and he will speak again. Flanders insightfully identifies one strand that runs through all of Mormon history, now found in renewed concern — *humanistic interest.* This interest the African chief could understand and accept.

IV

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? (Ps.137:4).

The idea of the missionary is attractive in America. As one scholar notes, its role "draws on deep commitment to the message, as a sense of devotion to transmit that message, and a willingness — indeed, an eagerness to encounter the daggers of an alien culture" (Schon 1971, 59). Mormon missionizing is wholly a part of this general American proselyting zeal. For the last thirty years, the Church has sent several tens of thousands of younger and older missionaries to "strange lands." A sizeable percentage of its financial resources are now being spent on maintaining foreign missionary programs. The financial burden is steadily increasing since those who accept the gospel are mainly the dispossessed and the underprivileged.

How successful the Church has been in transforming these new converts' lives for socio-religious betterment remains to be written. This much can be said: The Church through its missionary program has given hope to many people living under deplorable conditions. It has pointed the basic way toward which human progress can take place, by cultivating spiritual growth in each person. With the building of a number of temples in foreign lands, the new converts can experience the fundamentals of the Gospel.

Meeting their temporal needs possibly constitutes a more difficult problem. Perhaps the best solution is to work in concert with others. In these "strange lands," the Church has no choice but to work with "strangers," requiring new policies of widening organizational perspectives. Mormonism's socio-religious exclusiveness must give way to open, sought-for, cooperation. It must project a new image in the positive terms of formulating a new social creed, a creed that spreads scriptural holiness over those "strange lands" which it seeks to enter. In the words of Amos, "But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" (5:24).

The crying need in the world is a sense of shared humanity, a unity of purpose that lets people meet each other across political, social, economic, and religious boundaries. The way toward meeting this need is clear. The world's most urgent practical need is for food. The facts are staggering. "Hunger has killed more people in the last five years than have been killed in all the wars, revolutions, and murders in the past 150 years" (*World Development Forum* 1983, 3). "More than one billion people are chronically hungry" (*Hunger* 1985, 7). The worst earthquake in modern history occurred in China in 1976 where some 242,000 people perished. Hunger kills that many people every seven days (*Hunger* 1985, 7). Added to these haunting statistics must be the debilitating effects of malnutrition where lives of countless people are maimed.

The developing nations with two-thirds of the world's population produce less than one-third of the food (*Hunger* 1985, 156–57). By the year 2000 reputable agricultural scientists predict that famine on a global scale will have overcome our current productive ability (Brown 1984, 383–84). Even the United States has a sizeable population of the hungry.

Reverence for food — the holiness of bread — is a quasi-theologic concept to Mormonism. The monthly fast gives the faithful an opportunity to share their resources with others in need. The special fasts in January and February 1985 on behalf of Ethiopian famine victims were a landmark event in sharing with others not of our faith.

However, in a less public way, the Church or individual members had already established networks of social concern through the Ezra Taft Benson Agricultural and Food Institute, a nonprofit organization in Provo, Utah, which studies new ways to produce more food on small family plots, Food for Poland, the Food Bank in Phoenix, Friends of West Africa, and Collegium Aesculapium, also centered in Provo, Utah (Pinborough 1986; England 1985 and 1986; "Mesa Saints" 1983; Clegg 1986; MacMurray 1983).

Part of the problem that Mormonism has faced in being a bonding factor across boundaries and in uniting with other organizations for good has been a fundamental question about its identity as a religious institution among other religious institutions. A First Presidency message of 15 February 1978 was a landmark in setting a cooperative tone: "The great religious leaders of the world such as Mohammed, Confucius and the reformers, as well as philosophers including Socrates, Plato, and others, received a portion of God's light. Moral truths were given to them by God to enlighten whole nations and to bring a higher level of understanding to individuals" (in Palmer 1978, v).

Tancred King sees that this "partial fulfillment position allows the Church to approach non-Christians with a positive, unvindictive message, recognizing and using the unfulfilled truth in other religions" (1983, 30). He finds this new tone one reason for the Church's recent successes in proselyting. However, because the Church insists that it is neither Protestant nor Catholic, "one cannot be sure," as Sidney F. Ahlstrom, historian of religions, writes, "if the object of our consideration is a sect, a mystery cult, a new religion, a church, a people, a nation, or an American subculture" (1972, 508). Thomas O'Dea characterized Mormonism as "a movement that developed from 'near-sect' to 'near-nation'" (1957, 115; see also Michaelson 1977; Oman 1982; "Are Mormons" 1982). Many other religions classify Mormonism as a cult (Barlow 1979). Two sociologists appraised Mormonism's bad popular image, citing the 1977 Gallup report that "Americans were five times as prone to say they disliked Mormons as they were to indicate dislike of Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians, and almost twice as likely to dislike Mormons as Jews" (Stark and Bainbridge 1980, 1385). Jan Shipps breaks new ground by calling Mormonism a "distinct religious tradition in its own right," a fourth major American religion joining Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism (1985, preface). Before the Church can play a greater role in advancing humanity's interests, its identity must be more clearly understood.

While Church leaders have not sat in conference with leaders of the great faith communities (Islam, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant), they have authorized sizeable financial contributions to select voluntary associations for international use — the American Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, Africare, and Care, Inc. ("Day" 1985). Such cooperation and commitment

to charity constitute small but significant steps in becoming a participant in the decade's greatest issue, beyond the Church's traditional activities. Food is a religious issue, not strictly an economic or political one. Each human life is a precious gift of God to which no economic or political value may be ascribed. When human lives are treated as expendables, to be wasted according to political and economic values, then the prospect for humanity dims.

The twentieth century is a tragic century. It has been preoccupied with the destruction of human lives. A correction in this conduct of human affairs is long overdue.

The making of a new Mormon social ethic is clearly being evidenced. Mormons are basically kind and sympathetic people. In sizeable numbers, they join in community activities and seek out good causes. They will make material sacrifices when presented with sensible logic. In the past, the Church has been a remarkable institution for socio-economic uplift.

Nevertheless, venturing into this sad world of the disadvantaged will not be without personal costs. There is a high risk that the poverty of the inflicted societies will vividly reveal the tragic sense of life (Hunsaker 1983). Those who enter this cruel world must be prepared to bring courage to those masses of poor people without losing confidence in themselves or their own hope for the future. It is very easy to sink into a feeling of fatalism and thus justifying social inaction. More horrifying is that those in advantaged positions may become emotionally corrupted into believing that the poor represent subhuman beings without the same human capacity to understand pain and sorrow, or to achieve progress. They are imprinted with lower "brain capacity" to their kind of life — incidentally once a justification for the "white man's burden" (in religious terms, see Von Der Mehden 1985, 21–42).

The more blessed Mormon now stands, or soon will, with Christian in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, who when warned of impending danger, said, "You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? I must venture" (in Hunsaker 1983, 35). So be it with the Church and its American affluent members. Its days of an exclusive but diminishing halcyon dominion is now ended. It is off to new spiritual searchings.

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Friendship and Intimacy

Margaret H. Hoopes

IN SOME WAYS, OUR CULTURE DOESN'T TEACH US VERY MUCH about intimacy. It teaches us about sex as if it were intimacy. Similarly, it doesn't teach us very much about friendship. It teaches us about cooperation and competition among individuals, about "doing things together" and about being socially "well-adjusted" with "good people skills." But it does not recognize, let alone celebrate, the joyful and permanent bonding of intimate friendships which is, in my opinion, one of the most rewarding and durable of human relationships. As Mormons, many of us tend to have our needs for friendship filled by spouse, children, and extended family, enjoy colleagues at work and people in our wards, regret briefly how we've "lost touch" with so-and-so, but replace them with others.

I believe that the needs of both married and single people for friendship are profound. I treasure good friends and tend to keep them whenever possible for as long as possible. I have one friend whom I have known since high school where we shared a mutual interest in classes, dating, dancing, and playing. We only see each other about every three or four years, but we exchange Christmas cards and an occasional phone call that keeps us current with personal and family events; even more importantly it also keeps us in touch. She lives near one of my sisters and although that makes it easier to stay in touch, I love her and want to make the effort. One of my satisfactions with this friend is that we communicate as if we saw each other regularly.

A particularly good friend dates from my mission. She was a local member from Britain who was called on a mission and was my first "companion." We are about the same age, and the strong bonding that the gospel provided made a firm foundation for a friendship. She immigrated to the United States; and although we see each other rarely, mutual caring has lasted over many years and many changes in each of our lives.

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Out of the hundreds of fellow students I met at college and in my graduate programs, several moved from fellow learners to companions on my life's journey — we meet at professional conferences, move in and out of each other's home during vacations, and exchange ideas and love. Out of literally hundreds of clients, I have maintained a friendly interest in most of them; and a few of them have become close and enduring friendships. For instance, one couple that I spent hundreds of therapy hours with are friends that are dependable and kind. They know me as well as I know them and we value and trust our relationship. I am also fortunate in being in a field where having healthy, functional relationships among colleagues and as individuals is a premium. My colleagues at BYU have been an important part of my friendship network, and several of them have become intimate friends.

I also have the good fortune to have an nearly ideal living situation. When I began teaching at Brigham Young University in 1970, three other women faculty members that I had friendships with for years decided to buy a home together. We jointly designed a home that combined the maximum of friendly living space and privacy (there are four "master" bedrooms, for instance, and a carport for four). More importantly, our home provides the context for support and growth as friends and as individuals. In addition I have developed friendships with neighbors, with people I met through professional and Church assignments, and committees, and with friends of friends.

As I contemplate the question of friendship, then, I feel nourished and sustained in a network of good friendships, intimate friendships. Perhaps it is the very richness of my experience that has made me feel, with a certain amount of sorrow, the comparative poverty of intimate friendship that many people feel.

In discussing the situation with others, I frequently encounter a problem of definition. Many people have defined or experienced intimacy only in sexual contexts. We are sexual beings. Our sexuality is part of our personalities and thus part of our relationships, but it need not be *expressed* as sexual intimacy in all of our relationships. In fact, a rather important Mormon belief requires the expression of sexual intimacy fully in only one relationship — marriage. We have a number of nonsexual relationships in our families, at work, in our neighborhoods, on committees, in politics, and with our friends. Sexual expression may or may not become an issue in these relationships. Any nonsexual relationship could change to a sexual one, healthy or unhealthy. Sometimes we are not at all clear about our own sexuality and express it inappropriately. As a therapist, a teacher, a family member, and as a friend I have noticed that people struggle to differentiate between intimacy without sexual expression and sexual intimacy — in marital relationships, in dating relationships, and in friendships. Our society does not teach us to distinguish between our warm loving responses and our sexual responses toward others. I notice that many of us struggle with this dilemma to the point that we fail to have intimate friendships. To address this issue, my discussion focuses on friendships that do not embrace sexual intimacies.

Through the centuries friendship has been written about in fictional accounts, in the Bible, in song, in poetry, in plays, in biographies, autobiographies, in diaries, in movies, and in letters. Out of this wealth of information, romantic notions and myths have developed. As Latter-day Saints we have complemented this information with our own myths and beliefs, such as the one about how a temple wedding guarantees a wonderful marriage every day of our lives. We have also added the ingredient of righteousness. This righteousness may be some combination of a desire to act in tune with the will of the Lord and a need to be right about what we think and do. In our interaction with people, in seeking and developing friendships, we often act on these notions and myths. Our own references for friendships, both painful and rewarding, add to our beliefs and our behavior in forming and acting in friendships. These two sources, myths and experience, can cause confusion in trying to understand friendship.

In my view, friendship first requires the interaction of two people, each having a keen interest in the subjective and personal side of each other. Second, participants in friendships have a desire and a capacity for intimacy. Third, friendship is "extra-kin" in nature. Yes, friendship is and should be part of family relationships, but those friendships do have a different history and significance. A close friend of mine once gave me a framed calligraphy: "My sisters were born into my family; you were born in my heart." This sentiment represents the element of choice or the non-kinship quality in friendships. Fourth, friendship is voluntary in nature and socially recognized by others. Joel Block (1980), a psychologist, designated friendship as an untapped natural resource and considered it as training for living in a social world. He also viewed nonsexual friendships as a vital means of eradicating loneliness from our lives and a way of participating in healthy relationships. Fifth, friendship carries rights and obligations. Some are explicit and some are implicit, but the exchanges of activity and gifts of service and emotion determine the balance of these rights and obligations. Sixth, the quality and quantity of men's and women's friendships have been affected by myths about their capacity for friendships.

Andrew Greely, an educator, points out that one enters friendship by invitation. Within this context, friendship is a gift: "In order that we might persuade the other to accept our invitation, we offer him, or her, an inducement, that is to say we offer ourself" (1971, 29). In an essay entitled, "To Give Oneself," Donna Turley illustrates this point slightly differently:

> Unlike other gifts, the true gift — of oneself — not [one's] writing, nor [one's] creation, nor a representation of [one] in some possession . . . can only be given in a special way.
>
> When giving the self, the giving hand can never release the gift. What is given? Two lives touch each other. A person is allowed to come near, to realize and see from my viewpoint. I am allowed to see when [your] eyes look outward, or upward, or downward: I feel [your] presence, [your] nearness, [your] pulse and breathing, [your] turning, [your] struggle, [your] cold shudder . . . and we are no longer alone, distant, unwanted, unworthy. For this gift cannot be given permanently. This gift is extended, received, enjoyed, but can best only be remembered unless there continues to be the

> giving. Surely there may be left a lasting, sweet remembrance, but there cannot be handed from one to another a gift of self to be retained by the receiver (1968, 29).

Block's (1980) research during the 1970s surveyed through questionnaires the feelings and beliefs about friendships and probed patterns of friendships. His findings shattered many myths about nonsexual relationships and found that the two sexes travel clearly different friendship paths.

One myth is about the friendship of women. This myth is that women cannot be counted upon for loyalty or for friendship. History does not celebrate female friendship. Rather women are depicted as competing against each other for men, from whom they derive their identity, and their relationship is that of ruthless rivalry. Instead, Block found that most women have long-term women friends who are supportive, accepting, and cooperative.

The myth about male friendship is depicted in songs, movies, books, and plays, as the ultimate in commitment and acceptance. From boyhood to manhood, male friendship is ritualized as strong — an unbreakable bond. Glowing terms such as devotion, honesty, trust, selflessness, and a loyalty held above life are used to depict male friendship. Block found that this myth coexisted with the reality of competition, of winning at all costs.

Block also, interestingly, found that friendships could be categorized in five groups. Think about these categories in relationship to your own friends.

1. Convenience friends. In such friendships, you are limited to exchanges of goods or services. You borrow a lawn-mower from your neighbor. You go to a movie with your roommate. You work with colleagues.

2. Doing-things friends. These relationships are limited to activity. You go fishing twice a year with Harry. You go bowling every other Wednesday with Ruth. You play tennis with Jon. You go walking each morning with June. The activity defines the relationship.

3. Milestone friends. These relationships are mostly based on memory with periodic contacts. You go to high school reunions, call a missionary companion when you're in town for general conference, or get together with Fred and Ann after the homecoming game.

4. Mentor friends. One person, usually older, has exceptional ability, knowledge, and/or talent which he or she is willing to teach. Once you begin to approach equality, the friendship changes. College and job settings produce this type of relationship.

5. Close friends. In such relationships, you share fairly equally with intimacy as part of the relationship. You go to lunch once a week and talk about new books, getting older, and your fears about nuclear war. He calls you when his son gets his mission call. You call him when a publisher accepts your book. Both of you love Woody Allen movies.

Friendships go through developmental stages, but they're different for men and women. In Block's research, a woman respondent typically remembered in preadolescence identifying a girlfriend who resembled her, someone like herself, who needed a faithful confidante. Seventy-nine percent reported having a special friend, and 98 percent of the time it was another girl. Those who did not have a close friend described themselves as shy.

During adolescence when boys entered the picture, friendship loyalties with girls were divided by romantic conflicts. A close girlfriend was still very much a part of life (81 percent) but independent-dependent struggles, identity crises, competition and rivalry changed the relationship. The unspoken rule was that a date with a boy took precedence over any previous plans with the close girlfriend and she would "understand" because she would do the same in a similar situation.

In the next stage, early marriage, women described the most important relationship as their close romantic tie to their husbands. Friendships with women were "supplemental." Seventy-five percent of married women and 50 percent of unmarried women agree that this time was the most difficult to balance a close friendship. Stranded friends were supposed to understand.

During the later years of marriage, friendships with women — sisterhood and closeness — revived and became very important. The number of close adult friendships developed and held steady until women were typically in their fifties. Some of this new importance may be due to the women's movement which has encouraged women to develop and cherish female values rather than depending on a husband or lover for identity and social contact.

The stages of male friendships show a pattern of increasing isolation. Before adolescence, most men remember they had one close friend or even several — a "gang." Competition was already an element of their relationships, however, and this period was the last time that many men remembered having a close male friend.

During adolescence, guardedness increased. Physical development and prowess, interest in girls, identity crises, rivalry, and competition placed most same-sex relationships in the "doing" category — sports, cars, or jobs — and 80 percent of the men in Block's study dared not reveal themselves to another man. Eighty percent saw themselves as friendless. Both these conditions, said the respondents, had lasted right up to the present. They had "friends," sure — but they fell in the categories of convenience, doing, and mentoring, whether they are on the giving or receiving end. They depended on their wives for intimacy, and perhaps the lack of ability to form intimate friendships puts too much weight on marriage. Some American men today are consciously working toward closer male friends although caution, dominance/control, and success/status are all issues that prove barriers to friendship.

Not unexpectedly, Block found that guardedness is a minor issue with women but major with men. Women share personal information in friendships, where men relate primarily through work and play activities. Men reported viewing openness, compassion, and loyalty as important, but women rated them much higher. Men and women saw mental stimulation and competition as equally important, while men view similarity of interests and responsiveness to crises as more important than women. Men want to be able to count on their friends in a crisis; women assume they can. Men have great fear of being perceived as "unmanly." Most women simply did not know what being "unwomanly" might be.

In short, when we look at myths about friendship, most of them are false in light of Block's survey. Adult women over age twenty are nearly twice as likely as men to have a close friend. Men do not have richer, more loyal friendships than women. Although women as a group have fewer mentor relationships than men, women are less frustrated and more in tune with their friendship goals than are men, single or married.

A a group of men in Minneapolis wrote an anonymous article, "Why Men Don't Have Friends and Why Women Should Care," pinpointing some of the stress points for them in relationships:

> Surely the "average" Joe has buddies, beer-drinking or poker-playing, fishing pals. But to whom does he talk about himself — discuss problems, admit fears, share concerns, reveal failures? Whom does he ask for help and where does he let down his defenses? Probably nowhere and with no one. In our society, except to shake hands, men are not allowed to touch each other. It's a bad rule, one that hurts men and puts an unfair burden on their relationships.
>
> In contrast to the male "buddy" system, women have friends. Women, in fact, are trained to be friends, sharing trusts, confidences, and feelings with each other since childhood. As a young Atlanta saleswoman defined friendship, "It means vulnerability. Having someone know the worst about you and still be your friend." A San Francisco homemaker added, "A friend is someone I can be my total self with, someone I don't have to wear my masks with."
>
> With most men, unfortunately, these definitions of friendship rarely apply. Hardly ever are men allowed the luxury of such openness in relationships with each other. And even more rarely do they recognize the gaping voids in their emotional lives. In short, they don't know what they are missing.

It has been my experience and observation that Mormons follow this national pattern without too much deviation. Men working together in bishoprics, elders quorum presidencies, and stake presidencies can develop close, intimate relationships in settings where it is not only allowed but even accepted that they will express love for each other. However, once men move to a different ward or receive a different calling, they seldom maintain these past relationships. Instead these relationships move into "milestone" friendships they remember fondly, even wistfully, as a period of intense involvement and emotional closeness, but they rarely try to maintain these relationships by suggesting other activities. Mormon women generally are considered to be in charge of a couple's social life. If she and her husband do something, she is usually the one who has to clear the calendar, arrange the babysitter, and buy the tickets. Thus, for Mormon men to do something together socially outside working hours without wives is unusual unless it is something also Church-sponsored like a ward basketball team or Scouting activities.

I also see no evidence that Mormon men suffer less from the lack of intimate friendships than American men in general, with the exception that their marriages may be a little less fragile than American marriages, that home life may be more satisfying, and that Church usually provides a second place where guardedness and competitiveness are not necessary, even though intimacy is not encouraged.

For Mormon women, Church service not only provides an opportunity to come in contact with a wide range of other women but also supplies the subject matter for beginning friendships which can thereafter develop into intimate friendships. It is not unusual for Mormon women, transferred from state to state with their husbands, to maintain a string of friendships behind them, sustained by letters, Christmas cards, phone calls, and visits when they return. Although the pressure Mormon women can put on each other to fit into certain traditional molds can be tremendous, it has been my observation that more often women are understanding of and supportive to each other, even in nontraditional roles. I certainly feel, however, that although the Church and its numerous activities and system of providing mutual services can provide opportunities for intimate friendships, it does not guarantee them. In fact, the constant round of activities may actually work against intimacy by keeping both men and women task-focused instead of relationship-focused.

How about the dimension of intimacy in friendships? *Intimacy* comes from a Latin root meaning "within." It suggests a relationship where intimates allow each other freedom to cross normal borders, to enter the space where we are most vulnerable and most ourselves. Intimacy implies accessibility and trust; it suggests emotional and psychological support. But special privileges of intimacy do not mean that we own each other, as if we had a right to possess every single part of that person. Some friendships do not endure because of confusion about possession and freedom.

Freedom is essential to the health of intimate relationships and imperative for individual growth for the participants. Donna Turley notes:

> I can never need anyone enough to persist with him when the relationship begins to remove my feeling of freedom.
>
> I can never trust another with myself once I have seen that he would rather I follow a course desired for me than the one desired by me.
>
> When I realize that a suggestion is not a suggestion at all, but rather a recommendation and a question of my self-found direction, I take freedom, and let relationships fall away, as shackles from my soul and spirit. . . .
>
> Couldn't you understand that if I must come to you, I have lost the desire; if you insist upon assisting me, I cannot use your help at all; if I am not free to leave you, to forget you, to be without you, then I cannot truly want you?
>
> Freedom must be first reserved, first given, first recognized, and when its position is strong, then only can I relate, and need, and come to you, and share (1968, 24–25).

Yet freedom must be balanced by commitment. Without that commitment, there is also no intimacy. People demonstrate commitment by being there when needed, by keeping their word, by being steady and dependable in their behavior. For example, a friend and I had a major disagreement. We were each upset and angry, partly with each other and partly with circumstances that we could not control. Several days later we resolved our differences because we were committed to our relationship. Without the commitment we would not have approached the subject again and the intimacy in our friendship would have been traded for distance born of conflict.

Although we associate intimacy with warm feelings and happy times, it often requires us to share pain, keep a reassuring vigil, or provide a little dis-

tance so your friend may have space alone. It may require us to go away to allow for more intimate relationships. The combination of the number of children with ball games, Church activities, family gatherings, and professional demands on the part of some of my married friends have, through the years, forced a gradual erosion of time available for our friendship. This evolution has not changed my feelings for them, but I have had to accept it as part of my life.

To be intimate, we must know and accept ourselves. We cannot share what we do not know. Intimacy requires us to share from our deepest self, but it does not imply that we must reveal everything about ourselves. Each person chooses what to reveal and when. Intimacy is invitational. It does not guarantee permanency, imply possession, nor require total knowledge of the other.

For some people, intimacy is problematical because they do not know their own boundaries — those implicit and explicit rules that determine what and who we listen to, who can come close to us, and how close. You have to know your boundaries to issue an invitation for someone to enter your private space.

If your boundaries are blurred or if you are indecisive about them, someone may come uninvited into your space, interpreting ambivalence or failure to give "stop" signals as an invitation. An obvious example is in physical contacts. Someone may not want to be touched or hugged but never indicate what the limits are.

On the other hand, you may not recognize a need on your part to issue an invitation and you may wonder why someone seems so distant when you'd like to be closer. To be intimate, you need to send clear messages of accessibility. If you do not, you may appear not interested, cool, and aloof to the potential friend.

If you have rigid boundaries, you may overprotect them to the point that there is little opportunity for intimacy or allow only the exchange of superficial knowledge. Both conditions will guarantee isolation.

Often, though, even people who want intimacy feel blocked by fear of losing their identity, fear of exposure, fear that the other person will reject them if they know them too well, fear of being attacked, and fear of abandonment. Some people have treated friends irresponsibly in earlier years and are afraid that they lack the capacity for close friendship. Sometimes memories of verbal, physical, or sexual abuse can affect their ability to be intimate. These fears are real, but it is possible to overcome them, though sometimes professional help is required.

At birth, we are able to experience total intimacy at all levels — emotional, physical, and intellectual. As experience conditions us, we may lose the capacity to experience higher levels of intimacy and also learn that we can manage only a certain number of highly intimate relationships. If we are not severely damaged psychologically, we learn to manage appropriate levels of intimacy and to go in and out of intimate relationships.

Family scientist Alan M. Dahm (1974), describes a hierarchy of intimacy that develops from intellectual to physical to emotional. In intellectual inti-

macy, we exchange ideas, verbal instructions, roles, games, and defenses. We "sell" our social selves. Such exchanges can protect and isolate an individual, provide surface relationship interaction, or be the preliminary steps to greater intimacy.

Physical intimacy involves touching, hugging, and caressing, either in a sexual or nonsexual way. As a therapist, and as a person, I know that nonsexual physical contact is an important aspect of human life and agree with Dahm that it is an area laden with taboos, "oughts," "shoulds," and guilt. Too often children and adolescents are starved for touch because their parents and other significant adults have been conditioned not to touch. Fears of being misunderstood or of damaging their sons or daughters block a natural expression of love and affection. Also, many adults today have experienced brutal childhood experience through physical and sexual abuse that make any kind of contact anxiety-ridden. These incidents happen in Mormon families as well as in others. Yet physical intimacy is necessary for normal human development (Jourard 1971; Montague 1971). Our cultural myth about this need for physical contact is that everybody needs sex. As a result many people have a limited range of experience in physical intimacy. Being physically intimate without sexual overtones is difficult for many people, men and women, because they associate any kind of touch with sex (Hoopes 1974).

Certainly our LDS culture is not immune from this curious limitation and the strange "protections" that result. A friend in Salt Lake City last year and another friend in Provo several years ago reported attending stake priesthood meetings where the stake president in one case and the regional representative in the other discussed the problems caused by "sex-starved" divorced and widowed wor ıen, actually demonstrating how to shake hands while simultaneously using the arm as a bar so that she could not get close enough to touch him in any way. The clear implication was that men and women cannot regulate their own sexual responses to one another — that physical contact will inevitably lead to seduction and intercourse. I find it discouraging that such a counsel is being repeated in different areas after nearly a decade. Admittedly, some hugs *are* sexual. The person giving or getting the hug may not know that sexual contact is his or her motive. But to suggest that the best protection is a fearful avoidance of all human contact is folly! I thoroughly enjoy the warm arm around my shoulders and handshake from a male married friend who conveys in touch and words that our relationship is genuine and important to him — as it is also to me. I have watched him greet others, men and women, in the same way. I see the same intimacy, the same loving giving and receiving.

But when physical intimacy can be so problematic, then emotional intimacy, the highest level of intimacy, is particularly problematic. Dahm (1974) indicates four characteristics at this level. The first is mutual accessibility, regulated by the *right* of either party to *negotiate* for new content or behavior, respect for the other person's boundaries, authenticity, and honesty. Healthy personalities are comfortable both in offering and accepting accessibility.

The second characteristic is acceptance. Emotionally intimate friends accept each other as they are, they do not role play, they have genuine un-

conditional regard for each other, and they offer a great deal of warmth and liking. Although an intimate's behavior may not always be condoned, he or she is accepted.

A third characteristic is nonpossessiveness. Dahm indicates that emotional intimacy cannot exist between "inferior" and "superior" beings. Children and adults cannot be emotional intimates, in his view, as long as the difference in age bears connotations of superiority. When we view life as an unfolding process, one in which we have temporary blocks followed by growth spurts, it is easier to be nonpossessive and free from evaluations of inferiority and/or superiority. To share and not possess may be difficult for many of us because of family conditioning; nevertheless, if we wish to be truly emotionally intimate that is what we must do.

A fourth characteristic is process. Intimacy at any level is not a static condition. We cycle in and out at different levels. Hopefully they will be appropriate to the needs and conditions of each person. Emotional intimacy requires constant attention to be maintained and enhanced by total consciousness. If two people want to maintain this level or any level of intimacy, they must invest time and energy to maintain and/or enhance it. They must, in short, pay attention to the process.

"Coming together is a beginning: keeping together is a progress, working together is success," Henry Ford reportedly said. The real work in establishing, maintaining, and enhancing intimacy comes in working through "shoulds," "oughts," taboos, inexperience, and fears left over from past experiences.

Granted, this is a great deal of work. Some people feel they can invest such effort in only one person or one person at a time. If things don't work out, then they define themselves as friendless or incapable of intimate friendship. I call this the "best friend myth." All too often, I have seen the two who are involved in a "best friend" relationship also involved in issues of possessiveness and trust. They are limited in the number of close friends they have because freedom, naturalness, and accessability in other relationships are restricted by loyalty to the "best friend." I suppose technically the label can apply to only one person at a time, but I prefer to define *best* as a quality of relationship, not as a number. I recall teacher/psychologist George Kelly telling us that "scattering" one's independencies is a sign of a healthy personality. The inference is that one person cannot be all things to another or meet all that person's needs. I believe an antidote to the "best friend" myth is to cultivate close friendships by being totally *in* the relationship when you are spending time together, whichever friend it might.

Remember that the amount of time spent with a friend does not determine the kind of friendship. The amount of love you may feel for your friend does not determine the kind of friendship. A close friendship contains all three of the elements of intimacy — accessibility, freedom, and commitment — regardless of the amount of time available.

As I try to understand my own friendships, I think of my most important friend, Christ, and how the different levels of intimacy and categories of friendship could describe the variability in my relationship to him. To have intel-

lectual intimacy with him, I study the scriptures and discuss them with others. I listen to others talk about their experiences with Christ in formal and informal settings. I interact with him through prayer and refer often to him mentally as I pursue my daily activities.

To move to a higher level of intimacy, physical intimacy, I allow myself to be touched by his spirit. I am ready to reach out, ready to receive. We have metaphors which remind us of this kind of intimacy — to be carried in his arms, borne up in his hands, sheltered in his bosom. Openness, accessibility, and honesty with him move me to emotional intimacy. A willingness to examine my relationship with him and to be prompted by his direction helps me stay close to him. Thinking about my relationship to Christ in this way informs me that when I lose my sense of intimacy *with* Christ it is because I have chosen to be non-intimate.

I find that lack of emotional intimacy with others is frequently paralleled by lack of spiritual intimacy as well. For some, including me at times, Christ becomes a convenience friend — someone to check in with when we need something he can give. He is sometimes someone to whom we limit self-disclosure. He can also be a "doing" friend where our relationship is defined by such activities as taking the sacrament, going to the temple, asking for protection, or praying when we are in a tight spot. For some, Christ is a milestone friend — at Christmas, Easter, or funerals we touch bases and move on.

Some people find it appropriate to see him as a mentor friend. Certainly, he has superior abilities and qualities, can teach us, and be an example for us; but unequals cannot have close friendships. A mentor relationship is a dependent one. Christ can accept, respect, and expect some dependency from us, but I feel that he also expects an interdependency with us — when we act using our talents, stewardship, abilities, and agency. Thus, although we are not equal with Christ, interdependency moves us toward intimacy with him.

I want to be a close friend with him. At times when I have felt such friendship, I felt his presence in my life and allowed him to promote change in me. At the same time, Christ is my Savior, a role not accounted for in any of the categories used in this essay. The quality of our love and relationships is, therefore, different. Thinking about friendship in terms of Christ and my relationship with him has been a useful exercise from time to time. It has also been useful for another reason. I think it is true that one good relationship blesses and improves all of the other relationships in our lives. There have been times when the love and trust of a close friend has enabled me to steer a steady course during times of spiritual crisis. There have been other times when the firm relationship I have with the Savior has enabled me to weather tough times with a friend and end up with increased love and appreciation for all concerned. Surely for all of us, it is a goal to be accounted, as was Abraham, a "friend to God" but equally certainly, it is an act of gratitude and thanksgiving to God to establish intimate supportive friendships with the preexistent brothers and sisters on earth with whom we may hope to have eternal relationships.

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Recollections from an Ex

Karen Marguerite Moloney

mused in several voices
to the tune of tinkling cymbals

It wasn't like she didn't blend right in.
In fact, based on the type of clothes she wore,
People always figured she was from Salt Lake.
Her skirts were long enough, that's for sure.

(Those missionaries may remember her
As the girl who wore the shortest skirts,
But that was before Apostle Whozit went
To Long Beach Stake and told them to repent.

Since then her wardrobe's never been the same.
She knew the Church had standards — but she claimed
Until his talk she'd simply never dreamed
That modesty was measured by the inch.)

Then, too, she's not exactly tan and blond,
And she really does know lots about the gospel,
Thanks I guess to all those months of meetings
When she tried to prove it wrong. Face it.

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There she was, wanting twenty kids and a farm
In Heber Valley. So it wasn't that.
And I must admit she had her share of charm.
Really — it was all so much more . . . subtle.

I think of Granddad, how we worked all summer
Side by side under Paragonah sun.
That's where *I* learned the gospel. A year
Busy at BYU just can't compare.

After all, it wasn't me who pointed out
The closest thing she had to anyone
Who crossed the plains was her father:
Left Illinois, *Chicago*, for Balboa Beach

A year before the start of World War II —
By *car*. Take Hartman Rector: don't quote me, but
That convert's never seemed to have the depth
And wisdom that the other Brethren do.

What kind of mother do you think she'll make?
She'd be an asset in the mission field.
It's just that, somehow, a convert didn't square
With dreams that don't dissolve into thin air.

The Binding of Isaac: A View of Jewish Exegesis

Harris Lenowitz

FOR JEWS, THE BIBLE IS AN ANIMATE BEING. Understanding it means understanding everything we have experienced. The sum of meaning in the Bible is the sum of life's meaning. Judaism is over 2,000 years of Bible study and nothing more. While others have twisted the Bible and tortured its meanings, we Jews would never do that. It is our family, our parent, our companion, our child, though it may be wayward and hard to understand.

Recently, I spoke in a class at the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, at the invitation of Gil Scharffs, who teaches a course there on comparative religion. At the end of one of my lectures, after the students had left, I looked up the aisle and noticed a book on the floor. (I knew it was a holy book because it was bound in black morocco.) Jews don't put holy books on the floor; Jews don't pile holy books on top of each other; Jews don't put holy books on seats where people sit. My trained response in seeing a holy book on the floor is to pick it up. Perhaps, though, it wasn't one of *my* holy books. I thought about it and then went to pick it up. As I was reaching for it, I asked Gil whether it was a common thing for LDS people to leave books of that nature on the floor. He admitted that it is, sadly, not at all uncustomary for Latter-day Saints to treat scripture in such a way. He mentioned that there are other items that are given the same respect that Jews pay to the Torah, the text of the first five books of the Bible, but the scriptures are not among them.

We not only pick up the book, we are embarrassed for it; and when returning it to its place, we kiss it. The process of kissing is associated with the Torah scroll itself. As the Torah scroll is paraded around the congregation on Shabat or other occasions, people move forward to kiss the Torah. It is a dear thing. It is such a dear thing that one of the very few things a Jew is permitted to

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spend his life on is *Kiddush ha Shem*, the sanctification of the name of God. One may die to save another human being, an act we understand to sanctify the name of God. Saving a Torah scroll from the fire at the expense of one's own life is also deemed appropriate and is admired.

It takes ten Jews to pray in public legally. When nine Jews want to pray, they have to figure out how to do so. One way is to include a child holding a Torah scroll. The child, although not of legal age, and the Torah scroll together constitute the tenth Jew.

When the Bible itself, the Torah scroll, falls by accident to the ground, the people who are responsible or who saw it happen are instructed to fast for forty days. The period of time is approximately that of mourning for a dead person. When printed Bibles or Torahs are worn out — and the Torah is all Jewish writing containing God's name in this case — they are not tossed out. They are buried, or they are put away respectfully.

To Jews, the Bible, the Torah and all literature that descends from them are human; they are alive; they are beings. They, and the Bible particularly, must be dealt with on their own terms in order to be understood. These works must be dealt with in their own language and are not to be deprived of their eccentricities and departures from what seems, to those who possess them temporarily, right or reasonable or appropriate. Ultimately, the person who determines what the Bible means is the individual. There are many rabbinic comments which make the point that the individual has the responsibility of determining what the Bible means. The most memorable of these is that which compares it to manna, which, for each individual tasted like the food he liked most. For each of the 600,000 at Mount Sinai who heard the Torah when it was first given, the Torah sounded and meant something different. It meant one thing to God and another thing to every individual who agreed to live by it and be judged.

In the text of a traditional Jewish Bible, the biblical passage is centered; the separate commentaries run in columns on both sides — sometimes four columns or even more — and beneath the passage.* There is no limit to the ways a commentator can relate to his text. It is the printer's arrangement that holds the text and commentaries together and makes everything of nearly equal value. It is true that in my original, the text of Genesis 22:1–19 is in bold type and the commentaries that run around the central text are in lighter type. This is a fair representation, I suppose, of the difference between the text and its commentaries on an average page of the Jewish Bible as well as on the pages of other traditional Jewish works. However, everything can be in absolute disagreement and still stay on the page. In fact, that may be the only way a commentator gets on the page — to get into a nice disagreement with somebody. Everything from word and letter counts, to the most abstract sort of philosophy, mysticism, and homiletic readings may appear in such a text. In the text that we use in our congregation, the most recent scientific and comparative

* In the lecture, the text page shown had three columns containing commentary from five rabbinical sources. To preserve legible-sized type, these materials have been arranged in one column to accompany the text.

ancient Near Eastern commentaries appear along side the most hoary, ancient, and legendic interpretations.

The commentary that I have chosen to use is from a page of the best-selling Bible. Its pages include a group of four or five commentaries from what might be called the golden age of exegesis, the eleventh through about the thirteenth centuries A.D. The men who wrote these lived in Europe, which was at the time a connected geography. I have also included two words from an early translation of the text into Aramaic from the second century A.D. In most cases, a typical page will also contain notes which cross-reference the text to other Jewish literature, particularly the Talmud, as well as to other biblical passages.

Text

Genesis 22

After these things[1] Elohim tested[2] Avraham. He called, 'Avraham,' who answered, 'I am here.' He said, 'Take now your son, your only, the one you've loved, Yitzhak. Go over to the Moria land[3] and offer him up as a burnt offering on the hill I show you.' So Avraham got up early in the morning, saddled his donkey and got his two servant boys and his son Yitzhak together. He broke up some wood for the offering and left quickly for the place Elohim had told him of. Three days later Avraham saw the place[3] far off and said to his servant boys, 'Stay here with the donkey while the boy and I go off and worship and come back to you.' Avraham took the firewood and put it on his son, Yitzhak; he carried the cleaver and the fire himself. The two of them went on together. Yitzhak asked his father, 'My father. . . ?' and he said, 'I am here my son.' Then Yitzhak said, 'The fire and the wood for the burnt offering are here, but where is the sheep?' Avraham answered, 'Elohim will see to the sheep for the offering, my son.' The two of them continued on together. They came to the place Elohim had mentioned, and Avraham built the altar, and laid out the wood. He bound his son Yitzhak and laid him on top of the wood on the altar. Avraham put out his hand and picked up the cleaver, ready to slaughter his son. Then a messenger from YHWH/Elohim called to him from the sky, 'Avraham, Avraham.' Avraham said, 'I am here.' The messenger went on, 'Do not put your hand on the boy. Do nothing to him. I know well that you have

Commentary

Onkelos (Eretz Israel 2nd c. A.D.)

[1]words
[4]a(ram)

Rashi (France, 1040–1105)

[1]'After these words' [Satan-tale from BT Sanhedrin]
[4]a) The ram was 'other' having been created during the twilights of creation; b) the ram appeared 'after' the angel's command; c) 'after' Avraham's plea for mercy on behalf of his children.

Abraham ibn Ezra (Spain/North Africa/ Rome 1089–1164)

[2]Some say the word 'tested' ought to be read 'raised up;' but the meaning of the episode is entirely against them. The 'genius' says God tested Avraham in order that Avraham might display his faith and teach others. But no one was there with him to watch, the 'others' having been kept away. [4]'After' being caught in the brush. The form 'being caught' serves as the subject of a relative clause used as an appositive here, as in many places, with no relative pronoun. Without further particles of speech the syntax militates against the use of 'after' to indicate either that the ram appeared 'after' the angel's words or 'after' Avraham raised his eyes.

Nahmanides (Catalonia/Eretz Israel 1194–1270)

[2]'tested.' Since, in my opinion, man has complete freedom to choose what he does

respect for Elohim now, for you have not hidden even your son, your only one, from me.' Avraham caught sight of a/different[4] ram caught in the brush by his horns. He took it up and offered it as a burnt offering instead of his son. Avraham named that place, 'YHWH sees to it.' The mountain is today called 'YHWH may be seen.' Then the messenger of YHWH called Avraham again from the sky. He said, 'I am sworn — it is a speech of YHWH — that since you have done this thing — not even holding back your son, your only one — that I will bless you in every smallest thing, and make your seed so many as the stars of the skies and the grains of sand on the edge of the sea. Your seed will take the gate of their enemies. All the nations of the earth will be blessed through your seed because you have attended to me.' Avraham returned to his servant boys, and they all left together for Seven Wells. Avraham settled down at Seven Wells.

or doesn't want to do, this is a test from the point of view of the one being tested; but the One-Who-Tests (May He be blessed) commands him to act in order to bring that which is potential into activity, so that he might receive the reward for his acts as well as his beliefs.

The Master of the Columns (Jacob ben Asher, Germany/Spain 1270–1340)

[3]'the place' equals 'this is Jerusalem' . . . 'to the Moria land' equals 'in Jerusalem.' 'We will worship and return' occurs seven times in the Bible. (here; Num 14.4; 1 S 9.5; Jer 46.16; Ho 6.1; Lam 3.40; Lam 5.21) and these show how Israel merits the opportunity of 'return/repentance' through Avraham's deed . . . (Where to repent?) In Jerusalem on the pilgrimages. For the phrase 'mountain of YHWH' occurs once each in the Torah, the Prophets and the Hagiographa: once for each pilgrimage.

Jewish exegesis, in all of its marvelous variety, has been going on for a couple of thousand years. I will distinguish only the four classical divisions of biblical exegesis used by the Jews who lived at the same time as these commentators, with the exception of Onkelos. The mnemonic device for remembering these four types of exegesis is the word *pardes*. *Pardes* is a Persian word meaning Paradise, and exegesis is usually thought of as a sort of paradisiacal encounter. The "p" stands for the Hebrew word *pshat*, which means "simple interpretation;" the "r," for the Hebrew word *remez*, which means "allusive interpretation;" the "d," for the word *drash*, which means "homiletic or teaching interpretation;" and the "s," for *sod*, which means "mystic interpretation." Generally, all commentators make use of all four sorts of commentary.

In approaching the text I have decided to use, I will not cover all of the commentaries, any one of the commentaries, or all of the commentary on any of these commentators. That would be a long haul. What follows is from the most traditional, orthodox, broadly accepted Jewish printings of the text and its commentaries. I will touch on about four of the points that they take up, indicated in the Genesis text with superscript numbers. Two of the points derive from textual and linguistic problems, although I hope that the distinction will be less clear when I finish. These are my translations, both of the text and the commentaries.

The title of this text, as it is known in Hebrew, is *akeda*, or "the binding." Jews typically do not call this text "the sacrifice of Isaac" or "the near-sacrifice of Isaac" for there is some question about whether any of that happened. But most Jews would agree that Isaac was bound.

The first sort of commentary that takes place as one moves out from the Hebrew text is its translation. It may not seem, at first thought, that transla-

tion is a form of commentary, but it is in fact an impoverished form of commentary. Translation strips ambiguity from the text in favor of singularity, for no two languages and no range of meaning of any word in any two languages completely overlap. Much, if not all, of the ambiguity of the original is perforce lost.

The first people to lose this ambiguity were some seventy men put away on an island, according to the *Letter of Aristeas*, to translate the Bible into Greek.[1] Miraculously, so the story goes, each came up with the same answer to every problem. The same thing reportedly happened when the Bible was translated into English under the auspices of King James I.

These are fables of a lost Eden. If it were possible for these events to have happened, it would indicate that God had rescinded the curse of Babel. But there has been no such rescission. The curse of Babel — the impoverishment of truth — is still with us. Onkelos, a convert to Judaism, first translated the Bible into Aramaic, the popular language of the time in Eretz Israel (Palestine) and throughout the Near East. He did so because people had lost Hebrew facility and wanted to hear the text in the language they knew. The problems Onkelos faced are frightening enough as evidence against the practice of translation.

The first problem arises with the word "things," which is one of two possible translations of the Hebrew word *devarim*. *Davar* in Hebrew means both "a word" and "a thing." This may have had only one definition at some time in the past, but by the twelfth century B.C., both meanings inhered in *davar*, or in its plural *devarim*. Unfortunately, there is no word in Aramaic that means both "a word" and "a thing," and Onkelos had to make a choice. Onkelos decided to use *pitgamaya*, which means "words" not "things," to translate this word throughout. He began his translation/commentary with "After these words . . . ."

A little further along in the history of commentators is Rashi, a man who lived in Troyes, France, some eight centuries later. He also thought that this word means "word" and recited a legend in his commentary. The legend is taken from the Babylonian Talmud, from the tractate called Sanhedrin, which is in the Mishnaic order dealing with damages. "After these words . . ." Rashi wrote. What words? If the phrase is "after these things," we understand what things are intended: the birth of the longed-for boy, and so forth. But after what particular "words" could this episode possibly unfold?

There is a character, Satan, who appears in the book of Job and who nags at God sufficiently so that God is ostensibly led to torture Job. Satan is brought into our text artificially at this point to deal with the question, "What words were those exactly?" Rashi's tradition holds that the words were those of Satan to God. Satan says to God, "Why do you take credit for Abraham's faith? He's rich. He's had everything he ever wanted in his life. He's never had to offer a poor man's sacrifice; he's always had a bullock to spare. And now at the age of 100 years old, you make him a father. Of course, he's faithful to

[1] Moses Hadas, ed. and trans. *Aristeas to Philocrates*. New York: Harper for Dropsie College, 1955.

you. Of course, he loves you. But take away this gift, and let's see." Ostensibly, God consents to Satan's plan. This then was Rashi's explanation for what this particular phrase meant, repeating an earlier source.

The next problem word is the word "tested." The most common translation of "tested" in the King James Version and its derivative translations is "tempted." One problem with the King James Version is that one has to know seventeenth-century English well. In the 1600s, "to tempt" did not mean "to try to get somebody to do something bad." It meant only what the word "tested" or "tried" means now.

Now I will introduce Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra, who lived in the twelfth century. He was born in Spain and moved to North Africa and thereafter to Rome. He is the intellectuals' commentator par excellence. He is interested in establishing the basic meaning of words and going very little beyond that. He is the most simple of the commentators and the most difficult to deal with and to understand, and he is impossible to refute. He says, "Some [and he sneers] say the word 'tested' ought to be read 'raised up.' But," he continues, "[this is impossible]; the meaning of the episode is entirely against them." That is, God is not raising up Abraham, elevating him for all to see; God is simply testing Abraham. In the next sentence, ibn Ezra refers to his friend, Rashi, who predeceased ibn Ezra. Rashi was well known throughout Europe, and ibn Ezra didn't care very much for his sort of commentary, which was 90 percent borrowed from earlier *midrashim*, or "homilies." Ibn Ezra constantly refers to Rashi, not by name, but as "the genius." "The 'genius' says God tested Avraham in order that Avraham might display his faith and teach others. But no one was there with him to watch, the 'others' having been kept away." Ibn Ezra points to the fact that the only people on the mountain were Abraham and Isaac and that any teachings that were going to occur would happen within a very limited scope.

Next we find a selection from the commentary of Nahmanides, Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman of Catalonia, later a resident in Eretz Israel. In his commentary dealing with the word "tested," he begins with the words "Since, in my opinion . . . [very careful in establishing that he's simply expressing an opinion] man has complete freedom to choose what he does or doesn't want to do, this is a test from the point of view of the one being tested; but the One-Who-Tests (May He be blessed) commands him [Abraham] to act in order to bring that which is potential into activity so that he [Abraham] might receive the reward for his acts as well as his beliefs." A common theme develops in these three major commentaries — Elohim knows what is going to happen and that it is not a fair test from his point of view, at least, because he knows what the outcome will be.

Another question, before I get to the summary question of what unites all of these commentaries, if anything, is the question of the ram, of how he got there and what his nature was. Abraham caught sight of "a" ram or of a "different" ram. The Hebrew word in the text is *'ahar*, and it usually means one of three things: "other" or "different" or "after." It is commonly confused by scribes with the word *'ahad*, which means "one" or "a." *'Ahad* ends

with the letter *dalet* as opposed to the letter *resh* which appears in the text. The difference between a *resh* and a *dalet* is, I think, what is called a tittle in the expression "every jot and tittle." The top of the *dalet* goes on a little bit after it touches the right-hand leg, whereas the *resh* does not have that extra little bit on the top. That means that it is very easy, if a mistake has been made (and scribes constantly make mistakes), to confuse these two words. Onkelos decided that it was not a "different" ram but only "a" ram — *'ahad* not *'ahar*. This is not what is written in Hebrew but the text which Onkelos supposed the scribe should have written.

Rashi characteristically offers not only one opinion but three contrasting opinions, worlds within worlds: (a) The ram was an "other" ram, for it was created during the twilight of creation, an especially mysterious time for Jews. The text of Genesis contains the words *day* and *night* but no words for *twilight* and *dawn*, periods of time between day and night. It is true that to say "day and night" is a form of talking about the whole of a thing by talking about its two extremities. But what is of real interest is the *literal* text. About a dozen miraculous things occur in the first five books of the Bible, and what is common in Rashi's legendic school of thinking about the Bible is the assigning of all twelve of these miraculous events to the periods of twilight and dawn during the seven days of creation. Among these miracles are Balaam's talking donkey, Miriam's singing well, the miraculous tablets upon which the Ten Commandments were inscribed in such a way that they could be read from either side, the miraculous script which made it possible to read the Ten Commandments forwards and backwards and inside out, and the miraculous stylus that had to be used to write this script. According to legend, this ram was also created during the twilights of creation and lingered in the world ever since, waiting for his turn until he was finally caught in the brush behind Abraham.

(b) The ram appeared "after" the angel's command. First, the angel commands Abraham, then the word *after* appears. Abraham sees the ram after the angel's appearance and speech.

(c) The word means "after" in that the ram appeared "after" Abraham's plea for mercy on behalf of his children. This is an excellent commentary because there is another commentary underneath this one. Abraham's plea for mercy on behalf of his children does not appear here in the text but is well known in *midrash*.

Before returning to this point, I would like to mention ibn Ezra's response to "the genius." He says simply that the word *after* means "after the ram was caught in the brush," that the form *ne'ehaz*, or "being caught," serves as the subject of a relative clause used as an appositive, as in many places, with no relative pronoun. Without further particles of speech, the syntax militates against the use of "after" to indicate that the ram appeared either after the angel's words or after Abraham raised his eyes. There is a struggle going on here, but both commentators are on the same page together, and we keep them both there. Nothing can be lost in this attempt to understand one's parent or one's child.

Last we enter into the world of mystery and mysticism with the commentary of Jacob ben Asher, known as the "Master of the Columns." His father, Asher ben Yehiel, was a major codifier. The son tried to assemble all exegesis that pertained to legal matters. Then he concentrated it into four columns. Ben Asher completed this work as well as a commentary on the Bible, for which he also wrote an introduction. He intended that his introduction be only intriguing and entrancing, not too serious: hors d'oeuvres and snacks, not the main course. But nobody really reads the commentary by the "Master of the Columns" any more; the only part of ben Asher that is continually read as part of this page are these few comments from his introduction which proved to be so exciting to Jews that virtually no edition of the Bible is complete without them. I have included his commentary on what "the place" means, what the words "the Moriah land" mean, and what the words "we will return" mean.

One way ben Asher works is by the method called gematria. Gematria assigns a numerical value to each of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew *alef bet* so *alef* equals 1; *bet*, 2; *yod*, 10; *kaf*, which follows *yod*, 20; *tsadi*, 90; *qof*, which follows *tsadi*, 100; *resh*, 200; *shin*, 300; and *tav*, 400. The sum of the value of one word may equal the sum of the value of another word. If the words equal one another numerically, they *obviously* mean the same thing. (This may not seem to make sense at first, but when it works, it is very convincing.) Ben Asher discusses the words "the place" and "the Moriah land" together. He finds that "the place" equals "this is Jerusalem" and that "the Moriah land" equals "in Jerusalem" — all through gematria. Thus, we now know where Mount Moriah is.

Ben Asher then takes up the word *venašuva*, "we will return," by another method. He looks at every place "we will return" in this form appears in the Bible, and he finds that it occurs seven times: here in Genesis; Numbers 14:4; 1 Samuel 9:5; Jeremiah 46:16; Hosea 6:1; Lamentations 3:40; and Lamentations 5:21. That *venashuva* appears seven times means that "return," or repentance, begins with Abraham — that the whole doctrine of repentance, as well as its possibility, begins with Abraham's deed. The answer to the question of where to repent is, therefore, "in Jerusalem" (at Mount Moriah, as above). When? On pilgrimages.

Ben Asher finds the phrase "Mountain of YHWH" only once in the first five books of the Bible; only once in the Prophets, the second division of the books of the Bible, according to Jews; and only once in the Hagiographa, or Writings, the third division, which includes books like Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Songs, Proverbs. Why three times, once in each division? Because there are three pilgrimage holidays on which one goes to Jerusalem to make sacrifice: Passover, Shavuot (Pentecost), and Sukkot, the Feast of Booths. This can't be meaningless. But neither does it necessarily mean what ben Asher thinks that it does. Ben Asher thinks that something is happening on the mountain that is not clear but which will nonetheless lead to something that is clearer.

Now I will depart into my own exegesis and attempt to unite these exegetes: the only way to get a ram to come to a ram sacrifice is to bring it. Rams do not respond to invitations. So we already know that the ram has been planted there and that Elohim knows there is going to be a use for the ram. The next question which these commentators more or less agree on is whether Abraham has some knowledge of this. Abraham has bargained with God before this chapter. We've seen him make his famous what-if-there-are-only-fifty-good-people argument about Sodom; and we've seen Abraham win the cave of Machpelah from Ephraim the Hittite at what seems to be a dear price but which in fact turns out to be a low price for the first possession of land by Jews in Israel. We know that we are not dealing with some country boy here.

Yet Abraham seems to have absolutely no hesitation in obeying God and doing his bidding: he gets up early in the morning, saddles his own donkey, though a rich man, breaks up his own firewood, and sets out for the Moriah land. He arrives and is just about to stab his boy when, to stop him, an angel calls out from the sky.

Abraham says to the angel, "I'm not going to stop. I'm going to go ahead and do it. I'm up here on this mountain as your employer asked me to be, and before I step down from here, I will need to talk to him."

So God descends, impelled by Abraham's argument and desire to carry on the sacrifice. Abraham asks God whether he had told him to kill his boy. God says that he had. Abraham asks whether they had a contract in which Abraham's children would inherit the land. God says that they had. Abraham asks him if that contract would be fulfilled through Isaac, and God says, "Well, that was my intention."

Abraham says, "Because of the fact that I have done this and because of the fact that my boy has done it, I want leniency. I want the contract loosened." What was the contract? The contract was: "You be my people, and I'll be your God. If you go chasing after any other gods, you will no longer be my people, and I'll take you out of your land. If you continue to worship only me, you will stay in your land." Abraham knows that things are not going to work out that simply and wants some leniency in the contract.

God needs some leniency too, because if there is no body of people, no second party left to the contract, the purpose of his creation will be lost. So God says to Abraham, "You have said your part; now I'll say mine. I know that your children are going to wander away and do a lot of things that in one way or another break this contract. If your children will, one day a year, call on me earnestly and seek leniency in this contract, atone and repent, then I'll grant them leniency, not in general but only in particular."

"How are they to call for you?" Abraham asks.

God replies, "Well, they could use the horn of something like that ram." That horn is, of course, the shofar for use on the day called Yom Ha-Kippurim, the Day of Atonement.

Abraham and God have achieved in Jewish exegesis something that almost everyone in the Jewish exegetic line wants them to achieve — leniency for each other. They assert that there is something more important to them than any

contract that they might be able to write down. When a contract is written, it must be specific and detailed. But why does one write a contract with another person? Because one trusts that other person and feels friendship for him. When that other person abrogates the contract, one has a choice: to insist on the conditions of the contract, thus ending the relationship, or to go back to the precontract state. If the friendship endures, the parties return to their precontractual relationship and renegotiate on the basis of what they both wanted to achieve by the contract. But one cannot write leniency into a contract.

There lying on the altar before God from heaven and Abraham from earth is the real contract: the boy. God knows that Abraham does not want to kill his only boy. Abraham knows that the whole purpose of God's contract is to keep that boy alive and then his progeny. Both of them are more committed ultimately to the life of that boy, Isaac, than they are to anything that might be written.

In conclusion, I can only point to two real distinctions in Jewish biblical exegesis as opposed to any other sort of exegesis. First, the text is the text. The text is Hebrew. No Jewish biblical exegete works from a translation. It is absolutely impossible, and it is regarded as equally impossible, that there should be such a thing as an inspired translation, which would repeal Babel. Second, diversity and argumentation, dialogue among the commentators and dialogue between the commentators and the text, not a unity of opinion, is the key to the relationship between the Jewish people and their text. Unity is represented by the text itself. But diversity is what people are given here on the earth. Honest diversity and a willingness to accept the arguments of others are inspired by the ambiguities of the Bible. Nothing but good can come of dialogue between people as between people and the Bible.

Four Characteristics of the Mormon Family: Contemporary Research on Chastity, Conjugality, Children, and Chauvinism

Tim B. Heaton

FROM ITS INCEPTION, MORMONISM HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED by a blend of traditional American culture mixed with unique, sometimes even radical, elements. The nineteenth-century Mormon family combined aspects of Puritan family morality with a unique theology of family continuity in the hereafter and a form of marriage — polygamy — then known only in "pagan" or primitive societies. During the twentieth century, the Mormon family has felt the same social forces that impact the nation. Parallels between Mormon and national trends might lead to the mistaken impression that the Mormon family is no longer distinctive. Some have hypothesized that Mormon social patterns follow national trends with a time delay of several years.

I will argue that, despite being influenced by pervasive social forces, the American Mormon family remains distinctive in many ways; that these elements are integrated into a yet distinctive family system; and that this family system will continue to influence individual and organizational behavior in Mormondom for years to come. The first section documents four areas of contemporary Mormon family distinctiveness. The second discusses the theological, demographic, and social bases for these aspects. The third section speculates about the future of this family system.

MORMON FAMILY DISTINCTIVENESS

Chastity

Studies of adolescents and young adults demonstrate the conservative nature of Mormon premarital sexual behavior, reflective of the Mormon injunction against extramarital sexual activity. In a comparison of Mormons at an

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intermountain university with non-Mormon students at several other college campuses, Christensen (1976) finds that Mormon men and women have lower approval of and exposure to premarital coitus than other students, with the exception of a Midwestern Mennonite college. These findings are corroborated in surveys of college students done by Wilford Smith (1974), who found low percentages of Mormons reporting nonmarital coitus when compared with Catholics, Protestants, or those having no religious preference. Similar conclusions apply to a small subset of adolescent Mormons in the 1971 National Survey of Young Women (in my possession). It shows that 15 percent of Mormon teenage women had engaged in premarital intercourse, compared to 26 percent for the entire national sample of teenage women. Obviously, not all Mormon youth conform to their church's moral code, but the evidence consistently indicates that premarital chastity is more common among Mormons than among their peers.

These differences in premarital sexual intercourse are confirmed in a more recent survey of high school students. Brent C. Miller and his associates (1985) surveyed students in several high schools in three Western states. Seventeen percent of the Mormon students reported premarital sexual experience, compared with 48 percent of Catholics, 51 percent of those with no religion, and 67 percent of Protestants. In a multiple regression analysis, religious affiliation was second only to church attendance in predicting sexual experience, with Mormons showing substantially less experience than other groups.

Religious influence on sexual behavior becomes even more evident when we compare active and inactive Mormons, as rated by church attendance. In the 1971 National Survey of Young Women, only 3 percent of the active Mormons have had premarital intercourse, compared to 23 percent for the inactive group. Indeed, the inactive group's sexual activity was not appreciably different from the national average. Information on college students collected by Wilford Smith (1974) yields a similar conclusion (see Table 1). Moreover, the difference in sexual experience between active and inactive Mormons is greater than that same difference for Protestants or Catholics. The percentage point difference between most and least active is 30 for Catholic men, 36 for Protestant men, and 48 for Mormon men. Comparable figures for women are 26 for Catholics, 18 for Protestants, and 43 for Mormons. So membership in the Mormon Church, especially active membership, predicts more conservative sexual behavior.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGES WHO ARE PREMARITAL VIRGINS BY RELIGION AND FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	MEN — ATTENDANCE			WOMEN — ATTENDANCE		
Religion	Often	Never	Difference	Often	Never	Difference
Catholic	47	17	30	48	22	26
Protestant	63	27	36	55	37	18
Mormon	85	37	48	91	48	43

SOURCE: W. Smith (1974).

The high teenage birth rate in Utah — 6.5 percent of Utah teens gave birth in 1980 compared to 5.3 percent nationally — appears to contradict claims that premarital sex is low among teens. The birth rate is mistakenly equated with the pregnancy rate, which is a better indicator of sexual activity. When teenage abortions are taken into account to estimate teenage pregnancy (birth plus abortions equal pregnancies), however, my conclusion is sustained (Chadwick 1986; Smith forthcoming). The low teenage pregnancy rate (7.8 percent of Utah teens compared to 11.4 percent nationally) in Utah is consistent with survey reports of premarital chastity.

To be sure, Mormons have been influenced by the sexual revolution of the '60s. Moreover, there is some evidence that Utah Mormons are more conservative than Mormons living elsewhere (Mauss 1976). Nevertheless, the most active Mormons appear to have been insulated from such national trends as sexual behavior. According to the surveys done by Wilford Smith (1974, 1976), between 1950 and 1972 premarital virginity actually increased slightly for Mormons who attended church regularly — from 95 to 98 percent for men, and from 96 to 98 percent for women. Among Mormons who did not attend church, premarital virginity slipped from 63 to 52 percent among men, and from 85 to 62 percent among women. To say that Mormons simply follow national trends on a delayed basis does not accurately account for these differences among attending and nonattending Mormons.

The Church's consistent and clear direction about sexual behavior gives it considerable influence over family life (Christensen 1976). The agreement by members that the Church has a right to regulate sexual behavior extends into nonsexual areas as well — particularly the three areas examined next: conjugality (marriage rates), children (birthrates), and chauvinism (sex role allocations).

Conjugality

Conjugality is the tendency to be married. In comparison with Catholics, Protestants, and persons with no religious preference, Mormons have a higher percentage of persons over age thirty who have ever married than any other religious group (Heaton and Goodman 1985). Data from the 1981 Canadian census also indicate that Mormons have an above-average proclivity toward marriage: 74.2 percent of Candian Mormons have been married compared to a national figure of 72.2 percent. Since most people marry, the difference between percentages seems small. But the comparison of never marrying makes the difference more dramatic. Catholics over thirty are more than three times more likely than Mormons not to have married, Protestants are about twice as likely, and those with no religion are at least four times more likely never to have married than Mormons.

The marriage norm also shows up in divorce rates. Mormons are less prone to divorce than Catholics or Protestants and are far below the unchurched in divorce (see Table 2). The lower divorce percentages often go unnoticed because Utah's divorce rate, which is often taken as a measure of Mormon trends,

TABLE 2

MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF MORMONS COMPARED WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	Sex	Catholic	Protestant	Mormon	None
Percent over thirty who have ever married	Male	88.6	94.9	97.5	81.0
	Female	91.2	95.9	97.2	86.7
Percent of ever married who have divorced	Male	19.8	26.4	14.3	39.2
	Female	23.1	30.9	18.8	44.7
Percent of ever divorced who are remarried	Male	49.5	62.2	66.6	48.4
	Female	35.2	53.0	53.0	37.3

NOTE: Nonwhites are excluded from the data.
SOURCE: Heaton and Goodman (1985).

is above the national average. The divorce rate is defined as the number of divorces in a given year divided by the married population.

At least three factors create a high rate in Utah. First, Utah has liberal divorce laws compared to most other nonwestern states. Second, the married population of Utah is concentrated in the younger ages when the risk of divorce is greater. This concentration accentuates the year-to-year number of divorces, even if the percentage who will ever get divorced is relatively low. Finally, Utah has a high rate of remarriage. Of ever-divorced persons in Utah, 65 percent of men and 49 percent of women have remarried compared with 58 percent and 43 percent respectively in the nation, according to 1980 census figures. This fact creates a large group susceptible to multiple divorces which increases the number of divorces, but not the percent ever divorced (Goodman and Heaton 1986).

Religious involvement is negatively correlated with divorce. Data reported by Heaton and Goodman (1985) indicate that of Mormons who attend church regularly, 10.2 percent of men and 15.2 percent of women have been civilly divorced compared to 21.6 percent of male and 26.3 percent of female Mormons who do not attend regularly. These percentages do not tell us whether people who attend church don't get divorced or divorced people don't attend church. Temple marriage, however, gives some indication of the couples' religious commitment at the beginning of the marriage. Among ever-married Mormon men, of those married in the temple, only 5.4 percent have been civilly divorced compared to 27.8 of the civilly married group. Among Mormon women, the comparable figures are 6.5 for temple marriages, and 32.7 for civil marriages (Heaton and Goodman 1985). In other words, civil marriages among Mormons run a six times higher risk of divorce than temple marriages.

Even when Mormons do divorce, they are more likely to remarry than is generally the case (Table 2). This high rate of remarriage attests to the value placed on conjugality.

Contrary to popular opinion, the Mormon Church does not contain an overabundance of single people. In fact, it may be the strong emphasis placed

on marriage that accentuates the plight of the singles. High rates of marriage, low divorce, and high remarriage after divorce clearly point to marriage as the normative status. Given the large group that conforms to this norm, the singles form a minority group within the Church. Thirty percent of the LDS population is single compared to 37 percent nationally (Goodman and Heaton 1966.)

Children

The most widely noted demographic characteristic of the Mormon family is its high fertility. Even in the early Utah period when the nation as a whole had a high birth rate, Mormon fertility was above the national average (Mineau *et al.* 1979). Mormon fertility has remained above average throughout the twentieth century, at least in Utah (Thornton 1979). During the 1950s, for example, the Utah rate was generally above 30 per 1000 population compared to a national rate of less than 25 per 1000. Although Utah fertility (often accepted as a barometer of Mormon fertility) has followed the national trend, it does not run parallel. The smallest difference between Utah and national birth rates in the recent past occurred in the mid-sixties. Between 1965 and 1980, the Utah rate increased from 23 to 28 while the national rate declined from 19 to 16, creating an even wider gap between the two areas (Heaton and Calkins 1983). Since 1980, the Utah rate has dropped substantially — down to below 24 — but it still remains among the highest rates in the nation. In 1984, Utah's birth rate was 23.7 per thousand persons, 50 percent higher than the national rate. Likewise, a national sample of Mormons shows the number of children ever born to be approximately 50 percent higher than other religious groups. Excluding nonwhites has little effect on the Mormon-non-Mormon difference. (Heaton and Goodman 1985). Thus, the pattern of higher fertility has continued into the present. Studies of Utah's Mormon high school students asking how many children they expect to have also imply that such differences will persist into the future (Toney *et al.* 1985).

It is important to note that higher Mormon fertility is not simply a result of reluctance to use birth control. In fact, information from a small sample of Mormons participating in national studies conducted between 1965 and 1975 indicates that Mormons are just as likely as the national population to use modern methods of birth control at some point in their lives (Heaton and Calkins 1983). However, about half of Mormon women delay using contraceptives until after the birth of the first child and use contraceptives to space children thereafter. For lack of a better term, this type of purposeful contraception might be called positive pronatalism based on a desire for more children as contrasted with negative pronatalism based on ethical restrictions against the use of contraceptives.

Despite the documentation of a higher fertility rate, surprisingly few empirical analyses have been done on the determinants of Mormon fertility. One recent analysis of a national sample of Mormons demonstrates two interesting aspects of their fertility (Heaton 1986). First, no single variable explains why some Mormons have larger families. Temple marriage, commitment to large

families, and activity in church where a husband and wife would associate with other like-minded couples, hearing (and teaching) lessons and sermons on the joys of family life each share in the explanation. In combination, these factors can predict larger Mormon family size, since couples who lack them have fertility rates no higher than the national average. Second, the demographic factors which influence fertility affect Mormons in a way different than is generally the case. For example, national studies show that couples with higher socioeconomic status, as measured by more education and higher income, often have fewer children. Among Mormons, however, the higher the family income and the higher the wife's education, the more children a couple is likely to have (Heaton 1986, Thomas 1979).

Religious involvement has a stronger relationship to fertility among Mormons than is generally observed for other religious groups. For example, the difference in family size between regular church attenders (at least twice a month) and irregular attenders is .2 for Catholics, −.01 for liberal Protestants, −.33 for for conservative Protestants, and .68 for Mormons (Heaton and Goodman 1985). Moreover, socioeconomic variables like education and income have a different relationship to fertility among highly involved Mormons than is the case among less involved Mormons. For example, among temple-married regular church attenders, each additional year of education implies a .039 increase in family size compared to a .119 decrease in family size per year of education for nontemple married couples who rarely attend church (Heaton 1986). These differences add to the evidence that religious commitment plays an important role in Mormon family size.

Discussions with Mormons who have large families also point to the importance of religious belief (Bahr, Condie, and Goodman 1982). Mormon women who had at least seven children gave mainly religious explanations for having large families — for example, each family has a predestined number of children, they want to obey the counsel of Church leaders, birth control is wrong, and spirits should have the opportunity of coming to good Mormon families. Individual reasons did vary, but all reflected a religious orientation to fertility decisions.

In short, Mormons take seriously the Genesis injunction to "multiply and replenish the earth." The most religious and those with greater resources (like education and income) tend to have the largest families. If any single demographic trait distinguishes Mormon families, it is high fertility.

Chauvinism

Mormon marriages tend to be characterized by chauvinism, where power is concentrated in the husband's hands. Two elements of chauvinism have received some attention in empirical research: the division of labor between husband and wife, and attribution of authority in the home. A division of labor is not necessarily chauvinistic; but in contemporary society it often turns out that way. The person who earns the money usually has more control over economic resources, more prestige, more recognition, and more opportunities for advancement. The homemaking role seldom supplies many of these rewards.

Although earlier studies did not consistently find more chauvinism among Mormons than other religious groups (Thomas 1983, Campbell and Campbell 1977), more recent evidence shows greater consistency. Table 3 compares responses from men and women selected in an unpublished 1981 random statewide survey of Utahns with the national sample used in the General Social Survey, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago in 1977. When asked the same two questions, Mormon respondents were about twice as likely as the national sample to reflect a traditional position: the mother should be the homemaker and the father should be the breadwinner.

In comparing role definitions (who *should* perform the task) and role enactment (who actually *does* perform the role), Mormons have different patterns than other religious groups (Bahr and Chadwick 1984). When asked who should earn the money, keep house, care for children, teach family values, and make home repairs, Mormons are less inclined than Catholics or Protestants to give husband and wife equal responsibility. When it comes to role enactment, Mormons are less egalitarian in housekeeping, caring for children, and socializing children; but interestingly, the gap is much smaller than is the case for role definition (Bahr 1982). In other words, husbands and wives are likely to agree that the dishes are her job, but when it comes down to doing them, he'll actually do them about as often as other men.

On the issue of Mormon women working, statistics clearly contradict a gender-based division of earning. Census data covering the period from 1900 to 1976 show that Utah women are much less distinctive in their employment patterns than they once were (Bahr 1979). Much of the convergence, however, is because Utah women have experienced a greater increase in part-time work than is the case nationally. Utah's married women with children under age six are less likely to work than their national counterparts (33 percent of Utah women aged twenty-five to thirty-four with preschool children work, compared to 42 percent nationally). Married women with preschoolers are

TABLE 3

MORMON AND NATIONAL OPINIONS ON SEX ROLES

	PERCENTS	
	Mormon	National
A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works		
disagree	17.0	32.2
agree or not sure	83.0	67.8
It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself		
disagree	26.3	41.4
agree or not sure	73.7	58.6

also 1.4 times more likely to work part-time (Heaton and Parkinson 1985). A 1981 survey of Mormon women in the United States shows a similar pattern: about 36 percent of married women with preschoolers are not employed, but among women without children about 53 percent work, compared to a national average of 48 percent (Goodman and Heaton, forthcoming).

Working — and earning money — usually leads to more decision-making; power; but so far, Mormon women seem to have less power in their marriages than women in other religious groups (Bahr and Bahr 1977). In fact, Mormon men reportedly have more decision-making authority than women even in the tasks where women are expected to take more of the responsibility, like taking care of the house and caring for children. In sum, the traditional Mormon position on sex roles is more a matter of stated attitude (role definitions), or perhaps even ideology, than one of actual behavior (work and family role performance).

Mormons who attend church regularly are less inclined to have egalitarian views of the household division of labor than those who seldom attend church (Bahr and Chadwick 1984). An average of 7 percent of the active Mormons give egalitarian definitions (i.e., husband and wife share equal responsibility) to the roles of provider, housekeeper, and caretaker of children, compared to 13 percent of the group who seldom attend church. Likewise, 9 percent of the active group and 14 percent of the inactive group report that both husband and wife are equally likely to actually perform these tasks.

Information from a younger age group suggests that these trends may continue into the future. In a survey of college students from four universities, Mormons scored higher on a macho scale than Catholics, mainline Protestants, or persons with no religious preference. The Mormon scores were comparable to those of fundamentalist Protestants (Brinkerhoff and MacKie 1984). Using age to represent trends shows no clear-cut trend toward egalitarian marital relationships (Albrecht, Bahr, and Chadwick 1979). In short, traditional chauvinism seems likely to continue as part of the Mormon family lifestyle.

THE MORMON FAMILY SYSTEM

These four aspects of the Mormon family are not isolated behavior patterns. Rather they stem from common theological roots, from interrelatedness of demographic characteristics, and from a social structure which integrates them into a particular lifestyle.

Theology

The Mormon doctrines of pre-mortal existence and the post-mortal continuation of identity impact directly on family life. Because the highest degree of resurrected glory is reserved for married couples who will continue their roles as parents by creating spirit children, a temple marriage becomes a major and irreplaceable factor in an eternal future. Family life is the mechanism for

bringing premortal spirits to earth and the training and proving ground to qualify parents for their post-mortal roles. (For a more detailed discussion of Mormon theology along with scriptural references, see McConkie 1966 under topics including pre-existence, spirit children, heaven, celestial kingdom, sexual immorality, and celestial marriage.)

Consequently, premarital and extramarital sexual relations are anathema because they threaten the integrity of the marital bond and violate God's plan for bringing premortal spirits to earth. Mormon theology does not condemn nonreproductive coitus in marriage, but it assumes that those who engage in the pleasures of sex are also willing to accept the responsibilities of parenthood. Thus, marriage is the only legitimate arena for sexual expression and violations of this moral code can jeopardize one's membership in the Church.

Obviously, marriage is essential to the entire plan. The minority of women who do not marry but who are "worthy" are consoled with a promise that they will have the opportunity for marriage and motherhood in the post-mortal existence. Similar promises are generally not made to men. Those who avoid marriage are advised that they are not in conformity with God's plan. Divorce is permitted but not advised. Since a temple marriage is performed as an eternal "sealing," couples are encouraged to work out their problems (Kimball 1981).

In having and rearing children, parents participate with God in furthering the development of pre-mortal spirits and gain experiences in preparation for their own role as eternal parents. The family is the divinely ordained organization designed for the reproduction and socialization of children. Any other institution is an inferior substitute, and couples who avoid having children are missing a key aspect of their own religious and spiritual development.

Male authority is an integral aspect of the theology. Men are designated spiritual leaders and heads of Mormon households (Kimball 1981). As a prerequisite for entering the temple, men must be ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood, which gives them administrative powers not only in the Church but also in the household. Within Mormonism ideally husbands assume the provider role and wives that of homemaker. Of course, wives and mothers can seek spiritual guidance from God through prayer and can help with the provider role when necessary. Men are also encouraged to support their wives in homemaking tasks. In short, each of the aspects of the family described in section one is born of the theology of the family.

One egalitarian aspect of the theology is not widely discussed. In temple marriage, a husband and wife jointly enter into an "order of the Priesthood" called the new and everlasting covenant of marriage (McConkie 1966). Identical blessings are promised to husband and wife, including "thrones, kingdoms, principalities, powers, and dominions" (D&C 132:19). Neither has access to these powers and privileges without the other, and neither is promised more than the other. Such a marriage suggests unity, interdependence, and joint priesthood rather than hierarchy and male dominance. Greater emphasis on this aspect of the theology might fit more comfortably with current tendencies in many families.

Demographic Implications

Restricted sexual activity promotes near-universal marriage and also eliminates ambiguity of parentage. In a well-functioning family, husband and wife know they belong to each other and that there are no competitors outside the nuclear unit. Similarly, children know they have exclusive claims on their parents and on each other.

Getting married and having children commits Mormons to family life. Conformity to this norm creates a sense of fellowship with the Church. A major Church activity is providing instruction and programs for families. At the same time, these children provide a significant share of new members. The interdependence between the two institutions of church and family is clear.

Rearing children also creates increased demands on the parenting roles. Each child places increased demands on both the provider and the homemaker roles. Specialization of roles becomes a common solution to the increased demands. At the same time, as organizing a large family becomes more complex, the need for authority and leadership increases. In many cases, the designation of leader, provider, and homemaker roles makes managing the tasks much easier, even though such assignments made only on the basis of gender make a large assumption that personality and individual skills are less important than gender.

Social Structure

Conforming to appropriate family behaviors is deeply ingrained in Mormon social and normative structure. Those who violate the sexual code of conduct or who intentionally avoid marriage or having children are deviants.

The strong sense of community which develops in many Mormon congregations reinforces a family-centered lifestyle. Moreover, the family norms help to reinforce the community bond. The demands introduced by marriage and children form the basis for common interest, leisure activities, time schedules, and other lifestyle elements. Children's friendships or interchanges of child care often form the basis for adult friendships. Social networks are heavily influenced by Church involvement (Cornwell 1985).

Church programs are designed to support this family-centered social structure. Family home evening and home teaching reinforce the image of the ideal family as one which includes several children and is headed by a man. The Primary, Young Men, and Young Women programs are designed to help in socializing children. The Relief Society concentrates heavily on promoting the homemaker role. Ironically, even though many Relief Societies hold homemaking meetings in the evening to accommodate working women, the mini-lessons and projects have much more to do with maintaining a house and raising children than with jobs and working.

The development of the Correlation Program of the Church in the 1960s and '70s created an even closer organizational correspondence between families and the Church. This program shifted more of the decision-making power to men, thus partially disenfranchising the women's organizations (Cornwall

1983). It established a pipeline of authority from the president of the Church down through the organizational hierarchy to the husband as head of the household. Children and wives were linked to the Church through their fathers and husbands. Thus, the Church programs and the husband's role in these programs further legitimize his authority.

In sum, the distinctive aspects of the Mormon family grow out of theology, demographic requisites, and social structure — all of which promote marriage and children. The Church promotes family life, and the family reciprocates by socializing children to become active participants in the Church. Thus, the interdependence between Church and family is solidified.

Prospects for the Future

However, this pattern of conservative forces has not produced a static institution. A 50 percent decrease in fertility since the turn of the century, coupled with equally large increases in divorce and female labor force participation are three important changes.

LDS ideology has been remarkably flexible in accommodating social change (Leone 1979). The same central doctrine of eternal marriage used to sanction polygamy in the nineteenth century is currently used to promote contemporary family patterns. As the Church has spread to more culturally diverse areas and as new social trends have been adopted by the LDS membership, policies and practices have modified accordingly. For example, much less is said about birth control now compared with the late '60s and early '70s. Stress points within the Mormon family system such as terminal petting, sexual guilt, and underplanned parenthood also provide impetus for social change (Christensen 1972).

At the same time, direct confrontations with the Mormon family ideology, at least since the discontinuance of polygamy, have been ill fated. The failures of Utah, Florida, Virginia, and Illinois to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, at least in part because of open and organized Church opposition, were claimed as victories in protecting the family. A more recent case is Gordon B. Hinckley's absolute prohibition of artificial insemination for single women (1985, 89). The procedure would allow more women to achieve one characteristic of the family — children — but without the other characteristics. In fact, official statements on reproductive medicine (Bush 1985), homosexuality, and women holding the priesthood can all be seen as efforts by the Church leaders to "defend" the family.

Recent changes in family size, divorce, and female labor force participation have not been a result of direct ideological confrontation. Rather, perspectives have more naturally shifted. Couples now have three, four, or five children instead of eight, nine, or ten and still feel they are multiplying and replenishing the earth. Their justification rests on a consideration for the economic and emotional well-being of the individual family members, not a rejection of the Church's theology of the family. Likewise, it seems acceptable for women to work as a means of supplementing family income or to use their talents; they

thus are not usurping the provider role of the husband. Divorce is a realization that not all marriages work out, not a rejection of the ideal eternal family. In this fashion, behavior changes without direct confrontation with theological positions.

Other changes may occur in the future. Family size may decline further without eliminating the Mormon fertility difference or destroying the image of Mormons as a family-centered church. As medical technology advances, attitudes toward specific procedures affecting reproduction may change without threat to fundamental doctrines of the Church (Bush 1985). Modification in the sanctions applied to violators of the sexual code may occur without changing the code itself. Single adults may better be assimilated into the programs of the Church without denying the ultimate importance of marriage. Husbands and wives may be told to arrive jointly at important decisions without changing policies regarding the priesthood. Greater emphasis may be placed on the joint holding by husbands and wives of priesthood responsibilities. This same priesthood theology may some day be used to encourage egalitarian rather than authoritarian relationships.

Not only is change possible, it is very probable. The stresses and strains engendering societal change in family structure must be dealt with. Working women, reconstituted families, and singles are each growing segments of the Church membership that do not fit well within the existing structure. The reorientation of sex roles will continue within the Church. As they have done in the past, most Mormons will adjust to these changes while maintaining their sense of uniqueness. In fact, unwillingness to change may be more detrimental in the long run than open acceptance of change, as was the case with those who tried to continue polygamy. At the same time, attempts to induce change through direct confrontation with the core ideology of the Mormon family will fall on deaf ears. Those who see change as a means to preserve the core values by alleviating existing stresses and strains will have more success. To observe, understand, and even participate in change in the Mormon family is the challenge.

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Religion and Suicide: A Records-Linkage Study

Phillip R. Kunz

SINCE THE EARLY STUDIES OF THE FRENCH SOCIOLOGIST, Emile Durkheim, suicide has interested sociologists. But suicide, by its very nature, has resisted study, and the problem of studying it has not eased over the years. The very classification of death as "suicide" is a judgment call.

Generally those concerned with suicide rates use gross data sources such as mortality and morbidity statistics. In the past, state-reported suicide data have approximated relative differences in rates between regions. Cerain characteristics such as the influence of education or unemployment on suicide have been studied by looking at states with differing amounts of education or various unemployment rates. Such inferences as influence of state or regional characteristics on different dependent variables are then drawn. Durkheim, using suicide rates from representative countries, ascertained the relative rates of suicide differences among Catholics and Protestants and hypothesized that greater "social integration" lowers rates. Suicide rates have continued to be derived from "group characteristics," not from individual factors, thus making the study of suicide a sociological rather than a psychological phenomenon.

State suicide rates are still often used to study the effects of religion on suicide. For example, Utah suicide rates are given as a sort of rough approximation of suicide rates for Mormons, Massachusetts rates for Catholics and so on.

Comparison of suicide rates by state shows Utah having roughly the same suicide rate as the nation in total. However, some variations occur from year to year with Utah apparently having somewhat higher rates than the nation as a whole in recent years. As with some other social measures like divorce, Utah seems to follow about the same pattern compared with the entire United States but shows lower rates when compared to the rest of the Mountain States — perhaps a better comparison since the social and economic conditions are more similar.

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There has been a long-time interest in comparing Mormon social statistics with those of other religious groups and with those groups claiming no religious affiliation. Those with interest in such comparisons have covered a number of issues. Suicide has certainly not escaped this comparison, although studies have been limited mostly by representative state data, as mentioned above, and to some generalizations drawn from clinical data.

What is the religious influence on suicide? Does the tightly integrated social structure of the Church create lower suicide rates? In contrast, one hears about the tremendous expectations the Church puts on Mormon youth, resulting in suicide for some. Because young people cannot meet these strict standards of perfection, goes the argument, many take their own lives, feeling like failures. No quantitative data have been advanced to support this hypothesis, as far as I know. Usually, someone, attempting to find an explanation for a particular young person's suicide, generalizes from pressure perceived by one youth to include all Mormon teen suicides.

The purpose of my study is to ascertain whether existing information could be used to treat suicide more definitively. I use record linkage techniques to bring the religious difference into better focus and at the same time to begin some systematic assault on the paucity of data available for the study of suicide.

I obtained mortality data from the Utah state vital statistics records for 1980 with names excluded. The data obtained included the birth date, death date, sex, county of residence, county of death, education, and cause of death.

Using this base, including 196 suicide cases reported on the state death certificates, we searched newspapers for published obituaries, news stories of deaths, and other published items to match birth dates, death dates and place of death on the death certificates with other information.

Of the 196 suicide cases reported in the state death certificates we found obituaries for 136 and an additional eight cases where news stories reported the suicide, but where no obituary was printed. Thus, 69.4 percent of the suicides were covered with an obituary and an additional 4 percent with a story. Four of the total suicides were committed by residents from out of state who took their lives in Utah for which there would be no reason to expect an in-state obituary. Thus the total was reduced to 192. In total, we found information on 144 of the 192 suicides for residents, or 75 percent.

Study of this information is very instructive. Only two of the obituaries listed the suicides as suicide. Fourteen listed some other cause of death such as "found dead from injuries from an accident" or "died from injuries at his home." The eight news stories listed suicide as the cause of death, but no obituary was found for these eight cases. The remaining 120 cases listed no cause of death whatsoever in the obituary. Thus, only 1.09 percent of the suicides were listed as such in the obituaries. It can probably be concluded that obituaries are not a good source for the study of suicide, if used alone.

Religion of the suicide victim was given in 88 of the obituaries. Of those, 80.1 percent (seventy cases) were Mormon and 19.9 percent (eighteen cases) were from various other denominations. This ratio exceeds the representation of Mormons in the state population — about 70 percent. These data would

appear to support the notion that something causes more Mormons to commit suicide than others. But let us explore further.

In forty-eight of the obituaries, no religion was listed. The question may be raised whether these people in fact have no religious affiliation or whether the obituaries purposefully omitted religious affiliation because of embarrassment, low religious commitment, or for whatever reason.

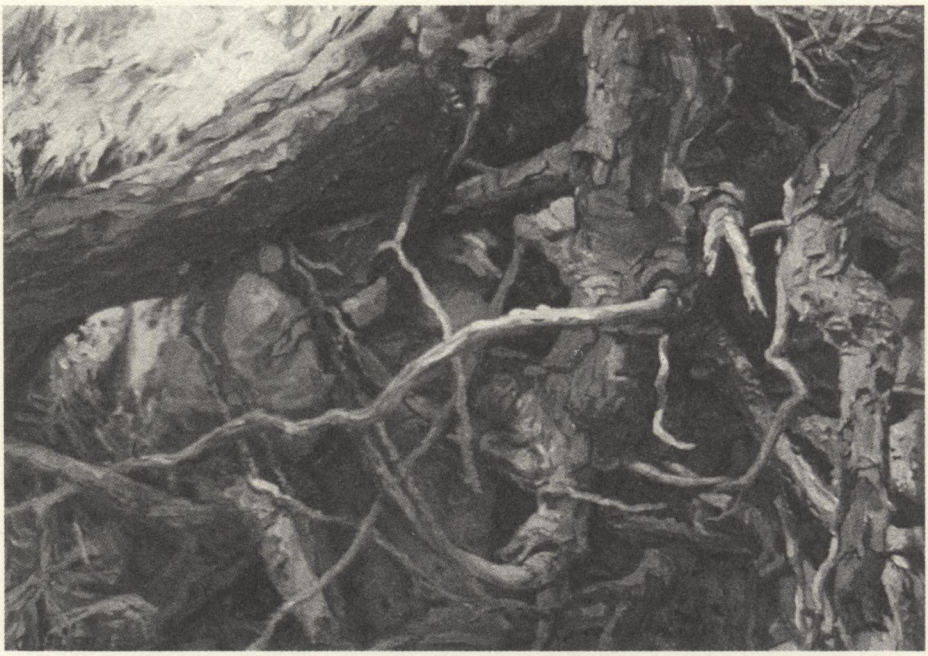
If none of the forty-eight cases were Mormon, which is a very conservative assumption, that would leave the Mormons with 51 percent of the suicides — less than their 70 percent representation in the state population. If 70 percent of the forty-eight with no religious information were allocated to the Mormons (34 cases), their ratio would result at 72.2 percent, slightly over their representation in the total state population.

A more reliable approach to this would be to compare names on death certificates with the records of the Mormon Church, which was not done in this analysis. Although much more time consuming, it would certainly be worth doing. In addition, further research ought to take religious activity or commitment into account, inasmuch as this has proven to be so significant in other research.

Thinking back to the data concerning pressure on Mormon youth, the most obvious question raised is "How old were the individuals in the 192 cases?" The average age among the suicide cases was 43.1 years for the known Mormons and 45.0 years for the other cases where religion was specified. Computing the average age for all victims, other than Mormons, gives an average age of 44.9 years. Since Mormons have a higher proportion of young people, this would lower the youth suicide rate even more. Age-specific rates would be more precise for this type of analysis, but such a study lies in the future.

In short, the evidence here clearly *does not support* the notion that high demands made upon Mormon youth yield a higher suicide rate for them inasmuch as the age of victims is virtually the same.

The study demonstrates that better information concerning suicide can be obtained through record linkage studies . Additional information can help sort out the questions of religious activity and religious commitment for various religions. Hopefully, future studies will permit us to know more of this interesting and significant but elusive problem.



Family Scriptures

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

> For a book of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God; and it is given in our own language (Moses 6:46).

SOMETIME IN MY JOURNEY THROUGH MIA I managed to start a picture pedigree chart with postage-stamp-sized portraits of my Thatcher progenitors. However, my own sense of my family's past did not come from such exercises. My grandfather, Nathan Davis Thatcher, was my Book of Remembrance. The pedigree he passed on to me would never have fit in a pale blue binder. He gave me such a vivid sense of my ancestors, especially the male ones, that I am sure when I get to the other side I will be able to recognize them, not because they will look like the stiff-bearded patriarchs glued in my book but because they will be gathered around a table somewhere in impassioned discourse, eyes alight, arms flailing the air, voices raised in what anybody but a Thatcher would call anger.

It was many years before I realized that the Thatcher progenitors I came to know at my Grandpa's knee were all in some sense rebels. There was Hezekiah, the founder of the clan, who disagreed with one of the regulations imposed during the crossing to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 and decided to move on to California. Hezekiah got to Sacramento just in time to get rich merchandising supplies for forty-niners. He came back to Zion bringing gold for the tithing storehouse and a future presiding bishop for the Church, his son-in-law William B. Preston. I don't recall hearing Grandpa say anything about repentance or submissiveness as he told that story. The moral of that story, though Grandpa never put it directly, was that rebellion pays.

The most famous rebel in the family was Moses Thatcher, Hezekiah's son, but there were others, including my grandfather himself. Looking back, what surprises me is how casually, even innocently, he told these stories.

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My favorite spot in my grandparents' brick bungalow on Fifth East in Salt Lake City was a worn leather hassock by Grandpa's wing chair. Into his nineties, Grandpa tuned in to every regularly scheduled news program during the day, ear cupped close to the speaker, the other hand on the dial so he could shift from station to station during commercials to catch every nuance of the day's events. I knew enough to wait for an interval between news broadcasts before interrupting.

"Tell me a story," I would say, begging him to take me along the beam of his voice into a world that seemed more brightly colored and richly textured than the rose-carpeted room in which we sat, a world where three-year-old boys wore dresses and sunbonnets and could drown in the mill race leading a willow horse to drink, a world where angels came in dreams to lead a sick child out of a narrow log cabin into a beautiful meadow where he could recover the will to live, a world in which fathers overpowered bears but were helpless to save a mother crushed under the snow-heavy roof of a kitchen lean-to, a world where trout could be pulled out of Idaho streams by the sackful if one were smart enough to use squirrel tails for bait, a world of danger and beauty.

Grandpa never showed much interest in genealogy. In fact I remember him saying once, when some member of the family was earnestly matching names and dates and filling in group sheets, "It's so full of mistakes we'll have to do it all over again anyway in the millennium." He didn't know his great-grandfather's birthdate or even his name, but he knew exactly what the kingdom would be like where they would meet some day.

Grandpa loved to quote scriptures, especially from the Old Testament prophets and the Book of Revelation. Heaven, Grandpa said, would be this world made transparent, an earth spun into glass. I looked at the globe sitting on the floor between the bookcases and his chair and protested. "It sounds terrible; I wouldn't want to live on a glass earth."

"It will be wonderful," he would say. "We will pick our nourishment out of the air." I looked at the blue veins along the backs of his hands — he used to let me trace them with my finger and watch them flatten and fill — and wondered what Grandpa would find to do in such a place. Every afternoon, leaning on his cane, he still walked the railroad tracks beside the family chemical plant next door, noting signs of expansion or waste.

But I knew when he got started on the Bible or the Doctrine and Covenants, I was lost. I could only smile and listen, hoping he would go back to his own history when the sermon was over. Grandpa intertwined our family history with the scriptures; I learned them together.

As I recall, there were only two women in Grandpa's stories — the old lady who rolled him over a barrel and rubbed his limbs with whiskey the time he almost drowned, and his mother. Grandpa was fifteen when his mother was killed. He was with her at the time. He often told me about that hard first winter in Gentile Valley and the difficulty they had in getting his mother's body across the mountains to Logan for burial. She had just sent him into the other part of the cabin to change his socks when the roof of the lean-to where she was washing collapsed.

I developed the usual reverence for pioneer hardship from that story, but I didn't get any real sense of my great-grandmother's personality. It was the men in the stories who had the kind of idiosyncracies that made them memorable. Hezekiah Thatcher, for all his wealth, always refused to pray or speak in public. Not until many years later did I discover that he had a wife to match him. According to a story passed down in another branch of the family, Alley Kitchen Thatcher was not only wise, self-reliant, and devoted to the Church, but independent enough to smoke her West Virginia clay pipe in Logan.

People used to ask me if I were related to Moses Thatcher, the apostle. Moses and my great-grandfather, John B. Thatcher, were brothers, sons of Hezekiah and Alley. I don't recall ever being embarrassed by the relationship. All I knew was that Moses Thatcher had been dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve because he refused to obey what he considered an unjust request. Grandpa always spoke of "Uncle Mose" with affection. I am sure he told me the whole story of Moses' troubles but I could never remember the details; they didn't seem to matter. I didn't discover until many years later that his conflict with the brethren had been over politics. I might have known. The Thatchers, except my father, were ardent Democrats. "Rabid," my Republican mother used to say. My great-grandfather, John B., was eventually elected to the Idaho legislature. When my father ran for the same office many years later, my Grandmother said, with great passion, "I never thought I would live to see the day when a son of mine would run for office in the Republican party."

As a child I loved to tell my friends that my great-grandfather, John B. Thatcher, had given his name to a town. It didn't matter much that the town was pretty little and so far off our usual route to Salt Lake City that we never went there. It was a town nonetheless. Thatcher, Idaho, was just over the mountains from Logan in Gentile Valley, a place with a right to its name. I loved to hear Grandpa tell about the time he outran the U.S. marshal on the train between Blackfoot and Pocatello. The Idaho Test Oath of 1884, as Grandpa explained it, "made it impossible to vote and still be a Mormon." He was right. The Idaho law went beyond the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which disfranchised polygamists, to bar all Mormons, even unmarried men like Grandpa, from voting. A prospective voter not only had to swear that he was not a bigamist or polygamist but also that he was not a member of any organization "which practices bigamy or polygamy or plural or celestial marriage, as a doctrinal rite."

The Idaho Republicans had jailed or driven into hiding most polygamist Mormon leaders by 1886. Then they went after the remaining Mormons in places like Gentile Valley. Grandpa turned twenty-one that year and was determined to vote, so he and several other young men in Thatcher decided to temporarily "resign" from the Church and sign the oath. When Uncle Mose, who was still in good standing in the Twelve, heard what they had done, he chastised them for taking their covenants so lightly. But by then, it didn't much matter. Grandpa had already registered and voted, though it hadn't been easy.

A few days before the election, the U.S. marshal, who didn't believe Grandpa was any less a Mormon for his "resignation," had found him in the

field and "arrested him." At least, that's the way Grandpa put it. Maybe he simply issued a summons because he told Grandpa to appear the next day at the court house in Blackfoot. When Grandpa got there, the courtroom and the jail were overflowing with Mormons. He decided he wouldn't be missed. Hiding out in an abandoned railroad car with another fugitive Mormon, he waited until dark, then hopped the first train south. Everything had worked out just fine, but somewhere between Blackfoot and Pocatello, the U.S. marshal unexpectedly walked into the front of the car where Grandpa and his friend were sitting. They outran him to the last car, dropping off into the night. Grandpa walked home across the sage-covered hills, half-carrying his friend who had used the trip to Blackfoot to buy whiskey. "And that's how I cast my first vote," Grandpa would say. Of all his stories, this was the best. I loved to think of gnarled, scripture-quoting Grandpa as an outlaw.

The story that came to mean the most to me as a mature woman, however, was not one Grandpa told me himself, though it was about him. Dad used to tell it, emphasizing the pungent punchline, whenever we got our feelings hurt or said anything critical about the Church. When he was twelve years old, his father had been the bishop of the Thatcher ward. One day the two of them were out together either looking for animals or fixing fence, I can't remember which, when they discovered that the stake president's son had fenced off a piece of land the family had long claimed as their own. The stake president's name was Lewis Pond. If any of his descendants are reading this, I hope they will know I bear them no malice nor do I mean to cast reflections on the good character of their ancestor. It is just that the name is part of the punch line, and I can't leave it out. Anyway, Dad never tried to cover up his own father's weaknesses.

Grandpa was a tiny man, red-headed and hot tempered. As an argument broke out, Dad was sure it was going to come to blows. "I wondered if I was big enough to separate them," he said. Fortunately Grandpa and his antagonist backed off, but the bitterness remained. As Dad remembered it, Grandpa sued the Ponds and won title to the land, whereupon President Pond released him as bishop of Thatcher Ward.

According to family tradition, when the congregation refused to sustain the stake president in his action, he persisted, arguing that he had the authority to change bishops with or without their approval and that a member's vote was not really a vote at all but an opportunity to express harmony with a decision. That could have been the beginning of a bitter estrangement from the Church for my grandfather and his family, but it wasn't.

My dad, hurt and loyal to his father, said, "Well, if that's the way they're going to do things, I'm not going to Church any more."

Then Grandpa took Dad by the shoulders, looked him square in the face and said, "Now listen here, this isn't Lew Pond's church; this is the Lord's church, and don't you ever forget it."

As Dad told the story, emphasizing the last phrase, we could feel Grandpa's fire. The lesson was clear — do not hinge your faith on the behavior of other people. A church member might hurt your feelings, a leader be unkind, or a

meeting boring — but this is still the Lord's church. As a child I found that lesson an easy and comfortable one. I didn't know Lew Pond and I had never lived in Thatcher, but Dad stood before me, strong in the faith.

I don't know how important that story has been to my brothers and sister, but as I have grown older and have accumulated more experience — and perhaps a few scars — it has become increasingly significant to me. When Dad told me the story once more a few months before his death, he emphasized the dismay and fear he had felt, giving the story a complexity and a poignancy it had not had for me before. In a curious way, the story teaches allegiance to the Church by acknowledging the fallibility of its leaders. To some Mormons that probably seems like a contradiction. Over and over we are told to "follow the Prophet" and, by extension, any of those who stand in a line of authority between us and him. I learned that doctrine in Sunday School and in Primary and in my own home, and I respect it; but I also learned in my own home that it is sometimes necessary to separate the Lord's voice from that of his servants. "This isn't Lew Pond's church; this is the Lord's church." That phrase is embedded in my mind as firmly as any of the MIA themes I memorized and recited as a teenager. "Choose ye this day, whom ye will serve," said Joshua, "but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord." Yes, my Grandpa Thatcher added, but we may choose not to serve Lew Pond.

Only recently have I connected all these Thatcher stories and discovered the underlying pattern. First Hezekiah, then Moses, then Nathan — in each generation, some Thatcher resisted the constituted authority of the Church. The circle widened when I discovered the Woolley side of my Thatcher pedigree. I am quite sure Moses Thatcher's example affected my grandfather, but I wonder if Grandpa also knew his mother's uncle, Edwin Woolley, whose independence was legendary. According to one account, Brigham Young once asked Bishop Woolley, after they had had a disagreement, if he was going to "go off and apostatize." To which Edwin answered, "If this were your church, President Young, I would be tempted to do so. But this is just as much my church as it is yours, and why should I apostatize from my own church?"

The sense that this is "my church" as well as "the Lord's church" permeates my family scriptures, and I think it has had a lot to do with my own commitment to the institution even when I have been most aware of the problems in it. When my husband was released from a bishopric a few years ago for disagreeing with his stake president,* Grandpa's story came back to me with renewed power. Its mythical clarity was comforting; I found it easy to substitute the name of one stake president for another.

As I was working through this experience, a marvelous thing happened — a friend with whom I had shared the story sent me a transcription of the early minutes of Thatcher Ward and Bannock Stake. Opening that packet was a curious experience, sort of like touching the Isaiah scroll from Qumran. Here from some dark cave in the Church Archives was concrete evidence capable of confirming — or shattering — my faith in the family scriptures. I was almost

* Gael D. Ulrich, "Speaking Up: Two-Way Communication in the Church," DIALOGUE 17 (Fall 1984): 134–43.

afraid to start reading. Grandpa's stories, softened and shaped by memory, belonged to the magical world of my childhood. Did I really want to turn my historian's flashlight on them?

My reticence was soon overwhelmed by the delight of recognition. Here in this hastily transcribed record were my ancestors, popping up on every other page with their strong opinions — preaching, teaching, and disagreeing. In the earliest section, I found my great-grandpa, John B. Thatcher, voting "no" to the boundary lines originally proposed for the division of "Mormon Ward" in February 1891. His voice prevailed; the boundaries were changed; and in the next item of business, "President Parkinson moved that the north half of Mormon ward be known as Thatcher." The first bishop of the new ward was Lewis Pond.

Because ward clerks a hundred years ago did more than fill in blanks, I could hear my ancestors talking in these old records. John B. Thatcher's favorite topic was the Word of Wisdom. In priesthood meeting on 2 January 1895 he taught the brethren that "all hot drinks were injurious as being contrary to nature. Hot Baths were not good. Neather Hot applications to bruses and wounds," and then he added that "all transgressions would have to bee paid for by those who Transgress." I thought of my father eating his vegetable soup close to the boiling point, proclaiming with Paul, "Be ye either hot or cold or I will spew ye out of my mouth." Now I knew at least one of the topics the Thatchers would be arguing about somewhere in the eternities.

I read through the minutes with increasing excitement. By the time I reached the fateful year, 1912, I was deep in Gentile Valley. Piece by piece, from the rich tangle of ward and stake minutes, I unknotted Grandpa's story. It was all there. Lew Pond. The quarrel. The defiant yet faithful words Grandpa had passed on to his son. But there was more. Traced through the old records, the narrative lost its linear clarity and acquired the scraggy complications of history.

There were actually two "President Ponds" in 1912, Lewis and his counselor Joseph T. Pond. That explains why one version of Grandpa's story refers to "Joe Pond's church." No doubt both President Ponds were fine men and faithful Saints, but they were obviously as opinionated — and as prolific — as the Thatchers. They may also have been more strait-laced. At a Parents' Convention in 1909, President Joseph Pond objected to a proposal for a holiday, saying he had "too much to do to spare his boys and does not believe a holiday or playing ball is of any particular good to anyone." Reading that reminded me of Dad's stories about going with his family up into the mountains above Thatcher on the Fourth of July, building swings in the trees, and making ice cream from snow.

Yes, there was evidence even in the official stake minutes to suggest that President Pond was a hard man to follow. Grandpa was not the only bishop in trouble in 1912. Bishop A. E. Hubbard was called into high council meeting on 4 May to explain why he hadn't abided by the decision of a court of arbitration "between him and Pres. Lewis S. Pond." Hubbard said that "he would never feel right toward Pres. Pond." A month later, two high councilors re-

ported visiting Bishop William M. Harris, who "said he does not remember that he had said anything against President Pond" though he admitted there had been some trouble between him and Brother Mendenhall. "Harmony" was the favorite topic in Bannock Stake in 1912, but the more the presidency talked about it the more remote it seemed.

In fact, what is striking about Grandpa's term of bishop was that it lasted five years. His immediate successor lasted only two years, two previous bishops less than one. I am perhaps reading into the record my own affection, but Nathan Thatcher comes across to me as a loving and effective leader in an extremely difficult situation. Early in his administration he called all the men in the ward together "to see what the reason was that the Priesthood did not support him." The responses ranged from President Pond's enthusiastic resolve to help make this ward "an Ideal ward" to Brother B. J. Folkman's simple refusal "to express himself." Most of the responses were wonderfully candid. Brother Brown said "he could see he was not living up to the gospel and hadn't been since his mission. But had made up his mind to do better." Brother M. Robbins said that "if he always felt like he did now he would support [the] Bishop but [he] would not pledge himself."

Reading this account reminded me of another of my dad's comments. He once told me that when his father was a young man "he got into the habit of using tobacco and didn't go to church." Many times, Dad said, his mother would pile all the children into the "white-topped buggy" and take them to meeting alone. Now as bishop, Grandpa was in the position of trying to activate sheepherders and farmers who were encountering the same temptations, the same slackening of spirit that he had himself experienced. He closed the meeting by saying that "he felt to rejoice in [the] Resolutons of the brothers and felt as a father of the Ward that it would be more good."

What the record shows, however, is five long years of struggle — struggle to get the brethren to come to priesthood meeting, struggle to conform to a new church schedule, struggle to initiate Parents Meetings, to get teachers to attend Sunday School Union Meeting, to keep the building clean, and to put kindling in the wood box. In ward conference on 18 December 1910, Bishop Thatcher "reported the Bishopric united and most of the people are trying to do their duty. The priesthood meetings are good but more should attend." Finally on 2 June 1912 in fast meeting, he stood up and "thanked the people for the support given him as Bishop and asked them to support his successor. He testified to the gospel and stated that he has passed through great difficulties and sacrifices, but hopes to prove faithful to the end."

For ward members those "great difficulties" needed no elaboration. A month earlier, Grandpa had been "suspended" because of problems with the stake president. On 21 July he was officially released. While there is no direct corroboration for the family tradition that the ward initially refused to sustain the release, the minutes report that the presidency took great care in explaining their action. President Pond read the minutes from two hearings, and President Mendenhall explained "that there was some difficulty about land which had very little to do with the difficulty" and added that "the Presidency have

the right to suspend a Bishop who is out of harmony with them." According to the official record, the motion to release Bishop Thatcher carried with "no votes in opposition."

I wonder what minutes President Pond read in sacrament meeting. It is hard to imagine they were the same ones my friend found in the Church Archives. I bless the stake clerk who kept those minutes. Though the specific issues that divided Grandpa Thatcher and the Ponds remain obscure, the spirit of their encounter survives to instruct and chasten.

President Lewis Pond asked why Bishop Thatcher had neglected to attend meetings when specially notified. Grandpa answered that "he had not attended ward meetings for several weeks because his sheep needed his care," adding that he would "do the same again . . . if he saw fit." Then President Mendenhall asked if the Bishop felt he had the right to overturn instructions from the stake presidency and high council. According to the minutes, Grandpa answered that "if he does not think it is proper he would not follow the instructions" — and added that he would "oppose the whole church if he thought the church was in error."

The line of questioning then shifted from obedience to harmony. When the presidency asked Grandpa about certain statements he had made about them, Grandpa answered that "the tongue is an unruly member and that he had a short time ago told Pres. Jos. T. Pond to his face that he was a damn liar and that later that Jos. T. Pond came to him and acknowledged that he was a damn liar." Then he went on to say that he had not "repudiated any advice of the Presidency," and that he was "in harmony" with them. Lewis Pond responded, "Bishop we certainly think you are out of harmony with us," whereupon Grandpa "got up and said that he had nothing more to say and would not stay to listen any longer. But is glad this is not your church but God's church."

My mother and brother didn't much like those minutes when I showed them my copy. "Why dredge up all that old bitterness?" Mother said. "Do you think Grandpa was a hothead?" my brother asked. Yes, there was bitterness. The "unrighteous dominion" of President Lewis Pond seems less clear in the stake minutes than in the family scriptures. And yes, Grandpa was recalcitrant. His words sound less elevated, less worthy of preservation, in the context of an angry confrontation in a church meeting. I felt genuine sorrow as I read those minutes. Grandpa Thatcher and the Ponds were committed and faithful leaders. With so much important work to do and so few leaders in Gentile Valley, why had they dissipated their strength (and denied the power of their priesthood) by quarreling?

Yet I wonder how our official scriptures would look if we had the ward records from Corinth or the minutes of First Presidency meetings under Peter. Scriptures clarify by sifting out eternal principles from the grainy confusion of ordinary life.

It would be easy, on the basis of the clerk's minutes, to write one of those familiar lessons about obedience, to dismiss Grandpa Thatcher for his arrogance and inflexibility. I am grateful that a different lesson was preserved in the

family scriptures. The very words Grandpa flung in frustration and anger at the stake president became the testimony that healed and strengthened his son. For me, understanding something of the pain and confusion in Thatcher in 1912 deepens the meaning of Grandpa's words. "This isn't Lew Pond's — or Nathan Thatcher's — church. This is the Lord's church." Because God loved us enough to send his Son, Grandpa was redeemed in his own anger, uplifted in his own impatience, and sustained in his own weakness.

Although I am not much better at doing genealogy than my grandfather, I believe with Joseph Smith that "we cannot be saved without our dead." Certainly no fifth-generation Mormon can be saved without in some way coming to terms with the ancestors who passed on the faith. Like many descendants of the early Saints, I have often measured my own commitment against theirs. Could I have survived the burning of Nauvoo? Crossed the plains? Endured polygamy? Given birth in a log cabin? I can remember saying once, during a period of some alienation from what I considered the faith, "I am afraid the blood has run thin."

I don't feel that way anymore. The Thatcher blood, proud, willful, and cantankerous, runs thick. That it has fed and been fed by the Lord's church for six generations is a source of wonder and joy to me. I cherish the family scriptures that have helped me to understand myself as I have learned to recognize and love my ancestors, stubborn Hezekiah, pipe-smoking Alley, fallen Moses, and my own Grandpa Nate, red-headed and righteous in his rebellion.

Grandpa was right: heaven is this earth spun into glass.

A Celebration of Sisterhood

Claudia L. Bushman

I RECENTLY COMPLETED A SHORT SEASON of speaking at Mormon women's conferences, largely related to Relief Society. I do not do this as a professional speaker. I don't sell books, and (at the moment) I have no causes to further. I don't take any money for speaking to church groups, although, if going any distance, I expect to have my transportation paid. I'm usually enthused when asked but gradually cool down and wish there were some way to get out of it when the time actually comes. But I see travelling around as a great opportunity; and when I am invited, I go if I can. Besides I am very flattered to be asked.

And I have to admit there are other advantages. I like to see how things are done in other stakes. I see good friends and remeet women I have not seen for thirty years. I meet people I have heard about.

I nearly always pick up ideas for activities — new themes, graphics, ideas for class sessions, procedures. I like to trace the travels of ideas from place to place; and playing the part of the bee which fertilizes the flowers she steals from, I pass on other people's ideas and suggestions for future years. I like to "feel the pulse" of various groups, asking provocative questions in innocent ways to see what people say. I hear gossip and news of people I know.

Women's conferences focus a stake's activities for months. They involve hundreds of people in the preparation and planning, provide a climax for the year, and are times of emotional stress and release. They are now the single spectaculars in calendars which included many stake-wide events in the past. While in format most like the conferences Relief Society General Board members used to come and put on, they seem to fill the ecological niche left by the extinction of the Relief Society bazaar.

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The women's conferences sprang up spontaneously, as far as I can tell, about a dozen years ago, a genuine grass-roots movement which exists without specific direction from Salt Lake City and without an instruction manual. The first I ever heard of was organized by Charlotte Johnston, then stake Relief Society president in Chicago, in the early seventies. My sister Georgia Gates, a stake Relief Society president in Wisconsin, began a similar event about the same time. Other stakes have been holding annual events for eight years. Some do something new each year; others have frozen the format, just changing chairs annually.

For a movement without direction, the results are remarkably similar. Classes always include scripture and Church history, maybe world affairs, some crafts, household efficiency, fitness (a pseudonym for losing weight), family life, and, ubiquitously, self-esteem and depression. Occasionally a sexuality session makes a courageous move toward acknowledging real problems. For a while, I collected programs and memorabilia wherever I went; but as the repetition increased, I lost interest and threw out my collection. What I have to say, then, is more impressionistic than documented.

In 1977, I was asked to chair the first women's conference in the Wilmington Delaware Stake, to which I had recently moved. I was pleased to have this chance to build something of my own with considerable freedom and also anticipated the opportunity to find out about the stake and the people in the process. I assembled a wonderful committee and had considerable support from people in charge. In this friendly crucible, I was able to work out my ideas of what such an event should be.

My opinions were, I confess, firm. I felt — and feel — that a women's conference should be a full day of special activities away from regular life. A woman should be able to forget diapers and dishes, devoting herself to exploring new ideas in the company of her sisters. The plenary session should have uplifting talks and music, the lunch should be tasty, and the choice of workshops and classes should be tantalizing. The conference should be a pleasant day out.

Many people think these conferences should be primarily for instruction. I don't. I think they should be for friendship, sisterhood, sharing, and visiting. When I hear admonitions to "get right to class! Don't linger in the halls. And keep the talking down!" I am amused and saddened. The women are there to make human connections; learning is icing on the cake.

I dislike classes that run for fifty minutes or an hour. Of course, great labor has gone into the preparation and many good things have been discovered which must be included in the session, but a lack of ruthless selectivity often results in a machine-gun delivery and the repeated refrain that the time is going too fast. The women have no chance to comment. Discussion is not allowed. I think the presentation should be no more than half the class period and that discussion should fill the other half. People remember what they say more than what they hear.

These teachers ought to teach a few college classes where the students begin crouching for their getaway with two minutes to go. Then they would learn

that nothing, *nothing* is fascinating enough to keep a class overtime and they would not run five minutes past the bell.

Committees often select class topics by brainstorming. They they "find someone" to teach them. I am not sure that this is the best way to proceed, if the brainstorming also includes a list of "essential" concepts. I know I am somewhat chagrined when presented with the detailed outline of the talk they want me to give. Usually a speaker can take the topic and develop it with personal material, but she should have the option of choosing. I was recently asked to speak on raising my teenage daughter. Though I have two remarkable and marvelous daughters, I do not feel like discussing either of them in public. Another topic I turned down was a discourse on "thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." (Let them find someone else to do their dirty work.)

In addition to having firm opinions on teachers, I also have firm opinions on guest speakers. I am often invited to speak, not because I am either a good Christian or an excellent wife or mother, and certainly not because I improve in those roles, but mostly because I stuck it out through school and have done a little writing over the years. While I would encourage education for any woman, I feel guilty when it is used as a speaker criterion. I think we need to ask ourselves if we are rewarding things that we really want to encourage. If a life of true service and devotion is what we want to sell, there are plenty of exemplars. We should feature speakers who personify the virtues we really want our people to achieve.

From this perspective, I resent and disapprove of inviting celebrities and other out-of-town guests, like me. People come in as stars. Much is made of them when they really do not deserve it. Local people are made to feel inadequate. Besides, such adulation does something terrible to the speaker. I think it is more cultural than personal — the Church is big on hero worship — but I soon begin to feel like a fraud, and, of course, it completely ruins me for going back to my family who knows the real truth.

Such experiences give some insight into what it must be like to be a General Authority, always on the road where the less attractive facets of personal life are unknown, always speaking in general terms about big ideas to people you do not know. Always talking instead of listening, always receiving the homage of others. This treatment allows you to be gracious, kindly, charming — just about the fake way that I manage to behave at such times.

Most keynote speeches I give are from complete ignorance of local conditions. Sometimes those talks are given in the middle, or even at the end of the day, but I am not in very good condition to sum up anything as I have been giving workshops myself. I value glimpses of local reality and wish I could get more.

So I am in favor of inviting local people to give important lectures, perhaps a new person who is not yet well known. I am also in favor of using local women to make up the general faculty. If women cannot be found to speak on certain topics, let them choose their own topics. The result will be just as good.

The time between classes should be fifteen minutes rather than five. The lunch hour should be long. Displays, which encourage walking and talking, are better than a few more classes. Our first conference ended with a punch-and-cookie reception and the encouragement to linger and chat.

That first year, we had only women teach our classes. In fact, the only man present was the stake president. I am not against male teachers in principle, but the sisters have many opportunities to hear from them. Having our own women teach the classes helps to develop both self-esteem and their knowledge, planting valuable seedlings of confidence and reputation. Most conferences I go to have at least half men among the teachers now. To my mind, this is a great opportunity lost.

Nor do I like to see men serving, and sometimes creating, the lunch. For one thing, male-planned lunches tend toward the over-hearty; and for another, I think the men should be home tending the children. Besides, the tone of condescension and mock-chivalry about all those men in aprons cheerfully slinging the hash is irritating. I'm in favor of simple fix-aheads, bag lunches, taco salads, catered by Wendy's — something else.

Another lunch-time activity I can do without is the program. Inexorably rolling over any chance to talk to the women at the table comes a drama, a fashion show, a slide show with loud music, a craft demonstration, or a travelogue. I'll admit that one of my favorite luncheon entertainments was a performance by the local aerobics class. As the ladies on the stage stretched and twisted to the pulsating mod beat we sat sodden and silent, feeding our faces. I thought it was the perfect example of the subliminal message to women in our day: cook! eat! but don't enjoy it.

The displays are always impressive, but since I want them to be mostly backdrops for conversation, I am sometimes appalled by the fifty tables of handwork, the recreation of pioneer Salt Lake, the dramatic dioramas, and artificial flowers. I find myself muttering that I wish I had a nickel for every woman-hour that has gone into that decoration-for-one-day. I recall visiting the Relief Society Building in Salt Lake City one March 17 and seeing a dozen immense, intricately decorated cakes sent from wards and branches all over the Church. I found myself wishing we could put our labor into lasting things — building in wood and stone instead of icing and play-dough. Nor is this just a reflection of my personal dislike for such projects. I've know women so worn out from preparing conferences that they were too weary to enjoy them — or even sometimes to attend.

I also wish music received more attention at these affairs. I thoroughly enjoy occasions when it is. The best soloists get a chance to perform, and even better, to my mind, dramatic ensemble work is encouraged. At our first conference, all ward groups practiced Merrill Bradshaw's arrangements of the same three hymns from the "orange" book. The music director went from ward to ward to rehearse the groups and the final practice was held on the morning of the conference itself. In the general sessions, music was by the whole congregation singing in parts for the benefit of the few on the stand. The many

performing for the few is the model I like. The big choir has given way to smaller groups as years go by, but that is still my ideal of what these conferences should provide — the opportunity to work in concert for a big effect. More people should participate and fewer should listen.

I am in favor of all participatory activity. There is too much talking at people, too much group listening. I'm in favor of working with clay, craft work, and sports. I suggested a marathon, though I would never in the world run in it, for one of our celebrations. Other appealing activities are planting a tree, a group-made quilt to go to the holder of a lucky ticket, a barter booth to exchange plants and books, and making a movie. I think more effort should be made to mix women and get them acquainted. How about an oral history session where instant intimacy is formed? I would like to see some of these conferences held overnight, complete with star-gazing, ghost stories, and a bird walk at dawn. How about more field trips and women's conferences outside the stake center?

The Wilmington Delaware conference has been called "Celebration of Sisterhood" since its inception. Before moving to Delaware, I had lived in Boston where our wonderful group of women would go off from time to time for overnights which we called "retreats," now "reunions." I argued that a word more in keeping with our heritage and what actually went on would be "revival," but I did not persuade my sister Bostonians. I tried titling our first Wilmington conference "The Revival of Sisterhood," but our stake Relief Society president was a convert from an evangelical tradition and *revival* struck her as wrong. After considerable research and reflection, she suggested "Celebration," and so it has continued. At least one other stake has picked up this theme.

Our first publicity chairman commissioned a logo from an artist friend. We paid $35 for a terrific drawing of three women's juxtaposed profiles, one young, another mature, the third old. This image has remained Wilmington's design theme, but every year it changes. A flowered border replaces the severe circular bands, the hair styles are updated, sometimes the faces are cuter, and this year the women have become oriental, black, and Caucasian. Besides local transmutations, groups in other stakes have picked up the idea and redrawn it to their specifications. In these modest revisions, the cultural history of the Church is written.

Some of these conferences are free to all comers. For others, a very moderate fee is charged. Two or three dollars allows for a nice lunch and some working capital for women as efficient as our Relief Society sisters. Even with this modest amount, some manage incredible displays, handouts, and favors. T-shirts are now widely available — often at reasonable extra cost, and I have seen hats. A group in Baltimore gets the prize, I think. One year they provided tote bags silk-screened with the conference logo. Just recently they served lunch on individual wood cutting boards, again with the logo handsomely applied. These favors were included in the registration cost.

In Wilmington we have gone in for publication. Several times we have printed poetry and essay collections, also a cookbook of prized family recipes,

each with a story, and another of company dishes. This year a group of spiritual experiences was gathered up and reproduced. Every now and then, someone uses one of these anthologies for a talk or remarks on her pride at seeing her name in print, making such efforts, I think, valuable and useful.

One of my firmest opinions is about what women need to hear. Being told the many things essential for women to do is not helpful. Self-improvement still has a place, especially in the classes. Lists, the backbone of many talks and articles, are also popular; but I think what women most want these days is comfort. They need assurance that their efforts are appreciated. They need some hope that the requirements set before them have some limits. They also want real scriptural guideposts to cling to that relate to their lives.

Instead of talks about how women should lose themselves in the service of others to be happy, I think women should be told to indulge themselves. Do they feel deprived? Are they longing for a new dress, some time to themselves, a new appliance, a university class? Well then, instead of working to suppress and deny their desires, they should think how to go about getting them. Many heart-felt desires *can* be achieved.

I think the results of such a strategy are far more positive than self denial. Then, ideally, we can react to each others' needs from a sense of contentment rather than suffering. It is much easier to perceive the real needs of someone else when our own have been met — if only partially.

In giving a recent talk, the hostess introduced me as someone who knew how important it was to be selfish. At the time, I rather resented it; but since then, I have been busily turning selfishness into a virtue, and I think there is much to be said for it.

I tell people to compromise, to resist the pernicious adage that "whatever is worth doing is worth doing well." Rigorous care lavished indiscriminately on small things limits the number and variety of things that can be done. I say that people should do the things they have to, then the things they want to, and last the things they should do. My favorite aphorism — it came to me by revelation — is "If you keep up, you'll never get ahead." It justifies desirable selective neglect.

Maybe I'm just not as ambitious as I used to be, but I've developed a new strategy for contentment. It's called the 10 percent solution and is based on the idea that we generally have almost enough to be happy. We could get by with just a little more than we have now — money, things, beauty, talent, housing amenities, achievement of children, and so on into the night.

To put this strategy into effect, consciously reduce any list of desires by 10 percent. Do it with the list of things you plan to do today. If money is tight this week, cross a few items off the grocery list. Is Christmas too much? Cut down planned activities 10 percent. Eliminate 10 percent of the clothes you pack to take on vacation. Think of what you require of your children and knock a few off. Great peace has come to our home since I moderated my requests of my children. At least sometimes.

This strategy allows the old gnawings of ambition, envy, and covetousness to be laid to rest. It is almost as good as having everything you want to be

satisfied with what you have. Maybe it's better. Being content with your lot is the best revenge. No one can put you down. You are unassailable. This position equals, maybe surpasses, success.

My favorite scripture is, "Surely the Lord requires nothing of his children but to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly before thy God" (Mic. 6:8). I am very partial to this scripture for the completeness of the requirements, for measuring attitude rather than action, and for talking about things that can be managed. This limitation of duties is a great comfort, tracing as it does the relationship between the individual and Deity and saying nothing about food storage, genealogy, 100 percent attendance, visiting teaching, family home evening, and other ambitious, time- and labor-intensive improvement schemes of the contemporary church.

A final opinion I have involves the larger question of conferences and the needs they meet. Conferences are once a year. Sisterhood is a daily need. Our Church provides such an image of unity and structure and a place for people to belong that many envy it. One non-Mormon friend told me how much she wanted to be part of a group — to belong. When I replied that everybody felt that way, she said that I couldn't possibly understand as I had the Mormons. Well, yes and no. It is true that we are all bound together. We have a structure with service built in and we would do anything for each other. At least someone would do it, out of duty, if not out of love. But for all that, we have plenty of tension and troubles. We are bound together by our mutual dislikes, our hurt feelings, and our insecurities just as surely as by love and service.

People constantly complain of cliques and enclaves, of judgments and inadequacies in our little groups. They feel left out. They have part-member families, they don't live the Word of Wisdom, they are too shy to speak in church, they didn't go on missions, etc., etc. They think some wonderful hidden life is going on without them. I'd estimate that the majority of faithful Church members feel out of it for not measuring up to some idea or other while, on the other hand, some of those who feel most secure have little reason to be so, when measured by the same requirements. I often feel "out of it" myself, and who is more in it than I? Are we all in need of conversion or grace?

The solution seems to be to belong to a group within the group. Such groups become the really important membership units in the Church. That is why I think women's groups are so strong and important. Our best friends are the ones we work with, not work on. Groups of officers, classes, and committees provide the best support and friendship groups. I am currently touting the choir (which I direct) as the best, most collegial, more rewarding subgroup in our ward.

So, yes to conferences, but yes in perspective. I think it is all important for women to have groups and gatherings apart from church meetings in general. These gatherings encourage and strengthen sisterly bonds within the larger organizations so that women actually care more about each other. They are bound to all those other women with whom they originally felt little or nothing in common and find themselves true sisters.

In women's gatherings, we have the secret combinations and mythic rites of sisters together. We pass around the approval that makes us all feel like successes, if only momentarily. So long live women's conferences! They are currently the best effort of the Church to bring sisters together. May they continue in their subtle variations and bloom even as the lives of the sisters who participate in them.

"No More Strangers and Foreigners"

Nell Folkman

As I look back on more than sixty years in the Church, two changes stand out as being most significant: I have seen my church permit all worthy male members to hold the priesthood, and I have seen my church become truly international in its scope. I get the feeling, however, that the younger generations who are now local leaders do not recognize the revolutionary nature of these changes in the same way that I see them from the perspective of growing up Mormon in small-town Utah.

In those years before World War II, the red rock mountains of the Pavant Range that ringed Sevier Valley circumscribed our lives as well. People who were born there, also lived and married there, raised their children there, watched them do the same, and were finally buried in the cemetery above the canal. The few outsiders who came were always strangers and were looked upon with suspicion. I had heard about people who bore the "curse of Cain," but I was teenage before I saw a black person, in college when I first spoke to one.

True, this closed shell cracked narrowly when I was fourteen and my father took me to San Francisco for the World's Fair. The shiver of excitement and goosebumps of wonder at seeing skyscrapers, the ocean, billows of fog rolling in through the Golden Gate, China Town, the ferry ride to Treasure Island and the lights of the World's Fair remain with me. I had never imagined that such wonderful places and strange and exotic people existed.

World War II changed all of us. The world no longer consisted simply of Utah. As I became acquainted with people from other races and cultures, they forced the crack wider and I learned that their spirits were as beautiful as those of members of the Church. Yet in the 1940s, when I brought a dark-skinned Polynesian sister to my home ward, people stared and whispered. No one spoke

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to either of us, and some later asked my mother why she permitted me to do such a thing.

As the years passed, expressions of prejudice and bigotry by many Church members troubled me. Both in Utah and away, they continued long after racist attitudes were considered inappropriate in most places. What troubled me more was that these insensitive words so often came from "good" people of the Church, noted for living the gospel. Furthermore, such expressions appeared to receive church sanction. I felt I was doing right, but I seemed so out of step. I reasoned that this might be why I didn't have the spiritual experiences that others related in testimony meetings. Criticized by many members, and by some local Church leaders as well, for my concern with civil rights for black people, I felt alienated from the body of the Church for a long time; but I continued to be active.

It was, therefore, even more meaningful to me that my first profound spiritual experience came with a humble, even despairing people, who knew nothing of the gospel but who had such dignity and strength of character that their relationship to God could not be questioned.

It occurred a few years ago in Mexico when my husband, a rural sociologist, and I were among the nearly three thousand participants in the Quinto Congresso Mundial de Sociologia Rural (Fifth International Congress of Rural Sociology). It was my first trip to a Third World country, and I reacted to everything with that same wide-eyed wonder I had felt as a fourteen-year-old in San Francisco. In that short week, I was immersed in problems which were beyond the scope of my imagination. Impressions of that trip are still etched in my mind with photographic clarity.

My stomach churned with nervous anticipation as the bus edged away from the University of Mexico that morning. Of the nearly fifty people on the bus, about half were professional sociologists representing a dozen countries world-wide; the rest were students from the University of Mexico. Only two others were from the United States.

We were headed east of Mexico City to one of Mexico's smallest and poorest states, Tlaxcala, where we could visit some *ejidos* — farmers' collectives — which had been established following breakups of haciendas during various periods of land reform.

As we rode through the crowded streets of Mexico City, the destiny of the population overwhelmed me. I suddenly understood how the Church here could increase by tens of thousands of members each year. Cars jockeyed for position in already full streets; people stood in long lines waiting for buses; houses hugged each other along narrow streets. I couldn't tell if they were being built up or torn down: walls half standing, loose bricks strewn about, incomplete roofs.

Miles of green soccer fields were an open, empty, contrast to the crowded streets. Few players practiced at that early hour — mostly small children busy playing Mexico's favorite game. City dumps crawled with people, sorting and sifting the refuse. Shacks, made from scrounged materials, looked as if they were in imminent danger of falling down.

Then we emerged into open country. Farm lands were interspersed with huge factories, giant magnets pulling the iron-filing work force through the gates.

Beyond Puebla, the road climbed toward the high plateau. One volcanic peak soared above endless miles of grassland where prized bulls were once raised for honor and glory in bullfight arenas. The crumbling hacienda hinted at former grandeur.

A village of a dozen or so widely scattered, identical cinderblock dwellings, of perhaps two rooms, lay a few miles beyond the hacienda. A few bright geraniums sat in pots on covered cement patios cluttered with farm tools and diverse objects waiting to be used. Two brown-eyed children laughed as they competed on the swings in the summer-abandoned schoolyard.

Campesinos in faded blue jeans and straw hats gathered for our meeting outside the long cinderblock meeting hall. Smoking and talking in low tones, they eyed the approaching strangers. The women came later, carefully picking their way down the dirt roads, sidestepping mud puddles left from the night's rain. They stopped just short of the men, their shawls drawn tightly around themselves and their babies against a cool wind. I was embarrassed to be intruding on their lives, embarrassed that, with all my education, I couldn't speak to them.

One of the first uprisings by *campesinos* occurred here at *Tierra y Libertad* in about 1910. Led by Zapata, these peasants were encouraged to strike against the near-slavery conditions enforced by the hacienda. In the fields they stood in unsuccessful protest — farm implements their only weapons against government soldiers.

In later reforms they received some land and formed the *Ejido Colective Tierra y Libertad.* In this *ejido,* each man of the collective owned a small piece of land which he could farm as he wished. Members also worked on the collective farm. Tools and machinery, as well as profits from the collective, were shared.

Community leaders discussed their *ejido*'s history and problems. (Our translator, a young woman from Mexico City, had difficulty with rural expressions. A volunteer from a multi-national corporation in Mexico City, she was as new to this experience as we were.) While this land had been suitable for grazing bulls, it was poor land for farming. The growing season of the high plateau was too short for most crops except barley and potatoes. Their harvest often coincided with the rainiest weather. Half the time, the crops were lost, perpetuating their poverty.

"If we had better seeds," they said, "plants bred for this high altitude, crops might mature and be ready for harvest before the rainy season. We were never trained to farm," they went on. "We need someone to come and teach us good farming practices."

They talked of their growing population. "There is no more land. Our plots are too small to divide. Our children are precious; we don't want them to leave home and try to find a job in the city. There are already too many people looking for jobs and there are none."

Land reform had promised freedom and a move up from poverty for the *campesinos*. But perhaps the *ejidos* were an empty dream. Only the poorest land was taken from the large land holders. Although the *campesinos* gained political freedom, the continuing poverty held them in bondage as surely as before.

This was the story we heard again and again in the *ejidos*. Still, in spite of seemingly insurmountable odds and the constant cloud of discouragement, they continued with courage, doing their best with what they had, working together for the community's success. In some places, where the government had provided training and capital, the collectives were beginning to make some progress. In others, government intervention was seen (and with good reason) as bungling.

On our last day we took a long ride, mostly on dirt roads into the remote back country to *Plan de Ayala*. Casting long shadows on the rough green hillside, the afternoon sun reflected gold from the tiny windows of shacks dotting the hill. Trod into deep ruts by many feet, rough walking paths wound from one house to another. In the tall grass, barefoot youngsters played the universal games of childhood. Their shouts and laughter echoed back and forth across the hill, blending with the barking of dogs, the occasional moo of a cow and crow of a rooster. The sun was low now, and the evening chill of the high plateau began to creep in.

We held our meeting in *Plan de Ayala*'s only public building — a small, square cinderblock schoolhouse. Inside, dim light revealed a large handworked table and a dozen or so rough homemade desks each accompanied by a small backless bench. Similar benches lined the walls. As the *ejido* members filed into the room one by one, we crowded together to make room for them. Men, women, and children came — some standing, some sitting, packing the room. It was nearly dark now, and the whir of a gas motor signaled the operation of a tiny generator which provided electricity for a single bare bulb which cast an eerie light over our group.

Beginning the meeting, our tour guide, a young doctor of anthropology from the University of Mexico, stood up to explain the purpose of the gathering. She was interrupted almost immediately by a strong voice from the rear of the hall. We all looked at a scruffy man, mustache drooping at the corners of his mouth, a three-day stubble of beard on his face, longish, uncombed hair, and teeth yellow where they weren't missing. As he spoke, the translator attempted to explain what he was saying.

"This isn't the way we do things here. If we are going to have a meeting, then we will elect a *presidente* to preside. Anyone can be nominated. You [he gestured toward us strangers] or any of us."

Someone else stood up to take charge of the nominations. The people from the *ejido* who were nominated came up in front and the vote was taken by raised hands. At first most of us "outsiders" hesitated to vote, but joined when we were chided. "Everybody vote. That's our way. One person, one vote. You! Us! All the same!"

The newly elected *presidente* looked like the stereotype of an unschooled, underprivileged, unkempt peasant. To my amazement, he conducted a model

meeting — democratic, business-like. He kept the discussion going, kept people on track, and stopped people who talked too long. Most important, he made sure everyone who wanted to speak got a chance.

Our young translator had a difficult time because the experience was so far from her sheltered upbringing. She frequently paused in her explanations, looked embarrassed, and said, "He said . . . a . . . a . . . some bad language."

Their story went like this: When the *ejido* was first formed, their leaders, better educated than the rest, helped secure the rights of the *campesinos*. Once the *ejido* got started, however, the leaders betrayed them, dividing the land and taking the best for themselves. The rest of the *ejido* members were left to fend for themselves. Because of this, the *ejido* members distrusted all leadership; this is why they had been offended when an outsider stood up and took control of the meeting without being elected.

The men spoke passionately about their *ejido*. Land should belong to no one. It had been given by God to all the people. This was their ancient way. Their ancestors hadn't understood when the Spaniards came and took the land; they hadn't objected to someone else living there, for it belonged to everyone. They realized their mistake only after the conquerors had deprived them of their own land. At this *ejido*, all things were held in common, but it was clear that the *campesinos* had not been indoctrinated by outside Marxist agitators.

One after another, the *campesinos* stood and talked. We had heard the story before, but here the problems were magnified. "You're all experts," they accused us. "What should we do? You tell us." We had no answers. We kept our embarrassed silence.

In contrast to the passive, shy women of the other *ejidos* who wrapped their feelings quietly in their shawls, these women stood up and spoke passionately about their children. They had been promised that if the *ejido* built a school, a teacher would be provided. Because education was the way out of poverty, they sacrificed dearly to build the school. But no teacher came. They had also been promised a traveling doctor or nurse to help with medical problems. The children were still sick and dying. There was still no help.

As they spoke, the young woman stopped translating, choked with tears. Suddenly I realized that I didn't need a translator to understand what they were saying. Their eloquence was that of a universal motherhood, fighting to build a better life for cherished children. Their strength was sisterhood born of poverty and hardship.

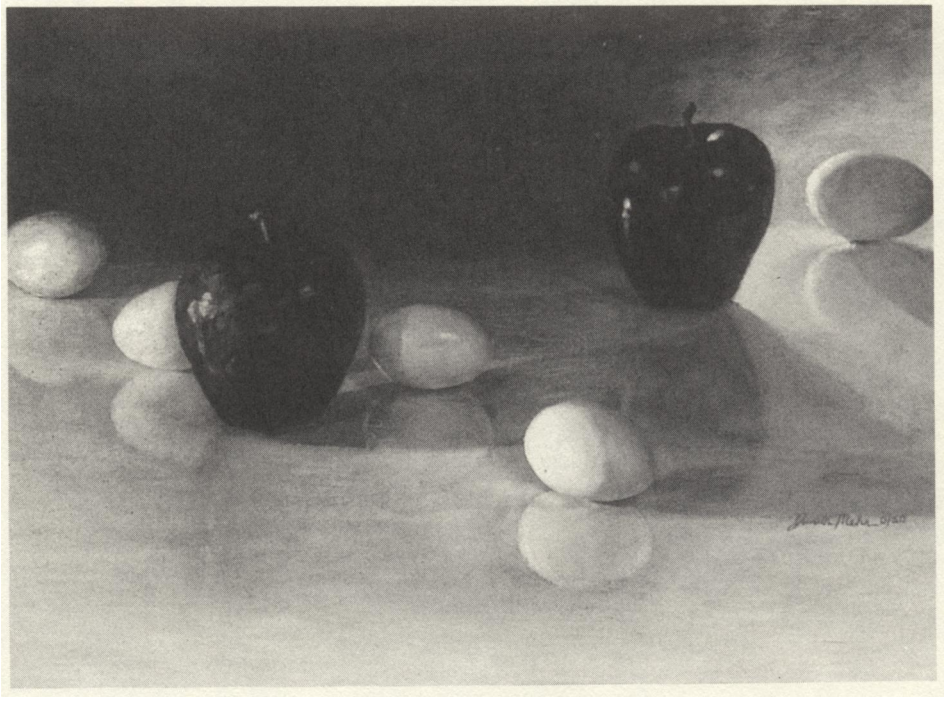
I had heard of people having the gift of tongues, understanding what was being said in another language, soul talking to soul, but I had never witnessed it. Now it was happening to me. I knew what they were saying. I felt what they were feeling. I longed to gather them in my arms and ease their burdens. If only I could! They were my sisters and their poverty and need made me poor. I also had a sure knowledge that they, and I, were loved by our Heavenly Father.

It was dark when we came out — no light from the windows, no stars in the sky. We groped our way back to the bus. Everyone was silent — we had been moved and could not easily share our feelings.

On the long bus ride back, through the dark of that night, I savored the warm feeling of love that had engulfed me. Whatever other Mormons might believe or do, my testimony was that there was a God who loved me and these who were my sisters.

I have often thought of the women of *Plan de Ayala* and hoped things have improved for them. Remembering their strength gave me strength as death and illness came to me and my family. When questions started to outweigh answers, remembering the feelings I had that night helped me feel closer to God.

I haven't been able to help the women of *Plan de Ayala*, but I hope for the day when the blessings of the gospel might be extended to them. Meanwhile, I am grateful for an opportunity to help other sisters who come as strangers to this country, refugees from oppression, who also seek to overcome poverty and build a better life for their children. I hope that in my own way I am their messenger to assure them, "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. 2:19).



Sons

Connie Jorgensen Hendrickson

New grain, you are comely;
Long, straight, supremely vernal.
Standing in Earth's sun
Unashamed green,
You sway.

I am a swimmer through
Your fenceless waves.
I watch you,
Potent, hypnotic.

Young wheat, tender, flawless plants,
For me, the sight of you
And prophecy
Are nourishment enough.

One white day the harvesters will come.
You will sing as the sickle swings.
They will draw up cords about you.
They will dance on the threshing floor where
You will sleep the sleep of Boaz
And wake to the sight of the Gleaner
At your feet,
Chaff decorating her hair.

CONNIE JORGENSEN HENDRICKSON, newly graduated from the University of Oregon (1987), has a degree in English. She and her husband, Shirl Hendrickson, are the parents of five daughters.

Meditations on the Heavens

Emma Lou Thayne

ON THE NIGHT OF 16 NOVEMBER 1985, Halley's Comet was said to be visible just to the right of the Seven Sisters, the Pleiades, in the eastern sky. That night, ten of us from the William Stafford poetry workshop walked New Smyrna Beach, Florida, to look through four pairs of binoculars, each taking a turn with each pair.

Naive, uninformed viewer of the skies, I took my turn, skeptical of seeing anything but milky ways at every focusing. Instead, after scanning left and right, up and down, I called out with amazement. Near, but not at, the place we had been instructed to look, there darted a bright, flamboyant light. I handed the binoculars to others, said, "See? See?" I wanted urgently, needed them to see. None could.

Laughing but strangely serious, we passed the binoculars back and forth, trying. Every time I had the binoculars, any pair, any strength, the light reappeared, clear as the Pleiades, the only other stars I also could spot on cue. In vain I pointed out the exact place for the others: "Look — see the star, very bright, just down from Pleiades? Now, see the two not-so-bright stars just down and left of that? Now, make an equilateral triangle with those. At the apex is this light."

All more experienced with heavens and binocular sighting than I, they all tried — and tried hard, wanted to find something as much as I wanted them to. No one saw. "You must be wiggling the glasses," "It's a UFO, Emma Lou," they said, not making fun, just having fun, not disbelieving me, yet not I think actually believing I would make it up.

At that point, it would have been easier to deny it. But I couldn't. Bracing my elbows on a shoulder or the door of a car, trying to pick the light up any-

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where else, using different glasses, taking time between viewings — no matter what, that light kept appearing to me. In exactly the same place. And only to me.

Finally one of my friends — and they *were* friends, poets I'd been working with for ten days talking about translations and being "witnesses" and having a "prepared mind," all possibilities for writers under the calm/exciting character and expertise of William Stafford, our master teacher — one of them said, the others smiling, "Oh well, Emma Lou, we know you come from a visionary background." We laughed, congenial and comfortable but still puzzled.

And then we walked home along the hard, rippled Atlantic beach. Sticking up through the packed sand in the slim moonlight, a bright shell caught my eye. A collector's item, I knew, even before Jean, our naturalist, said, "Rare, especially on a driving beach like this where cars in the daytime crush so much. It's an angel wing."

Back in my room, against the lamp, it was almost translucent, finely colored, shaped exactly like a wing from an old icon or an angel in an early Christian painting.

Our assignment for the next day was a *pantoum*, a form I'd never heard of; none of us had. It's Malaysian with repeating lines in this pattern: abcd, bedf, egfh, gihj, iajc — the repeating lines gathering new weight and freight with each reappearance. I found myself writing about the angel wing and the comet.

FIRST MEDITATION: THE COMET IS AN ANGEL WING

Angel wings are on the beach
I found one shining in the sand
One late night looking for the comet
The celestial body we'd been told would be near Pleiades

I found one shining in the sand
A long curved vapor tail
Like the celestial body we'd been told would be near Pleiades
But this was by the moon's first lifted lid

A long curved vapor tail
Striated fragile rippled bone of wave tide wind
This was by the moon's first lifted lid
The shell as smooth and rough as what we walk

Striated fragile rippled bone of wave tide wind
Arising when the comet's head approaches sun
The shell was as smooth and rough as what we walk
The beach made hard by driving in the day

Arising when the comet's head approaches sun
Angel wings are on the beach
The beach made hard by driving in the day
I found one, one late night looking for the comet

I went to bed, the *pantoum* vibrating in my mind, thinking about visions and about seeing something invisible to everyone else, yet undeniably there to me. When I woke the next morning, the first lines of this second *pantoum* were there:

SECOND MEDITATION: THE COMET IS A CERTAIN LIGHT

Suppose he really saw the vision, God, the angel.
My church owns the story: Joseph in the grove, fourteen,
A supernatural sight of extraordinary beauty and significance
While praying for a truth that had eluded others

My church owns the story: Joseph in the grove, fourteen
Not unlike Joan, young Buddha, or Mohammed
While praying for a truth that had eluded others
From unusual encounter the gift more than surprising

Not unlike with John, young Buddha, or Mohammed
It had to be believed, the unbelievable
In unusual encounter, the gift more than surprising.
Looking through binoculars the night I found the comet

It had to be believed, the unbelievable
The meteor, the incandescent sparkler writing names by Pleiades
Coming through binoculars the night I found the comet
More than white on black that no one else could see

The meteor, the incandescent sparkler writing names by Pleiades
Suppose he really saw the vision, God, the angel
More than white on black that no one else could see
A supernatural sight of extraordinary beauty and significance.

Both *pantoums* and the experience came home with me, changed me. The next night, Jean, a young naturalist who knew everything about the heavens as well as the earth, saw my "comet" on the beach, confirmed what I saw but knew no more than I about what it was. But that meant not nearly so much to me as that it still was there for me. And even that did not matter as much as simply having seen it once, known it to be there, felt the almost desperate need to be believed. Having not another soul to bear witness to my seeing that light on November 16 and encountering that need to be believed, granted me an empathy I might never have had for prophets and visionaries and people who see what I am unable to bring into my sights.

It was just a light in the sky, moving. Not a plane, not a falling star, nothing I have ever seen before. Probably not *the* comet. But it was there, real, unforgettable, a not-big light for a brilliant sky. Who knows how long it lasted? Long enough to let me think hard on shepherds and wise men and Joseph looking up to see what no one else might.

On 5 May 1986, six months later, during a quiet week in Sun Valley, Idaho, I reread my *pantoums* and discovered a third meditation on the heavens, a reason for my vision, a memory of a painting in Highland Park Ward where I had grown up.

THIRD MEDITATION: THE COMET IS REMEMBERING

Not until today this small comet in my scalp:
The clattering of memory: the painting
In the chapel of my childhood against the organ loft:
Joseph kneeling at the elevated feet of the Father and the Son.

The clattering of memory, the painting,
Backdrop to the hymns, the bishop, and the sacrament,
Joseph kneeling at the elevated feet of the Father and the Son.
Did the artist put it in — the vision — or did I?

Backdrop to the hymns, the bishop, and the sacrament,
My quarter-century there, it rose indigenous as music.
Did the artist put it in — the vision — or did I?
In the Sacred Grove, sun streaming on the boy at prayer.

My quarter century there, it rose indigenous as music,
More real now than Palmyra, where I occupied one grown-up Sunday
The Sacred Grove: Sun streaming on the boy at prayer
Indelible on knowing, like features of a mother giving milk.

More real now than the Sacred Grove I occupied one grown-up Sunday,
Not until today this small comet in my scalp:
Indelible on knowing, like the features of a mother giving milk:
In the chapel of my childhood against the organ loft: the vision.

The final comment came four months later on 28 September 1986, when I returned to Highland Park Ward for the first time in maybe twenty years. Not much had changed except the pulpit. It no longer stood above the choir and under the organ loft; designers had determined it needed to be closer to the congregation, in front of the choir seats, more visible to aging eyes, more imperative to children who might be far away.

Through the entire missionary farewell we were there to attend, I studied the Lee Greene Richards painting, still huge in the nave of my childhood church. Only the Sacred Grove was there, trees, sunlight, sky. No boy at prayer, no Father, Son. Had they ever been there? Had I really just forgotten? Had the painting been repainted? I didn't want to ask, or know.

Wild Sage

Phyllis Barber

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This short story is based on an incident reported by Al Curtis of Logan, Utah, when he was approximately eighty years old.

"My father was on a mission in England. He was sick and there didn't seem to be anything that they could do for him. Mother said that we would have a special prayer one night so that he would be able to fulfill his mission. That very night the Three Nephites came to my room. It was as bright as day, and they told me what to do. They said if I would go up and gather wild sage and send it to him, and tell him to make a tea and drink it he would get well. I did that. I sent it to him . . . and he made the tea and drank it and was well again."

Curtis described the Three Nephites as being "all in white robes, clean shaven. They looked very similar to each other, like brothers. Their skin was rather dark. They talked to me and told me my mission was to be like theirs, and it has been true. I have never been on a mission but I have made converts everywhere I have went." Austin and Alta Fife, comps. Fife Mormon Collection, Vol. 1, No. 343; manuscript collection, Fife Folklore Archives, Utah State University Library, Logan.

I SIT HERE BY MY GATE, sniffing the stalk of sage in my hand, and wonder about the leaves drifting down on me. They float past my eyes and settle on my folded legs. Summer green, pale yellow, autumn orange, cracked brown. But there aren't any trees by my gate.

A few Lombardy poplars protect the house, but they're a quarter mile behind me. Nothing grows out here except sage. I look up to see if my memory has failed me, if maybe there's a tree I don't remember. Instead, I see some-

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thing moving, something white penetrating the scatter of leaves. It keeps shifting.

The smell of sage is the only familiarity here. My husband's away; Russell just ran off to a friend's; and I'm trying to make peace with the letter that came this afternoon, the one that said Jamie was getting weaker every day. Jamie. My son in Canada on a mission for the Lord. "He's wasting away," it said.

Jamie used to play in the hay rick with Russell, jumping six bales at a time. I can't imagine him having anything but butter cheeks and bull's energy. But that letter said there's no color in his face, that his bones are sticking up under his skin. It said the Lethbridge doctors had tried everything.

It's not right, son. You're out there, supposed to be baptizing for God. What's wrong? You aren't wasting away because of that girl, are you? You'd better be keeping your promise, Jamie. I kept mine. I didn't tell.

And more leaves drift onto my shoulders, covering my head, brushing my ears that are exposed because of the knot at the back of my head where my hair is tied up tight. I look up again to catch a glimpse of the white that is moving vaguely. The leaves fall thickly, impairing my sight.

When the letter came, I was rolling pie crust thin like a sheet of newspaper. The rural carrier usually finds a way to sidle around our kitchen and take his time letting us know if there's a package or a letter. But today, he must've smelled the sickness around the edges, because he didn't pull up a chair at the oak table or tease me into a piece of pie. He laid the letter on the table like it was a hot potato and hurried out the door. I dusted my hands on my apron towel and grabbed the envelope. I smelled something too.

Russell was shining mirrors on the toes of his Sunday shoes and laughing at his reflection — the chin man from the freak show. But he sensed something when I opened that letter. He stopped making faces into his spit-shine shoes.

"He's wasting away," I read out loud, "and there is nothing anybody can do. We've consulted doctors and prayed. He's too sick to put on a train for home."

My Jamie. Cheeks sinking into the jaw bones. Teeth poking out like a horseshoe stuck in his mouth.

"I better go get Dad," Russell said.

"Your father's too far away right now. Rode over to Cousin Lyman's to help with that caved-in roof. He won't be back until morning."

"He'd want to know."

"We'll have to handle this one, Russell. No time to ride for your Dad. You don't remember when you were born looking like an over-dyed yellow chick. Royal was off doing the Lord's work, speaking at a stake conference over in Duchesne County, and you came early, all colored with jaundice. God listened to me then."

The rolling pin sat solitary on the thin sheet of dough. Russell and I, my hands covering both sides of his head, his face close to my bosom, started talking to God. We talked fast. Jamie was thousands of miles away. There wasn't much time with a week-old postmark and a letter that said, "He's wasting

away." That's something I can't imagine because Jamie can run into the side of a barn and literally bounce, fly through the air and land standing up, like a big cat or something. He hops fences and runs through dry gullies like they were graded road.

Russell and I didn't squander time. "Lord," we said, "please. Jamie's good. This is a big mistake. You can't let him waste away. He's my son ("He's my brother," Russell said), and he's leaking his life out. Help him, we pray in Jesus' name, Amen."

Russell put his shoe shine rags away, and I headed for my bedroom. I closed the door, straightened the two crooked drawers in the bureau, and knelt at the edge of my bed. Rubbing the coolness of the rose satin comforter with the pads of my fingers, I searched for my courage. I've avoided a little something with God, with my husband Royal, too. It's about being a mother and maybe being foolish for my boy. But he's a fine one, that Jamie, good as they come. I raised him and polished him like the toes on Russell's Sunday shoes. Stroking the comforter, I sighed.

"Lord," I said, but I couldn't get my mind clear of Royal. Maybe I should've told him about his son. But he'd have filled with righteousness like a calf with frothy bloat and shouted the law's the law. He'd have insisted that Jamie broke the law and must suffer the consequences. Royal would've kept his own son from his mission to Canada.

I'm sure I know my son's insides. I've watched him with orphaned birds, teaching them to fly. Nursing baby calves all night with an old bottle and nipple. I've seen him.

I saw him acting like a calf around that girl, too. Those loops of dizzy curls around her face and neck. He liked to put his finger at the end of each strand and wrap the hair tight to her scalp. He'd kiss her then. Something about that hair kept Jamie tied to that girl. His eyesight changed when she was around. I kept telling him, "Jamie, other things first. Forget that brown hair."

In the half-light of my bedroom, I laid my cheek against the comforter and let the cool soak into my face. That big bed. Me and Royal under those covers. Lots of years. "Trust not to thine own understanding," Royal would say as he held me in his long arms while I'd try to analyze a problem. He'd pat my hair, my cheeks, tell me I was soft next to his body and fine as porcelain. "Let me and God take care of you," he'd say. Fine china for Royal.

I know Royal has soft places. I've felt them. But he's so stiff about life. Flesh clings to his bones like starch; he walks like his joints were made at a tinsmith's. He carries himself like his name, like a king. He wants things precise, not like me, believing in the soft side of God.

My knees tingled, reminding me of my purpose for going to my room.

"Dear God, I know I'm just one of millions and zillions down here. I know there's lots to do in your position, but, just one thing — I know Jamie's worried about that girl, the one who tried to get a baby to keep him home. He said it only happened once, swore she guided his hands. I should've told Royal, probably the bishop too, but they don't know Jamie like I do. Jamie and me, we've been preparing for this mission his whole life. He promised he'd

tear up her picture and spend every waking hour telling those Canadians what the restored gospel can do for them. He promised me about this, Lord."

And I felt Royal in that room, almost like he was hiding under the comforter, like he was trying to sit up and tell me not to trust in my own understanding. I smoothed the depressions of my elbows out of the comforter, no Royal, and puffed the pillows high and fat.

And the leaves swirl around my face like a small duster. One clings to my eyebrow like an eye patch as if to remind me I could be blinded by my first born and think he's a temple when he's only a whited sepulchre. And then I see a hand reaching through the veil of leaves, an arm covered in white.

All day, I crimped the edges of pies and checked my bread for rising. I kept pulling that smell of new-baked bread way deep into me, wishing good things all around my self, like maybe the Lord was listening. Then I'd remember the day Jamie said goodbye. He patted his shirt pocket. I knew her picture was inside. "You promised," I said.

"I'll do it, don't worry." He picked up Royal's best travel bag and settled it into the back of the buckboard. He smelled so good that day — like wild sage. We used to rub it on our hands when he was little and put our noses to our fingers. We'd rub it into our skin until we couldn't see any trace of the sage except for the gray-green it left on our hands.

All day long, through the dishwashing and curtain starching, I never stopped reassuring God that Jamie is on the level and wants to do everything he can to spread the Gospel. He'll spread it like angel hair over the people in Lethbridge so they can't escape the truth.

"He said he'd repent so well he could look right into Your face," I told God. "Like some of those Bible people couldn't."

And the leaves swirl, the myriad leaves and the intimations of white robes.

Russell came in from chores while the sun was dropping over the west fork.

"How are you feeling about things?" he asked me.

"I'm feeling strong as the smell of wild sage."

But then he looked into my eyes. "You look tired."

"I'm fine, Russell. Don't you worry about me."

"But I know your eyes."

"What do you know?"

"Troubles."

I wanted to pull my shawl around him and me and protect us from uneasy times. I wanted to spread my shawl out to Canada and Jamie. I'd walk across the plaid, find my way to his side. I'd tell him to square his shoulders and rise up from his bed. He's a Mormon missionary.

"Baby child," I said to Russell, "I want to believe, but sometimes I'm a foolish woman."

"Don't call me your baby child. I'm almost as tall as you."

"I keep thinking you're still small, about the size where I can pick you up, keep you in my arms where there isn't anything to carry you away. Come here,

Russell. Hug me." I reached out for my child who turned away, who kept just south of my fingertips.

"I'm going to get a breath." Russell ran out of the house.

"Don't you have a hug for your mother?" I called. He walked fast, moving his legs like he was racing with a train. Out the main gate, off down the road.

I followed him as far as the gate, and then I smelled that sage, right by the gate post, Jamie's and my bush of sage ever since he was a little boy. That's where we sat when we were talking about that girl. That's when he told me he was surprised by the power of loving a woman. Now my Russell was running away from me, too. So I stopped.

I sank into the dust, Indian style. I rubbed the sage between my palms, slowly, and felt the stalk break into minced pieces and slivers. Then it bunched together like dead skin rolled off my neck and gradually disappeared into a powder that covered my palms. I flattened my hands on my face and sniffed, trying to fill myself with sage, that dusty smell of Jamie and me together out there by the road, that talk about being powerful instruments for God. We made a pact. We shook hands, rubbed the powder against each other's palms, and we promised. As soon as this lie was over, we'd start again. Never, ever, would there be a breaking of this promise.

And that's when the leaves started to fall. While I sat in the dust by my gate, sniffing wild sage, these colored leaves drifted down around me, and now they're circling in the air though there's no wind and everything's still like after a snowstorm.

Suddenly, three men step through the veil of leaves and stand over me. I look up. They're dressed in white robes. They look like they've just shaved, and they glow like the vibrating heat of a mirage, their skin darker than mine.

"Gather some sage," one says. "Send it to your son and tell him to make tea. He'll be all right."

Their faces seem to float above the collars of their robes. Their eyes are like pale stars speeding across the sky. I can see lots of time in there, time that I don't understand. Their eyes are full of pictures — planets, strange flowers, carved skins. Eyes like a mystery book, and I want to turn the pages myself, to read that book. And one of them has the leaves in his eyes. Every color from spring to autumn, changing as I look at him, and I want to ask how they change so fast, how there could be so many.

"Why did you come here?" I say instead.

"Because you love your son." The colors swirled, changing from new green to autumn soft lavendar and back.

"I did wrong, didn't I?"

The eyes reel with winter snow and gray wind. They fill with the water and rocks of an Indian summer creek bed. Leaves drift onto the surface, their mirrored images darkening as they skim the stilled water.

He smiles. The leaves flutter up out of the man's eyes, some tangling with his dark hair. And before I can say anything, the three men disappear, following after a circular staircase of leaves.

When I realize they are gone, I search for footprints, but I can't find anything like a bare foot-print, no rows of toes. I do find three leaves caught on the sage bush — green, lavendar, and rust.

"They stood right by the gate," I tell Russell late that night when he creeps back home with the rising moon. "Sure as we're standing here in this kitchen. I brought back some sage."

And I rub the sage down to a rough texture and brush it into a white envelope. I watch that gray-green fall into the pocket of paper, and I make a little tent over my nose with my hands and sniff that sage as hard as I can.

Maybe Jamie did keep his promise, I think, tear up her picture and his feelings about that girl. Maybe he did put her out of his mind. Or maybe God can see Jamie's heart through my eyes.

Dear Jamie, I write, *Here is some sage. Make some tea and drink every drop. Then you'll be well. Whatever is eating your insides out, making you cave in and waste away, this will cure all that. It'll be all right, son. You hear me, Jamie? Drink this tea. I love you.*

Polygamy Examined

Mormon Polygamy: A History by Richard S. Van Wagoner (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 307 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by Linda King Newell, co-editor DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, co-author of *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1985).

IN HIS INTRODUCTION TO *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, Richard S. Van Wagoner correctly reminds us that even though "many Mormons are descendants of polygamists, most Church members are often no better informed on the critical aspects of their polygamist past than non-Mormons." Even though the various archives throughout Mormondom are rich with primary resources on this topic, "there has been no comprehensive study of polygamy from its earliest stirrings in the 1830's to its current practice among Mormon Fundamentalists [p. vi]." He intends his work to fill this void and, despite some problems of sources and interpretations, admirably succeeds.

Mormon Polygamy is the first book-length narrative history of this controversial aspect of Mormon belief and practice to come from within the Church membership. It thus replaces the earlier, edged works produced by crusading anti-Mormons or disaffected members. But *Mormon Polygamy* is by no means an apologia. Instead, it is a hard-hitting factual narrative, and the author leaves no doubt that the practice, even at its best, was difficult. Van Wagoner's narrative focus on administrative history precludes any in-depth sociological or theological discussion of how polygamy came to be or what polygamous households were like (although chapter nine does give a fascinating overview of various views of living the principle, mostly by women). It reviews various outside sources that may have influenced Joseph Smith's ideas, looks at Mormon polygamy from its Kirtland roots to its abolition as a Church-sanctioned practice in this century, and finally follows it into today's illegal fundamentalist cults.

It documents well the conflicting personal views of many who practiced polygamy — their public support and their private hurt. Some readers will surely criticize what appears to be the author's sometimes indiscriminate use of early anti-Mormon sources. But his use of more "legitimate" diaries, journals, and letters tells a surprisingly similar story. Particularly well done are the chapters covering the clash between the Church and the federal government as Church leaders lobbied for statehood. The book outlines the struggles of John Bernhisel and later Reed Smoot working in the nation's capitol to establish Mormon respectability in the eyes of their anti-polygamy fellow legislators. At home, however, public statements and promises to the government were privately disregarded as the practice continued, sanctioned by Church leaders many years after the 1890 Manifesto.

The chapters documenting the Church's ultimate turning away from polygamy, the initiation of excommunication to punish

participants, and the rise of groups who relinquished Church membership to continue the practice are also absorbing.

While *Mormon Polygamy's* ability to cover more than 150 years of history in only 300 pages is a strength, such compression also has weaknesses. One is the author's use of an admittedly impressive range of sources without providing criteria for determining what is reliable and what may be malicious gossip. For example, a Mrs. Alexander's undated statement (p. 5) repeats second-hand information from Polly Beswick linking Joseph with Vienna Jacques in the mid-1830's but failing to mention that Polly was known as a gossip. Another example is the Martin Harris statement on the same page connecting Joseph Smith with a "servant girl." The author's citation is a secondary source with no page, no publisher, no date, and, I might add, no way for the reader to evaluate it. Even though the author tells us in the preface that he "tried to weigh carefully the bias of each source," he often does not pass his insights on to the reader.

Occasionally Van Wagoner oversteps the bounds of his evidence to make a point. From Anthon H. Lund's journal entry for 10 January 1900, for example, he takes a statement attributed to Apostle John Henry Smith — "President Young once proposed that we marry but one wife" (p. 249, 7) and concludes, on that evidence, that during 1876 Brigham Young "apparently first began advising Church leaders to marry only one wife" (p. 113).

I sometimes found the book's organization distracting and confusing. The chapters dealing with John C. Bennett are particularly hard to follow, partly because they detour from the chronological format by backtracking. Van Wagoner did try to avoid this problem, for he states in the preface: "To prevent digression from the basic chronological sequence I saved the academic discussion of controversial sources for the endnotes section" (p. i). In many places in those chapters, as well as others, the flow and clarity of the narrative would have been enhanced, and confusion or misrepresentation avoided, had the author integrated into the text much of the material relegated to the endnotes.

A few readers, no doubt, will be bothered by some of the conclusions, both stated and implied, in *Mormon Polygamy*. For example, the first two chapters argue that although Joseph Smith's introduction to polygamy came as early as 1831 when he and Oliver Cowdery were working on what is now called the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, plural marriage actually began in Nauvoo when Joseph Bates Noble performed a ceremony for his sister-in-law Louisa Beaman and Joseph Smith on 5 April 1841. The book implies that earlier documented relationships Joseph had with women such as Fanny Alger in Kirtland were extra-marital rather than polygamous. While the Beaman marriage may be the first plural marriage for which there is a witness and a reliable record, it does not necessarily follow that other pre-Nauvoo associations were not also plural marriages, whether Joseph performed the ceremony himself or whether they were done by a third party lost to the historical record.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the history of Mormon polygamy is the deception that accompanied it from its beginnings to its present fundamentalist form. There is no easy or convincing way to explain this away, and Van Wagoner doesn't try. Instead he carefully documents the deception from Nauvoo to the present, leading us to question: Where is the hand of God in a practice that spawned so much deception, dishonesty, and pain? The author does not attempt to answer that either.

Those who don't want to confront the issues raised by such a history of plural marriage may insist that such examinations of historical fact are irrelevant — or even dangerous — to religious faith. But polygamy is part of our history, an honored and legitimate part, despite its distortions and excesses. Flannery O'Conner, Catholic novelist, speaks most directly to those

people who would make acceptance of the distortions and deception that came with polygamy into a test of faith: "The [writer] with Christian concerns will find in modern life distortions which are repugnant to him, and his problem will be to make these appear as distortions to an audience which is used to seeing them as natural. . . . When you can assume that your audience holds the same beliefs you do, you can relax a little and use more normal means of talking to it; when you have to assume that it does not, then you have to make your vision apparent by shock — to the hard of hearing you shout, and for the almost blind you draw large and startling figures" (as quoted in *Books and Religion* 14, no. 5 [6 May/June 1986] p. 6).

Move Over, *Fortune* "500"

The Mormon Corporate Empire by John Heinerman and Anson Shupe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 293 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by William P. MacKinnon of Birmingham, Michigan, a Presbyterian and officer of a large, multi-division manufacturing company based in Detroit. His articles and book reviews on Western Americana and Mormon affairs have appeared in journals in this country as well as in the United Kingdom over the past twenty-five years.

WHEN IT COMES to explaining economic matters, Americans have difficulty resisting conspiracy theories and are even more fascinated with their second cousin, the exposé. Small wonder, then, that in a single week last July *Fortune* and the *Wall Street Journal* probed the undisclosed wealth of the Rockefeller family and the Palestine Liberation Organization, respectively, while Congress's Joint Economic Committee released its long-awaited report on the concentration of wealth in the United States. Within this American tradition and the LDS Church's own controversial history, one should read and must evaluate *The Mormon Corporate Empire.*

John Heinerman, a Mormon medical anthropologist who directs Salt Lake City's Anthropological Research Center, and Anson Shupe, a Methodist associate director of the Center for Social Research at the University of Texas-Arlington, view themselves as academics approaching their task — an examination of the LDS Church as "a rising, authoritarian, powerful group" (p. x)—as a public service rather than from either an anti-religious or anti-democratic perspective. The result is six chapters of uneven quality and usefulness focusing on subjects that range widely from the Church's asset value to its heartburn over articles written by some BYU faculty members for DIALOGUE.

Chapter 1 ("The Emerging Kingdom of the Saints") sets forth the book's premise, i.e., that the Mormon Church is not what it seems to be (a group of "well-scrubbed" people who have been assimilated into the mainstream of American life and values) but rather is a corporate hierarchy driven to establish over time a Mormon theocracy (kingdom) intended to supplant not only all other religions but also a collapsing U.S. government.

The driving force behind this thrust, as the authors see it, is a "post-millennialist" theology which stresses the need for Mormon political and financial influence to make appropriate preparations for the second coming of Christ. The result: a gross asset value for the Church estimated by Heinerman and Shupe at nearly $8 billion and a chain of events by which "Ronald Reagan's administration has employed more Mormons, particularly in policy-relevant positions, than any other president's" (p. 4).

What plainly alarms the authors is their belief that "Mormons are making important strides behind the scenes toward fulfilling the promise of post-millennialism.

Their success is directly related to general public ignorance about their methods and ends" (p. 28).

The balance of the book deals with the details of the holdings and influence that constitute "the emerging Mormon empire" (p. 28). Chapter 2 ("From Telegraph to Satellite"), for example, explores at length the LDS Church's investments in mass communications — especially radio, television and newspapers — and its influence with the Federal Communications Commission. This examination is, in turn, rooted in the authors' view of communications as a key element of the Mormon strategy for establishing the kingdom of God on earth. Although Heinerman and Shupe do not analyze the portfolios of other churches, they assert, probably correctly, that the LDS holdings of broadcast facilities (including the largest FM station in New York City) exceed those of any other religious organization in the world. In total, they estimate the value of directly owned LDS Church communications properties to be $547.6 million.

Chapter 3 ("LDS, Incorporated") analyzes in considerable detail the balance of the Church's business holdings in such fields as agribusiness, public utilities, securities, energy, minerals, and real estate, a portfolio with an estimated asset value of $7.3 billion. When the yield from these holdings is combined with tithes and contributions from a worldwide membership of nearly 6 million people, they calculate an annual inflow of nearly $2 billion to the Church.

Notwithstanding their alarm over the growth and influence of this economic force, Heinerman and Shupe stress the grounding of the Church's fifty-six General Authorities in corporate and public affairs and comment, "No one has ever seriously suggested that they govern 'LDS, Inc.' for personal gain. In an age of exorbitant salaries lavished not only on movie, television, and sports personalities but also on top corporate executives, the LDS leadership is an anomaly" (pp. 87–88).

In Chapter 4 ("The Political and Military Power of the Latter-day Saints"), the authors turn from economic matters to what they perceive as growing LDS influence in the armed forces, Congress, the regulatory agencies, CIA, and FBI. They then discuss the impact of this influence on such policy issues as the siting decision for the MX missile program, the Equal Rights Amendment, and legal decisions regarding abortion. After listing a wide variety of prominent Mormons in senior federal positions, the authors maneuver through a series of ambiguous and sometimes ambivalent assessments about the meaning of this LDS presence in Washington:

— "While we do not suggest they [Mormons rising to high federal office] have done so because of any conspiracy or grand design, nevertheless on occasion, as we demonstrate in this chapter, the LDS leadership has appealed to these members' loyalties as a lever for exerting Church influence on domestic and international policies of the U.S. Government" (p. 129).

— "We do not mean to suggest that all Mormons in Washington vote on or promote every policy with some knee-jerk concern for how the Salt Lake City elders will react. There is evidence to the contrary. . . . Yet many Mormons in public service are conscious of their role as informal emissaries of the Church and use their official influence to further Church interests" (p. 137).

— "The Church is bolder in Utah and more circumspect in Washington, D.C., but the operating principle is the same: the designation *Mormon* politician/bureaucrat/official is supposed to mean, at least in the eyes of some Church officials, special consideration of LDS Church interests" (p. 141).

— "While we are a long way in the United States from a theocracy, there is nevertheless a *de facto* effort under way that is something of the sort, not just in Utah but in Washington, D.C."

"Their activity does not by any means constitute a conspiracy, for much of it

occurs aboveboard though it is not rigorously publicized by the media. Rather, it is something more akin to a social movement" (p. 142).

Following this somewhat confusing, if not alarming, discussion, the book moves on to "The Darker Side of Mormonism," primarily a potpourri of various situations in which the authors perceive that the Church's behavior deviates from its image in such widely diverse arenas as the welfare system, authoritarianism, censorship, racial discrimination, and tax avoidance.

The book closes with a restatement of the Church's post-millennialist theology and the authors' perception of its threat to religious pluralism; here Heinerman and Shupe also plead for an extension of "the same criticism, skepticism and expectation of accountability to the LDS Church that Americans now eagerly employ when they examine post-Watergate public officials" (p. 257).

Although this volume is only the latest in a long line of attempts to analyze the wealth of the Mormon Church, I believe that Heinerman and Shupe have developed perhaps the most complete list of such assets compiled to date, although it is somewhat surprising to find no mention here of ZCMI. They appear to have been diligent in using a variety of advisors and specialists in attempting to arrive at asset values once property holdings were discovered. Unfortunately, much of this analysis appears to have been developed during 1982–84 but disregards the subsequent bull market in securities during 1985–86. The estimated assets of $8 billion may seriously understate the value of the LDS Church's portfolio based on current values, although the authors deliberately attempted to be conservative in their calculations.

Finally, it could be argued that Heinerman and Shupe have done a good job of explaining the religious underpinnings of Mormon economic pursuits and success and have captured as well as "outsiders" might be expected to do the operating style of the Church. In this respect, it is unfortunate that the book and its analysis of this style was finalized during the brief period between President Spencer Kimball's death and Ezra Taft Benson's succession.

On the negative side, the book is riddled with minor but annoying inaccuracies: the name of the Church's management consulting firm is mangled repeatedly as Crescent (rather than Cresap), McCormick and Paget; Heber C. Kimball rather than Brigham Young is identified as LDS president in 1857 (p. 129); the size of Utah's contribution to the Civil War effort is described inaccurately as a regiment rather than a company (p. 130); Paul Laxalt is misidentified as a sitting U.S. Senator from Utah rather than Nevada (p. 136); and the MX missile system, a project conceived to use a transportation web of surface roads, is described as one utilizing tunnels (p. 173). Missed in the process is an understanding of the economic tensions which helped to bring one-third of the United States Army down upon Brigham Young during 1857–58, the most extensive and expensive federal military undertaking between the Mexican and Civil Wars.

Of more substantive concern to me is the near-vacuum in which the authors ask us to consider their analysis; they provide no comparative information about other churches and the political/economic success of their members.

What *is* one to make of a rapidly growing institution of 6 million members — some of whom are in positions of substantial power and authority — with an asset value and annual income approaching $8 billion and $2 billion, respectively? Are these indicators even "large" or significant — let alone alarming — within the context of Judaism, the Roman Catholic Church, and a variety of Protestant denominations?

How does one feel about the numbers and influence of Mormons who have served recently as cabinet officers — Ezra Taft Benson, George W. Romney, David Kennedy, Stuart Udall, Terrell H. Bell, and

others — when one considers the hundreds of non-Mormons who have done likewise?

Similar questions arise when one considers Heinerman and Shupe's concerns over LDS censorship and doctrinal rigidity alongside Governor Mario Cuomo's and Geraldine Ferraro's joustings with the Archbishop of New York and the Catholic Church's own conflicts with an eclectic assortment of bishops, theologians, and priest-novelists. The absence of context seriously handicaps the reader's ability to evaluate the scene which Heinerman and Shupe view with such alarm.

Equally serious is the lack of clarity which the authors bring to the relationship between LDS Church pronouncements and goals and the behavior of its individual members. The ambiguities and ambivalences of Chapter 4 ("The Political and Military Power of the Latter-day Saints") have been noted. How then is one to view the theft of classified documents by a Mormon Navy yeoman on the staff of National Security Advisor Alexander Haig and last summer's espionage conviction of former Mormon and FBI agent Richard W. Miller? Are these incidents reflections of LDS Church goals or is it more relevant that the CIA's personnel director is a Mormon and that Miller's FBI supervisor in Los Angeles is an LDS bishop?

From the standpoint of the LDS General Authorities, is it more significant that Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, a Mormon, was National Security Advisor to President Ford or that as a retiree he has occasionally criticized aspects of President Reagan's foreign policy? One wonders about the authors' reaction to the post-publication chain of events by which President Reagan appointed General Scowcroft to the Tower Commission to investigate the NSC as well as Senator Ernest F. Hollings's sensational charges involving an alleged "Utah conspiracy" between Dr. James C. Fletcher, NASA's administrator, and Morton Thiokol Inc.'s Wasatch Division.

It is my belief that Heinerman and Shupe would have been more on target had they spent less time speculating about Church attempts to control the federal government and economy and given more thought to pondering the extent to which Utah — perhaps proportionately more so than most other states — is awash in incidents of securities and other commercial fraud, a spectacle on which state and federal securities authorities have commented. In many cases, a more accurate scenario would be one of individual Mormons victimizing co-religionists — as in the spectacular bombings and forgeries of the Mark Hofmann case which involved the deaths of one Mormon bishop and the wife of another, and attempts to defraud members of the Council of Twelve itself — than of a sinister, Church-inspired conspiracy against gentiles.

In 1983, *Forbes* noted that in recent years at least ten separate swindles had been uncovered in Utah involving more than 9,000 people (1 percent of Utah's adults) and losses estimated at more than $200 million. In asking itself "why?" the magazine described Utah as "fertile soil for swindles" because of excessive trust among LDS members: "Most of those bilked are Mormons, and the bilkers, too, profess to be upstanding members of the church and use church connections" (*Forbes*, 20 June 1983, p. 33).

In December 1984, Governor Scott M. Matheson's Securities Fraud Task Force noted with alarm that "the appeal of Utah to legitimate new business has been seriously undermined because of its unfavorable reputation for securities fraud." The group then noted that "Utah's citizens also appear more susceptible to fraudulent schemes than people in most other states.... [They] rely . . . on personal and religious relationships. Several investment schemes have relied directly or indirectly upon religious affiliations. . . . Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) are particularly susceptible to various schemes because faith in one another spawns promoters [who] take advantage of 'the Mormon Connection'"

("Report of the Governor's Securities Fraud Task Force," Dec. 1984, pp. 1, 2, 11).

Had Heinerman and Shupe proceeded further with their intriguing analysis of post-millennialism and its ultimate impact on ethics and individual economic behavior, we might have emerged from the thicket with a better understanding of the plight of a number of Mormon businessmen caught up in public controversies.

In reviewing *The Mormon Corporate Empire* for the Conference Board's journal, Martin E. Marty, a non-Mormon professor of religious history at the University of Chicago, noted that while Heinerman and Shupe had alerted the reader to the activities and aspirations of the LDS Church, they were too vague about what the aroused reader was to do:

"To cry out in the name of separation of church and state is not really effective. Most of what the Mormons do, one must presume, is more legal than not. . . . Insofar as Heinerman and Shupe have roused citizens, they may have done a bit to disturb the civil peace in the short run and produce a healthier society for the longer haul" (*Across the Board*, July/Aug. 1986, p. 63).

Perhaps another way to think about *The Mormon Corporate Empire* is to lay its style and orientation alongside the *Wall Street Journal*'s headlines for its 21 July 1986 exposé on the Palestine Liberation Organization: "Big Business/Aside From Being A Movement, the PLO Is a Financial Giant/It Operates Farms in Africa, Makes Shoes in Lebanon; Huge Outlays for Welfare/Yasser Arafat's Secret Budget." Both pieces are similar in tone but are worth reading with a certain amount of healthy skepticism and balance in mind.