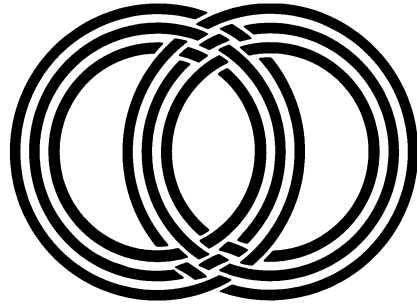


DIALOGUE

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.

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DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, letters to the editor, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including double-spacing all block quotations and notes. Use the author-date citation style as described in the thirteenth edition. An IBM-PC compatible floppy diskette may also be submitted with the manuscript, using WordPerfect or other ASCII format software. Send submissions to DIALOGUE Editorial Office, 202 West 300 North, Salt Lake City, Utah 84103. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Art Editor at the same address.

IN THIS ISSUE

Hugh B. Brown is in some ways an intellectual model for many *DIALOGUE* readers, and we are pleased to present here three articles on his life drawn from his personal papers. Elder Brown discussed his life in a series of oral history interviews with his grandson, Edwin B. Firmage, and our first article includes an overview of these memoirs, which will be published this year. President Brown's daughter, Mary Brown Firmage, discovered the courtship letters of her parents, and they provide an enticingly human side of the future Church leader. Finally, we include Richard Bushman's article on Hugh Brown as a mission president in Europe on the eve of World War II.

A variety of topics completes our Articles and Essays section. David Bailey's study describes the meeting of Mormon theology with science and proposes how that theology is strengthened by current scientific thought. Keith Norman's essay begins as satire and moves on to question the literalist interpretations of the Old Testament and Mormon scriptural creation stories; an informal study by Brooklyn Derr reveals the differing demands placed upon French Latter-day Saints by their culture and their church, illuminating the unique problems converts face in societies outside the United States. A comparison by David Peck of Mormonism and the Eastern mystic traditions concludes the article section.

With some self-indulgence we include here the *DIALOGUE* Twentieth Anniversary banquet remarks, given in August 1987, of Eugene England, Leonard Arrington, Lavina Fielding Anderson, and Levi Peterson. These four authors celebrate the diversity and significance of the journal with personal responses to the twenty years of independent thought.

In Notes and Comments, RLDS Church Historian Richard P. Howard provides an insightful analysis of how historians have been affected by the Hofmann forgeries, with suggestions on how the community of scholars and believers can learn from the tragedy. Garth Jones provides insight into the historical need to be first — to be born, baptized, or to settle an area — by focusing on family traditions of the first Mormon baptism in England at the River Ribble.

We announce our annual writing awards in this issue and hope that potential contributors will be encouraged to send us their best work. As Gene England points out in his banquet remarks, *DIALOGUE* has encouraged and provided a forum for a unique variety of essays and responses to our religion and culture, and we plan to continue this tradition.

LETTERS

Driggs Postscript

Readers of my article “The Prosecutions Begin: Defining Cohabitation in 1885” in the Spring 1988 issue of *DIALOGUE* may be interested in this postscript concerning source materials I have recently examined in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City.

My article maintained that the key legal decision bringing about mass prosecutions of polygamous Latter-day Saints was not *Reynolds v. United States* (1879) but instead the Edmunds Act (1882) and one of the early test cases concerning its provisions, *Cannon v. United States* (1885). (For complete case citations see my article.)

The Church Archives contain a document entitled “Prisoners for Conscience Sake, 1884–1892,” a digest of the prosecution of 883 Mormon men and women for polygamy-related offenses, with details on 859 of them. Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson compiled the list in 1932. It is undoubtedly not comprehensive and does not contain any individuals who were only fined, but it does represent the timing of federal prosecutions and the distribution of the types of charges pressed by prosecutors.

Angus M. Cannon was convicted of cohabitation in April 1885 and sentenced in May. At that point the crime had been on the books thirteen months, and the Jenson list notes only six convictions under it. Cannon was the first to seek appellate review of his conviction, and the Supreme Court decided against him in December 1885. Jenson shows thirty-three cohabitation convictions under the Edmunds Act

to that date. With *Cannon* decided, prosecutions for cohabitation increased dramatically. Jenson shows 106 convictions in 1886, 193 in 1887, 217 in 1888, 126 in 1889, and 37 in 1890, the year of the first Manifesto.

For the period of his records Jenson shows only sixteen convictions for the felony crime of polygamy, but 724 for cohabitation, 107 for adultery, and 16 for contempt of court, a sanction mostly imposed on wives who refused to cooperate with the government. Adultery convictions all followed the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887, which added that new crime to federal law.

In my article I stated that Franklin Snyder Richards was retained as general attorney for the Church in 1880, a date he would later recall. The archives contain a 16 June 1879 handwritten “agreement” between future Church president John Taylor and the law firm of Richards and Williams hiring them to represent the Church in “all legal matters” for the fee of \$2,000 a year, plus expenses. Given Richards’ demonstrated skills, his law firm came at a bargain price!

Also in my article I indicated that Cannon selected Richards to represent him, an assertion I now wish to modify. In 1932 Richards spoke to the high priests quorum of the Ensign Stake about his many years representing the Church. The text of this speech can also be found in the archives. Though his memory of some details is inaccurate, the speech remains a key resource on the history of the Church’s legal strategy for the period. Richards recalls that he was retained by the Church, along with his brother Charles C. Richards,

Judge Samuel R. Thurman, and other Utah lawyers, "to take charge of the defenses of the brethren in prosecutions under the law." It is not likely that Cannon retained Richards. Rather, Church authorities probably directed Cannon to Richards as the lawyer already retained to defend him and other Latter-day Saint defendants.

Ken Driggs
Macon, Georgia

Time for Compassionate Reasoning

I was so happy to see R. Jan Stout's article concerning homosexuality (Summer 1987). It is an issue people often don't seem to be able to talk about in a rational way, but one which cannot (and should not) be easily dismissed. Research tells us that somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of our population has a predominantly gay orientation (this includes Latter-day Saints as well as the general population). Research also tells us that these people are reared (almost exclusively) by heterosexual parents who are usually quite baffled at the sexual orientation of their gay children. I know; I am the heterosexual mother of a gay son. Name calling and accusations of sinful behavior (or thought) don't contribute to any positive resolution of the problems that inevitably arise.

The Church has, historically, tried to deal rationally and practically with other social (and mental health) issues. LDS Social Services offers professional caretakers to deal with adoptions, substance abuse, and family crisis. It is time to live up to our tradition of scholarship and good, compassionate reasoning on this issue also—not resorting to emotional, reactionary measures that send our gay men and women out of the Church and away from the protection and love of those they grew up with and learned to love and trust. I have met many of these men and women, and I believe the Church loses as much as they do when they leave the fold.

I hope and pray that more unprejudiced thought and compassion will be applied to these many thousands (in the Church) and millions (in the world) of our Father in Heaven's sons and daughters.

Carolyn W. Perna
Seattle, Washington

Masonic Origins Questioned

David John Buerger oversimplifies an important point in his otherwise excellent essay, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony" (Winter 1987). The similarities between the rituals of the Mormon endowment and those of Freemasonry are clear to those who have investigated this subject. The secret signs, handshakes, passwords, and penalties of the Masonic ritual correspond to the key words, signs, and tokens of the Mormon ritual. This substantiates Buerger's claim that Joseph Smith borrowed from Freemasonry to some extent as he developed the Mormon endowment.

But Buerger only generalizes in response to the important question of the source of the Masonic ritual. This question is not trivial to Latter-day Saints who believe the temple ceremony to be of divine origin. If Freemasonry is indeed a corrupted form of temple worship which was practiced, as Masons claim, in Solomon's temple, the similarity between the Masonic and Mormon rituals, and Joseph Smith's borrowing of the former, is not problematic. The old story that temple worship is the "true Masonry" would suffice. However, if the Masons developed rudimentary ceremonies, including secret signs, handshakes, passwords, and penalties sometime after the Middle Ages, as Buerger states, and therefore did not inherit their ceremonies from Solomon's temple, Latter-day Saint temple-goers would be forced to rethink the value and efficacy of what has heretofore been considered one of the most important, or at least most closely guarded, portions of the endowment.

Buerger does not provide adequate information on the development of the Masonic ritual. Instead, he generalizes, using phrases like, "Freemasonry . . . actually *seems* to have been a development" of craft guilds during the tenth to seventeenth centuries (p. 39). In another place he writes, "Historians . . . *generally agree* that the trigradal system . . . as practiced in Nauvoo, cannot *reliably* be traced back further than the eighteenth century" (p. 40, my emphasis). Buerger's quotations from Knoop and Jones are equally unimpressive in and of themselves. Buerger needs convincing evidence to substantiate the claim that the Masons developed their rituals on their own rather than inheriting them from Solomon's temple.

What seems to be isn't always what is, and the notions that people generally agree to are not always borne out under scrutiny. It would be interesting to know whether or not the Masons invented their ritual or inherited it. Buerger claims they invented it, but his evidence does not seem adequate to back his claim. I hope he will do more than generalize on this interesting question in his forthcoming book on the subject.

Ed Berkovich
Martinez, California

Straight to Heaven?

The voice of Rustin Kaufman continues: "Since I wrote the letter published in the spring 1988 issue of *DIALOGUE* responding to the England-Stout debate, I received the winter 1987 issue and read Eugene England's piece which says that there may not be plural marriage in the celestial kingdom after all. Monogamy is on a higher plane than polygamy, says Brother England.

"I've been sitting here thinking about it for a whole two hours. What *is* the real nature of relationships in the heavens? Suddenly, like a bolt, I saw the truth of it. Think about visitors from God's realm.

Have any *women* appeared to the prophets? No way. Only *men*! Why? '*Cause they're the only ones up there; that's why!*' Among the heavenly visitors have been God and Jesus and the Holy Ghost. There have been Moroni and Alvin and Michael the Archangel. Also the male angel who wrestled with Jacob, the three (male) Nephites, together with John and Elijah. *All men!*

"When the General Authorities finally get it all worked out, I'll bet potatoes to chokecherries that polygamy will be goin' on in only the telestial kingdom, monogamy in the terrestrial, and the celestial will be reserved for priesthood holders only.

In celestial, are people single?

No. The thought makes reason stare.

Something tells me —

Something tells me

I've a loving brother there.

I realize that after what I wrote about homosexuals in the earlier letter, I'm now going to have to eat crow!

"Don't you see? Just as the temple ceremony moves from kingdom to kingdom, so too does our liaison training in earth life: In the nineteenth century we were introduced to polygamy; in the twentieth century we were told to practice monogamy; and in the twenty-first century we will adopt "brotherly love" as a presentiment to celestial inhabitation. (Church visitors' centers in the twenty-first century will have display windows showing medieval monasteries as forerunners of the new posture.) The reason the Church presently asks members not to be polygamists or homosexuals is that we are still in the twentieth century, and those postures are not appropriate for our era.

"With the help of this theological breakthrough, one can now discern a wisdom more than human in the *modus operandi* of the Gods: Patiently the Almighty brings the collective body of mankind along from one stage to the next, until the human race has experienced the lower realms on the way to higher ones, as symbolized in the temple ceremony.

“Just as we move from polygamy to monogamy to brotherly love in the area of personal relationships, we can see the same pattern in so many other facets of earth life. For example, there is the idea that “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny” (or vice versa), which means that the stages through which an embryo goes parallel the stages of evolutionary development of species. Evolution appears to be God’s way of creating mankind.

“Anyway, to get a better perspective of the future — what we’re all in for in the twenty-first century — I’m thinking of pulling up stakes and moving from Rexburg to San Francisco.”

Joseph H. Jeppson
Woodside, California

Rams and Ewes

King David and King Solomon
lived very wicked lives

They had too many concubines
and far too many wives.

Time glided on, they older grew,
began to have some qualms,

Then Solomon wrote the Proverbs
(allegedly) and David wrote
the Psalms (some at least).

It is always a pleasure to read the philosophical essays of Eugene England (“On Fidelity, Polygamy, and Celestial Marriage,” Winter 1987). His summation of the joys of faithful monogamy is very true, and the longer the relationship goes on the better it becomes. I speak as an authority of sorts, having been trying it out for fifty-three years.

I liked his argument that Joseph Smith and our other prophets have not been infallible. The Prophet Joseph himself said he sometimes spoke as a man, though this is not often commented on. But I do not believe that his revelation on the need for plural wives was in any way due to lust, as some critics suggest.

Great prophets and psychics — such as Joseph Smith — are often highly sexual beings. We have only to be reminded of King David (a great and good man in many ways), or of the reputed rascal Rasputin who, while attending mass every day, living in spartan surroundings, and using his mystic power to counsel and heal the sorrowing and afflicted (particularly the little hemopheliac Tsarevich), was sexually promiscuous to a scandalous degree. This is the problem with charismatic, prophetic men: they have desire and women are drawn to them. Joseph Smith was a prophet and a charmer, but he also was from New England and had high standards of what was required in his relationship with women, so he simply made his desires possible through marriage, following the example of Abraham. (Not that Abraham was much of a model where family was concerned. He cast his oldest son out into the wilderness with a bottle of water, to live or die as the case might be, and he was all set to murder his second son when God told him not to. I have often wondered if it were Sarah hiding behind a rock and speaking through a bullhorn.)

I liked England’s reasoning about the unlikelihood of polygamy being practiced in the hereafter. But I don’t know about the arithmetic involved in figuring how long it would take a man to sort things out and make enough people to populate a world. Let us assume for the sake of argument that only one in a thousand men would want to undertake the world-making task, so to any aspirer there might be a thousand women available. That might change the statistics. A story my father told of his experience as a young fellow trailing a herd of sheep from the high mountain country of Idaho to winter in Nevada might be pertinent here: “I was taking a herd of ewes to the desert. Behind me was coming a herd of rams. I was taking no chances of those rams getting to those ewes, so we turned off the sheep trail and went right down into Lava Hot Springs

Valley. I waited till the rams went on and then got back on the trail. That night we rounded up the herd by the sheep wagon, where we slept. The rams had been taken three or four miles ahead, but they smelled those ewes and two of them got away from the bunch and came back. Those two rams probably got in there about twelve o'clock and were there till we got up at five. This happened around the first part of September. In January, ninety-two lambs were born in the desert. A great many of them froze."

Now the only thing would be to make sure of the climate, which would probably be ideal in heaven, if a man really aspired to being ruler of a world.

Gay Taylor
Redwood City, California

The Lyman Thesis

A review of Richard D. Poll in the *Journal of American History* (June 1987) led me to Edward L. Lyman's *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Statehood* (Urbana and Chicago: University Illinois Press, 1986). While I was reading the book, Thomas G. Alexander's review in *Sunstone* (May 1987) arrived, followed later by Kent Powell's review in *DIALOGUE* (Spring 1988). Each reviewer reacts to Lyman's thesis and treatment of the role of polygamy in the struggle for Utah statehood somewhat differently than I.

Lyman gives no emphasis to the strong gentile reaction to the prevailing Mormon economic system, clearly, in my opinion the primary factor in the controversy about statehood for Utah. Nor does any reviewer comment on this omission. Each is impressed almost exclusively with Lyman's treatment of the political controversy around the polygamy question. Not one of the three go behind the tortuous political maneuvering to the underlying economic reality that Mormons controlled both the local political *and* economic scenes.

What is also a little surprising to me, in view of his *Great Basin Kingdom* and his standing as an economic historian, is Leonard Arrington's statement in the *Forward*. He seems to be blessing both Lyman's thesis *and* conclusion when he praises "fresh and fine" research that "causes old timers and experts to sit up and take notice." Take notice, yes. Lyman has done extensive research into the political records. He has done this job very well, indeed. He deserves commendation for this.

The economic and political controls are clearly identifiable in the efforts of the Mormons to build, as they then saw it, the kingdom of God—not only the peculiar, self-sufficient economic system but also the government of that kingdom. The gentiles fought against both economic and political controls, and their struggle was neither overshadowed nor dominated by the controversy over polygamy.

Obviously polygamy was an important factor in the gentile resistance to statehood, but is Lyman accurate in stating flatly, "The practice of plural marriage among the Latter-day Saints was the foremost obstacle to admission of Utah as a state." He challenges, as he puts it, "two of the foremost students of Mormon politics, Klaus J. Hansen and Gustave O. Larson [who] contend . . . that raising the polygamy issue was simply a means of attacking the more serious problem of church involvement in political affairs." In contrast, Lyman holds that "polygamy was still the real objection of most in Congress" (p. 2).

Technically, Lyman may be right in saying that polygamy was the real objection of most in Congress. Most persons in Congress may not have understood the basic economic issue and its corollary, political dominance.

Lyman, of course, acknowledges the conflict over political control, and the value of his book is found in the detailed account of the struggles of the Church authorities and their changing political

allegiances, along with the extensive congressional debates. But he almost completely ignores the fundamental Mormon control of the economic system which gentile businessmen, mine-owners, and merchants found so opposed to their interests.

One exception to his disregard of the economic thesis, as he puts it, is: "While [George Q.] Cannon was yet in the East, he had occasion to converse with [Senator George F.] Edmunds and learned that the senator's efforts were not 'seeking so much to put down polygamy as to break down the "Mormon" system of theocracy,' which he [Edmunds] claimed was entirely in conflict with the institutions of the nation and therefore much more dangerous to the people than polygamy." Lyman comments, "This was but one of the admissions during the era that the furor raised over plural marriage was but an emotion-laden pretext that could be effectively utilized to arouse the public clamor necessary to implement sufficiently stringent measures to curb the political influence of the Mormon hierarchy. They were undoubtedly correct that most Americans, including most congressmen, were more concerned about polygamy; however, it was admittedly the political involvement that the majority of the nation's anti-Mormon leaders most abhorred and aimed to eradicate" (p. 23).

His footnote to this statement (n42, p. 38) is interesting, indeed. He quotes Fred T. Dubois, one of the era's leading anti-Mormon crusaders in the 1880s: "My entire thought was through my own political activities to destroy the political power of the Mormon church and in this way, as I view it, destroy polygamy. Those of us who understood the situation were not nearly so much opposed to polygamy as we were to the political domination of the church. We realized, however, that we could not make those who did not come actually in contact with it, understand what the political domination meant. We made use of polygamy, in consequence, as our great weapon of offense and to gain our standards. There was a universal detesta-

tion of polygamy, and inasmuch as the Mormons openly defended it we were given a very effective weapon with which to attack" (in Louis J. Clements, ed., *The Making of a State*, Rexburg, Idaho, 1971, p. 48).

Lyman, after noting that the Mormon leaders eagerly sought self-government as an ideal, recognizes that the gentiles were generally opposed to statehood because "as long as the federal government exercised power through appointment of executive and judicial officers and held extensive veto power over 'inappropriate' legislative enactments, the Gentiles enjoyed governmental power superior to that held by the Mormon majority." Furthermore, the gentiles organized themselves economically and "were also the leading opponents of Mormon efforts for statehood, which would permanently enthrone the priesthood in power" (p. 15).

Thus, it seems quite apparent that nineteenth-century non-Mormon businessmen in Utah saw the conflict primarily in its economic aspects and only tangentially as the "moral" issue of polygamy, which churchmen pressed nationally.

Ecclesiastical domination of local politics countered the strong national norm of pluralism, just as its efforts to build an exclusive, self-sufficient economic society countered the national preference for the free enterprise system.

Internally, some Mormons also generated an opposition to the Church's economic domination. The Godbeite movement was such a manifestation. It is ironic that the Godbeite approach, originally labeled a heresy, became the order of the day as Utah was "Americanized."

Economists do not have a laboratory for experiments, as chemists and physical scientists have, and one might argue that it would have been interesting to have allowed the Mormon economic "experiment" to run a longer course. As matters turned out, individual Mormons took to the free enterprise economy avidly and have often done very well, indeed. Temporally, the Church has also benefitted.

Lyman covers the political situation and the legislative history quite well. If only he had not convinced himself that polygamy was the primary obstacle to statehood he might have given more attention to the economic facts of life in Utah, to the nature and force of the economic system, to the history of persecution which made local control desirable, and to the political theocracy which kept the gentiles at an uncomfortable disadvantage.

Vernon H. Jensen
Ithaca, New York

The Only Chance of Success

In his essay, "I'd Rather Be . . ." (Fall 1987), Marden J. Clark argues that the arms race is fueled by the erroneous attitude that it is better to be "dead than red" (p. 142), and that if we would only disabuse our minds of this attitude, we could abolish the arms race (pp. 146-47). While Clark's goal is laudable, he suggests no viable means of achieving it.

Clark argues that the arms race is not justified because the supposed justification for it — security from Soviet domination — is not really worth dying for. "Even under the worst of circumstances, I would choose life," he says (p. 146). In other words, it is not really better to be dead than red. Life under communist oppression appears to be worth living (p. 145). Therefore, armed resistance to a communist takeover, involving a risk of death, is not worthwhile.

This logic incorrectly assumes that as long as the alternative to a war is not literally a fate worse than death, war is never justified. The Book of Mormon teaches, on the contrary, that we owe a duty to God to fight for such things as our families, our liberties, and our church (see Alma 43:45-49). When the Nephites' freedoms were threatened, Captain Moroni, "a man of perfect understanding" (Alma 48:11), led them into battle beneath the words, "In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our

wives, and our children" (v. 12). The modern "Better dead than red" bumper sticker, to which Clark so strongly objects, is not really so different from the "title of liberty," after all. Clearly some freedoms are worth dying for, even if we can live without them.

Clark argues that a change of attitude is all that we need to abolish the arms race. Once we realize that the arms race threatens all of humanity, that it causes the Soviets to fear us as much as we fear them, and that it is an issue ordinary people can understand, we will naturally unite with our Soviet brothers and sisters and demand an end to our common enemy, the bomb (pp. 146-48). "[T]ogether we can set up a climate of urgency and of public outrage that will push our leaders through a process that can end it" (p. 149).

This argument fails to account for the Soviet government's demonstrated commitment to suppressing liberty wherever possible. Acknowledging that the arms race is bad and that Soviet citizens are our brothers and sisters does not remove the very real threat to our liberties that created the arms race in the first place. Although Clark says he does not advocate unilateral disarmament (p. 148), that is the practical extension of his argument. If we believe, as the Nephites did, that the freedoms Americans would lose under Soviet rule are, in fact, worth fighting and dying for, Clark's approach is unacceptable.

Ultimately, Clark's thesis fails because he looks to temporal means to solve spiritual problems. Our "lone and dreary world" of conflict and unrest is not the result of misunderstanding the arms race, or failing to appreciate the Russians. It is the result of Adam's fall. As natural beings we are enemies not only to God but to ourselves, "and will be, forever and ever, unless [we yield] to the enticings of the Holy Spirit, and [put] off the natural man and [become] saint[s] through the atonement of Christ" (Mosiah 3:19). What we need is not a change of attitude, but true conversion.

Only national righteousness leads to national security. Our liberty and security are guaranteed only to the extent that we serve Jesus Christ (Ether 2:12). If the energy currently being expended in anti-nuclear activism were directed toward liv-

ing the gospel of Jesus Christ and spreading it throughout the world, the arms race would become obsolete in short order.

Kurtis J. Kearl
Petaluma, California

DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS

To advance understanding of the roles religious congregations play in American life, the Congregational History Project will be awarding up to seven dissertation fellowships for the 1989–90 academic year. Applicants must be candidates for the Ph.D. or Th.D. degree at North American graduate schools who have completed all predissertation requirements by the time of application. The Congregational History Project is funded by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc. Applications must be received by 1 January 1989. Further information and application forms are available from Dr. James W. Lewis, Congregational History Project, Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion, 1025 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

ANNOUNCING THE

1987 DIALOGUE Writing Award Winners

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

First Place, \$300: David H. Bailey, "Scientific Foundations of Mormon Theology"

Second Place, \$200: Margaret Toscano, "Beyond Matriarchy, Beyond Patriarchy"

Third Place, \$100: Melodie Moench Charles, "The Need For a New Mormon Heaven"

HISTORY

First Place, \$300: David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony"

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

First Place, \$300: William A. Wilson, "The Three Nephites in Contemporary Mormon Culture"

PERSONAL ESSAY

First Place, \$300: Gary James Bergera, "What You Leave Behind: Six Years at the MTC"

FICTION

First Place, \$300: John Bennion, "A House of Order"

POETRY

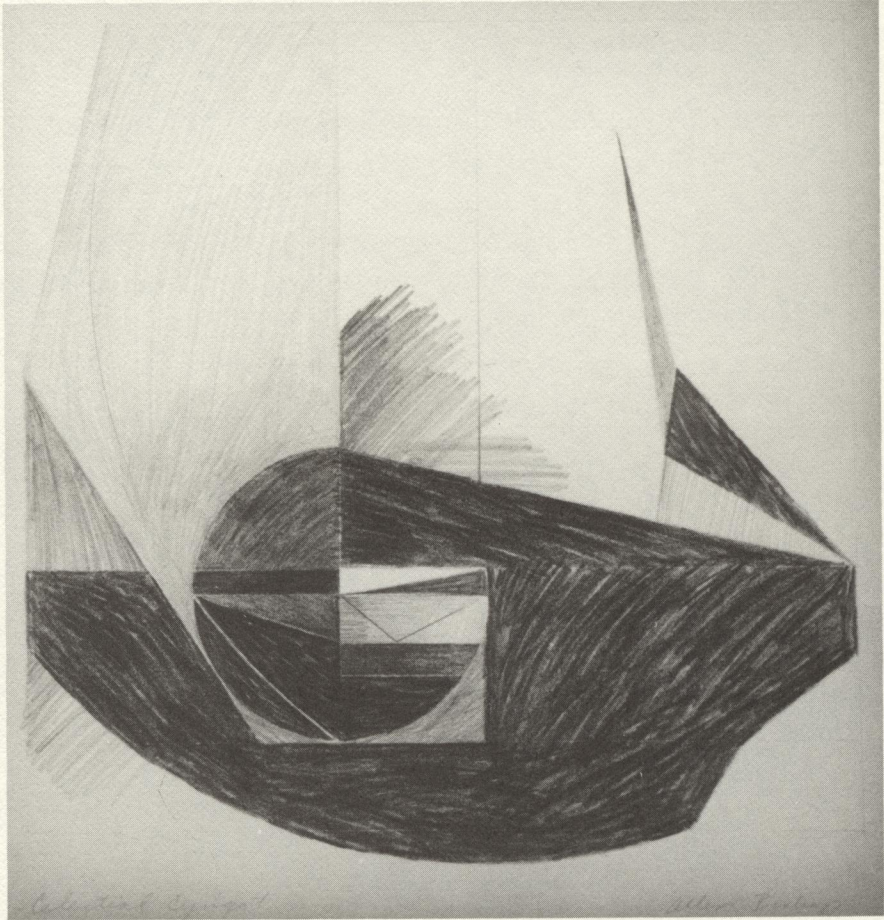
First Place, \$100: Sherwin Howard, "Lesser Voices"

Second Place, \$75: Philip White, "Three Poems for My Mother"

Third Place, \$50: Kathy Evans, "Here's the Church"

No award was given this year for the Lowell L. Bennion Essay Prize.

Rules for DIALOGUE's 1988 prizes will appear in a forthcoming issue.



Hughes Family Reunion

Gloria Tester

Southern Illinois in sweltering and wet summer.
Thunder and the whippoorwill sing strange
duets at night.
From southwestern deserts to the closest
farmhouse, we gather.

We are many kinds of people around this common name:
the girls' team and the boys' team playing
tug-o-war over a mud puddle;
the sister come to say all is forgiven;
the grandfather bent with pain;
parents of just-married children;
parents newly single, grieving or, sometimes, walking taller in a
new-found freedom;
the loudly ill, the fanatically well, and
the serene.

And there is food,
brought from ordered kitchens, or fashioned on cluttered
counters with
pride and love;
fresh-snapped beans; sturdy ears of corn;
beef, carrots and potatoes in gravied, peppery stews;
bread, basic as life and love;
mounds of chicken, fried — what other way? — and
pies with airy crusts and juicy fillings;
and milk, fresh and foamy.

It's all mine, this reunion:
Grandma's advice, the cry of my days-old cousin.
I bring gifts of cactus jelly and take home
cake and an old hymn relearned.
I come here, weep and sing, small-talk and rhapsodize,
until in dreams I drink a cool, sweet blend of
country strength and city change that
is my truest heirloom.

GLORIA TESTER is a member of the Los Altos First Ward in California and does volunteer work with the Girl Scouts and the Community Association for the Retarded in Palo Alto. She works as a word processor operator.



Hugh B. Brown: The Early Years

Edited by Edwin Brown Firmage

In 1969 Edwin B. Firmage taped oral history interviews with his grandfather, Hugh B. Brown. The following essay has been adapted from these memoirs, which will be published by Signature Books in 1988 as An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown.

I WAS BORN IN GRANGER, UTAH, west of Salt Lake City, on 24 October 1883, a second son and fifth child. Like most, my first memories are of my father and mother, Homer Manley Brown and Lydia J. B. Brown. My father was the son of Homer Brown and my mother was the daughter of James S. Brown, who were not related.

My father was a large man, very independent and somewhat difficult to live with. He was a stern disciplinarian, having been raised in the old school of the pioneers. It meant little to him to chastise any of his children rather severely.

Mother, on the other hand, was kind, generous, sympathetic, and understanding. Sometimes my mother's and father's two natures clashed. But Mother never stood up to Father because he had a violent temper, a sharp tongue, and otherwise could be very hard to be around. Still, she was loyal to him and upheld him in many of the things he did but was heartbroken by his severe discipline and unruly temper.

Not surprisingly, the first thing I remember from my youth is my father's harsh discipline. Sometimes my older brother Homer James (named after his father and grandfather) would be slapped to the ground while working on the garden. This also happened to me a few times. My mother's heart would break a little each time it happened.

I would not want to leave the impression that my father was not a good man. He loved his family sincerely and did everything he could for us, but he disciplined us very severely and wanted our prompt and immediate obedience to any of his orders. Although I admired my father and loved him in a

way, I never felt intimate or close to him. Even up to the time of his death, his awful temper and quick tongue alienated practically all the members of his family.

The person who influenced my early life most was, of course, my mother. She seemed to feel from the beginning that I had a destiny to fulfill. I remember her telling me many times when we talked intimately that if I would “behave myself” there was nothing I could not do, become, or have. She held that promise before me all my life. Mother was a soft-spoken yet high-spirited woman of deep faith. Her father had been a member of the Mormon Battalion and had filled seventeen missions for the Church — all of them after he had had one leg shot off. My mother’s influence, her faith in me, and her tender feelings for all of her fourteen children — seven boys and seven girls — inspired me to be and do the best that I could. I encountered many temptations in my early life, as all young boys do, but I always thought to myself, “I cannot do this and let my mother down.” In every case that I can now recall I overcame the temptation and never yielded to anything that would have in any way reflected poorly on my mother. To me she was an angel.

Next to my mother and, later, my wife, my older sister Lily had the greatest effect upon my young life. Lily was eighteen months older than I and looked upon me as her closest relative, next to our mother. Because of that trust and confidence, I went to her with most of my problems. She was something of a guardian angel to me throughout my young life, always there, pulling for me. She defended me even against my father and defied him to touch me whenever he was about to knock me down.

Both Lily and Mother would tell me that what the other boys in the family amounted to depended pretty much on what I did. I was thus made a hero to all of them. Any person who is held up before others as a leader has the responsibility to live up to what is expected. In that way my unique position in the family always kept me on guard against anything that would reflect badly upon them.

When I was about seven years old, we moved to Lake Breeze, west of Salt Lake City and north of Granger, where Father purchased fifteen acres of land and spent many long, hard days trying to turn fourteen of them into orchards. He built a very nice home and a big barn. We had cattle, horses, and other farm animals, all kinds of vegetables and small fruits, as well as the fruit trees he had planted. We lived there until I was nearly sixteen years old.

Homer, my older brother, had a great sense of humor and adventure. He got me into a lot of trouble because I had considerable confidence in him and would do anything he asked me to do. For instance, one day we were on the farm at Lake Breeze and Father had brought home a little donkey. Bud (our nickname for Homer) said to me, “Now, Dutch (his name for me because I had a hard time pronouncing r’s and g’s), you don’t ride a donkey like you ride a horse. You always get on backwards, and when you get on you lean forward and take hold of the donkey’s flank. The donkey will then know what to do.” I believed him, and he helped me on. Homer evidently neglected to instruct the donkey, as we went into a bucking spree. I turned several somersaults in

the air before landing sitting down, much amazed at what had happened.

A similar experience happened once when we saw a weasel. The little animal ran into his hole, and we got a spade and began to dig him out. We dug down quite a ways, and my brother said, "I think I can hear him down there, we are pretty close to him. Maybe you better reach in and see what he's doing." I rolled up my sleeve and reached down into the hole. Well, the weasel got me by the finger, and I still have a scar.

On another occasion, while we were living at Lake Breeze, the sheep men would often leave some lambs along the way between the winter and summer grazing grounds, and we would pick them up and raise them on the bottle. Bud came in one day and said, "There is a dandy lamb down in the corner of the fence. Come down and we'll get him." Well, I went with Bud to see this new lamb. It turned out to be a ram with crumpled horns. He had become both tired and vicious, and the sheepherder had simply decided to leave him there. Bud said, "If you will just walk up to him, take ahold of his horns, and lead him out, he will be all right." I went up, obedient to his instructions. As I got within about ten feet of the ram he gave a loud "Baaa" and stamped his feet. I became frightened, turned to run, and fell down, leaving a perfect mark for his attack. He did not lose the chance and knocked me several feet. Bud had a good laugh over that.

So things went on between Bud and me. But I never felt any animosity or ill will towards him. It seemed to be part of my education, although he certainly had me in trouble most of the time. But the time soon came when I wanted to get even with Bud for all of his mischief. I had read a story in which a man died, was put in a big vault, and then came to life again. He got out of his casket in the night and walked around, trying to find his way out, but kept placing his hands on the faces of the other dead men around him. It was a terrible, horrifying story. I knew if I could get Bud to read it he would react as I had. So I asked him to read it. As he read and marked the book I watched him carefully. When he got to the place where the man was walking around among the dead men, Bud was very excited, to say the least.

At the time, we slept on some hay in the basement of a big barn at Lake Breeze. When Bud got to this place in the book, I said, "Leave your book now and we'll go to bed." He put it down reluctantly, and we went out to the barn. I pulled the barn door open. Inside it was as dark as a stack of black cats. I had previously arranged for a cousin to be in the basement in a sheet. When we opened the door and he saw this ghost standing at the bottom of the steps, Bud gave an unearthly scream and started to run. I overtook him and brought him back. "That's just the result of the book you've been reading," I said. "Don't be so foolish. I'll show you there's no ghost there." I went down the steps, felt all around, and reported no ghost.

Bud decided to trust me. He went down, got into bed, and covered up his head, but he was shaking all over. I said, "Don't be so foolish, Bud. Uncover your head and look around you. You'll see that there are no ghosts here." He uncovered his head, but the ghost was standing right at the foot of his bed. He let out another unearthly scream, covered his head again, and began to

pray. I felt very guilty because he told the Lord all the bad things he had done and promised never to do any more. Finally, the ghost went away. I guess Buds' prayer had a great effect on him, as well.

When I was about fourteen years old, my family moved to Canada. Mother was heartbroken to give up her home, but Father was determined to go, and left in 1898. My brother Bud went with him, as did my sister Edna and her husband Nathan W. Tanner. (Edna and Nathan were the parents of N. Eldon Tanner, who was made an apostle in 1962 by President David O. McKay.) When my father left with Bud for Canada, he left me in charge of the farm. Although I was quite young, he said, "I expect you to take care of this land just as I have done." I took his words very seriously and did everything in my power to make good. I think I did make good in that we raised the stock, milked the cows, fed the pigs, did the gardening, planted the crops, and harvested the fruit.

During this time, I also attended the Franklin School on 700 South and 200 West in Salt Lake City. We walked to and from school in those days. It was a long walk from 700 West to Redwood Road, especially in the cold of winter. I had to leave home just in time to get to school because there were so many chores to do in the morning. After school I had to run home as fast as possible to get the rest of the chores done in the evening. I could not play ball, marbles, tops, or any of the other games that young boys enjoy because I was the man of the house and farm.

Later, in 1899, Mother and the rest of us left for Canada by train to join Father. It was a long, tough trip that took four days. Father and some others with teams and wagons met us in Lethbridge. We loaded the furniture and our belongings into the wagons and traveled by wagon to Spring Coulee, a little village fifteen miles east of Cardston, named for a bottomless spring in the coulee that boiled up like a geyser. Our little home was built to the side of this.

When we arrived we found that the only provision for the ten of us was a two-room log house. We boys slept in tents pitched outside. The first winter was very cold and was a real trial to us city boys.

One of the things I remember was that in the fall of 1900 Father purchased one hundred small cattle, "dogies," they were called. They were stragglers, weak, underfed, undernourished, and gave little promise. You could buy them very cheaply, which is why Father bought a hundred of them. Father shipped these hundred head of cattle from eastern Canada into Spring Coulee. The day after they arrived we had one of the heaviest snowstorms in the history of that part of the country. We had no shelter for the cattle, and we had not been able to get our hay in. The cattle were consequently turned out on the range where they seemed to want to get as far away from their owners as possible, scattering west to the Cochran Ranch and east to what later became Magrath and Raymond. Father took sick just after the cattle arrived and was in bed all winter. Mother was left in a log house with the children to care for. Most of the responsibility for the family fell on my shoulders, since Bud had said he did not want the responsibility.

Next to the Mormon colonies in Canada was the Blood Indian Reservation, one of the largest in Canada. Our cattle got over onto the reservation, and I used to ride from early morning till late at night every day, including Sunday, no matter what the weather was. It was often forty-five degrees below zero, and we would start out in the morning and sit in the saddle all day. Of course, we were well dressed, with heavy chaps and heavy felt boots, but it was still awfully cold. Any part of the body that was exposed to weather like that would freeze almost instantly. My nose, chin, cheeks, ears, and hands all froze at least once.

Two of the men I rode with, Bill Short and Bob Wallace, were especially rough. Bill was reportedly a murderer who came from Arizona to get away from the law. He later married my cousin Maud Brown. Bill was the best rider, bronco buster, calf roper, and bull dogger in the country and had to have a part in anything that was rough and tough. I remember riding up behind Bill once without him knowing that I was there and calling his name. He whirled around and faced me with a pistol in his hand. "Don't ever do that," he said. "I may shoot you before I have time to think." He was that type of man. Both he and Bob made a lot of fun of me for not wishing to drink and smoke.

They had little influence on my life except that they made me more than ever determined that I did not want to follow the kind of life that had made of them the kind of men they had become. This was an impressionable time of my life, but because I came home every day to my mother, I was determined not to yield to temptations that beset my path.

I remember feeling at the time that I was somewhere between two futures, or epochs. I was just finishing one and starting another. I never criticized my father for having purchased those cattle, though I did think of it as a bit of bad judgment. His decision would have ordinarily been a good one, but that year the storm had caught us before we were ready.

We had been living in Spring Coulee for two years when Father realized that he must take his family somewhere to get them in school since all of us had been out of school. (I was sixteen when I went to Canada and eighteen when we moved to Cardston. I had left the Franklin School just before graduating from the eighth grade and did not go back to school in Salt Lake City until I went to the University of Utah from some pre-legal training.) We traded our land in Spring Coulee for some farms near Cardston which we boys were old enough to take care of.

I will always think of myself as Canadian. I have a great feeling for Canada. I remember being intrigued by the Mounties. They were glamorous, with their coats and hats. Becoming a Mountie was almost at the top of my ambitions, but I never took any steps in that direction. I lived thirty years in Canada, and when I returned to the United States it took me five years to become repatriated.

While isolated on the farm fifteen miles from the nearest schoolhouse, I realized that if I was ever going to amount to anything I must make it myself.

Therefore, I soon obtained some books and began to read. The books that I remember most were, of course, the Bible, first, and the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. I became well acquainted with all of them.

I knew that I had to go on a mission some day and I wanted to be prepared, so I studied everything that I could find. I remember a little book called *Reminiscences of a Mormon Missionary*. This book had a great effect on my life because it told of a man in similar circumstances to my own. I read it constantly and was a voracious reader from then on.

The two books I remember best in those early days, in addition to the scriptures, were [Orison Swett Marden's] *The Secret of Achievement* and *When a Man's a Man*. During those lonesome days in Spring Coulee, I read these two books by lamplight in the tent, often when it was many degrees below zero. I would put on a fur coat and a fur cap and sit up at night and read.

Besides these two works, another book that touched me deeply was *Architects of Fate*, also by Orison Swett Marden. These books appealed to young men to make the best of their opportunities, and while I thought I did not have much opportunity, I was determined that for the sake of my mother, rather than for any reward that might come to me, I was going to prepare myself for future usefulness. Later on, of course, when I was in Cardston, I obtained other books and read as often as I could — books like [Plutarch's] *Lives of Illustrious Men*, *The Struggle of Religion and Truth*, and especially Harry Emerson Fosdick's *The Meaning of Faith*, *The Meaning of Prayer*, and *The Meaning of Service*.

I also had some ambition for social life, knew some girls, took some out to dances, and so on. But never during all this time did I become intimate with any girl. Never once did I do anything that I now look back upon with regret. This I attribute also to my mother's influence.

While at Spring Coulee, we lived on a road down which all the visitors to the Alberta Stake had to pass. They ordinarily stayed at our place overnight. This is how I met Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, President Joseph F. Smith, and many other leaders of the Church. I was especially attracted to Apostle Orson F. Whitney, a great poet and magnetic speaker.

I looked upon these apostles with almost worshipful feelings and wondered if I would ever be familiar with any of them. At that time I did not anticipate what lay ahead, but I do remember that I thought if there was any way in the world to prepare myself for such a high calling, I was going to do it. With this in mind, I devoted myself assiduously to getting an education and improving myself.

My mother later purchased for me a copy of the *Life of Wilford Woodruff* by Mathias F. Cowley. I learned that he was a man of the farm with very little education but great faith. Anyone who came close enough to him to shake hands was impressed by his deep spirituality. He seemed to be a man who talked with God, and I held him up as an ideal. Incidentally, he was also a great friend of my father. They had adjoining farms in Salt Lake County in earlier days.

The next man that touched my life deeply was President Joseph F. Smith. He became the president of the Church in 1901 upon the death of Lorenzo Snow, who had succeeded Wilford Woodruff. With a long beard, an attractive countenance, and a bearing proud and stately, Joseph F. Smith looked like a prophet. He sat and talked to us in our home whenever he went from Lethbridge to Cardston by coach.

President Smith once talked to my three older brothers and me about his early life. He told us he had gone on a mission to Samoa when he was only fourteen years old. He told us of the struggles he had had, of his lack of educational opportunities, and of his gradual growth. He told us of an incident in his own life when he had to depend upon God and his prayers had been answered in a miraculous way. I looked upon him as a true servant of the Lord and was impressed most by his prophetic calling. He seemed to carry with him an aura of deep devotion, and when we heard him pray at night, we knew that he was talking with God. At those times I would think in my soul, "I hope someday I can talk with God as this man does."

Of course, all men are human, and I learned later in life that even the General Authorities have faults and failings. President Smith was, in a way, a very rugged man who had been raised in the school of hard knocks. I remember, later in life, finding out that he could be very severe and exacting in his demands upon his family. But unlike my father, President Smith was also loved deeply by his family. He had several wives and was very just and fair with them. In the days of Brigham Young, with whom he had associated, the man of the house was expected to be severe and exacting and was respected for being such.

Because of my father's attitude towards my mother and President Smith's attitude towards his families, I made up my mind early that I would govern my own family by love and not by force. I attribute this determination, which I have followed throughout my life, to the fact that I knew men who were great and good, but who, it seemed to me, kept their families in awe and did not get close to them. When I married and had children, I intended to try to get close to each of them, as my mother had done with each of us.

I think I have succeeded fairly well in this, although there are many things that, as I look back over the past, I would like to have changed a bit. For example, I think I left too much to my lovely wife to do. I could have helped her more if I had been thoughtful enough. But, all in all, I think we raised our family in a spirit of love, for which my wife was more responsible than I.

All of the discipline in our family depended upon me, and I had enough of Father in me to exercise control. Still, in all our married life, raising eight children, I do not remember once having to give any of them a whipping. I sometimes thumped them on the head with my fingers or corrected them sternly, but I never found it necessary to use physical force, and I never did believe in whipping children. It would have broken my wife's heart if I had.

Zina and I never had any quarrels in our lifetime, at least none that I can remember. She was a sweet, gentle spirit. Even if I believed that whatever I

said was the law and testimony, we still never had any violent disagreements. Of course, we had the usual problems to face, and we tried to face them together. She has stood side by side with me through good and bad weather.

I do not hold myself up as an ideal, or as perfect, in any respect. Every man has his troubles in raising a family during the early years of his marriage and the teenage years of his children. And, like others, we had the usual amount of that. But I think we feel grateful now, as we look back and remember, that our children have nothing to regret, that neither of their parents went too far astray. They knew when I told them they had to do something, that they had to do it. I never had very much trouble getting any of them to feel this way. And I do not remember any of my children at any time willfully disobeying my orders.

I became a stake president quite early in my life, had been a bishop's counselor, and was in the high council before that. I remember saying more than once to my own children, as did their mother, "Remember who you are" or "You must do so and so because your father is well known." I think now that this was probably not a good thing for them. They may have felt that they were not individuals in their own right and may have looked upon me as someone removed from them because I was thirty-seven years old when I was made a stake president. Since that time they have only known me as President Brown. I am sorry to say that I have seen the effect of my possibly overbearing attitude in the lives of some of my children, who have sometimes been overly timid, fearful, pessimistic, and even depressed.

Of course, each child is different, and we have to treat them all alike by treating them differently. Some of my children have been more active in the Church through the years than others. Most have been quite active, holding positions in wards, stakes, and even on a general level. But one daughter did not want any part of the Church and has kept pretty well aloof from it. From the time she was a little girl, she resented my position and seemed to feel that I was robbing her of her birthright by not giving her enough time.

Children can easily resent their parents if they do not spend enough time with them. I tried not to neglect my family, but as I look back I realize that I did, to some extent, although I hope that I always realized that my primary responsibility was my family, my home. Now, the brethren do not all follow the same rule, but I think we are pretty much united in our feelings toward the place of the family in our public church work.

In 1904, I came down to Salt Lake City from Cardston to go on a mission to England. As I left Cardston on the train my mother was at the station to tell me goodbye. She said to me, "My boy, you are going a long ways away now and you will be on your own. Do you remember when you were a little boy you often had bad dreams? Do you remember that you would cry out in the night? Your bedroom was next to mine, and you would say, 'Mother, are you there?' And I would say, 'Yes, son, I'm here, just turn over and go to sleep.' You always did that, knowing that I was near and that you didn't need to fear any more. Now, I'll not be there when you arrive in England, more than five

thousand miles away, across a continent and an ocean, but if you will remember God is as close to you as you will let him be, and if when any emergency arises, you will call out and say, 'Father, are you there?' there will come into your heart a feeling of his presence, and you will know that you have someone upon whom you can depend."

Many, many times since then, in the ensuing sixty or more years, I have cried out and asked, "Father, are you there?" And always I have had the impression that he was mindful of me, was available to me, and would see me safely through.

When, at the beginning of my mission, I went through the Salt Lake Temple, I met Heber J. Grant, and he later helped to set me apart as a missionary. I had earlier met Elder Grant, a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, in Spring Coulee and in Cardston, and I believed that I knew the man pretty well.

When I arrived in England, Elder Grant was the president of the European missions, including the British Mission. In 1905, after I had been in the mission nearly one year, I had kidney stones. The pain was so severe that the local English doctors told me I must go home and have medical attention or I would die. President Grant learned of this and made a special trip from Liverpool to Norwich to tell me that I would be released and sent home. This broke my heart.

I said to him, "President Grant, if you will give me a blessing, I will not have to go home. I will get well."

"If you have the faith that that is so," he replied, "it will be so." He then blessed me, and I did not have another attack of kidney stones.

This experience tied us together. He remembered it, as did I, throughout his life. As the years passed, every time I crossed the path of Heber J. Grant I felt that I was in the presence of greatness. He seemed to have a special feeling toward me and told me once that he expected great things of me. He seemed to take up the story where my mother left off. I later learned that he did not have a son, only daughters, and that this was a great source of sorrow to him. He seemed to want to adopt me in a way. In fact, when Aunt Zina, my mother-in-law, went to him after I had spoken to her about marrying her daughter, he said, "Zina, I have seven daughters of marriageable age. Hugh Brown can have any one of them he wants. That's my answer to you as to whether or not you should let your daughter Zina marry him."

President Grant and I thus shared a tender feeling towards each other that lasted until his death in 1945. He was responsible for my being made a stake president both in Canada and later in Salt Lake City. I attribute much of my tenacity to the stories he told of how the things we persist in doing usually become easier to do, not because the nature of the thing has changed but because our ability to do it has increased. His stories left a lasting impression upon my mind.

Later, in 1937, when I was called to preside over the British Mission, President Grant asked me to accompany him to the mission field. For five weeks I was in his presence daily as we traveled all over Europe together. I learned to love the man and to know something of his deeper nature.

Once we were on a train going from town to town, holding meetings where we could, and were pulling into Heidelberg, Germany. As the train slowed down at the railway station, we looked out the window and saw a huge crowd. We let the window down, and the people broke into singing "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet." They were singing in German, of course, but we knew the tune.

President Grant arose and put his head out of the window. Tears rolled down his cheeks as he looked upon those people. The train only stopped a few minutes before we pulled out again. When he sat down beside me he was still crying.

"Hugh," he said, "I am not entitled to that kind of adulation. This is what they used to do for Brigham Young when he traveled from Salt Lake to St. George. To think they would feel that way toward me and to sing 'We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet,' and be referring to me. . . . I am not entitled to this."

While he was talking he put his head in his hands and his elbows on his knees and went on talking. I thought he was talking to me for a time, but I discovered shortly that he was talking to God. He said, "O, Father, thou knowest that I am not worthy of this position, but I know that I can be made worthy, and I want to be worthy. I want thy spirit to guide me in all that I do and say." This, to me, showed the spirit of the man — great humility and great faith, although he had weaknesses which at times seemed to overcome these admirable qualities.

Many of the people who knew President Grant thought of him chiefly as a financial man. They did not look upon him as a prophet like Joseph F. Smith. I had been one of these. I thought he was a great leader, but I did not feel the same towards him as I did towards President Smith. President Grant was a very tenacious businessman. In banking, in insurance, in the sugar company, and in other ways, he showed his ability as a businessman. Much of his success resulted from his tenacity to put over a deal, and in many instances, I think, he could be rather sharp. That was one of his great weaknesses — one that made it difficult for some people to support him. But I learned, and knew from the time I went to preside over the British Mission, that in addition to his financial ability, he was a prophet of God and lived very close to the Lord.

Before I presided over the British Mission, I came to Salt Lake to practice law in 1927. When I came down from Canada a question in my mind was whether I should be a Democrat or a Republican. I spoke to several people about it. President Grant at the time was an ardent Democrat, as were his counselor and cousin, Anthony W. Ivins, and B. H. Roberts. Each of these men told me at different times that if I wanted to belong to a party that represented the common people I should become a Democrat, but that if I wanted to be popular and have the adulation of others and be in touch with the wealth of the nation, I should become a Republican.

I took what these men said seriously and became a Democrat and have stayed a Democrat, even though President Grant later turned very bitter toward Franklin D. Roosevelt because he thought he was a dishonest man.

President Ivins remained true to the Democratic Party, as did B. H. Roberts, Stephen L Richards, and other men and women of those times. I never found a reason to change my own political allegiance.

Later, President Grant wanted me to join the Republicans and forget the Democrats; he was rather pronounced in his denunciation of the Democrats as a whole. I had the effrontery to tell him that I thought he had turned his back completely on his own allegiance and that he should have stayed a Democrat. We argued on this point quite a bit as we traveled over Europe. At that time, he was just changing his political allegiance, and his cousin, Anthony W. Ivins, pleaded with him to stay true to the party.

B. H. Roberts was, of course, another outstanding Democrat. Because of this, he was sometimes out of harmony with many of the other brethren, but he had the temerity to stand up for what he believed in and to suffer for it. I knew him well and was impressed with his ability as a speaker, a writer, and a leader. In my opinion, he was the greatest defender of the Church we had had up to that time. He and Orson Pratt built a case for the Church which could not be gainsaid. One of the greatest speeches he ever delivered was his disclosure to the congressional committee which was deciding whether he, as a polygamist, should retain his seat in Congress during the 1890s. He rose to great heights on that occasion. I traveled with B. H. Roberts on many occasions. He became my ideal in public speaking and contributed much to my knowledge of the gospel and to my own methods of presenting it. I owe a lot to B. H. Roberts.

I remember B. H. Roberts and John Henry Smith, who at the time was a counselor in the First Presidency, entering more than once into a powerful battle on politics. John Henry Smith was an ardent Republican. On one occasion, B. H. Roberts told him that he should wash his mouth out with soap because of the things he had said about the Democrats. John Henry replied, "I'll wash my mouth out after you have taken some lye to your own mouth and cleansed from it some of the terrible things that the Democratic party is guilty of." This was a battle royal between two giants. I thought that B. H. Roberts came off victorious, but, of course, my thinking on this is prejudiced.

More than ever, as I think back since I returned to the United States in 1927, I would still choose to be a Democrat rather than a Republican. I realize that by that choice I would be in the minority — almost a minority of one — among the General Authorities, since most of them are Republicans. But my conversion to the principles of the Democratic party has been complete, and as time goes on I become more and more convinced that the Democrats have the right philosophy, both in foreign policy and in their refusal to look back or to stand still. Theirs is the party of progress. I do not want to give a political speech, but I am more of a Democrat now than I ever was.

Even though he apostatized and was later excommunicated, another of the great men of the Church was John W. Taylor, the son of Church president John Taylor. He was a prophet and often made predictions that I lived to see fulfilled. For instance, he once stood on the hill where the temple now stands in Cardston, Alberta, at a time when there was just a handful of Saints there

and said, "The time will come when a temple will stand on this hill. At that time, you will be able to take your breakfast in Cardston and your dinner in Salt Lake City." That seemed like an impossible thing because it then took three days to get from Cardston to Salt Lake City.

I was present when he made other predictions as well. He predicted the success of the Cardston Saints' farming operations when, because of early frost, or late spring, or some other reason, it looked as though the crops would fail. He told the farmers to go ahead and plant. We once harvested the best crop we ever had in Canada after a big hailstorm when it looked as though all was lost. John W. Taylor was also a powerful speaker. He moved the people and did a lot of good, but then he got off the track. I respected this man for his life and for his devotion, but I could not agree with his opinion on polygamy.

Of those who had the greatest impact on my life, I think most immediately of Joseph F. Smith, John W. Taylor, and Heber J. Grant. But I would also like to mention someone who was not a member of the General Authorities, but a bishop of a ward in Cardston. I was his counselor, just twenty-five years old and newly married.

At this time, Bishop Dennison E. Harris was forty-five years old, and we two counselors were full of fire and needed some lessons in humility, tolerance, charity, and love. A young woman, accused of sin, was brought before us. She confessed her sin and tearfully asked for forgiveness. Bishop Harris asked her to retire to another room while we considered our verdict.

He then turned to us. "Brethren, what do you think we should do?"

"I move we cut her off from the Church," the first counselor said.

"I second the motion," I added.

Bishop Harris then took a long breath and said, "Brethren, there is one thing for which I am profoundly grateful, and that is that God is an old man. I would hate to be judged by you young fellows. I am not going to vote with you to cut her off from the Church. I am going out and bring her back. The worth of souls is great in the sight of the Lord."

We did not agree with him at the time but subsequently learned that he was right. Some fifty years later I was back in Canada to hold a conference. Sitting on the stand I noticed in the audience a woman whose face had many lines and some rather deep wrinkles. Her face showed a life of hardship and struggle, but nonetheless was a face that engendered faith. I asked the president of the stake who that woman was, and he told me. I went up to her, and she told me her maiden name. She was the girl the other counselor and I had wanted to cut off from the Church.

Afterward, I asked the president what kind of a woman she was. "She is the best woman in the stake," he said. "She has been a stake and ward president of the Relief Society. She sent four sons on missions after her husband died. She has been faithful and true all the days of her life."

Of course, the president did not know what I knew about her, but his praise confirmed to my mind this truth: The Lord wants us to have charity and love and tolerance for our fellow men. If we forgive others, including ourselves, he will forgive us. This is a lesson I have learned repeatedly throughout my life, and one I hope I will never forget.

“Dear Sister Zina . . . Dear Brother Hugh . . .”

Mary Brown Firmage

“MOTHER, DO YOU KNOW YOUR BOYFRIEND is a poor, old, decrepit, forgotten has-been? I can’t see to read, I can’t hear, my nose drips, my hands shake, I drool. Here I come, just shuffling down the hall, not good for a darn thing, and nobody loves me anymore!”

It was August 1971, and Hugh B. Brown’s name had not been included in the list of General Authorities invited to the first area conference of the Church in Manchester, England — perhaps a prudent decision in view of his waning health. Still, he had hoped for one more visit to his old mission field.

Except at rare and unpredictable intervals, “Mother” Zina had been unable to speak for the last five years due to a massive stroke. As he approached her bedside, Zina reached for his hand and haltingly spoke: “Oh, you poor, poor boy!” Her eyes twinkled mock sympathy, and together they laughed themselves to tears, acknowledging yet another pruning of the currant bush.

Seventy-two years earlier in the fall of 1899, Homer M. and Lydia Jane Brown and eleven of their fourteen children had journeyed to Cardston, Canada, seeking economic opportunity. Cardston had been colonized scarcely thirteen years earlier by Zina’s parents, Charles O. and Zina Young Card. Eighteen-year-old Hugh met thirteen-year-old “Little Zina” at a social and was smitten by the girl with golden ringlets. He turned to his mother and confided, “Some day I am going to marry that girl.” His mother answered, “I hope you do.”

The rigors of establishing and maintaining the Mormon colony eventually damaged Charles Card’s health, forcing him to return to Logan in 1903 with his wife Zina and their family. Presumably, Hugh’s decision to attend a pre-mission class at Brigham Young College in Logan the next year was precipitated by the Cards’ presence there. His mother arranged for him to board

MARY BROWN FIRMAGE presented a version of this paper at the Mormon History Association meetings at Oxford, England, July 1987 and is now serving in the England London Temple Mission.

with the Cards in exchange for Hugh's help with their ailing father. According to one of Zina's memoirs, "Hugh helped care for father so tenderly, he won our hearts."

The following year Hugh wrote from his mission in Cambridge, England:

Jan. 19, 1905

Dear Sister Zina

Your esteemed favor of the 30th . . . was read and re-read with interest and pleasure. . . . I . . . wish I could spend another winter as pleasant as last winter was.

Thus began a pivotal correspondence in the lives of Hugh Brown and Zina Card. After the death of our father, Elder Hugh B. Brown, on 2 December 1975, nearly a year after mother's the previous December, my sisters and I had the solemn joy of going through old trunks, boxes, and barrels. Among other treasures, we found a bundle of letters tied with a blue ribbon — a tender chapter in the lives of our parents, their correspondence while father was filling his mission in England. Actually, these letters constituted their courtship because many miles of land and water separated them from 1905 to 1908, the year of their marriage.

Perhaps the salutation of the next letter from 324 Mill Road, Cambridge, England, dated 15 March 1905, reveals Hugh's hope for a warmer friendship better than the "Dear Sister Zina . . ." of the first letter, and twenty-two-year-old Hugh nonchalantly seals it with a kiss.

Dear Friend and Sister: —

It always affords me pleasure to hear from my friends in far off Utah and more especially from those with whom I spent many happy days one year ago; and altho thousands of miles of land and water separate us now, my mind often reverts to dear old Logan and the pleasant times at the B.Y.C.

I have been enjoying (?) solitude for nearly three weeks as my companion has been released. Tell Joseph [Zina's elder brother] that I have come to the conclusion that "It is not good for man to be alone." . . . But on the whole I am enjoying my labors and altho we have no saints here I have been successful in holding several cottage meetings but imagine my feelings when at the first meeting I was the only elder and had to do all the talking and praying etc. but I knew that I was representing the true Gospel which knowledge, together with the assurance of assistance in time of need, gave me courage. But when I left home I little thought that I would have to hold my first meeting without the aid of an experienced Elder. I imagine I see you smiling to think of me as an accomplished "bear-tone" but one consolation is the fact that it cannot be brought against me in after years, unless, perchance some of the listeners should emigrate and then I would have to flee or use an abundance of "hush money" to keep the fact quiet that while in England I was a "so-low-ist."

It is raining quite fast so I must stay in the house alone all day, reading, writing, whistling and thinking "what is home without a companion." . . . How I would like to partake of a meal prepared by you at college. These English ladies are good cooks but their dinners lack that dainty finish and delicate taste which I so much enjoyed while in Logan.

Well Zina, give my love to your folks. . . . I will be very pleased to hear from you soon and often if you can spare the time from your studies and your 'beau' does not object to your corresponding with

Your loving Brother
Hugh B. Brown
S. W. A. K.

Zina primly answers in plurals "we" and "us."

Logan, Utah, March 31, 1905

Dear Brother Hugh:

It gives you no more pleasure to hear from Utah than it gives us to get a letter from England. . . . When [my brother] Joseph read your letter he said, "I wish I were there with him." . . .

June will be an eventful month for us this year; on the first day the Youngs are going to hold their annual celebration of Grandfather's [Brigham Young's] birthday, the B.Y.C. taking part in the affair; on the second is Commencement day, on the ninth is the big day for Logan, then Joseph and Leona will be married about the middle [of June] I think. . . . I wish that we could waft you across the waters to join in all the festivities for we all think of you as our brother and one of the family. Papa is with us this week . . . and sends his regards and blessings to you. . . .

So you have to take all parts on the program, it is a good though trying experience for you and I know you are equal to it all. My beau is very submissive, so much so that he never says a word pro nor con about my correspondence. Mother sends her love to her son Hugh. . . .

Your loving sister,
Z Y C

At the top of the next letter from Zina dated 9 April 1905 she writes: "I will bake this letter so it can't carry any smallpox germs." The Card family is quarantined — Joseph has smallpox. And Zina speaks shyly:

Mother says to tell you that she thinks of you every day and we almost wish you were quarantined with us.

You know how welcome your kind, brotherly letters are so write soon to your imprisoned sister.

As ever,
Your loving sister,
Zina Card.

In May Hugh drops the formal "Dear Sister" and begins with a more intimate

Dear Zina: —

Yesterday morning just as I was starting out in the country to tract, the Postman . . . handed me two letters from Logan and I assure you, the day was much brighter for me. . . . Elder West and I walked out to a neighboring town, ten miles . . . and just before going into town we came to a large hedge by a brook where we stopped and ate our lunch, and then I read your kind letters over again and entered the town with a light heart . . . for there was "Sunshine in my . . . pocket." . . . I shall be very anxious about you until I hear that you are all entirely out of danger. . . . I wish I could have been there to help your mother. . . . It would have been a pleasure for me to have shared your sorrows as I have shared your pleasures in the past. . . . I enjoy my labors very much and my testimony is strengthened each day as I compare the true doctrines of Christ with the precepts of men and notice the strife and contentions among the different sects. . . . In the midst of darkness light is sprung up, and I thank God for that light and hope to be the means in his hand of showing it unto others. . . .

Your affectionate Friend and Brother
Hugh B. Brown

Zina is still guarded, sending affection only through convenient messages from her parents.

Logan, Utah, June 9, '05

Dear Missionary Brother: —

. . . Papa just said, "Give him my best wishes for success on his mission and my blessings." . . . [My brother] Rega and I both escaped having [the smallpox] for which we feel very grateful to God. . . . There were lots of nice boys and girls here at the B.Y.C. this year, especially the former. . . . I shall put some pansies in [this letter]. . . .

A hint of the coquette surfaces, or perhaps she wants Hugh to know she is not pining on the vine.

We all intended to go for a ride tonight and then to the dance. . . . There is a big parade tomorrow forenoon and games of all kinds all day, dancing and theatre, etc. all night. Hugh, I hope that this rambling letter will not give you a nervous headache. . . . Mother sends her love and says you are doing a noble work and loves to hear from you. I am ever

Your loving friend and sister,
Zina

Finally, she has discarded the formality of the full name.

Zina is still in a teasing mood in her next letter, telling Hugh of the summer's pleasantries, but also flattering his ego by asking for advice.

If I should tell you of all our good times I would make matters worse. . . .

We came home from the canyon last Sat. where we had been for nearly a week. . . . While in the canyon we went hunting with the boys and riding behind them, . . . and climbed Yes Hugh, I rode behind my cousin Cecil Gates. Does that sound better? . . .

Hugh, tell your little sister which you think would be best for me to do. Take up elocution entirely after this coming year of school or qualify as a Domestic Science teacher?¹ . . . Mother has left it with me and I don't know which to do. . . . When you get your picture taken brother, I would like one.

The thermostat creeps up a smidgen in the salutation of Hugh's next letter, but he manfully holds himself in check as he vicariously enjoys Logan's summer pleasantries.

324 Mill Road
Cambridge
Aug. 1/05

My Dear Sister Zina:

Your welcome letter of [the] 13th . . . almost made me wish I were back in Logan but it had such a spirit of "good times" that I could not get homesick for I felt that I was there with you. Perhaps I had better not say how I felt after I had read it and started to think of the six thousand miles which lay between us. . . .

¹ Elocution was a popular course of study in the early twentieth century. Students were taught to render dramatic readings with grace of body, voice, and gestures. Elocutionists enjoyed popularity on the stage and were often called upon to entertain at private functions. During her early adult years Zina was frequently invited to give readings at church functions and at private socials. Her children remember with fondness the many "home evenings" when she would read such pieces as "Little Orphan Annie" and "The Raggedy Man."



HUGH B. BROWN AND ZINA Y. CARD, CA. 1905.

I am very pleased that you have had such a fine time this summer and I hope it may continue. How I would enjoy a good old waltz or two-step, but if I will just be patient for fifteen or sixteen months I guess I can begin to think of such things, but in the meantime I am enjoying myself immensely only in another line. I do enjoy missionary work and my whole desire is that I may do my duty. The Lord has greatly blessed me with friends here and I am thankful that I have been instrumental in bringing some to investigate the truth. I often wish that more of our sisters could have the opportunity of doing missionary work in the world but I suppose their work, which is great, is nearer home. I am called to leave Cambridge next week so my address will be changed. . . . I think I will be in Norwich. . . .

I hope you will be successful in your schooling. As to which would be best for you to follow of the two courses you mentioned, it would be hard to decide but I think you are especially gifted as an elocutionist. I know you will make a success of whatever you undertake. . . .

Give my love to your folks and accept a large portion 'for old times sake.'
Believe me as ever

Your Devoted Brother
Hugh B. Brown

I will send you a Photo when I get a good one taken and would be very pleased with one of yours . . .

Lovingly,
Hugh

Zina encloses her photograph in her next letter, and Hugh admits to its causing some no doubt gratifying palpitation.

83 Rosehill RD
Ipswich
England
Sept 2/ '05

Dear Zina —

As I am all alone tonight I will have a little chat with you thru the mail, but how I would enjoy a real conversation with you. Your Photo made me long to see you. It was indeed very good. You have changed some since I last saw you. I am very pleased with it and thank you for it. My companion thinks I have "got it bad" because I look at it once in a while but I really can't help it for it makes me think of by-gone days, and endeavor to look into the future, which, perhaps for a wise purpose is veiled.

As you will notice from the heading I am in Ipswich, just eight miles from the German Ocean. It is on the Orwell River, where so many battles have been fought in olden days, and has a population of 75,000 of which thirty are Latter-day Saints. So you see we have a wide field of labor with a very small beginning, but with the blessings of the Lord we hope to be able to bring some to a knowledge of the truth.

Elder Martin I. Bushman of Provo is my companion & is a good man, my senior by fifteen years and the father of a family and I believe after all that the young men are troubled less with homesickness than those who have left wife and family. One of the elders has sent for his wife to come over. She will spend a few months here until he is released and they will return together. It will be a fine trip for her and a happy conclusion to his missionary work in the world; I wish they would send you over here to help me finish my mission, after this school year is over; maybe you'll receive a call. . . .

I don't expect to be in Ipswich long as Pres. Grover wants me to go in to headquarters in about two weeks and stay there (Norwich) this winter but the address is changed from Valentine Street. . . .

Well Zina, I must conclude this rambling letter or you will tire reading it. My, but it does seem a long time to wait a month before I hear from you again but Au-revoir.

I beg to remain
Your Loving Friend
Hugh

As expected, Hugh is transferred to Norwich. His next letter mirrors his daydreams of the future and also describes his part in a perennial missionary prank.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Logan, Utah

3 Valentine St
Norwich, England
10/17/ '05

Dear Zina:

I am now laboring in Norwich, the headquarters of the conference; President H. A. Grover of Idaho and G. F. Webb are my companions and we are kept busy as this is the largest branch in the conference. . . .

I was surprised to hear of Hazel's wedding also Mary and Attena's. It seems that all of the young people in Canada are getting a spirit of unity.

When this letter reaches you I will be a year old in the mission field and it has been one of the most enjoyable and profitable years of my life and perhaps next year by this time I will be thinking of returning but Pres. [Heber J.] Grant tells us not to expect our releases until we get them, but I will not worry about that.

The elder's wife that I spoke of in my last letter came and surprised him, it was amusing to watch him when she walked in unawares, he did not expect her for a month. Oh yes! she brought a cake for Elder Bushman from his wife in Provo and we elders here in Norwich sampled it before sending it on to him at Ipswich. My! but it did taste good and 'Yankeefied' but we had to suffer for our rash act in the displeasure of Sister Boyer and Elder Bushman, it is not safe for cakes to pass through this office; the president says he likes to know what kind of goods the elders are receiving. . . .

I will close with love and wishing you success in your studies this winter. I am as ever

Your Friend and Bro.

Hugh

Zina greets Hugh with new tenderness in her first letter of the new year and later hints she has confided a somewhat more than brotherly interest in him to her cousin Elsie. Perhaps she, too, has "got it bad."

Ogden, Utah

Jan. 1, 1906

My ever dear brother: —

Your ever welcome letter I received and the Christmas card too, it is so kind of you Hugh, to remember your little sister when you are so far away, but I appreciate it.

When I am having such a pleasant time during the holidays I wonder how you are spending your time. I know you are happy because you are doing good to others, yet I think I am safe in saying that your thoughts dwell to some extent on the scenes of home, mother, and dear ones.

I came to Ogden last night after having spent one week in Salt Lake. I certainly enjoyed all my time spent there. Scot [Hugh's brother] took me to the play "Ben Hur". My! it was splendid! the race was fine, so real. Every night there I went some place except last Sat. night and we made candy and enjoyed an evening there at Aunt Susie Gates'. We went skating twice, to two theatres, one dance and calling.

My cousin Elsie Jacobs sends a "Hello" to you. She says she knows you through me for I have told her of my brother Hugh in England. . . .

Mother said to send her love to her boy Hugh and also a "Bright New Year".

We went to the Tabernacle in S.L. yesterday, it was decorated beautifully in white and sky blue. A portrait several times life-size of the Prophet Joseph was draped in white. Above it in electric lights was written "Peace on earth good will to men" [and] below was "The glory of God is intelligence" . . . a wreath of holly hung from each of the large lights in the hall.

We are thinking seriously of moving to Salt Lake next summer and make our permanent home there.

Papa is feeling about the same but gets weaker and paler all the time. . . .

Well, good-by, and may the New Year add to your success is the wish of

Your loving sister,

Zina

Presumably, in his Christmas letter to Zina, Hugh had enclosed his photograph and alluded to a certain "Christmas Pudding" as probable cause of his

companion Elder Webb's recent illness. Zina responds with a light-hearted chatty letter.

Logan, Utah

Feb. 4, 1906

Mr. Hugh Brown

Norwich, Eng.

My Dear Brother Hugh: —

Your "Christmas Pudding" letter I read with pleasure and was so glad to get your photo; although you have changed some.

Tell Bro. Webb that for his sake, I am thankful that Christmas comes but once a year. I hope he has entirely recovered ere now. Hugh, I am in the Opera, we are going to put on the Mikado . . . [in] Preston, Franklin, Wellsville, Lewiston, and in Logan three times. So you and Elder Webb hold hands with the nurse as she feels your pulse (putting it in a mild way). I don't believe you are getting a bit pious and long faced, but I am glad of it, Hugh, for I want to still be well acquainted with you when you come back. . . .

We just now came from a fine Conjoint meeting in the Second Ward. Mayor Robinson spoke on one of the passages from the Sermon on the Mount. . . .

Good night Hugh I must go to bed. I close with kind remembrance from all

Your loving sister,

Zina

By May the shy Canadian farm boy has ventured forth not only to London, but also to whimsical thoughts of marriage.

3 Valentine St.

Norwich, Eng.

May 17/ '06

My Dear Zina: —

All alone tonight so I will chase loneliness away with my pen and try to imagine I am talking to you. . . . Don't smile, for really it is possible for a Brown to be blue, but I . . . thank the Lord that I am here. My trip to London was simply immense; and the Tout concert "superb". Those girls are certainly gifted of the Lord. I think Nannie sang before the Queen again on the 15th Inst.

Nannie, Maggie and Grace are very sociable with the elders. I felt right at home in their company and they are not ashamed of being "Mormons" and to allow those with whom they associate to know it whether of high or low degree. I do admire true courage.

I'll have to tell you all about London when I see you. . . . I hope you will have the privilege of seeing the metropolis someday for it is indeed a great place. . . . I am glad you are going to Cardston this summer and would like to attend your cooking class. . . . You know I attended some of the girls classes in the B.Y.C. and enjoyed myself just fine in spite of my bashfulness. . . . Tell [Joseph] I would like to hear from him even if he is married. Perhaps he will not consider me in his circle until I follow suit. Well my intentions are good for the future, for a mission certainly converts a man to a few of the higher principles of the Gospel. . . . Bye bye for this time with love to all the folks yourself included.

I am as ever Yours,

Hugh B. Brown

In June of 1906 Zina and her mother move to Salt Lake City, two months prior to the death of Charles Ora Card.² The close of her June 20 letter is delightfully saucy and provoking. Little does she imagine when she expresses a desire to someday visit London, that thirty-one years later she will preside over the Relief Societies of the British Mission.

Salt Lake City, June 20, '06

Dear Brother Hugh;

Your always welcome letter and lovely birthday cards were received and appreciated. I thank you so much for remembering your little sister's eighteenth birthday when you are so far away. You are not the only person who is lonely at times. . . . The reason I have not written before is because of our moving. We have been in Salt Lake a week tomorrow. We live on Canyon Road. . . . You must come and see us when you return. We shall all certainly be glad to see you again. Hugh, I would like to travel. Someday I hope to go to London.

Hugh, you elders ought to take a course in chafing dish cooking; it's great for bachelors. I feel awfully sorry for you, Hugh, if you are still so bashful. I know it is hard for you to talk to the ladies especially. But brace up, old man, and be brave. . . . Be a good boy and you'll always be happy.

Kindest regards from Mother and

Your sister, Zina

A level of pensive maturity emerges in Hugh's next letter, dated 11 July 1906. As his release approaches, his conflicting emotions become apparent in this rambling monologue. Perhaps apprehensive that Zina may marry before his return, he dangles an exploratory lure.

Dear Zina —

. . . I assure you we appreciate a visit from "home folk" even though the conversation is silent. When one is traveling in the cold unfriendly world the ties of friendship grow stronger day by day for those "friends of his childhood and youth" and I believe no one can appreciate a true friend more than a "Mormon" elder does whose whole time is devoted to making friends and while thus engaged those deeper feelings of the human heart are aroused until he learns to love all the sons and daughters of God but still nature blesses him with ability to focus that love on certain individuals and as a rule I believe the elders return thoroughly converted to one of the grandest principles of the gospel so while we are endeavoring to convert others we are converting ourselves and preparing ourselves to undertake a conversion when we return. Ha! Ha! . . . Elder Webb promised to call on you so I will send him your address; (excuse my audacity).

² When his health began to fail in 1903, Charles Ora Card left Cardston with his wife Zina Young and returned to Cache Valley where he could be near his other wives, Sarah Jane Painter and La Vinia Rigby, and their families. The three wives loved and respected each other and appreciated the tender care each gave to Charles. Although he died in La Vinia's home, his body was taken to Sarah's as she was the senior wife. Excerpts from La Vinia's journal illustrate the quality of unselfish love which existed in that family:

It was the first part of November [1885] when Charles Ora Card spoke to me about getting married. I had known him all of my life but this was the first I knew he was interested in me. . . . I thought it over and talked about it to Aunt Sarah [Painter] and was soon convinced that it was the proper thing to do. About a week before I was married I went to Logan where Aunt Zina Card and Aunt Maggie [La Vinia's sister] made my trousseau. . . . The morning of December 2nd Maggie and I went through the temple, then I went alone to Aunt Zina Card's where I met Charlie and we went to the Temple in the evening and were married about 7:30. It was all done very quietly on account of federal opposition to plural marriages. . . . After the ceremony we returned to Aunt Zina's where she had a nice wedding supper for the three of us (in Dover 1987).

. . . [His former companion Elder George F. Webb has agreed to call on Zina in Salt Lake City, test the waters, and then report to Hugh.] I guess you will be next to set sail on the sea of Matrimony.

You must excuse this rambling, scribbling letter for I feel a little cranky today. My time for returning is drawing near and while I hate to leave the mission field, I will be glad to see my loved ones. Bye Bye,

With love.

Hugh

Shortly after a special conference in London in August 1906, occasioned by Church President Joseph F. Smith's tour of the European missions, Hugh developed a kidney stone and was advised that he would need immediate surgery to save his life. British Mission President Heber J. Grant hurried to Norwich, offered Elder Brown an early but honorable release from his mission, and advised him to return home for the required medical care. Hugh thoughtfully replied that he had faith that if President Grant would give him a blessing, he would be healed and could remain to fill his full mission. When President Grant asked him if he really believed that, Hugh assured him, "I know it is true." President Grant pronounced the blessing; Hugh received it in faith and completed his mission. He alludes to this illness in his letter to Zina written from Ipswich, 11 September 1906. He also tells of seeing Zina's Logan friend Nan Nibley. Evidently in a previous letter Zina has told Hugh of a marriage proposal which has caused her some "serious thoughts."

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Ipswich, England
Sept. 11 — '06

Dear Zina:

As my health has been failing for some time past, it has been deemed wisdom for me to spend this month visiting . . . towns on or near the [sea] coast . . . and already I feel the effect of the bracing sea breezes. . . . [Think of me] as a re-al-tired gent trying to grow fat as I have lost thirty pounds since Christmas so you can imagine what I look like: (a lamp post minus the light). . . . I saw President Grant last week and he says the church sends the Canadian elders direct to their homes via eastern Canada so I guess I will miss my visit in Salt Lake or at least postpone it for a time. . . . We had a very enjoyable time in London on the 25th where we went to meet Pres. Joseph F. Smith. I also met the two Nibley girls there. . . . I dreamed the night before meeting them that you were there with Nan and when the younger girl came in I thought sure my dream had come true, she resembles you so much. I thought I had palpitations of the heart but it was only going "pity-me."

Well Zina, it is nearly two years since I left home. . . . I hope to be able to go to school when I return and then go on another mission if it is the will of the Lord. I sincerely hope to have the pleasure of meeting you before long. If your "serious thoughts" are put into execution perhaps it will be by invitation, if it doesn't happen before I return. . . .

With love and best wishes I am
Your devoted Friend
Hugh XX one for
the baby Ha Ha!

Hugh embarked on the S.S. *Canada* at Liverpool on 25 October 1906, landed in Montreal eleven days later, traveled by Canadian Pacific Railroad

to Lethbridge and then by stage to Cardston, finally arriving home on 9 November. A few days later he was stricken with typhoid fever.

Cardston, Alta.
Canada
Dec. 10-'06

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake, Utah.

My Dear Sister: —

No doubt you have thought that the excitement of homecoming has made me forget that I had received some letters & that I had a "sister" in Salt Lake but I assure you such is not the case for my mind has been at "No. 146" more since my arrival than ever before but on account of sickness I have been unable to write.

Perhaps you have heard from Joseph that I was taken down with Typhoid fever just a few days after my arrival. Through the blessings of the Lord and the administration of the elders I had it in a very mild form, the fever was rebuked by Pres. Wood & I improved from that moment and I am very thankful to be out of bed so soon. Living on "milk only" is a little "too thin" at least it made me very "thin."

I was very pleased to get your letter of October 15 [which] was forwarded to me from England. I received it while I was in bed with the fever and it did me more good than all of the doctors visits and medicine. You know a little "mind medicine" and "sunshine" very often do more good than the skilled treatment of an M.D.

Yes Zina I would have given most anything to have returned via Salt Lake, but my illness was the chief cause of the direct journey home & I just arrived in time to avoid sickness away from home, so once more that which seemed to be a trial was all for the best and I must await the coming of spring before I can have the pleasure of seeing you once more.

It will be three years in April since we parted at Logan and I hope I will not have to wait longer than that before seeing you for I have the same feeling for you now that I had then only it has deepened with time and separation. . . .

Elder Webb and I were companions for some time and learned to love each other as David and Jonathan did.

My missionary labors were a great pleasure to me and when it is the will of the Lord I will be glad to go again. The saddest part of my mission was when I left the field. I parted with many warm friends and friendship that is formed under the inspiration of the spirit of God is warm indeed and only those who have had a similar experience know how hard it is to part with those whom you never expect to meet again in mortality, even though one is returning to his "own". . . .

I hope that my homecoming will not stop the "letters coming" as I am always pleased to hear from you.

With love to yourself and mother I am as ever
Sincerely Yours
Hugh

This recurring affirmation of his willingness to return to the mission field portends his call to preside over the British mission thirty years later.

During his post-mission interview, his stake president, Edward J. Wood, asked Hugh whether he planned to marry soon. He told President Wood that the girl he loved, young Zina Card, was engaged to another man. President Wood said, "I promise you that if you will go down to Salt Lake to the April General Conference, and make your intentions known to Zina she will break her engagement with the other man and marry you." Hugh recalls, "I believed

him implicitly as I had seen previous evidences of his prophetic gifts, and of course I was glad to believe!" (in Campbell and Poll 1975, 42)

His letter, written after his return from Salt Lake City, proclaims his confident, new-sprung hopes. Even the salutation is more intimate and possessive.

Cardston, Alta.

April 27 — '07

My Dear Zina: —

Yes, I am in Canada once more. How strange it all seems; but, when I step out in the blizzard that is sweeping over this country I cannot doubt that it is "Canada." . . . We had a pleasant journey but . . . to get such a cold reception — Well it made me "Long to breath the mountain air." . . .

Oh say, it is amusing to listen to the questions I have to answer when I venture down town. . . . Several have been kind enough to wish me "much joy." . . . Why should they know that which is such a puzzle to me? viz. Who[se] is she going to be? I believe there is but One who knows, although another, with His assistance may decide. . . .

Well Zina, I feel lonesome already, almost blue. I don't know what I will do before July it looks so far off and then there is nothing certain about your coming, but I still live in hopes that feast on the memories of "What hath been." . . . I am not entirely over the effects of my journey [home] and my thoughts are like the train, slow and unsteady so I will close anxiously awaiting a letter from you.

Your Loving Friend

Hugh

S.W.A.K.

Zina's next is not exactly the letter he has been anticipating, however. Although she has broken her engagement to Lyle, she is cordially noncommittal, pleasantly cautious, and enjoys the freedom of status quo at age nineteen.

Mr. Hugh Brown
Cardston, Alta.

Salt Lake, Utah
May 7, 1907

Dear Hugh: —

All the happy spring is just as you left it. The long warm days are just as fair and the stars are just as bright. No cold winds blow here now. Don't you wish you were back? I do — to see the stars I mean. . . . I am glad that you reached home in good health and hope you will have strength to survive the process of constant prying of many inquisitive friends. I wish I could see far enough ahead to solve the puzzle.

Hugh, I got no acknowledgement of my letter to Lyle until four days ago. His reply was hardly what I expected. The letter was rather bitter and he said some sarcastic things which were quite cutting, but he claims to have only friendliest feelings for me. He gives me perfect freedom. . . . I would have written before but I wanted to get that letter first. Both your letters came on the same day.

Are you back in the store? I have imagined you there selling perfume to the Lamanites.

. . . I am well, happy and enjoying life. And may these great blessings be yours too. . . .

I am as ever,

Your sincere friend,

Zina

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta
May 19, 1907

Dear Zina: —

. . . I have just returned from meeting but the day will not be quite complete without writing a few lines to the one I wish were here.

I had been watching the mail very anxiously when the "female" arrived with a letter from the girl I love. . . . Yes, Zina, many times I have wished myself back in Salt Lake where we could resume our quiet strolls up the canyon, and where I could enjoy your company, still I am happy and I believe I am in the proper place. The time seemed so short in Salt Lake that it now seems like a dream when I think of the good times I had. How I would like to stand on the little bridge on Fourth St. tonight with you as we stood the night I left. But why wish for that which is impossible?

We had a stake officers party Friday night and enjoyed a spiritual feast. And Saturday night the Y.L.M.I.A. gave a social party in the hall. . . . About 10 p.m. "we young folks" left and went to the Band hall and enjoyed a dance; this was the first party I have attended since I came back. . . . I am now christened "Batchelor Brown" since the people have found out that I really didn't get married. . . .

I am sorry to hear that Lyle feels as he does and I trust that your friendship will not be broken but "Friendship sometimes turns to love but love to friendship never." . . .

Mother sends love to you and your folks, she might be down in June. I hope she will and bring you back with her for I am longing for that trip to the lakes.

I must close now with love and best wishes. I am as ever yours devotedly,

Hugh

Despite his philosophical maturity, Hugh's next letter reveals a restless yearning to be assured of Zina's love.

Cardston Alta.
June 8th, 1907

My Dear Zina —

It is a beautiful morning, after the heavy showers of yesterday. The sun shines brightly in at my window while outside everything is peaceful and pleasant as only "sunshine after showers" can make it. How much like the weather our lives are — after little trials and troubles and cloudy days the sunshine of life seems brighter, and after the cloudy days of doubt as to the outcome of our greatest desires, I believe we more fully appreciate the blessing we crave than if granted at first request. . . . When I received your letter it seemed like a little cloud arose as I read that you had fully decided to spend your summer in S.L. City, but I am still in hopes of seeing you in July or August. I hope something will change the decision, for although I go out considerable and associate with the young folks, I feel lonely and long for your company, "*because I love you.*"

Zina, are you still as undecided as when I left you in regard to our future and your feelings toward me? I feel that if I knew I would be more contented and being assured of "sunshine" in the future the clouds of the present would not seem so heavy; excuse me for pressing the question but suspense and indecision are not pleasant. My love for you is just as true as the day I first confessed it. . . .

This letter will reach you about the 12th [Zinas' birthday]. May you have many happy returns of the day, and may the Lord grant that your choice of life may be made under the inspiration of His spirit, that success and true joy may be yours, is the sincere wish of

Your devoted friend
Hugh

(Love to all at "146")

Zina replies on 19 June 1907, bringing herself to write what must be written only after hedging with news of her birthday, the weather, mutual acquaintances, and her plans for the summer.

Salt Lake, Utah
June 19, 1907

Dear Friend Hugh: —

It happened that your Aunt came and brought those dear little books on the same day that I received your letter, and although it was the day after my birthday I felt more of a birthday feeling then than the day before as I spent the twelfth away from home. You don't know how pleased I am with those books and I am going to take them with me wherever I go this summer. I certainly need to read the church works more than I do and I am going to try to. I thank you for your kind remembrance of my birthday. . . .

It is only fair to you, Hugh, that you understand my feelings and have some definite word from me. I hate to confess, even to myself, that I am changeable but you know I am, for you know my experience with Lyle and I want to stay free until I have more good common sense. . . .

I don't feel like I could decide so important a question now, Hugh. . . . You cannot blame me for wanting to stay perfectly free in that direction for a long time or until I feel sure that I am making no more mistakes. I want to be guided aright and I won't cease to pray for I can not rely on my own judgement.

I am going to college this year and would like to go a number of years more . . . to carry out my plans that I have cherished so long. . . . I am getting along nicely in my study of elocution and shall keep on with it all this year. . . .

Have a good time and I'll do the same . . .

Your loving and sincere
Friend Zina

With generous forbearance and patience Hugh replies:

Cardston, Alta.
Aug. 7 — 1907

Miss Zina Y. Card
Springville, Utah

Dear Zina: —

Altho I am not sure that you are still in Springville I will write to that address and trust the letter will find you in your travels. I am so glad you are enjoying yourself and having such a nice vacation, and since the south has had you this season, perhaps the North may hope for a visit next, at least I shall anxiously look forward to the developments of another year. "Whispering Hope." What a blessing that when we are disappointed at one station we can look forward with hope to the next. We live mostly in the memory of what hath been and in fond anticipation of what may be. . . .

My optimistic nature would not permit me to despair of your coming until the excursion train arrived, and then it whispered "hope." . . .

We expect to hold Mutual conference here next Sunday and stake conference the Sunday following. So we are looking forward to some good times.

I have not taken my summer holiday yet; we had planned a trip to the [Water-ton] lakes for next week but as our crowd consisted mostly of choir members and as brother Newton wishes to have some new Anthems prepared I think we will postpone our trip.

I have spent a quiet summer here in the store but I find that tittle-tattle has not been without food. . . . but I do not worry about it for was it not Emerson who said that "abominable tittle-tattle is the cud eschewed by human cattle"?

We have some good times in the store as we have a very congenial lot of clerks. I like my work as it affords such a grand opportunity to study human nature and there is always something to learn. . . .

I suppose in the excitement of holiday-making, long letters are not appreciated so bye-bye and may your good times continue, for your happiness gives me pleasure.

With love, I am as ever
Your devoted
Hugh

Six weeks later an early snowstorm prompts another weather-life analogy. Hugh yearned for more formal education throughout his long life. A voracious reader with a book before his nose as he plowed the farmland, he would, however, never enjoy the sustained formal study he wanted so badly. Church calls and family needs would always intervene.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta.
Sept 18, 1907

Dear Zina: —

We are just emerging from about three feet of snow, and although we are somewhat faded and pressed down we still love "Card" — ston. . . . The whole town is almost devastated; trees, pruned by nature's strong hand, look like old men whose families have grown and left them lonely and sad; where a few days before they tossed their proud heads to be kissed by the sunlight, little dreaming that the same great Master who blessed them with such possessions and attainments could shear them of the same in a few hours. How like the trees were some of us before the storm, and how much do we feel like they look since. But back of it all I see the hand of Him who tries His people to increase their faith. Some people are discouraged and selling out to leave the country but I still believe it has a great future.

I am pleased to hear that you are attending school this season and if it were possible I would do likewise as I realize the value of an education and know how badly I need it. I suppose my duty is here as [my brother] Owen has just been called on a mission to New Zealand and Bro. Wood said yesterday that Scott would get a call soon and Lawrence is going to Logan to school, so I think I can benefit myself by helping others. . . .

Bro. Wood thinks Scott should marry before he goes; no doubt for fear he will follow the example of his lonely brother. . . .

I must now go to work so bye bye; may you have success in your school and happiness through life.

With love I am as ever

Your Hugh

In Zina's letter of 25 October 1907, she asks, "How do you like a correspondent who writes but semi-annually?" Hugh replies:

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta
Nov. 3 — 07

My Dearest Friend: —

I like the correspondent just fine, altho her letters are like the visits of Angels, few and far between. It has been said that, "if we indulge too frequently in that which

pleases us it loses its charm." This may be true in most cases, but a rule is not good if it has no exceptions and I have found the exception to this one for I could "indulge" (if I had the chance) in a letter from you once a week. . . . Still, I will not complain as I know how busy you must be. . . .

Oh, say, how would you like to take up a new course of studies next summer, chief among which would be the art of bringing bachelorhood to a successful conclusion? . . . It would be quite interesting, especially to the bachelor and I think you would succeed where he has failed; Just try. . . .

I enjoyed myself so much last spring with you that I long for the time when I can "live again in the happy past". Oh for college life once more, that life which is so full of joy and free from care where the very atmosphere is full of intelligence and love, — still I believe there is another chapter of life essential for our full development and possibly I have started on that chapter so will not long for the past but will try to prepare for the future. . . .

Yours lovingly
Hugh

The invitation "to bring bachelorhood to a successful conclusion" elicits a prompt reply from Zina — a bucket of friendly ice water gently decanted.

Mr. Hugh Brown
Cardston, Alta.

Salt Lake, Utah
Nov. 18, 1907

Dear Friend Hugh: —

You see I haven't waited six months this time. . . . Since you have suggested a change of study for next summer I must confess that I fear I shouldn't make a success of it and I should not like to mar the peace of the bachelor's life you spoke of. So I am going to tell you of my plans for the next two years or more. Next summer I am going to spend my vacation here with mother. . . . The fall will find me in New York . . . for about eight months. . . . Elocution is what I shall specialize in. Of course my air-castles may all fall through (they often do) but I shall work to the end I have just named.

Like you, Hugh, while you only spoke in a jocular vein, still I know that the training of the mind is not the most important of life's problems. But, while I am so young and changeable I dare not trust myself to take any vital step. Now Hugh, you know my exact feelings. . . . When the right time comes I feel that I shall know what to do; as yet, I do not.

Good night, Hugh . . . I am as ever

Your friend
Zina

Hugh's reply is from the soul. Disappointment painfully gives place to the bitter thought that perhaps Zina is lost to him. His love for her and genuine wish for her happiness appear to preclude his own dream of a future together, especially since family circumstances and Hugh's tender regard for others' needs weigh so heavily against his chance for further education. A bleak future clouds his vision.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Dec. 1st, 1907

Dear Zina: —

The morning of December 1st foretells a pleasant day — the sun is shining, there is no snow and "all nature invites my praises to God." . . .

Since I received your last letter I have thought of you almost continually. I have tried to look at things from your point of view instead of my own, and I believe if I were placed in a similar position I would take the same course; if nature had endowed me with the same gifts, and opportunities presented themselves whereby I could develop those talents and be what you are destined to be, a leader among my sex, I think possibly a home in a little country town would have no attraction for me.

So Zina, when I imagine myself in your position I cannot blame you for the decision you have reached although I think it means to me the loss of that which I have hoped to gain for several years past.

My words to you last spring were *true* and I have not changed one iota and I think I never shall but I think the course you have decided upon will place such a gulf between us that I could not expect you to re-cross it and share the humble life of a farmer boy. . . . I had thought of going to Salt Lake for Christmas but I believe now I will postpone my visit until next spring. I desire to see you before you go East and possibly then we will understand each other better.

Owen leaves tomorrow for New Zealand on his mission; Lawrence is in Logan attending school and . . . the rest of the family are in school here so dear mother has all she can do at home with what little help I can give her. Father is quite sick most of the time and you know what that means to a mother. Were it not for this I would be in school myself but I think I should consider her welfare ahead of my education.

I know not what my future is or what time has in store; Pres. Wood is continually after me to get married but circumstance says wait and although it sometimes seems hard to be denied and see our castles fall it may help us to "welcome each rebuff that turns earths smoothness rough, Each sting that bids not sit or stand, but go." . . .

I am very glad to hear that you are doing so well in school and, Zina, with all my heart I wish you success and happiness. I hope to see you in the spring, until then I hope to enjoy your correspondence.

I often think of the little verse of Lowell's: —
 "Life is a sheet of paper white,
 Whereon each one of us may write
 His word or two, and then comes night.
 Greatly begin! Though thou have time
 But for a line, be that sublime, —
 Not Failure, but low aim is crime."

Altho it is the Sabbath and the day for epistles I think I had better close this one. Write soon Zina and believe me as ever yours,

Hugh.

Zina answers promptly, hinting that Hugh should not abandon his suit:

Mr. Hugh Brown
 Cardston, Alta

Salt Lake, Utah
 Dec. 18, '07

Dear Friend Hugh: —

It is quite late and all is so still and peaceful, just mother and I are here in our sitting-room writing. . . .

So you had thought of spending the holidays here. Was it necessary to change your plans? Well, I mustn't pry. But we could have had such pleasant times with Joseph and wife here. . . . But you know best. We'll welcome you in the spring; you are always welcome in our house. Since I wrote you last mother and I have almost persuaded ourselves that I can do just as well here at home next year. . . . So it is very likely that I shall go to the U of U and . . . take elocution from Miss Maude May Babcock. . . . Hugh, why do you speak of a gulf between us; a little scholastic learning cannot alter friendship. . . . I am the same Zina you parted with a few months

ago. . . . I could give you no definite answer then, neither can I now. While you possess much of my affection, my feelings for you may never be more serious than they are now. But be that as God wills for if we are for each other, why then, it will come about alright. But I know you are advised to get married and I know it is right that you should if you find the one God has ordained for you, so if ever you feel to take that step I don't want to stand in the way one moment. Experience has taught me that our hearts are in God's hands and our affections can change without apparent cause. Hugh, I want to bring nothing into your life but joy and *never, never* embitter it.

An education is fine and I know you long to be back at school, but there are so many valuable lessons to be learned outside of it and you are mastering those things. Your loving thoughtfulness and care for your mother increases my regard for you, Hugh. You have always been unselfish. We have but one mother and you are certainly blessed with one of the dearest and best on earth. Give her my fondest love.

Hugh, I am waiting too, to know what is right to do. I have no particular boy friend and don't intend having one while I am in school. . . . Hugh I would be very happy to have you here this holiday season. I had no idea you had made plans to come. And where ever you are on the Day of Days I wish you the merriest kind of time. And may your New Year be a very bright one. . . .

As ever,
Your friend Zina

Gathering war clouds cast their shadows even to remote corners like Cardston. In his letter of 19 January 1908, Hugh solicits Zina's advice, perhaps intuitively knowing that her counsel will affect both their lives.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Jan. 19 — '08

Dear Zina: —

I hope to be able to write to you this time without being called out to some meeting. I started to write before but was called to attend religion class convention and since then it has been almost one continual meeting night and day. Among others was one held here Thursday night called by Pres. Wood . . . from 8:30 P.M. until 12 midnight after which we had lunch. . . .

Zina, I received a letter last night from an officer of the Alberta regiment asking me to muster a squadron of 68 men in this district to go to Calgary and drill two weeks each summer. We would belong to the cavalry division and be ready for war at any time. . . . They want me to be an officer here but I have not decided yet. I think we should show that we are loyal in this district but I dislike being bound for three years and liable at any time to be called away. Will you advise me what to do? I wish I could talk to you today instead of writing. . . .

Well Zina, I must close this letter and go to M.I.A. I hope the time will soon come when conversation will take the place of correspondence. Please give my love to your mother and brothers and accept a large portion.

As ever Sincerely Yours,
Hugh

Zina promptly responds to his appeal:

Mr. Hugh Brown
Cardston, Alberta.

Jan. 31, '08

Dear Hugh: —

Well, I am right glad to carry on my "paper conversation" with you once more. . . . Of course I want you to do your duty as you see it, and I know you will, but I truly wish that you could decline any such position for it is such a horrid un-

certainly, of which you are always conscious and from which you cannot shrink when once your word is given. But if you feel it is a test of loyalty or honor I should not want you to hesitate because of what I have said for I merely stated my own personal and perhaps selfish feelings. . . .

I am expecting you in about two months. . . . When I think of last spring and your visit I can almost smell the apple blossoms. . . . It is very late so I won't keep you puzzling over one more page from the pen of

Zina

Apparently Zina's sympathy coupled with the mere mention of apple blossoms awakens springtime fantasies and hope, for Hugh tenderly tucks both within his next letter.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta
Feb. 8, 1908

My Dear Zina: —

"Sabbath morning comes with gladness." The sun is shining and there is no wind. The snow is almost gone and it looks like Spring is really here. Oh, if it was! how happy I would be, but I must be patient for February must have her extra day before April can crowd March away, but busy hands make time fly fast and I shall meet my love at last. Whoa!! I may be thin and rather tall but not a Longfellow after all. . . .

Well Zina I have enlisted for three years as Lieutenant in the Alberta Regiment. I was loath to accept the position but being advised to do so I trust it will be for the best. We at least hope to keep our friends in the East from saying the Mormons are disloyal. . . .

The local M.I.A.'s will give a concert next Friday night. We have Solo's, Duetts, Quartettes, etc. but are unable to get the recitations we desire. Will you favor us? I wish you were here to help us in that line. Our Shakespeare club is growing . . . and we have some fine times. Will you join when you live in Cardston?

With love to all I close in hopes of seeing you soon and hearing from you often.

As ever lovingly,
Hugh

Mr. Hugh Brown
Cardston, Alberta

Salt Lake, Utah
Feb. 19, 1908

My Dear Lieutenant: —

. . . The days are rolling by but not a bit too fast to suit me. How do you feel about it?

. . . Yes, I'll join the Shakespeare Club *when* I live in Cardston. But some time will elapse before I do, if ever, live again in the dear old town. . . .

Write very soon to
Your friend Zina

Undaunted, Hugh continues to plead his case, urging the long view. When he accompanies President Wood to the Cockrane ranch to investigate some land he is thinking of buying, he undoubtedly wishes Zina were there to share in decisions.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta
March 1, 1908

My Dear Zina: —

How I would like to talk to you today instead of writing, but I will be patient for another month and then if it be the will of the Lord I shall see you and have the pleasure of your company for a time at least, and I hope, *forever*.

I went with Pres. Wood last week to the Cockrane ranch . . . with the intention of selecting a quarter section and a town lot. . . . I remember hearing you say in Logan several years ago that you hoped you would not marry a farmer. I hope you have changed your views . . . for I believe with George Washington that "agriculture is the most noble, the most honorable and the most profitable employment of man."

I am very glad to hear of your good times at the parties, etc. . . . I often wonder how the girls who have married and come to Canada can content themselves after having lived where there is so much life and enjoyment. But one word explains the question. . . .

I am always your devoted

Hugh

Zina's next letter is a roller coaster of indecision.

Mr. Hugh Brown
Cardston, Alta.

Salt Lake, Utah
March 11, '08

Dear Hugh: —

It hardly seems possible that April Conference is only a few weeks off — just three weeks. But I fear that it is not the meeting-going that is occupying my mind.

So you have been looking at land with a view of buying. . . . But, Hugh, you are very serious. You write as though I had promised to become your lawful wedded wife. I haven't, you know. . . . And I hope we shall be guided aright if you are coming with the intentions you have inferred. . . . I have made no plans for our future. For when we meet we shall know so much better than when we are apart. I pray about it constantly and I know that we both desire to act in accordance with His will. . . . Yes, I am having very happy times. . . .

What do you think I have heard three times and from three different parties of late? It has been, "We hear you are to be married this spring." . . . Did such a rumor start in Cardston?

Hugh, you cannot weary me by writing long letters, so write all you can and I shall be glad

Your sincere friend

Zina

Hugh stands duly reproved, but just barely. His head is listening to his heart.

Miss Zina Y. Card
Salt Lake City

Cardston, Alta
March 23 — '08

My Dear Zina: —

One more letter before I see you. If all goes well I shall leave here one week from today as I think the rates start then. I hope to have Mother go with me as I feel too young to be alone.

I am sorry, Zina, that I was so serious in my last letter but you know, "from the abundance of the heart" etc. I had not entirely forgotten my place but thanks for the reminder. "Love hopes where reason would despair." . . .

J. W. Woolf is circulating the same report here that you heard so often there, but they may be surprised. Say, it is early in the morning and I am in the store [which] is not yet warmed up and my hand is so cold that I can hardly hold the pen, won't you hold it for me? — the pen I mean? . . .

His hopes and his faith in President Wood's promise were well founded. No letter details the events which transpired that April Conference and Hugh's

biography does not tell how he effected the conversion. But the summary journal he kept at this time states simply, "I became engaged to Miss Zina Y. Card, who promised to become my wife in June."

Years later he confided to his daughter Mary, "When I returned to Canada that April, I was entrusted with the trunk which contained your mother's trousseau, and to me it was more precious than the crown jewels of England."

No more "Dear Brother Hugh" letters were written from "Your sincere friend Zina." On May Day, 1908, Zina writes:

Sweetheart: —

. . . I have received both of your dear cards and selfishly wished that they had been letters. . . . O, there are so many things I want to tell you, Hugh dear. . . . Maybe you cannot see the love I am sending to you, but just the same the letter is full of it.

Always yours, with true affection,
Zina.

And Hugh's joy is expressed with tenderness as he writes 3 May 1908:

Zina, My Darling: —

It is 9 — P.M. and I am in the store, banished from home and loved ones, and lonely as a hermit. Well, you see, the folks are quarantined. . . . I have been sleeping in the store and boarding out. . . . I don't mind being in the store in the day time but I don't like double shift.

I attended priesthood meeting yesterday and found it was the unanimous opinion of the Stake presidency and high counsel that I should be second counselor in the bishopric of the Cardston ward. . . .

I took dinner with Bro. and Sis. Rampton. They congratulated me on our engagement and said they would be glad to welcome you back to the old town. . . .

. . . Well, my dear, I have partly decided to rent Charles Burt's house. . . . There are two rooms & a pantry & upstairs, also a nice garden spot and a stable. . . . So I think we cannot do better at present. . . . Please tell me what you think. . . . So my love, I hope to make you my wife on the day we decided and trust thru the blessings of the Lord we may live happy and make a success of life. I would that June were here but it will soon come and make us happy. God bless you my dear and also your loved ones; kiss each of them for me.

Good night my love,
Your devoted Hugh

President Joseph F. Smith requested "the privilege of performing Hugh and Zina's marriage" in the Salt Lake Temple on 17 June 1908. Fifty-one years later Zina penned these words to Hugh:

We were so very young, my Hugh, those many years ago
When each of us pledged kneeling, the sacred words "I do."

It was a prophet of our Lord, who sealed us kneeling there,
Though the day began in storm outside, when we rose
The world seemed fair.

Fifty-one years ago today, O darling Hugh of mine
Since we were made as one, and I am truly thine.

Your tender love, protecting care and understanding ways
Have made each year for me a sheaf of garnered days.

How golden are these days, dear heart,
How better could they be
As we go hand in hand, my love
Into eternity.

Endless joy and endless work
And great things yet to do
Will find us hand in hand, dear one,
Your Zina and my Hugh.

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LEFT TO RIGHT: ZINA Y. C. BROWN, ZINA LYDIA BROWN (AGE TWO YEARS),
HUGH B. BROWN, ZOLA GRACE BROWN (AGE ONE YEAR), IN 1911.

The Crisis in Europe and Hugh B. Brown's First Mission Presidency

Richard L. Bushman

MARY FIRMAGE, DAUGHTER OF PRESIDENT HUGH B. BROWN, has recently deposited a large collection of her father's personal letters in the Church Archives. President Brown wrote part of this correspondence while he was mission president in England before World War II, from 1937 to 1940, and after the war from 1944 to 1946. These letters, mainly to his family, combined with the public record in the *Millennial Star*, enable us to see more clearly than before into the mind and heart of this admirable man while he watched Europe descend into general war. He took up the work of supervising the Church in Great Britain in the shadow of what he called, in a 5 December 1939 letter to his wife, "historic events and critical times." Eventually after war broke out he evacuated the missionaries and organized an interim mission presidency made up of local members to carry on until he returned following the armistice. Before all that happened, however, he used the pages of the *Star* to explain how he believed Christian nations should treat their enemies, leaving on record editorials which are still pertinent today.¹

President Brown left for England in the summer of 1937 in a hopeful but sober mood. During the previous ten years he had undergone a number of dispiriting experiences. After he had moved from Lethbridge to Salt Lake City in 1927 to practice law, he had become active in the Democratic party and in 1934 was elected state chairman. To his dismay, the party rank and file did not welcome him as warmly as the leadership. He made a bid for the party's nomination to the U.S. Senate in 1934 and lost, in what was for him a crushing defeat. The next year, he accepted the nomination of Governor Henry H. Blood to the chairmanship of the State Liquor Control Commission. Since he was president of the Granite Stake at the time, he had consulted with the General Authorities before accepting the position, and yet within a year

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¹ It is difficult to add anything significant to the insightful biography by Eugene E. Campbell and Richard D. Poll (1975).

he was released as stake president because of the perceived contradictions between administration of the liquor laws and his Church calling. To add to his sorrows, in January 1937 the state senate voted not to reconfirm him as chairman of the commission. "The nightmare is over," he wrote in both despair and relief (Campbell and Poll 1975, 118). That was April 30. He and his wife Zina planned to move to Glendale, California, and even purchased a house there. But the call to the British Mission presidency intervened, and by June of 1937 Hugh Brown was on his way to Britain, traveling in President Heber J. Grant's compartment on the train and enjoying first class accommodations with the president on shipboard (Brown to Mrs. E. R. Firmage, 20 June 1937).

An undertone of despondency sounded through some of his writings in the months following. In his journal, he meditated on the lives of his parents who had recently died. Why must real saints "be subjected to so many indignities, be deprived of most of the material blessings which are showered with almost reckless prodigality on the wicked and the ungodly? Why must God-fearing men suffer contumely and abuse and be deprived of comforts, be lied about and made to suffer what only sensitive souls can suffer?" (Campbell and Poll 1975, 122) He might have been talking about himself; but that was not his characteristic tone. He more commonly saw disappointments as a chance to grow and hardships as an occasion for heroism. "History shows that great character does not come from coddled lives," he wrote to Mary on



HUGH B. BROWN, CA. 1937, LONDON.

8 August soon after arriving in London, "but is forged where men have had to dare to struggle and achieve and temper their souls in fire." His son Hugh, who had accepted a mission call to Scotland at the time of his parents' call to the presidency, had his own disappointment, a classic case of the girl back home marrying another man. That gave the father an occasion for advice useful to both of them. "Keep your face resolutely toward the future," he wrote on 2 March, "The past is past, and there is nothing in the past but husks; the whole ripe ears are in the future."

Hugh Brown spoke often about destiny: "Believe in yourself and your destiny," he told young Hugh in a 3 January letter. That hope of a designated mission was the glint of sunshine through the clouds. Belief in destiny and in growth through challenges sustained him through defeat and sorrow. Even more he took comfort in his family whom he abundantly loved. To Mary, living in Provo with her husband and a new grandson, he wrote on 8 August 1937, "Through all the years, my dear, you have been a joy to us, a help and a lifter and a ray of sunshine and we thank God for you." He seemed to draw strength when he needed it from his girls and his wife especially. His son Hugh, he thought, might in time vindicate his father. "I am looking for big things from you and expect that you will do better than your Dad has ever done. You should start from my shoulders," he wrote on 20 October 1937.

The mission call did not end Hugh Brown's personal troubles by any means. Complications with the Glendale house drained away cash. Usually he sent four pounds to Hugh, but one month he could afford only one. On the family's first Christmas in London, he invited Hugh, laboring in Glasgow, to come down for the holidays and then had to withdraw the invitation because Zina convinced him they could not afford the train fare. The letters make clear that his inability to meet the expense hurt President Brown. He wistfully suggested on 14 December 1937 that young Hugh look into weekend rates in hopes of a cheaper fare.

While coping with private sorrows behind the scenes, President Brown was caught up in mission business and stirring events on the public stage. President Grant visited England in the summer of 1937 to celebrate the centennial of the opening of the British Mission. Initially the mission planned its celebration to coincide with the inauguration of George VI in London in May but moved the event to July, closer to the date of the first baptisms by Mormon missionaries, when they heard that President Grant would visit England at that time. More than sixty Utah Church members came to England for the occasion, among them a number of auxiliary presidents and, at the last minute, President J. Reuben Clark.

The centennial celebration overlay the regular annual mission auxiliary conference with its various contests and meetings which included a speaking contest for the M Men, a Gleaner chorus, a poetry and essay contest on the centennial theme, and sporting events. Indicative of a simpler age, the grand prizes for the poetry and essay contests were free board and lodging at the conference. On top of these standard events, President Grant's visit and a number of special ceremonies added excitement to the weekend. Nearly 200

Church members met President Grant at London's Liverpool station and made the walls ring with "We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet." The grand event of the conference was a two-hour meeting at the River Ribble in Preston marking the site where two young men raced to the water for the honor of being the first in Britain to be baptized. There President Grant drew aside British and American flags to unveil a bronze plaque commemorating the first baptisms. Later British Saints presented a classic Mormon pageant, "The Everlasting Doors," with ten tableaux and 250 costumed participants, which borrowed its sections on earlier dispensations from Bertha Kleinman's "Message of the Ages," adding a second act on the gospel in Britain (*Millennial Star*, 22 July, 19 Aug. 1937).² At the Sunday meeting President Grant received three bouquets of roses, twenty-five white ones for his age when he became an apostle, thirty-seven red ones for the years he served on the Council of the Twelve, and eighteen yellow for his years as president. On Monday he was presented with a silk Union Jack as a token of friendship between the MIA members of Britain and their president.³

Mormon Britain quieted down after the departure of the dignitaries, and President Brown took up the responsibilities of his office. But the excitement of the grand occasion recurred frequently. Because of his military background, his magisterial appearance, and his stirring speaking manner, outside groups frequently called upon President Brown to speak. On 7 November 1939 he wrote to Mary of an invitation to a swanky London restaurant where he welcomed the opportunity to meet with wealthy businessmen and "show them that the Mormons from the west are not a strange species of half wits as some have thought." On 6 January of that same year he had written to her about a full dress ball where there were "fashionable Lords and Ladies" and boasted that Zina "was the 'Ladyest' of them all." He doubtless was an effective ambassador for the Church. As C. K. Jamieson wrote of him: "Mr. Brown has all the qualifications necessary to represent any organization in any company and under any circumstances. Of good appearance, careful speech, dignified and thoughtful manner, and moderate and tolerant views towards others, he will soon dispel by his demeanour and manner of living any doubts which strangers might entertain toward the faith which he has always followed" (*Millennial Star*, 12 Aug. 1937).

Traveling with President Grant in Germany before the centennial celebration, Hugh Brown was naturally curious about that country's condition under Hitler. "We of course wonder at home just how the people here feel about the new order of things," he wrote to Mary and her husband on 12 July 1937. He could detect no overt tension. "There seems to be general satisfaction and the cities and country seem progressive and prosperous." The international situation was another matter. He knew that Germany's peaceful demeanor at home did not prevent the Fuehrer from pursuing an aggressively

² "The Message of the Ages" was performed in Salt Lake City in 1930 as part of the Church's centennial celebration.

³ The story of the celebration can be followed in the pages of the *Millennial Star*, 11, 18, 25 February; 20 May; 22, 29 July; 19 August 1937.



HUGH B. BROWN IN LONDON MISSION OFFICE, 1937.

expansionist policy in Europe. Already by the summer of 1937 Germany had renounced the disarmament clauses in the Versailles Treaty, reoccupied the Rhineland, backed the fascists in the Civil War in Spain, and in March of that year annexed Austria. All the world was anxious to know what Hitler would do next.

In the fall of 1937, the *Millennial Star* ran two editorials by President Brown, "The Seeds of War" (4 Nov.) and "The Seeds of Peace" (16 Dec.), discussing the gospel as a solution to the world's problems. He wrote "The Seeds of War" on the nineteenth anniversary of the World War I armistice. He had commanded a squadron of mounted rifles in the Canadian forces during that war and at one time entertained ambitions for a military career, but he was not one to make a brief for the glories of military heroism. On the contrary, he began with the assertion that "in the light of intellectual values, war is seen to be sheer madness" (p. 711). He had in mind the "ten million dead, the twenty million wounded, the nine million orphans, the five million widows," and the fact that "war has never settled anything satisfactorily" (p. 712). But writing from the perspective of the gospel, he was still more concerned with the moral effects on the participants — the combatants themselves and the civilian population behind the lines. He was disturbed that in wartime, "both sides seem to find it necessary to overcome the kindly and humane attitudes which should characterize our civilization, to invite hatred and passion and to justify on a wholesale scale the very things which we condemn

in the individual" (p. 711). In other words, war brought out people's worst qualities. "War sows seeds of distrust, suspicion and hatred; breaks down the moral fibre of millions of our citizens; and starts habits of lawlessness which continue long after the conflict ends." War "feeds on bestial passions and is a regression to the primitive. It breeds lawlessness, immorality and spiritual poverty" (p. 711). That was its horror and its madness.

Like others of his generation, President Brown had hopes that the "permanent court of international justice" could successfully apply rules of law to international problems (p. 716). He saw a role for other international organizations like the Boy Scouts, the Red Cross, and the Chamber of Commerce Clubs in enhancing good will. But for him the only lasting solution was the gospel. "Permanent security cannot be built on revenge, greed, avarice, selfishness, envy and hate, but rather on cooperation, goodwill and neighbourliness. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' must someday apply to nations. . . . In the soil of love the seeds of war must die" (p. 716).

The theme of love in public affairs lay at the heart of President Brown's editorial, "The Seeds of Peace," published in the *Star* a month later to coincide with Christmas. In that essay he broached a most vexing question about the gospel: Do the teachings given to individuals apply to nations? More specifically, should the state comply with the commandment in Luke 6:27-28 to "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you?" His answer was direct and unhesitating. "Certainly the state has a duty to protect its law-abiding subjects against external as well as internal wrongs. But the state is not exempt from the 'Love Thy Neighbour' rule. The state, being a group of individuals, is under the same code of character and conduct as the individual himself" (p. 802). Presumably that did not outlaw war entirely any more than it prevented an individual from defending himself. But it meant that the law of love should guide policy. The state should advocate "restraint, patience, reverence, peacemaking and love" on the principle that Jesus intended "that His doctrines should apply to the social quarrels of nations" (p. 802).

President Brown had a specific passage of scripture in mind when he insisted on using the gospel to settle world problems. The eighteenth chapter of Matthew told the Christian who was engaged in a dispute to go first to his brother alone to seek an understanding, then to call in one or two others to help reach a settlement, then go to the congregation, and finally to the law. President Brown saw a direct application to international disputes. First there should be individual efforts to reach an agreement, then the use of arbitrators, and finally an international court of justice. The means of reaching peaceful agreements are laid out, it seemed to him, if only the right attitude could be accepted. And that attitude had to be grounded in the Christian principle of brotherly love. "We must get away from the idea," he wrote in "The Seeds of Peace," "that any one group of individuals are the favoured children of the Lord, or that any other group is entitled to His displeasure as a group" (p. 803). "'God has made of one blood all nations of men,' " the scriptures say, "and we must, in realizing this fact, come to realize that nations are but groups

of men who are our brothers; we must realize that sometime, somewhere, we will be charged with the responsibility in some measure of being our brother's keeper" (p. 804). Resorting to war was diametrically opposed to Christ's teaching on love.

Those were daring words in the international atmosphere of late 1937, for circumstances would soon bring them to a test. In the ensuing year Hitler turned his attention to Czechoslovakia and especially the Sudetenland, the portion inhabited by German-speaking citizens. Through the spring and summer German leaders in Czechoslovakia demanded that the Sudetenland be given a large measure of autonomy within the Czech state, and Hitler massed armies along the border to back up their demands. Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister, intervened to arbitrate the dispute and found Hitler threatening war if the German areas were not permitted self-determination. Chamberlain and the French leaders recommended Czech acceptance of the German demands, and then in a tension-filled week, Hitler stepped up his requirements. Chamberlain and the French at first found the new demands unacceptable, but finally at Munich on 29 September 1938, under extreme pressure from Hitler, gave way and recommended compliance. Germany took over a large portion of critical Czech territory and six months later the whole of Czechoslovakia.

Despite reservations here and there, the British cheered Chamberlain when he arrived home with the Munich Pact. What did President Brown think? In fact, he was overjoyed. Chamberlain had complied exactly with the procedures outlined in "The Seeds of Peace" editorial: he had sought peaceful arbitration, and he had avoided war. In a 6 October editorial in the *Millennial Star*, "An Armistice Without a War," President Brown wrote: "We are deeply grateful as we celebrate the victory of peace; that all who worked for it, all who prayed for it, all who fought for it are alive to enjoy its fruits. There will be no monuments erected to the memories of heroic dead; there are no songs of battle or of triumph over foe — rather do we honour the heroic living who dared to grapple with the ghosts of war and bind them with the silken ropes of reason." Rather than the crosses of the dead, it seemed to President Brown that the cross of the Prince of Peace hovered over the proceedings. He recognized the criticism that might be leveled at Chamberlain: "Some may accuse us of truckling to tricksters and forsaking the weak, still we thank God that we had stout-hearted men at the helm who knew what value the world was getting for the price they had to pay."

That hope for peace, of course, was soon shattered. In the following year Hitler turned on Poland with similar demands for territory. Efforts at negotiation proved futile. Hitler, it became clear, was bent on war, the only means by which he could fulfill his passion to dominate Europe. Britain promised aid to Poland should she suffer invasion, and when Hitler attacked on 1 September 1939, England and France, in keeping with the earlier agreement, declared war. The long delayed conflagration began.

War did not take the Browns completely by surprise. During the Czech crisis in September 1938, President Brown began to take precautionary mea-

tures. He made ship reservations for his family at the same time the government was fitting everyone for gas masks and making plans to evacuate children from London (Brown to Zola, LaJune, and Mary, 27 Sept. 1938). The following March, as Hitler turned on Poland, Zina wrote home that war seemed inevitable. In late August, as tension mounted, President Brown received directions from the First Presidency to send home his family and the female missionaries. On the day war was declared, 3 September, he called the remaining missionaries and soon had them all aboard ship, leaving behind only himself and a skeleton crew office staff. He thought he might remain through the war but was soon told to organize the British Saints to survive on their own (Campbell and Poll 1975, 138–40).

By October it seemed to President Brown that the war was more words than deeds. Britain wisely exercised restraint, and he wrote to Mary and Hugh on the thirty-first that “there may arise in Germany some responsible leaders who will forsake the policy of force and make peace.” By December hostilities had increased, and President Brown wrote to Mary on the sixth that the Russians were proving as aggressive as the Germans in taking over borderland territories. By the first of January 1940, he felt some of the effects personally. An order of coal failed to arrive, and he sat shivering in an upstairs bedroom with a quilt around his shoulders while he wrote home to Zina. London was blacked out, and the mission staff had to read to each other in the evenings rather than teach investigators. President Brown had planned to stay until March, but directives from Church headquarters instructed him to leave sooner. On 12 January he flew to Paris and took the train to Genoa, Italy, where he embarked by ship for New York. On 29 January his family and the British missionary millennial chorus met him at the train station in Salt Lake City. President Brown’s first term as mission president was at an end.

We cannot end the story there, however. For the implications of his words about the gospel and national policy are with us still. What are we to make of “The Seeds of War” and “The Seeds of Peace”? Did events entirely discredit his principles? His daring assertion that the gospel should rule the nations seems to have fallen to the earth at Munich. Doubtless President Brown was caught up in the general enthusiasm that greeted Chamberlain, and that may account for the approving editorial, but is it not likewise true that believing in love for our enemies made Hugh B. Brown especially susceptible to the doctrine of appeasement? Chamberlain appeared to have fulfilled the principles of love for enemies in both letter and spirit. Does the sequence of events then force us to conclude that nations dare not love their enemies and that patient negotiation, long-suffering, and compromise lead us into error?

I am not prepared to evaluate the consequences of the Munich Pact of 1938 in world affairs, or to pass judgment on Chamberlain’s policies. He obviously was sorely misled in believing that compromise would stop Hitler and wrong in sacrificing parts of Czechoslovakia to the Fuehrer. On the other hand, I do not think it certain that a stronger stand at Munich would have halted Hitler in his mad course. He was determined to wage war, and the firm stand taken a year later in Poland did not stop German aggression any more

effectively than appeasement at Munich had. We cannot blame the principle of love among nations for the war. Nor is it entirely clear that the Allies were the losers for their long-suffering attitude toward Hitler in 1938. War depends heavily on a prevailing sense of moral rectitude. We have seen all too dramatically in recent years the consequence of waging war when our people have doubted the goodness of our cause. Whatever was lost by compromise in 1938 was regained many times over after war broke out by our virtually unanimous sense that we had done all in our power to prevent hostilities and that fault lay with our opponents. Our moral unity during the war was partly a result of the Allies' long-suffering before the war. Those who turn to arms as the first resort, rather than the last, risk the loss of potential allies and of friends who are slower to anger. The partisans of Christian love, though slow to fight back, are more likely to enjoy the strength of moral unity when they come at last to battle.

But neither of these observations is fully in keeping with President Brown's own views. What concerned him most about war was the hardening of the spirit in an atmosphere of hate. When he returned to Britain as mission president after the war, he spoke to the Saints about the strength to be gained through wartime hardship. But he also warned them of the dangers to the spirit. "If in the process [of fighting a war] the inner man also becomes hardened," he wrote, "the mind cynical, and the soul flinty, then indeed has the enemy won a victory, and the victim, so far as he personally is concerned, has lost the war regardless of the outcome of the struggle between the nations" (Brown 1956, 368).

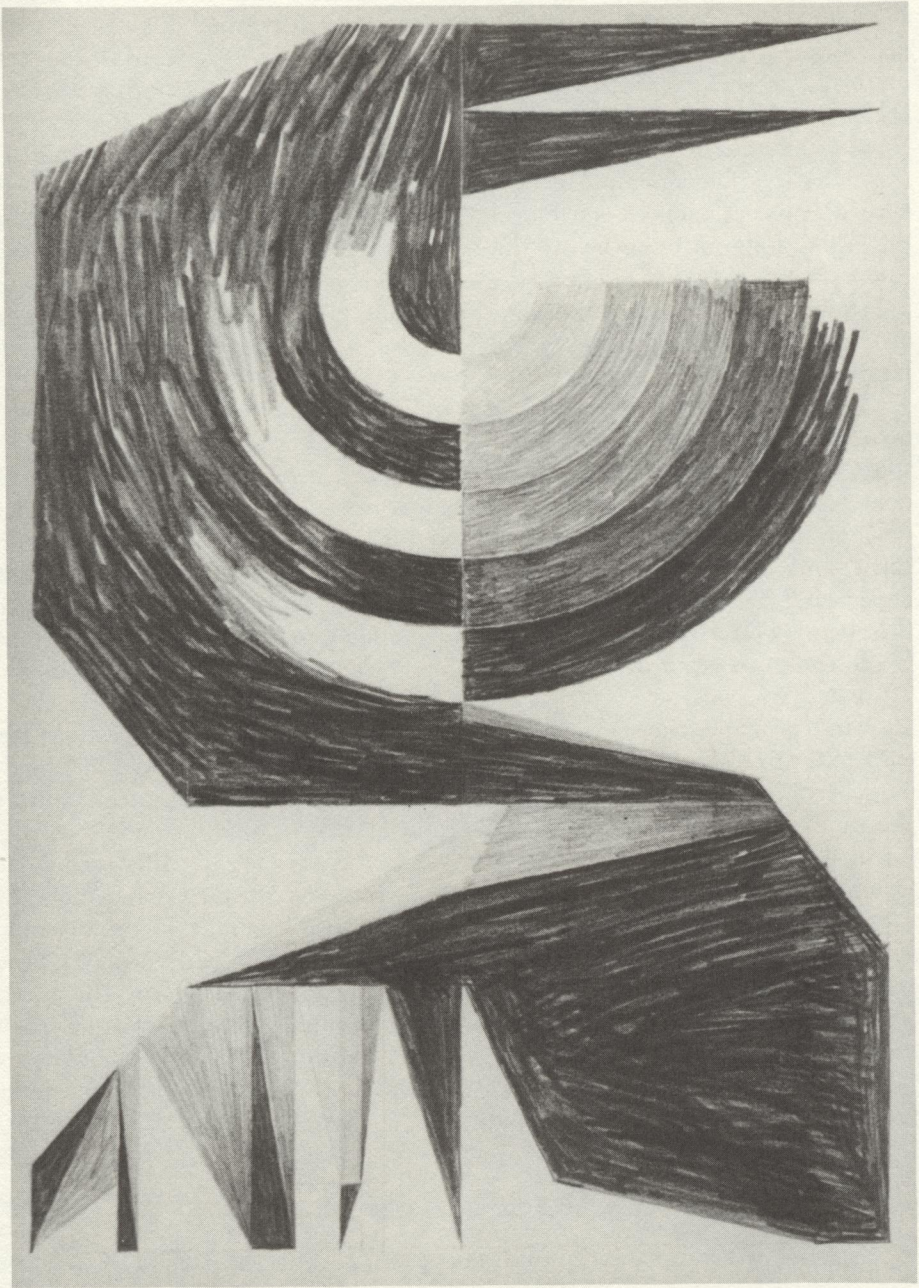
That principle rings true still. I believe that President Brown would feel even today that the aggressors had won if the lesson we take from World War II is to become cynical, hardened, and flinty in our dealing with other nations. Whatever else is to be learned from Munich, it is not that we should rely on force, not that we should grow more fierce and warlike, not that we should never compromise. Had he seen all that has transpired, I believe he would say even today that we must love our enemies and treat them as our brothers and sisters, no matter how they threaten us or try our patience. We may indeed suffer from applying love to the nations, but is not our true strength in our principles rather than our arms? Surely he would counsel us not to despair when goodness seems to fail. As he wrote to the British Saints in the midst of war at the end of 1939: "The ways of force are more precipitate than are the ways of love, but love is more enduring" (*Millennial Star*, 21 Dec. 1939).

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Scientific Foundations of Mormon Theology

David H. Bailey

A 1974 ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN *Science* identified the Mormon culture as an unusually productive source of American scientists and scholars, an achievement linked to such distinctive tenets of Mormon theology as rationalism, natural law, and its elevated concept of man (Hardy 1974). Unfortunately, the Church now appears to be backing off from these distinctive theological tenets and taking a more conservative stance towards science, perhaps due in part to the influence of fundamentalist Christian creationist groups. Many Latter-day Saints have become suspicious of science and consider a number of currently accepted scientific theories irreconcilably at odds with the teaching of the faith.

Compounding this difficulty is the fact that the scientific aspects of Mormon theology have not been thoroughly studied, especially in the last few decades during which a virtual explosion of scientific knowledge has occurred. Over twenty years ago Sterling McMurrin lamented that no one had yet seriously attempted to place Mormon theology on a scientifically rigorous and philosophically acceptable foundation (McMurrin 1965, 46). In light of what has happened in fields of science since 1965, as well as the recent trend towards conservatism in the Church, perhaps it is time to systematically examine this subject.

Before embarking on a detailed discussion of the implications of modern science for Mormon theology, a short review of some recent scientific developments is in order. It is, of course, impossible in this limited space to completely explore these discoveries, but I will highlight a few of the major developments of modern science that have significant implications for LDS theology. The following information is based on the current state of both scientific and theological knowledge; new information could offer new insights on these issues.

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THE THEORY OF RELATIVITY

Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, like all significant scientific developments, was not the product of one man — considerable groundwork had been laid by others. The development during the late nineteenth century of a highly accurate method of measuring the speed of light laid the foundation for Einstein's work. Numerous measurements revealed the startling conclusion that the speed of light incoming from distant stars did not appear to vary in the slightest as the earth moved in its orbit around the sun, whereas a difference of about 67,000 miles per hour due to the motion of the earth would be expected. In addition, physicists had previously noted the puzzling fact that the speed of light was directly calculable from Maxwell's electromagnetic equations, without regard to any considerations of relative motion.

For years physicists attempted unsuccessfully to accommodate these facts within the scheme of traditional Newtonian physics. Finally in 1905 Einstein took a different approach. Rather than trying to explain away the constancy of the speed of light, he proposed that this fact be an axiom of a new system of physics. Using his new theory he was able to show that calculations of the motions of everyday objects agreed with the results of Newtonian mechanics to a very high precision; in ordinary situations his theory did not contradict these well-established laws. However, his theory predicted that in exotic situations certain bizarre phenomena would occur. His assertions include the following:

- There is no such thing as an absolute reference frame. All motion is only relative.
- Rapidly moving objects increase in mass, contract in length, and experience a slower passage of time.
- Two events that appear to be simultaneous to one observer may not appear simultaneous to another observer.
- The speed of light is the ultimate speed limit of physical objects in the universe.
- Mass can be created and destroyed (converted to energy).
- Space and time are distorted near massive bodies.
- The collapse of a star can create a "black hole," in which space and time warp to a singularity.

It took years for these counterintuitive notions to gain acceptance. However, as striking experimental evidence began to appear, opposition evaporated. Since 1905, the theory of relativity has been confirmed in a large number of highly precise and exacting experiments. For instance, the increase in mass and dilation of time mentioned above are routinely observed in nuclear particle accelerators. As a result of this experimental evidence and the theory's appealing logical consistency, relativity is now considered to be among the most universal and firmly grounded of all scientific theories.

QUANTUM THEORY

While not as well known as relativity, quantum theory is at least as fundamental and has far more applications in the “real” world. Quantum theory essentially tells us that our whole notion of the universe as a collection of tiny particles zipping around in well-defined, deterministic paths is fundamentally inaccurate. An electron, for instance, can only be regarded as a wave function with a corresponding probability distribution. This means that we can accurately calculate the probability that an electron will be found at a particular location, but that is about all.

One striking consequence of quantum theory is the Heisenberg uncertainty principle. This principle states, for instance, that the position of a particle and its momentum (the product of its mass and velocity) cannot simultaneously be determined with absolute precision. Although this principle applies for all objects, large and small, its effects are most noticeable at the atomic level. It is important to note that this inability to measure both position and momentum simultaneously is not in any sense a failing of current instrumentation technology. Rather, it is a fundamental limitation that transcends any possible means of measurement.

A related consequence of quantum theory is that there is a small but non-zero probability that a particle entirely confined in a force field will suddenly appear on the outside of this barrier and escape. This is like saying that a marble confined inside a wooden box can suddenly appear on the outside, without even penetrating the wood. Indeed, the radioactive decay of a nucleus is an instance of such a phenomenon: an alpha particle suddenly appears outside the nuclear force field (which normally confines it) and escapes.

Another quantum effect, one which has profound philosophical consequences, is known as Einstein-Podolsky-Rosen (EPR) effect. The most commonly studied instance of this effect is the polarization of two photons (light particles) simultaneously emitted from a nucleus in opposite directions. Experiments indicate that when the polarization angle of one photon is determined at a detector, this orientation is somehow instantly communicated to the other photon (i.e., faster than light).

The traditional quantum theory interpretation of this paradoxical result is that the polarization of the photons, like the position of an electron, simply does not exist in any sense until it is measured. This implies that there is no such thing as an objective reality — the act of observation is an essential part of the phenomenon being observed.

While the philosophical and cosmological implications of quantum theory are still being sorted out, its basic notions are, like relativity, on extremely firm ground. These quantum phenomena have been observed and agree precisely with theory in countless experiments. Further, there is strong evidence that these same principles are obeyed throughout the universe and have not changed over billions of years. For example, the spectra of atoms observed in light from distant stars have the same pattern as on the earth, in spite of the fact that the stars are in other galaxies and their light was emitted many millions of years ago.

COSMOLOGY

The term cosmology refers to theories of the origin and development of the universe and encompasses astronomy, fundamental physics, and, to a certain extent, biology. Although it certainly has strong theological and philosophical overtones, cosmology is rooted in concrete scientific evidence. Most pertinent to this discussion is the theory that the entire observable universe (space, time, and matter) was created roughly 15 billion years ago in a single cataclysmic event, known as the “big bang.”

The big bang theory is an outgrowth of a discovery made about sixty years ago by astronomer Edwin Hubble. He observed that the farther away a galaxy was, as measured by its absolute brightness, the faster it appeared to be receding from the earth, as measured by the “red shift” of its light spectra. This implies that the universe is expanding and was thus at some previous time much denser than it is today. In 1964 a theoretical physicist showed that if the big bang had really occurred, then a remnant of the initial fireball should still be observable as low-level microwave radiation characteristic of that emitted by a body a few degrees above absolute zero (-460 degrees Fahrenheit). At about the same time and completely independently, two scientists at Bell Laboratories were attempting to reduce the level of noise in an experimental microwave antenna. After eliminating every conceivable source of noise in their equipment, they concluded that this noise was microwave radiation of extraterrestrial origin. Astrophysicists immediately recognized that it fit the pattern predicted by the big bang theory.

Since then other persuasive pieces of evidence have been uncovered. For instance, the observed relative abundance of hydrogen and helium in the universe today is accurately predicted by the big bang theory. The big bang has also been very closely tied to the fundamental concepts of relativity and quantum theory. As a result of such evidence, this theory is now generally accepted as the correct description of the origin of the universe. I must emphasize that the big bang theory is not as fundamental and well-established as relativity and quantum theory. However, the weight of evidence supporting the theory has increased to the point that it must be taken seriously by anyone attempting to form a scientifically tenable theology.

Some rather remarkable aspects of the current big bang theory have frankly theological overtones. Physicists have concluded in recent years that the fundamental constants of physics, such as the gravitational constant and the masses of protons and electrons, all seem to be exceedingly finely tuned for the universe to exist as we know it today. For example, if gravitation were just very slightly stronger, the universe would have long ago stopped expanding and would instead have fallen back and obliterated itself in the opposite of a big bang. On the other hand, if gravitation were significantly weaker, then after the big bang matter would have dispersed too rapidly for stars and planets to have formed. Some scientists have even claimed that the balance between some of these fundamental constants is so sensitive that a change of one part in 10^{40} would have rendered the universe uninhabitable as we know it (Davies 1982).

Cosmologists usually explain that such extreme coincidences are to be expected in any universe containing beings intelligent enough to pose the question. In other words, if the fundamental constants of the universe were slightly different at the big bang, we wouldn't be around to discuss the subject. Many scientists consider the fact that our universe is conducive to the formation of stars, planets, biological evolution, and ultimately us as a highly significant piece of data leading to the conclusion that the universe we reside in must have certain characteristics.

However, this notion, which is known as the "anthropic principle of cosmology," cannot be verified experimentally in a strict sense. In fact, some have criticized it as a tautology, a pathetic attempt to preserve a completely naturalistic universe at all costs. It is certainly as much a religious belief as the notion that an intelligent being carefully crafted the big bang in order to establish a perfect environment for the formation of worlds such as ours.

GEOLOGY AND PALEONTOLOGY

The currently accepted outline of the history of the earth is as follows: The earth coalesced out of a cloud of stellar material about 4.5 billion years ago. Within approximately one billion years after the earth was formed, primitive single-celled organisms appeared, leaving traces in some of the oldest rock formations. Some while later oxygen appeared in the atmosphere, originating primarily from the photosynthesis of primitive plants. Beginning about 700 million years ago, there was a dramatic increase in the variety and complexity of life. Some members of the animal kingdom developed skeletons, and many new species of plants and animals eventually appeared, including dinosaurs and primitive mammals. Over the years many species appeared and disappeared, all the time increasing in complexity and approaching the species currently on earth. About four or five million years ago, new primate species arose that bore striking resemblance to modern man, featuring a moderate-sized brain and bipedal locomotion. By about 40,000 years ago, the descendants of these hominids had changed into beings virtually indistinguishable in form from modern man.

How strongly does evidence support the dates in the foregoing account? Geological dating is now very firmly grounded. Studies of rates of deposition long ago established an age for the earth in the hundreds of millions of years. In the last fifty years, any remaining reasonable doubt has been removed by the development of a number of very reliable dating methods. Many of these are based on radioactive decay, which, as mentioned earlier, is a fundamental, well understood quantum phenomenon. The rate of radioactive decay of a particular nucleus can be measured with high precision and is essentially invariant with time, temperature, pressure, and chemical combination. Thus dates obtained by radioactive dating techniques must be taken very seriously indeed.

Since the development of radioactive dating methods several decades ago, a number of other highly reliable techniques have been discovered. One of the

most interesting of these new methods is known as "fission track" dating. It is based upon the fission (splitting) of a uranium nucleus, which again is a basic quantum phenomenon. When a fission occurs in a certain crystalline rock, it leaves a distinctive track that is directly visible under a microscope. By counting the number of these tracks in a sample of known uranium content, a reliable date for the specimen can be determined. Geologic dates measured in this manner are entirely consistent with dates obtained by other techniques.

Of course, there is room for error in any laboratory measurement, and certain known effects can alter the measured dates. However, detailed laboratory procedures have been developed to greatly reduce the possibility of such errors. Also, even though errors have been made in some cases, we cannot dismiss the highly consistent results of thousands of other measurements. For example, the fact that rock samples taken from the same geologic formation level from all over the world give the same dates strongly indicates that these techniques are both reliable and accurate. Thus any scientifically tenable theology must acknowledge the above outline of the earth's history.

EVOLUTION AND MOLECULAR BIOLOGY

Surveys still show nearly half of adult Americans do not accept the basic notions of the theory of evolution. This skepticism is even greater within the LDS church. A survey of Latter-day Saints in the Salt Lake City area showed that 72 percent thought the theory either surely or probably false (Mauss 1972).

The theory of evolution basically states that living organisms have developed through the ages from very simple one-celled organisms to the vast variety of plant and animal life on the earth today. Darwin observed that the offspring of a single generation exhibit random variations and that only a fraction of them can survive. He reasoned that those offspring best suited to their ecological niche have the greatest chance of surviving and passing their inherited traits to the next generation. He also recognized that all biological organisms can be organized into a "family tree," and he proposed this fact as evidence that all species are biologically related. Indeed, this notion has been referred to as the "grand prediction" of the theory of evolution (Eldredge 1982, 36).

Much has happened since Darwin first outlined his theories in *The Origin of Species* in 1859. Some early conjectures have been proven incorrect, such as Lamarck's suggestion that acquired traits might be transmitted by heredity to the next generation. Recently scientists have questioned Darwin's general assumption that evolution is a uniform, steady process. However, the basic notions that species have changed and are continuing to change, and that the entire biological kingdom is related, are now firmly established.

The fossil record continues to provide strong evidence for evolution. Any objective analysis indicates that a wide variety of living organisms has inhabited the earth over vast periods of time and that these organisms have increased in variety and complexity until the present day. True, there are troublesome gaps in the record, but an increasing number of these gaps are being filled in as the

years go by. For example, some highly credible transition species between birds and reptiles have recently been discovered, and the transition between reptiles and mammals is now well understood (Hopson 1987). In addition, when these gaps are viewed in terms of molecular biology, many of them no longer appear discontinuous. The abrupt transitions between some species indicate to many paleontologists that evolution advanced in fits and starts, with long periods of relative stasis in between. But none of this changes the basic conclusion that life has evolved on planet earth over many millions of years.

The discovery in the 1950s of the structure of the nucleic acids DNA and RNA marked a turning point in evolutionary biology. Since DNA sequences direct the synthesis of amino acids to form proteins, the mechanism of genetics could now be studied at the molecular level. Among the most significant recent developments in the tabulation of amino acid sequences for certain proteins across a wide variety of species. These tabulations provide a reliable, quantitative measure of the evolutionary distance between organisms. Now biologists no longer have to rely on subjective anatomical criteria to justify the evolutionary organization of the biological kingdom. For instance, the close relationship that had been theorized between man and higher primates has been fully confirmed: the alpha chain of human hemoglobin, which is 141 amino acids long, is identical in chimpanzees, differs in only one amino acid location in gorillas, and yet differs in twenty-five locations in rabbits and in over 100 locations in fish (Jukes 1983). Since these sequences apparently reflect the degree of genetic relatedness, they provide a reliable measure of the length of time elapsed since two groups of species diverged.

Several aspects of the theory of evolution, however, can still justifiably be considered tentative and conjectural. One of these is the determination of the precise history and genealogy of an individual species. An example of this uncertainty is the recent highly publicized disagreement between Richard Leakey and Donald Johanson over which early hominid led to *Homo sapiens*. Another unsettled area is the actual causes and mechanisms of genetic change, such as determining the precise roles of environment and mutations. For instance, one recent popular theory is that comets or asteroids colliding with the earth at regular intervals were responsible for the relatively sudden extinction of certain previously successful species (Alvarez 1980). Such ideas must, of course, be considered speculative until more evidence is forthcoming.

One important aspect of the theory of evolution that is still very much in the realm of hypothesis and speculation is explaining the development of the original, primitive, one-celled organisms. In 1956 much attention was focused on the Miller-Urey experiment, in which some simple organic compounds, including traces of two amino acids, spontaneously formed in a flask of "primordial soup" chemicals. Although thirty years later provocative research continues in the field, scientists concede that they have not established a complete credible scenario for the origin of life (Shapiro 1986).

An interesting note in this regard is the fact that scientists are still debating the meaning of the experiments performed by the Viking spacecraft on Mars. It is popularly believed that these experiments did not detect life, but according

to scientists familiar with this project, a more accurate statement is that the results were inconclusive. They point out that exhaustive analysis of this data has still not ruled out the hypothesis that living organisms produced the observed effects. Clearly the confirmation of any biological system on Mars would profoundly affect the discussion of the origin of life on earth. Perhaps the Mars missions that NASA is now planning for the 1990s will settle this question once and for all.

THE PANSPERMIA THEORY

A few years ago, some astronomers proposed a rather ingenious argument to prove that intelligent, civilized life does not exist elsewhere in our galaxy. They argued that in the not-too-distant future, it should be technologically feasible for us to construct a robotic probe, together with sufficiently advanced computer programming, that would be capable of constructing a replica of itself given the raw materials. When that is achieved, the exploration of the galaxy could be commenced by launching a few of these probes to nearby stars. Once a probe arrives in the vicinity of a star, it could be programmed to search for planets or asteroids, mine raw materials, construct several copies of itself, and launch these copies to yet more distant stars. Detailed analysis of such a scheme (Barrow and Tipler 1986, 576–601) has shown that the entire Milky Way galaxy could be thoroughly explored in tens of millions years, which is a short time compared to the multi-billion year age of the galaxy.

Now suppose that anywhere else in the galaxy there is another civilized species of any sort. It is exceedingly unlikely that after billions of years of development they are exactly as far advanced as we are. They could not be significantly less advanced, or else they would not yet even be civilized. Thus they are almost surely thousands or millions of years more advanced, at least enough to manufacture interstellar probes of the type mentioned above. It is hard to see how a society could forever restrain the deployment of such technology. For instance, it has been pointed out that a civilization in danger of nuclear annihilation would have even greater impetus to launch such probes. Thus it follows that probes of this sort have been launched and have already visited our solar system, including the earth.

However, no scientifically credible evidence has ever been found of visits by an alien civilization. Claims of extraterrestrial UFOs or of prehistoric visits by alien intelligences, for instance, have not stood up to serious scientific inquiry (Klass 1974; Sagan 1973). Thus, these scientists claim we are alone, at least within the confines of the Milky Way galaxy.

One way to refute this disturbing line of reasoning is to acknowledge that perhaps there have been visits by extraterrestrial beings (or at least by their self-replicating emissaries), but we have not yet learned to recognize the evidence. Frances Crick, the co-discoverer of the structure of DNA, suggested that some advanced civilization may have dispersed simple bacteria or other biological material throughout the cosmos and that the arrival of such material on the ancient earth started the chain of evolution that led to man. Such bacteria

could be considered microscopic versions of the probes mentioned above. This speculative notion is known as the theory of “directed panspermia” (Crick 1981; Hoyle and Wickramasinghe 1984). I mention this for its clearly theological overtones, which I will discuss later.

CREATION “SCIENCE”

Running counter to the rigorous scientific methodology supporting the above scientific theories are teachings of certain Christian fundamentalist groups, who attack the basic facts of science attempting to justify a literal interpretation of the Bible. In spite of the outward scientific appearance of their work, it has not stood up to serious scientific scrutiny. Nonetheless, these arguments have persuaded large numbers of people, including a surprising number of Latter-day Saints. This is in spite of the fact that most Latter-day Saints would presumably disagree with many of the basic doctrines of these groups, especially their notion that the earth was created *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) a few thousand years ago. It is particularly ironic that the fundamentalist sects behind the creationist movement are in many instances the same groups that are most active in the current anti-Mormon crusade.

The major center of the creation “science” movement is the Institute for Creation Science, at the Christian Heritage College in San Diego. Any person joining the institute must sign a statement that affirms, among other things, that the Bible (including Genesis) is historically and scientifically accurate in all details and that living species currently on earth were created in separate acts of creation by God during creation week (“Creation,” 1982a, 243). Most of their staff of researchers have degrees in engineering or physical science fields; they have few genuine biologists or geologists. Henry Morris, the leading figure and head of the institute, has a degree in hydraulic engineering.

Some of their ideas are utterly unscientific. They explain the incontrovertible fact that light from distant galaxies has been traveling millions (not just a few thousand) years by the time it reaches the earth by claiming that God created the light rays and set them in paths heading towards the earth (Morris 1972, 61). They analyze the Grand Canyon, with its well-defined layers of fossils, as a product of Noah’s flood, claiming the fossil layers exist because the more advanced species could swim better and so are found closer to the top (Whitcomb and Morris 1964).

A slightly more sophisticated argument is their claim that evolution is impossible because it contradicts the second law of thermodynamics (Morris 1974). This law, which is a basic principle of physics, states that any closed system tends to increase in entropy (level of disorder). Since evolution implies that living systems increase in level of order and complexity, they argue that evolution simply cannot occur. However, the earth, together with its biosphere, is not a closed system. It is continually receiving prodigious amounts of energy from the sun, and it is precisely this influx of energy that makes evolution (and life itself) possible. Thus this law does not apply to terrestrial evolution (Paterson 1983). The creationists could argue with equal logic that it is impossible

for snowflakes to exist, since the spontaneous formation of these highly ordered structures superficially violates the second law of thermodynamics.

Some of their arguments have the outward appearance of serious scientific work, but they fall apart when carefully examined. For instance, they claim that the earth-moon system could not be as old as geologists claim, or else the moon would be covered with more than fifty feet of meteoritic dust ("Creation," 1982b). Apparently this claim is based on a very rough initial estimate, published in the 1960s, of the amount of meteoritic dust flowing through space. However, this measurement has long been superseded by accurate measurements made with spacecraft, and the more recent scientific results agree with the modest amount of dust that the astronauts found on the moon's surface.

These groups base their most persuasive arguments against evolution on probability. They argue that various steps of the accepted theory of evolution, particularly the molecular evolution of proteins or enzymes, are impossible because they are prohibitively improbable. They compare the random evolution of human beings, or even of a simple one-celled organism, to the chance assembly of a fully functioning jet airplane out of a jumble of spare parts.

However, the probability calculations cited by the creationists are riddled with serious errors (Doolittle 1983). These arguments also suffer from the fallacy of concluding that an event cannot happen if its probability is sufficiently remote. For example, the probability that some particular sequence of 100 coin tosses will occur is only about one part in 10^{30} . This probability is so remote that it should not occur even if billions of people tossed coins for billions of years. Nonetheless, when we toss a coin 100 times, *some* sequence does occur. If the particular sequence had been specified ahead of time, then it truly would be a remarkable event. But it is not meaningful to compute such probabilities after the fact.

So it is with virtually all arguments that invoke probability theory to prove a point about some aspect of evolution. There may be numerous tenable routes for the origin of biomolecular systems on the primeval earth. There are probably trillions of alternate biochemical systems for life on earth today, each with a different set of proteins and enzymes. There are certainly equally numerous routes for the evolution of advanced organisms. However, with our current understanding we cannot enumerate or compare the different possibilities. Only when many possible scenarios have been analyzed in detail will anyone be able to meaningfully estimate probabilities. Until that time comes (many years hence) anyone who invokes probability in a discussion of these issues is on very slippery ground.

Most of the creationist arguments against scientific theories are not new — most have been around for decades. Several of the weaknesses that creationists cite in the theory of evolution were originally suggested and discussed by Charles Darwin himself. The few creationist claims that are both novel and scientifically meaningful have been soundly refuted by the scientific community. While we must not dismiss the possibility that some day the creation scientists may produce some valid scientific studies that successfully challenge accepted theories, at this point they have failed to do so.

HISTORICAL LDS APPROACHES TO SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Early Church leaders were surprisingly progressive when discussing science and religion. Joseph Smith made numerous positive statements about secular learning in general and science in particular. Several Church leaders and writers expressed complete confidence that truth learned through revelation could eventually be accommodated with that learned through secular means. Doctrine and Covenants 88:79 advises us to learn about “things both in heaven and in earth, things which have been, things which are, things which shall shortly come to pass.” A related concept is expressed in the passage, “If a person gains more knowledge and intelligence through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come” (D&C 130:19).

Of the early Church leaders, Brigham Young had probably the most progressive attitude towards science. “My religion is natural philosophy,” he declared (JD 4:202–3). His discourses contain many variations on this theme:

All of God’s productions came according to natural principles (JD 8:115).

There is no such thing as a miracle, except to those who do not understand (JD 2:91).

Our religion embraces chemistry; it embraces all the knowledge of the geologist, and then it goes a little further than their systems of argument, for the Lord Almighty, its author, is the greatest chemist there is (JD 15:127).

In these respects we differ from the Christian world, for our religion will not clash with or contradict the facts of science in any particular. You may take geology, for instance, and it is a true science; not that I would say for a moment that all the conclusions and deductions of its professors are true, but its leading principles are; they are facts — they are eternal; and to assert that the Lord made something out of nothing is preposterous and impossible. God never made something out of nothing; it is not in the economy or law by which the worlds were, are, or will exist. There is an eternity before us, and it is full of matter; and if we but understand enough of the Lord and his ways, we would say that he took of this matter and organized this earth from it. How long it has been organized it is not for me to say, and I do not care anything about it. As for the Bible account of the creation we may say that the Lord gave it to Moses, or rather Moses obtained the history and traditions of the fathers, and from these picked out what he considered necessary, and that account has been handed down from age to age, and we have got it, no matter whether it is correct or not, and whether the Lord found the earth empty and void, whether he made it out of nothing or out of the rude elements; or whether he made it in six days or in as many millions of years, is and will remain a matter of speculation in the minds of men unless he give revelation on the subject (JD 14:116).

Other Church authorities at the time also advocated remarkably pro-science views. The following is due to Orson Pratt:

The study of science is the study of something eternal. If we study astronomy, we study the works of God. If we study chemistry, geology, optics, or any other branch of science, every new truth we come to the understanding of is eternal; it is a part of the great system of universal truth. It is truth that exists throughout universal nature; and God is the dispenser of all truth — scientific, religious, and political. Therefore let all classes of citizens and people endeavor to improve their time more than heretofore — to train their minds to that which is best calculated for their good and the good of the society which surrounds them (JD 7:157).

However, statements by the early Church leaders on this subject were not entirely positive. For example, Brigham Young once sharply criticized geologists (JD 13:248). Nonetheless, a generally pro-science attitude prevailed in the Church during the nineteenth century. Even into the twentieth century, prominent scientists and scholars, such as John A. Widtsoe, James E. Talmage, Brigham H. Roberts, and Joseph F. Merrill, sat in the highest councils of the Church, and their influence helped preserve a progressive posture in the Church's teachings (Sherlock 1980).

The Church's stance towards science changed in 1954, with the publication of *Man, His Origin and Destiny* by Joseph Fielding Smith. Although David O. McKay, who was then president of the Church, disclaimed any official sanction on the controversial material in the book (Stokes 1979), nonetheless it has been quoted frequently ever since by those who prefer a literalistic interpretation of scripture, even if it is at odds with scientific knowledge. For example, using both scriptural and creationist arguments, this book teaches that the earth is only a few thousand years old and that there was no life or death of any sort before Adam. Bruce R. McConkie continued this literalistic approach, advocating basically the same doctrines in his books, *Ensign* articles, and in public speeches (McConkie 1966, 1980, 1982), although he relaxed his stance on the age of the earth in his 1982 article. Other General Authorities, including Boyd K. Packer (1984) and Mark E. Petersen (1983), have also made negative comments about science in recent years.

Though McConkie and Petersen have now passed away, because President Ezra Taft Benson and the senior apostles seem to favor a literalistic approach to the scriptures, it is unlikely that this philosophy will change soon. Perhaps the ascendancy of men such as Dallin H. Oaks, who defended the teaching of evolution while president of Brigham Young University (Bergera and Priddis 1985, 161–71), will eventually result in a moderation of the Church's modern teachings in this area. But for the time being it is clear that the open-minded approach of past years is not encouraged.

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO LDS THEOLOGY

Let's examine some of the basic doctrines of Mormon theology in the light of modern scientific knowledge.

The Nature of God

For many Church members, the doctrine that God (Elohim) and Christ are separate personages is the most significant way their theology differs from traditional Christianity. However, other aspects of the Mormon concept of God are even more unusual. For example, the God of traditional Christianity is considered to be the totality of original existence, a being who created all natural laws and is beyond time and space. The LDS concept of God instead posits that God is a real, tangible being who co-exists with natural laws in the universe (McMurrin 1965; Ostler 1984). Probably the most extreme Latter-day Saint "heresy" in the minds of fundamental Christian sects is the law of eternal progression ("as man is, God once was, and as God is, man may

become"). This doctrine, first enunciated by Joseph Smith (Larson 1978) and later elaborated by other Church presidents, is now a fundamental tenet of the faith.

B. H. Roberts, who gave the first clear explanation of this finitistic concept of God in 1903, stated in effect that God's powers and intelligence are not infinite in a literal, absolute sense. God cannot contravene natural law — like us, he is apparently subject to natural laws himself. Thus there is no such thing as a miracle; God works through natural laws that he understands but that we do not yet. This doctrine provides a highly satisfying explanation to a host of philosophical dilemmas, such as why God, with his presumably infinite power, is apparently unable to prevent human sin and suffering. Church members do not agree about whether or not God continues to progress in intelligence. Recently some authorities have insisted that he does not (McConkie 1980), but many members continue to agree with the teachings and official statements of the early leaders that his growth is a natural corollary to the law of eternal progression (Bergera 1980; Clark 1965, 222–23; White 1987).

From a scientific viewpoint, the notion of a finite, naturalistic, material God is an extremely appealing idea, far more easily accommodated within scientific thought than an abstract immaterial being who contravenes natural law. It strongly suggests that studying scientific laws can help us understand God's handiwork more clearly. And while scientific knowledge alone cannot prove the existence of such a God, neither can it prove that such a being cannot exist.

One example of how a finitistic God makes more sense from a scientific viewpoint is given by analyzing the concept of God's omniscience. For if we presume that all information requires at least some material for storage, then God's mind would have to be of infinite physical extent and mass to contain infinite information. An absolutely omniscient being also appears to contradict quantum theory, as I will later discuss.

It is difficult, however, to determine how a finite, material God might traverse the large distances between stars in a reasonable amount of time. The theory of relativity asserts that the speed of light is an absolute upper bound for the motion of physical objects in the universe. However, an answer to this question may lie in some recent work in astrophysics. Though their work is highly speculative, some scientists suggest that black holes may be "wormholes" to another part of the universe. If passage through some of these wormholes is possible, interstellar space travel may be accomplished much more speedily.

The Eternal Nature of God and Man

There is a story circulating in scientific circles that one day a professor was describing the currently accepted theories of the origin and destiny of the sun. When he mentioned that the sun will likely exhaust its nuclear fuel and die within five billion years or so, one of the students asked the professor to repeat the statement. Relieved, the student said, "Whew! I thought you said five *million*."

The notion that everything in our universe originated in a big bang approximately 15 billion years ago creates some problems for Mormon theology (Norman 1985). A God who exists in space and time should reside within the observable universe, not without it. In that case God is not eternal in a literal and absolute sense but instead came into being after the big bang. A straightforward solution to this dilemma is to abandon a strict interpretation of the word *eternal*, as is suggested in Doctrine and Covenants 19:6–12. After all, 15 billion years may not be forever, but it is so far beyond our comprehension as to be eternal for all practical purposes. In that event God (Elohim) is not the being who crafted the universe at the big bang. If there is such a being, it is a deity beyond Elohim. Mormon theology, of course, allows the possibility of a hierarchy of deities (D&C 121:28).

Not all LDS scientists are satisfied with the concept of a material God that resides within the observable universe. Russell T. Pack, for example, has argued that God does not reside in the universe created in the big bang and is not limited by the natural laws of our universe (Pack 1987). This theory allows God to craft the universe in the big bang and also to create numerous other universes about which we have no knowledge. Further, it allows us to interpret God's omnipotence and omniscience in a completely different light than B. H. Roberts suggested.

While such a belief cannot be scientifically falsified, it does presuppose the existence of currently unknown scientific principles to avoid a mere deist concept of God, because current theories of fundamental physics and cosmology forbid any communication with or intervention by inhabitants of universes beyond the one created in the big bang. Clearly there are no easy answers to such questions, but perhaps further developments in physics and cosmology will shed some light (Davies 1984).

The traditional LDS concept of eternal elements (D&C 93:33) runs into a similar difficulty if it is literally interpreted to mean that matter has always existed and cannot be created or destroyed. The conversion of mass to energy and the transmutation of matter, even of nuclear particles, are well established physical phenomena. Furthermore, all matter originated in the big bang. A more tenable interpretation of this scripture is that it was intended to rebut the notion of the *ex nihilo* creation of the earth. This doctrine too might be reexamined in the light of new scientific knowledge.

Determinism Versus Free Will

Quantum theory affirms the distinctively Mormon doctrine of free will and indeterminism. Though most of the effects of probabilistic quantum principles are restricted to the atomic and subatomic level, they can definitely have macroscopic effects. For example, a Geiger counter clicks when it detects the random decay of a single radioactive nucleus. Perhaps similar random quantum effects occur among neurons in the human brain, possibly inducing us to alter decisions. Thus human behavior, as well as all other macroscopic phenomena, may be fundamentally indeterminate. If this is true, then God's foreknowledge of mankind's actions is not infinite in a literal and absolute sense,

and he can occasionally be surprised by the outcome of some human events.

Quantum theory certainly does not imply that prediction of the future is impossible, either by God or man. For example, a knowledge of Newtonian mechanics (perhaps with some minute relativistic corrections), together with accurate astronomical observations, allows engineers to predict with high precision the moment when an interplanetary spacecraft will reach its destination. Similarly, parents are not exercising supernatural prescience when they predict that their teenage son will have an auto accident if he continues to drive in a daredevil manner. Quantum theory does, however, limit the accuracy with which such predictions can be made. Thus, God may be able to communicate to prophets glimpses of the future, but there must be a limit to the detail of such prophecy.

There is one difficulty in concluding that quantum physics is a basis for human free will. Even if certain quantum phenomena can change the course of human actions, how can a person be held responsible for truly random events? For example, if a neuron fires because of a quantum physics effect and induces a person to commit a crime, is that person really responsible for that crime? Perhaps the answer lies in the explanation that since quantum effects are generally of rather small scale, the person must have been already very close to a decision to commit this crime. We could then argue that the person was irresponsible in allowing him or herself to approach the point of committing a crime so closely as to be affected by a quantum event. In any event, some care must be taken before we conclude that quantum theory is the solution to the determinism free-will controversy.

The Creation

One positive aspect of Mormon theology, from a scientific viewpoint, is its unequivocal rejection of the doctrine of the creation of the earth *ex nihilo*. Primitive Christians also rejected such a notion (Nibley 1973); the creation *ex nihilo* doctrine was apparently adopted several centuries after Christ. The question of whether or not the entire universe was created "out of nothing," however, is a different matter. Currently some physicists theorize that indeed the entire universe could have been a single quantum accident (Brout, Englert, and Gunzig 1978), although such ideas are at present highly speculative.

Even without the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, any scientifically tenable system of theology must abandon the notion that the earth, complete with its rich layers of fossils and its intricate biological system, was organized *in toto* a few thousand years ago. Similarly, the notion that species are fixed and have not evolved with time must be abandoned. Such notions have not been tenable for at least fifty years. Interpreting the creation periods as literal days should have died with the book of Abraham, which uses the word *time* instead of *day* to describe each of the creation periods. Nonetheless, the belief that the creation took place in either seven days or 7,000 years appears to be fairly widespread in the Church and is occasionally suggested even by modern Church authorities (McConkie 1966, 255), although McConkie, as mentioned earlier, subsequently backed away from this view.

Early Church leaders apparently had much more progressive views of the age of the earth. W. W. Phelps wrote to Joseph Smith's brother on 1 January 1845:

Well, now, Brother William, when the house of Israel begin to come into the glorious mysteries of the kingdom, and find that Jesus Christ, whose goings forth, as the prophets said, have been from old, from eternity: and that eternity, agreeably to the records found in the catacombs of Egypt, has been going on in this system (not this world) almost two thousand five hundred and fifty five millions of years: and to know at the same time, that deists, geologists and others are trying to prove that matter must have existed hundreds of thousands of years; it almost tempts the flesh to fly to God, or muster faith like Enoch to be translated (*Times and Seasons* 5 [1 Jan. 1845]: 758).

The puzzling phrase "not this world" unfortunately clouds this very interesting statement. Duane Jeffrey has pointed out that the word *world* may have meant society or civilization, since Joseph Smith defined it that way (1973). In any event, the context clearly indicates a belief in a physical system much older than a few thousand years. The figure 2.555 billion years implied in this quotation is particularly curious because it was not known until this century that the earth and the solar system are several billion years old. This figure, by the way, may be obtained by interpreting the seven periods of creation as 7,000 years, each day of which is a day according to Kolob (equivalent to one thousand years) (Stokes 1965).

Many ideas have been proposed to reconcile LDS scriptures on the creation with science. Some have hypothesized that the basic materials of the earth are perhaps ancient, but that God assembled them together a few thousand years ago. Others speculate that the rocks and fossils are the remnants of a previous existence, and plants and animals currently on the earth were transported here recently. Unfortunately, such notions are in hopeless contradiction with scientific observations. There is no hint of a recent assemblage of the earth, and each of these theories founders upon the observed progression of ancient species up to and including those currently on earth today. Others have suggested that God chose to create the earth (and the universe) with a great apparent age, and with the appearance of an evolutionary development of living things, in order to test the faith of mortals. While such a notion cannot be scientifically falsified, it openly contradicts the belief that God works according to natural principles and implies that God has performed an incredible and intricate deception.

Two aspects of the creation definitely permit the possibility of a divine hand altering the natural course of events. One of these is that evolution on earth was guided by a supreme being, whose ultimate goal was to produce a species resembling himself. Nothing in current scientific knowledge would rule out this notion. Some would even argue that such divine intervention is a logical explanation of the sudden spurts and branches that are observed in the fossil record. The recently popular theory that asteroids or interstellar comets colliding with the ancient earth precipitated sharp evolutionary changes is a no less dramatic explanation of the sudden disappearances of previously successful species.

Another tenable possibility is that God planted the original seed of life on the ancient earth, precipitating the evolution that led to man. This idea is very close to the suggestion of the panspermia theory previously described. It strongly implies that humans are the direct biological offspring of God and thus have the same ultimate potential as God, each a uniquely Mormon doctrine. This theory also appeals to those who prefer to regard natural evolution as God's means of performing the creation. However, care must be taken with any theological theory that depends on gaps in current scientific knowledge. As others have pointed out, the "god of the gaps" approach to science and religion runs the risk of theological suicide.

A principal stumbling block in reconciling LDS creation scriptures with scientific knowledge is Moses 3:7: "And I, the Lord God, formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul, the first flesh upon the earth, the first man also." Some have interpreted this passage as a definitive statement that there was no life of any sort on the earth before Adam. However, others have pointed out that Adam is not explicitly named in the passage, and thus it might simply mean that mankind originated from the materials of this earth, which is certainly consistent with scientific knowledge. Still others have pointed out the phrase *living soul* and concluded that Adam was the first of the living organisms on earth to be joined with a previously created spirit. Some suggest that the statement applies only locally to the Garden of Eden. Perhaps the scriptural account of the creation of Adam and Eve is figurative, as is briefly suggested in the endowment ceremony.

Recently some prominent Church writers have begun to display a considerably more open-minded approach than has prevailed during the last few decades. Hugh Nibley's "Before Adam" (1980) argues that pre-Adamites are entirely acceptable. Nibley and others have also investigated the writings of early Christians, who believed in the creation of numerous other worlds with sentient beings and who emphatically rejected creation *ex nihilo* (Nibley 1973). Perhaps the next few years will see a reopening of the dialogue between LDS scientists and theologians on this topic.

Spirits, Bodies, and the Resurrection

Modern discoveries of DNA and molecular biology provide a highly tenable explanation of how the resurrection might occur. Scientists have known for years that each individual human cell contains, encoded in its DNA, sufficient information to, in theory, perfectly reconstruct the individual. However, they often overlook the fact that even DNA material is not required — only a record of this information, which could be entered into a computer file.

A related issue — that we were created spiritually before coming to the earth and that our spirit personage exactly resembles our physical body — poses a difficult problem for those seeking to reconcile theology and science. This notion appears to be sharply at odds with known facts of biological heredity. The only way to explain this resemblance is to assume that God's foreknowledge is so great as to foresee every mortal marriage, in fact every

conjugal act that ever occurred, and furthermore to foresee which of the millions of male sperm would unite with a particular ovum. Such a level of foreknowledge (and determinism) not only runs afoul of quantum physics but greatly exceeds even that permitted by Church authorities, who frequently counsel youth that there is no such thing as a unique predetermined marriage partner.

Perhaps the silence of LDS writers on this subject is due to the realization that it is very difficult to reconcile this popularly held belief with known facts of genetics. Perhaps scholars and theologians need to re-examine this doctrine. Is it really necessary and scripturally well founded? Can it be moderated? Is the visual appearance of a spirit being merely a fluid quality that can assume the form of an assigned physical body?

CONCLUSION

Latter-day Saint theology, with its rich tradition of naturalism and open-minded attitudes toward science, is to many intellectually minded members a major factor in their continued faith (Smith 1986). There is no question that its foundation of natural law and rationality permits a significantly cleaner accommodation of the principles of science than most other theological systems.

However, this tradition may be in danger as the Church continues to experience exponential growth, bringing in converts whose beliefs are deeply rooted in the theologies of traditional Christianity. Current Church literature frequently includes statements about God's absolute omnipotence and his ability to alter the laws of nature, even though these sectarian doctrines sharply disagree with traditional Mormon theology (White 1987). Similarly, the conservatism that pervades modern creation beliefs in the Church seems to have more in common with certain Christian fundamentalist sects than with the open-minded philosophies of the early Church leaders.

Perhaps it is time for Latter-day Saints with scientific backgrounds to renew their efforts to establish dialogue with those of other disciplines in order to re-examine the philosophical roots of Mormon theology. This article is written in that spirit. Let the dialogue begin!

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Adam's Navel

Keith E. Norman

A FEW YEARS AGO ON A CROSS-COUNTRY TRIP, my brother Paul and I detoured from Interstate 70 in western Missouri for some site-seeing. After stopping at the Far West temple site and the town square at Gallatin, we trekked a few more miles north. Our goal was that most esoteric of spots on the Mormon tour, Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The country road ended in the woods, where a marker identified a pile of stones as the spot where the Ancient of Days himself built the first sacrificial altar after his expulsion from paradise. Rumor had it that the local Saints replenished the heap each spring, but I pocketed a souvenir anyway.

Several paths wandered through the trees among the rubble of early Mormon homes, and we soon found ourselves in an oval-shaped clearing. Another, cruder sign affixed to a beech tree was no longer legible, but this, we surmised, must be the place where the great patriarch gathered his posterity to bestow his final blessing and exhortation. The late afternoon sun burnished the already dry grass, and the atmosphere was hushed, inviting reverence.

I could not hold back. "I walked today where Adam walked," I sang, "in days of long ago. . . ." Paul rebuked me for the sacrilege but could not altogether stifle a snicker of his own.

Latter-day Saints who interpret the scriptures literally must exercise great faith when reading the first chapters of Genesis. Here the sacred record tells us not only that the world was created in just six days, but that the lights came on in the morning and it got dark at bedtime, before the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars. The sky is referred to as a hard metallic bowl, aptly named *firmamentum* in Latin, which fit over the earth and held back the flood waters from above — until Chapter 7, that is, when the windows of

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heaven were opened to expedite the deluge. Plant life appeared a little too soon — again, before the sun, but at least the animals waited for the lights to be placed in the firmament before they sprang forth. And it is satisfying to eavesdrop on God when, as his final, crowning work, he creates us, mankind, male and female, in his own image. Never mind that he does this by speaking to himself in the plural. It's the results that count: He appoints us rulers over the entire world — we can spread out and subjugate the whole of it. Very good indeed.

Reading along in Chapter 2, the Creator is enjoying a well-deserved rest, when suddenly we find him starting over. Whereas in Chapter 1 he was a majestic and somewhat distant personality who got results just by giving the word, in the second version he shows up right on the scene and rolls up his sleeves. And is it the same planet? On the first try there was nothing in the beginning but water; this time not a drop is in sight. After irrigating from an underground well, the Lord plasters together our progenitor almost as a mud pie. Without delay he administers CPR, and Adam comes to life. As there isn't much for this first creature to see yet, the Lord sets about planting a garden for him to give him a little responsibility and something to occupy the time. He hires him as gardener and gives him a short course on which plants are not fit for human consumption. This one tree in the middle, he explains, is called the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Never mind why — its fruit means certain death. But it's only a single tree; don't give it a second thought. There's no end of safe food ripe for the picking.

Adam is going to be quite lonely in this setting, and this, the Lord realizes, is not good. So he goes back to the mud and sculpts more living things. Adam duly names the succession of animals, but they don't make good companions for him. Something is still missing. Finally the Lord decides that Adam will require surgery. After putting him under, the Lord extracts a rib, which he uses to build a suitable helper. Adam, when he comes to, is understandably tickled and calls her woman (Hebrew *isha*), because she was taken out of man (*ish*). They get on splendidly.

Of course such a setup can't last, and the next thing you know along comes the villain — a skulking serpent. This is no ordinary snake-in-the-grass, but a talking serpent who apparently still has legs to get around. He persuades the woman to taste the forbidden fruit by assuring her that it won't really kill her; in fact, it will make her wise. God, the archetypal patriarch, he adds, is just trying to keep her in her place. Being quite naive about serpents, she bites, and lo and behold, it works! *Now* she gets it. Adam, come here, she says, I've got something to show you. Some villain! Some fruit!

Not surprisingly, their first big discovery is that they are stark naked. When the Lord comes by for his daily stroll, the couple hide in the bushes. Being very astute, the Lord senses that something is amiss, so he summons and questions the pair. They cower modestly in their fig leaves, but neither is willing to take the rap. The Lord is understandably upset and curses everyone involved. The snake suffers amputation, the woman has to stay home with the kids, and the man is demoted to dirt farmer. The dirt is struck barren.

Finally, the Lord, in a fit of jealousy, evicts the humans from their home in Eden. They may have become smart like us, he tells himself (in the plural), but we will keep immortality to ourselves. So he sets a couple of dragons with a revolving, fiery sword to bar them from the tree of life. This tree is another one of the unusual species in the garden, and *its* fruit could actually make them — but that's another story.

APPROACHES TO CREATION ACCOUNTS

Biblical Literalism

Although the account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden makes for a great read and is the one Bible story that is known the world over, even a true-blue literalist must swallow hard to accept it as a documentary of how the world and the human race really began. Heaven and earth in six days? A talking snake? Fruit that can make you wise or immortal? In the words of Alice, "There's no use trying, one *can't* believe impossible things."

"I dare say you haven't had much practice," replied the White Queen. "When I was your age, I always did it for half an hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast" (Carroll 1962, 233). Today, of course, an early-rising saint can get in two sessions before a late breakfast and thus easily top Her Majesty from Wonderland's prodigious feat.

An unquestioning biblical literalism was the norm in Mormonism's formative years. For some time now, and especially since Darwin, the debate has raged over whether the biblical version of creation and fall is history. Was Adam a real person, the first man on earth? Or is this all just a myth, the product of a primitive mind trying to explain how things came to be? I think it was Mark Twain who wondered whether Adam had a navel. It does give one pause.

I contend that these questions of science versus creation and history versus myth, framed in such either-or terms, obscure the real meaning of the Genesis text. They produce plenty of heat, but very little light, precisely because they are set up as alternatives with the assumption that only one version can be true. On the one hand, if the scientific theory of evolution over eons of time is accurate, then the Genesis account of the origins of man cannot be true. If it does not recount actual historical events, the story of Adam and Eve is "mere" myth or fable. The opposite view holds that *because* the biblical account is inspired by God, it is necessarily true history; God cannot lie. Modern science is mistaken in this case and should be ignored.

Of course, a third alternative attempts to resolve the tension by compromise. Proponents of this view would reconcile the scientific and biblical accounts by explaining away the differences as arising from misinterpretations. They often express confidence that future discoveries or better analysis will show that both versions are saying the same thing: the order of creation in Genesis 1 follows the broad outlines of the scientific version; the "days" are not twenty-four hour periods but seem to correspond to geological eras (or at

least should be understood as 1,000 years each according to the Lord's calendar); Adam was the first man with a full-sized brain, or perhaps the first man to hold the priesthood . . . and so on. This approach requires its proponents to dismiss a disturbingly large number of specific details as mistranslations or corruptions of the original text.

All three positions — the literal, the scientific, or some blend of the two — suffer from the attempt to impose modern standards of science and history on a text written thousands of years before those standards were invented. Our value system insists that for something to be true it must correspond to objective reality. Indeed, such correspondence is the classical philosophical definition of truth. Consequently, we equate myth with the false, the made-up, the naive, and the superstitious. Because we prefer our history sanitized and documented, we refuse to acknowledge the obvious mythological elements in the opening chapters of Genesis in order to protect its authority.

Such cultural chauvinism is unfortunate, because it tends to obscure the deeper meaning and richness of the text. A narrow focus on the particularity of historical incidents not only restricts our vision to a surface, superficial understanding, but also distorts the message of the opening chapters of Genesis. Recognizing the function of myth removes those blinders and opens us to the universal, symbolic truths crucial to the text's spiritual import.

Two Creation Accounts: Source Criticism

The first step in getting past misconceptions about the biblical creation story is to recognize the setting in which the first chapters of Genesis were written. We have already noted that Chapters 1 and 2 offer two differing accounts of the creation story with conflicting details. Further analysis of style, vocabulary, theology, and purpose has allowed scholars to date Genesis 1 through 2:4a to the time during or immediately after the exile in Babylon. The writer is concerned with preserving and restoring the religion of Israel in a time of great uncertainty, and his themes are stability, legitimacy, and the proper performance of ritual. He is known anonymously as the priestly (P) writer or writers. P's magnum opus was the book of Leviticus, but he contributed to other parts of the Bible, including the genealogical lists of Genesis (Gottwald 1985, 140, 170). It is not surprising that P ends his account of creation with the summary statement, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth" (Gen. 2:4). Even the ground we stand on has a pedigree.

The King James version of Genesis, following the manuscripts available at the time, obscures the transition to the second account by running P's conclusion into the new statement, which is now numbered 2:4b. A better translation of this opening might read, "In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, before there were any plants in the earth or herbs growing in the fields . . ." (Speiser 1982, 14–15). This is another way of saying, "In the beginning," but this dry, barren world awaiting the Creator is a very different scenario from the chaotic deep P describes. We note right off that this second writer calls the deity "Lord," while P referred to him as "God"

(Hebrew *Eloheim*). Lord is the English equivalent of *Adonai*, the Hebrew circumlocution used to avoid pronouncing the sacred name of God, YHWH, from which we derive the name Jehovah (scholarly consensus now vocalizes this as Yahweh). According to P's version, this name was first revealed to Moses (Ex. 6:3), and any use before then would be an anachronism. The liberal use of the name Yahweh (or Jehovah) has earned for the author of Genesis 2:4b–4:27 the designation of J. He is a masterful storyteller but a less careful scholar. J's is actually the earlier of the two creation accounts by several hundred years. He reflects the national self-confidence and less restrictive theology of David and Solomon's reigns (Gottwald 1985, 137; Speiser 1982, xxvii).

Conspicuous by omission from this discussion of authorship is Moses. Although the traditional ascription of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Bible, to the great Hebrew prophet is no longer tenable among scholars, much of the oral, if not written, tradition used by the later authors can be traced back to Moses' time, or even earlier. Nowhere, however, does the text itself claim Moses as the author, and it tells his story in the third person, including an account of his death. Several passages in Genesis, for instance the phrase "even to this day" (19:38) or the list of the kings of Edom down to the time of David (36:31), clearly point to a much later author.

Latter-day Saints have a tougher time than most dismissing Moses as the author of Genesis. Joseph Smith's revision of the opening chapters is now canonized by the LDS church as the book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price, and the RLDS use the revised or inspired version as the standard text. However, I regard the Prophet's work here as primarily doctrinal correction rather than textual restoration or historical reconstruction. The Mormon canon adds significant dimensions to the creation accounts, but it is important to deal with Genesis on its own terms first.

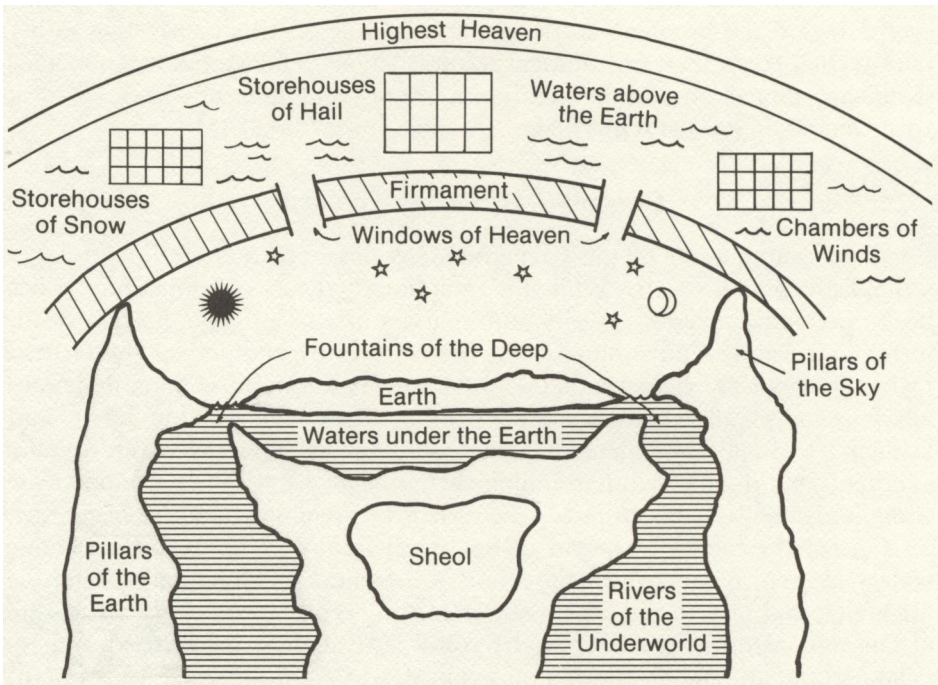
CREATION MYTHS AND GENESIS

Close examination of the background to these creation stories precludes a simplistic, literalist view. While the evolutionary theory of human origins has been developing, new discoveries and analyses of ancient Near Eastern documents and artifacts have illuminated the cultural background of the Genesis text. Scholars now recognize that the biblical creation stories contain numerous allusions and parallels to earlier myths from Mesopotamia, Babylon, Egypt, and Canaan. Virtually every detail in Genesis 1–3 has some reference to these tales (Gaster 1969, 3–50). Understanding these similarities will help us appreciate what is distinctive and inspired about Israel's recounting of the beginning.

One of the most widespread mythic motifs refers to the dark and chaotic watery element out of which the world was formed. The battle between the life-giving god and the serpent monster of the deep was the principal feature of the annual or seasonal renewal/fertility festivals that dramatized and revalidated the original creation: in Canaan, Baal fought the sea serpent Lotan; in Babylon, Marduk slew Tiamat. *Tiamat* is thought to be a cognate with

the Hebrew *tehom*, translated as “the deep” in Genesis 1:2. P sees creation out of chaos (formless and void) as a process of separation: light is separated from darkness, land from water, and plants and animals from the earth. Chaos and darkness are pushed back but not destroyed, and the chaotic floods surround the earth above and below, as well as on all sides (Anderson 1962, 730). In the Old Testament conception of the world exemplified in P, the sun, moon, and stars are suspended under the firmament, a solid barrier resting on the pillars of the sky to hold back the waters above. Sheol, where shades of former mortals dwell, is encased in a kind of underground island. The whole cosmic structure is designed to protect against the breakout of the chaos represented in the surrounding waters (Gaster 1962; Gottwald 1985, 474–76).

The mythic personification of chaos as a sea monster, although only hinted at by P, is perhaps the most widespread creation motif in the Bible. It is variously referred to as Rahab, Leviathan, Tehom, or Yam in the Psalms (18:5; 74:12–14; 77:16–19; 89:9–10; 104:5–9), Isaiah (44:27; 50:2; 51:9–11), Job (9:8; 26:11–13; 38:8–11), and elsewhere (Nahum 1:4; Habakkuk 3:8, 10). This formless monster from the depths, like the “undertoad” of Garp’s world (Irving 1979, 474–75), is capable of breaking out in a destructive rampage at any time. When God loses patience with his creatures, he need only step back to loosen the floods from above and below (Gen. 7:11). Israel celebrates its victory over Pharaoh in the “Song of the Sea” (Ex. 15:1–18) after *tehomot* (compare with Tiamat), the floods, cover the Egyptian army. Christ affirms his



THE COSMOS OF GENESIS 1.

creative power in calming the raging sea (Mark 4:39–41) and compares his coming death to Jonah being swallowed by the monster of the sea (Matt. 12:40). When God's work is finally complete, the sea will be no more (Rev. 21:1); the dragon will be slain at last (Isa. 27:1). It is significant that in the creation cycle of the opening chapters of Genesis, the forces of disorder or chaos return in the form of a serpent to undermine the Creator's work. This animal was considered particularly cunning because of its seemingly effortless mobility. The snake's ability to shed its skin and perpetually renew itself appeared to give it the secret of immortality (Gaster 1969, 36). Casting the serpent as villain may also reflect a polemic against the Canaanite fertility cult, in which the snake as a phallic symbol represented life, death, and wisdom. The cult long held a certain fascination and temptation for Israel (Vawter 1956, 64).

Another widespread myth is that of a god forming the first humans from mud or clay. This ancient motif often involves breathing life into the creature. Creation in the image of the god is also common in oriental myths. In Egypt and Babylon, the king was regarded as the image, and thus the representative or viceroy of God on earth (Westermann 1984, 152–54). The creation of mankind in God's image in Genesis 1 is followed by the commission to subdue and have dominion over the rest of creation: the royalty metaphor is transferred to all mankind (compare with Psalm 8:4–6).

A number of the mythical features in Genesis 1–3 are conspicuous because they seem superfluous to the narrative. The tree of life recalls one of the most common myths in ancient cultures (Vawter 1956, 54; Westermann 1984, 213). Here it is mentioned but briefly and is connected only to other overtly mythological motifs — the jealous god who prevents man from grasping immortality and the guardian creatures or magical weapon that cut off access to the treasure. These elements would hardly be missed from the story. On the surface their inclusion seems arbitrary, as if J were juggling the contents of a creation grab bag.

One of the most fascinating parallels to Genesis is found in the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic, from about 2000 B.C. — long before even the time of Moses (Pritchard 1958, 40–75). Enkidu, the prototype human hero, is created as a wild man, naked and uncivilized. He lives with animals until the god Ana sends a woman to seduce him. This encounter results in the loss of his superhuman agility and strength but gives him wisdom and understanding, “like a god.” He thus becomes fully human, dons clothes, and the animals flee from him. When Enkidu faces death, he curses the woman who brought him awareness of his mortality. In a later episode, his companion Gilgamesh is in quest of the plant of life, but just as the means of immortality is within his grasp, he loses it to a serpent. If J was not directly familiar with the Gilgamesh cycle, he was certainly influenced by similar tales (Westermann 1984, 51–52; Anderson 1975, 210). Sumerian literature contemporary with the Gilgamesh epic speaks of a blissful paradise garden where there is no sorrow. Some versions specify that the garden is watered from a source that divides into four streams flowing into the four corners of the world, strongly suggesting the later geographical description in Genesis 2:10–14 (Von Rad 1972; Gaster 1969, 27).

But, although the authors of the Israelite creation stories drew upon the mythic cultural background of the ancient Near East, their focus is entirely different. In fact, the thrust of the early chapters of Genesis to demythologize this common heritage. The decided monotheistic emphasis retains only an echo of the pantheon of gods in the earlier stories. P's concluding statement, that *these* are the generations of the heavens and of the earth (Gen. 2:4a), seems to mock the theogonies that depict creation as a process of sexual generation from the pagan deities, as when the earth mates with the sky to produce plants and animals. Similarly, the heavenly bodies are no longer astrological deities that rule human fate but only govern the days and seasons under God's direction. The garden is planted to provide food for humans, not as a resort for the gods with men as their slaves.

The thrust of this demythologizing was to disassociate Israel's religion, which was grounded in God's mighty acts in history, from the ritualized mythical nature cycles celebrated by her neighbors. Creation, as it functions in the Old Testament, is not a timeless, mystical drama that must be repeated periodically to ensure fertility or avert the wrath of the gods. It is, rather, the prelude to history and establishes the basis of humanity's relationship to God (Anderson 1962, 726–27).

MYTH AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY IN GENESIS

If the biblical writers wanted to ground their religious faith in history and experience, why did they make such extensive use of the myths of the surrounding cultures? Again, this question falters on the modern assumption that myth and history are alternative categories, representing, respectively, the fanciful and the real. We need to expand our definition of myth to encompass the understanding of those cultures who created and used it.

Historians of religion define myth as a specialized category of literature which communicates otherworldly or metaphysical concepts in the language of this world. Myth uses poetry and symbolism to express truth indirectly. Thus "the dragon-killing creation myth, for example, found in so many Near Eastern mythologies, appears in the Bible too, not as a matter of belief or ritual but of poetic imagery" (R. Frye 1983, 92). The poetic meaning of these Old Testament texts is not just "something read in later on the basis of more sophisticated philosophies. These implications are inherent in the myths and usages from the beginning" (Gaster 1969, xxxiv). In other words, biblical writers used myth consciously and intentionally, not because they didn't know any better. Our recognition of this literary fact by no means detracts from the value of the narrative. "Legends are not lies," as Hermann Gunkel recognized almost a century ago, but "a particular form of poetry," and it is this literary form that makes the stories of Genesis among "the most beautiful and profound ever known on earth" (1964, 3).

By looking beyond everyday experience, myth takes us where history dares not tread. It infuses ordinary events with a significance beyond the mundane by assimilating them to archetypal models. "Myth, or *mythopoeia* . . . en-

visages and expresses things in terms of their impact, not of their essence; it is impressionistic, not analytic, and it finds expression in poetry and art rather than in science. Its concern is with experience, not with categorization; it [translates] the real into the ideal" (Gaster 1969, xxxiv).

In this sense, the issue of history versus myth is not a concern of the biblical writers. Both categories are concerned with past events but view them from different perspectives. Myth is not antihistorical or ahistorical, but suprahistorical. It focuses on inner reality, the meaning of the past, and on those issues which are decisive for the present. Historical accounts of actual events are subject to external criteria of truth, but a poetic form such as myth has a broader scope. "Poetry expresses the universal in the event, the aspect of the event that makes it an example of the kind of thing that is always happening. In our language, the universal in the history is what is conveyed by the *mythos*, the shape of the historical narrative. A myth is designed not to describe a specific situation but to contain it in a way that does not restrict its significance to one situation" (N. Frye 1982, 46). Historical accuracy in this frame of thinking is not an end in itself, and events are recounted or reshaped in terms of their spiritual profundity. Nephi advocates a similar editorial bias in record keeping when he emphasizes the spiritual history of his nation in preference to political events (Jacob 1:2; 1 Ne. 19:6; 9:4). Our cultural prejudice, which devalues myth, fable, or fiction as "not really true," is directly at odds with the biblical mindset. The presence of myth in the scriptures by no means precludes inspiration or revelation in producing the text; God speaks to us according to our ability to understand, and myth can be a very powerful means of conveying truth.

Jesus understood this fact, and his own literary skill was quite sophisticated. The truths taught in the parables clearly do not depend on their historicity. Christ began the story of the Good Samaritan with the characteristic phrase, "a certain man," roughly equivalent to our "once upon a time." Although the details of this tale are quite realistic, acknowledging that the Good Samaritan is a fictional character does not seem to bother us. In fact, the parables' non-specificity allows us to identify more closely with the characters.

Similarly, by re-presenting Israel's early and prehistory in mythical terms that universalize the events of the past, Genesis involves us in the drama. Many scholars believe that the creation stories in Genesis, as well as numerous references to creation in the Psalms (24, 47, and 93–100), reflect the liturgy of the temple rites in Jerusalem (Eliade 1971; Nibley 1963). In common with the customs of most of their neighbors, the ancient Jews used recitation or even dramatic reenactment in their New Year festival to commemorate the triumph of God over darkness and chaos. Although the Jewish version was not explicitly a fertility rite, weddings were often celebrated in this context, and the new couples participated in the blessing bestowed on the first human pair. The New Year was preceded by the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), with its fastings, confessions, purification rites, and purges, culminating in the expulsion of a scapegoat, which carried the community's sins off into the desert. Having thus annulled his own history, the worshipper suspended time and could return

to the primal moment, free to participate in the regeneration of the cosmos and begin a pure existence each year (Eliade 1971, 35, 52–74, 158). Our own New Year's resolutions are but a watered down version of this impulse.

For Christians, the real renewal festival is Easter. Not only does it herald the regeneration of the earth (in the northern hemisphere), but it celebrates the renewal and triumph of Christ, the new Adam, the first of a new humanity. Eliade points out that Easter and New Year's Day were traditionally the foremost baptismal occasions for Christians. "On the cosmic level [baptism] is equivalent to the deluge" (Eliade 1971, 59), with the water symbolizing the chaos out of which a new creation emerges.

This background makes it evident that the view of the creation and structure of the physical universe set forth in Genesis does not reflect an attempt to objectively document a historical or scientific creation. As Claus Westermann points out, "It is clearly not P's intention to describe creation in such a way as we can imagine how it took place" (1984, 116). No eyewitnesses took notes; no cameras were on the scene. Hollywood's attempts to reconstruct the narrative on film are misleading precisely to the extent they achieve realism. The biblical writers strove to universalize, not to particularize. "Genesis 2–3 is not concerned with two individuals but with the primeval representatives of the human race" (Westermann 1984, 278).

Both P and J support this interpretation. P does not mention an individual at all: God created mankind (Heb. *'adam*), male and female, as a species, just as the animals before them, "each according to their kind." The text in most English translations of Chapters 2 and 3 give Adam, and eventually Eve, as proper names. However, the Hebrew word *'adam* means mankind or humanity and is translated accordingly in Genesis 1:26–27. J's account in Genesis 2:7 brings out the pun on the cognate *'adamah*, ground or soil: the Lord formed *'adam* from the dust of the *'adamah*. Furthermore, the text in the Garden of Eden narration almost always uses the word in the generic form, with the article, *ha-'adam*. Translating this as "the man Adam" is redundant and inaccurate. Not until the end of Chapter 4, relating the birth of Seth after Adam and Eve enter the world as we know it, does J drop the article, indicating a shift to a proper name. Similarly, Eve is a rough transliteration of the Hebrew *hawu*, and here the author's etymology as "the mother of all living" pointedly recognizes her representative or universal status. The focus of the story is not to give us historical information about the original man and woman as individuals, but to help us identify with them, and so to recognize both our maker and our responsibility for our alienation from him. Our goal should be to restore our intended relationship and present ourselves before him in innocence, stripped of worldly concerns.

Approaching the text in this way destroys the rationale for an opposition between the Bible and scientific research into the origins of the human species. The Genesis accounts are interested in theology, not science. "All efforts to reconcile biblical cosmogony with modern science," writes Gaster, "rest . . . on a fundamental misunderstanding of its purpose and intent, and on a naive confusion between two distinct forms of mental activity" (1962, 702). Modern

scientific creationists refuse to understand this and end up being false to both science and scripture. Recognizing that Genesis uses poetic and mythical literary forms to communicate its theological message exposes the conflict between science and religion as a red herring.

Without the distraction of irrelevant concerns, Genesis 1–3 reveals a profound insight into the human condition and our relationship to God. The wisdom of the editor who combined the P and J narratives becomes apparent. The accounts are complimentary: their discrepancies fade into the background in the sweep of the tale. We can only touch on the highlights here.

In contrast to many ancient religions, biblical faith is anthropocentric. The world exists for humans; we are not mere playthings or slaves to the gods. J makes this point immediately by having the Lord form man as the first of his works; all else is ancillary. P accomplishes the same thing by placing us at the climax or pinnacle of God's creations. To be in the image of God means that we have a familial relationship to him, as Genesis 5:1–3 makes clear. Only we, among all the creatures, can hold a dialogue with the Creator. We are assigned dominance and given responsibility as partners, or counterparts, to God on earth. Surrounding cultures made their kings or heroes the sons and representatives of God, but Hebrew thought exalted all mankind to this status, describing us as crowned with glory and honor, only a little lower than God (Ps. 8:5; Anderson 1962, 729). We are thus freed from polytheism, materialism, and fatalism.

Such an optimistic picture, however, seems at odds with everyday existence, and Genesis gives us a striking account of how we got into our present mess. Both narratives exonerate God from the evil and imperfection in the world. At the end of the first section, God pronounces his work "very good"; he had brought order and beauty out of formless chaos. The motif of creation through struggle, which lies behind P's account, is continued in J's saga of humanity and indeed throughout the Old Testament. God continually must contend with the wickedness and disorder of humanity. He is the Lord of hosts; his prophets are embattled heralds. The tempter serpent in Genesis 3 represents a new breakout of chaos, a resistance to the order and tranquility established by God. Humans compound the problem by misuse of free choice, thus increasing spiritual entropy. The blame for moral evil rests squarely on us, not on some outside force; God interrogates the man and the woman, not the serpent. The tranquility and abundance of the garden represent both the bounty of God's gifts to us and the peace of an unspoiled relationship to him. Even after we alienate ourselves from God, he strives for our welfare, typified by the gift of clothing to protect us from the harshness of the real world.

The ambiguity of the choice faced by Adam and Eve, however, makes this more than a simple fable of good versus evil. The woman chooses the godlike wisdom of experience over the naive innocence of a sheltered existence. In this sense, expulsion from the garden represents cutting the apron strings as well as rebellion, a necessary step in attaining maturity and full human potential. The conditions of mortality are not so much a punishment as a statement of the human condition. Fallibility, shame, and suffering are inseparably linked with

pleasure, knowledge, and fulfillment. Opposition and paradox are the terms of our existence; the joys cannot be separated from the ills. Westermann describes the woman's "punishment" in terms of the irony: "just where the woman finds her fulfillment in life, her honor and her joy, namely in her relationship to her husband and as mother of her children, there too she finds that it is not pure bliss, but pain, burden, humiliation and subordination" (1984, 263). Similarly, man's work in the field, producing life-giving food, is beset with trouble, sweat, and thorns. That the woman transgresses first does not degrade her but shows how the man's helper ironically becomes a hindrance.

In fact, Genesis 2 is unique among creation myths of its era in granting woman fully human status and partnership with man. The King James Bible, which describes woman as "an help *meet* for man" (v. 18), is often misunderstood as a help-*mate*, a subordinate maid to do his bidding. The word "meet" here means proper, suitable, corresponding to; in other words, one of his own kind — "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh" (v. 23), compared to the animals, who were not suitable partners. "What is meant," writes Westermann, "is personal community of man and woman in the broadest sense — bodily and spiritual community, mutual help and understanding, joy and contentment in each other" (1984, 232).

A major theme of the Genesis myth is the sanctification of family life and the relation between the sexes, as Jesus reiterated in Matthew 19:4–6. The text makes no suggestion that the transgression had anything to do with sex. It is true that the knowledge gained from their choice entailed an awareness of the man and woman's sexuality — they were ashamed to be found naked — but this shame is not associated with lust or sexual sin. That Eve is granted her name or title as mother of all living after the sentence is pronounced emphasizes that the punishment did not nullify the blessing of procreation.

LATER DOCTRINES

The foregoing description of theological motifs in Genesis 1–3 is by no means exhaustive. Many of the doctrines associated with these creation stories, however, were developed by later exegetes and rely to a great extent on a literal, historical interpretation. The most prominent are teachings about the fall of man, original sin, and the origin of death.

Jewish and Christian Contributions

It is striking that the Old Testament never mentions the Fall or any concept relating to it. There is no lament over a lost golden age or blame for the primeval man for spoiling things. Jewish thought tends to value man as good and capable of communion with God. Only in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is Adam's original stature greatly magnified and the cosmological significance of his sin emphasized (II Enoch 30:8ff; Ecclesiasticus 49:16; Life of Adam 12ff; Apocalypse Baruch 17:3; II Esdras 3:4–21, 4:30, 7:11–12; Jubilees 3:28–29). This trend is continued in rabbinical literature and Philo, which also influenced the New Testament, especially notable in Paul's writings

(Luke 3:38; Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:22, 45–47). The development of the atonement doctrine was the major impetus for the prominence of the Fall in Christianity. If the account of the Fall is taken as a figurative expression of our alienation from God, the atonement may need to be understood in a more subjective manner as well (Norman 1985).

Although inspired by Pauline thought, the principal features of the original sin dogma were outlined by Augustine in the late fourth century. In spite of the fact that DNA had not yet been discovered, Augustine developed a theory implying that Adam's guilt and corrupt nature are biologically passed on through the seed in procreation (Lampe 1978, 162; Pelikan 1971, 300). The logical if extreme conclusion was reached in the Calvinistic teaching of the total depravity of man. This classic doctrine of original sin requires a literal interpretation of Genesis 3. Recognizing the mythical nature of the account, however, exposes the absurdity of the idea that we inherit the guilt and responsibility of a progenitor's sin. Rather, the mythical understanding points to our *psychological* affinity with the characters in the story: they represent humanity and illustrate the contradictions of our existence.

The issue of death in Genesis 2–3 is more puzzling. Traditionally, Adam's transgression has been blamed for bringing death into the world, but this is never explicit in the text. The Lord's warning is not that partaking the forbidden fruit would introduce death, but that it would result in death on the same day. Thus the serpent's refutation of this as an idle threat turns out to be correct. The tree of life further complicates matters, since it was not forbidden before expulsion from the garden. Understanding the story as myth rather than as a historical account makes such narrative lapses unimportant. On one level, the message is that eternal life is inaccessible to humans because they are formed out of the dust of the earth. Physical death is unavoidable. On a higher plane, it tells us that disobedience or defiance of God means spiritual death, exclusion from fellowship with God, who is the source of life. Misuse of our agency to choose has grave consequences.

Mormon Contributions

The position and contribution of Mormonism on this topic is somewhat complex and deserves separate treatment. I will only suggest some preliminary observations and conclusions here.

LDS statements on the literalness of the creation and Garden of Eden stories are somewhat schizophrenic. Adam is almost always seen as a historical figure, however, and the historicity of Genesis is intensified for Mormons by such peculiar features in their tradition as Adam-ondi-Ahman, the temple endowment, and the Adam-God theory. On the other hand, Mormons are explicitly told in the temple that the formation of the man from the dust and of woman from the man's rib is only figurative. In addition, there is a strong impulse in Mormonism to universalize the Adam and Eve story — to invest it with mythical dimensions. The temple ritual instructs participants to consider themselves to be Adam or Eve as the drama unfolds. Mormon scripture also seems to recognize that Adam is more than a proper name for a single indi-

vidual: “the first man of all men have I called Adam, which is many,” the Lord explains in Moses 1:34.

Although Joseph Smith’s earlier writings largely accept the traditional language of the Fall, the doctrine of original sin was repudiated from the first. Without Adam’s transgression and fall, there would have been no procreation and no opportunity for growth or joy (2 Ne. 2:22–25; Moses 5:10–11). Opposition is a metaphysical necessity for existence itself, and we could not progress without experiencing evil (2 Ne. 2:11–13).

The prophet’s two attempts to rework the Genesis creation story, found in the books of Moses and Abraham, provide a fascinating study of the evolution of his own doctrinal thinking. In his 1830 revision of the opening chapters of the Bible, later published as the book of Moses, Joseph did soften the overt mythology of a talking serpent by specifying that it was possessed, so to speak, by Satan. But he made little attempt to update the scientific details: the firmament still divides the waters above and below, and the events occur in the same skewed order as in Genesis 1. Doctrinal correction is evident, however. When God says “let us,” in Moses 2:26, he is explicitly addressing his “Only Begotten.” The discrepancies between Chapters 1 and 2 of Genesis are resolved by making the first version a spiritual creation (Moses 3:5). It is this feature of Mormon scripture — the insistence that the description of creation in Genesis 1 is spiritual rather than physical — that belies the attempt to reconcile Genesis 1 with the scientific version of creation.

However, the succeeding description in the book of Moses, based on what we have attributed to J, is not clearly physical either. Of the garden the Lord just planted and made to grow, he says, “it was spiritual in the day that I created it; for it remaineth in the sphere in which I, God, created it,” implying that only with the Fall did the earth as we know it come into being (Moses 5:9). Such an interpretation, of course, would support a mythical view: it takes place in a realm where the rules of history are not yet operative.

Perhaps the most far-reaching difference in the creation account in Moses as compared to Genesis is the connection with the preexistence in Moses 4:1–4. This new motif was extensively developed in the account found in Abraham 3, which dates from 1842. Here the preexistent intelligences were organized and assigned to leadership roles, and a plan to further their progression explained. This plan had risks, since it involved the freedom to choose evil as well as good, the possibility of damnation as well as exaltation. The choice was not obvious at all, and many opted for Satan’s safer alternative.

Linking this preexistence scenario with the Adam and Eve story is important in terms of its mythical significance. The literary category of myth or prehistory in Genesis 2–3 corresponds to the doctrinal category of preexistence in the book of Abraham. The Garden of Eden story recapitulates the dilemma and choice we all faced in pre-earth life: whether to remain in static security or risk all and suffer pain, guilt, disappointment, and death in order to realize our full humanity and fulfill our potential to become as the Gods. This constitutes the meaning of the Fall for Latter-day Saints and is the reason we reject the original sin dogma’s pessimistic view of humanity. There is no other way

to progress, to gain knowledge of good and bad, than to confront and experience evil directly and on our own, apart from the God's presence. However, it is our choice; we cannot hold God responsible for the plan of salvation's negative aspects or our failings in the struggle.

The book of Abraham version reflects a distinct attempt to make the creation story more rational and update its doctrinal points. The creator "Gods" here do not get instantaneous results from a mere word: they "cause" things to be formed and watch to see that they are obeyed (4:4, 10, 18). Creation does not happen in just seven days but in eras or "times" (4:8, 13, 19, 23, 31; 5:2-3). When the lights are set in place during the fourth time, the Gods again divide the day from the night, a specification that seems to recognize the problem of day and night preceding the creation of the sun.

The most striking aspect of the Mormon belief system concerning the creation myth is the temple endowment. This ritual presents the Genesis text in dramatic form reminiscent of ancient creation-new year ceremonies. It contains virtually all of the classic elements — purification, expiation of sin, dramatic reenactment of the creation and struggle between the forces of order and chaos, sanctification of marriage and the blessing of progeny, and even association with dead ancestors (Eliade 1971, 52; Nibley 1963). The endowment is clearly not intended to recite literal history. Except for replacing the serpent with Satan and the aside about the creation of Adam and Eve as figurative, little attempt is made to soften the mythological elements of Genesis 1-3. In contrast to the rest of biblical history, where communication with Deity is through visions or revelation, here everything takes place in direct confrontation between humans and God. The temple version goes beyond even Genesis, adding such anachronisms to the Garden of Eden scenes as the Apostles Peter, James, and John and a nineteenth-century Protestant minister. Temple worshippers, most of whom are acting as proxy for deceased predecessors, switch from being Adams and Eves to being members of an apostate congregation and back again. In true mythic fashion, time is thus abolished, as is space: the temple is where heaven, earth, and hell meet, and all mankind — past, present, and future — convenes there. Only in this setting do we learn the true meaning of life.

What, then, shall we say about Missouri? After all, Adam-ondi-Ahman is canonized in D&C 116. There's even a song about it, number 49 in the new hymnal. However, despite my souvenir procured from the very spot, I contend that the significance of this, too, belongs to the realm of mythical truths. Just as Brigham Young and the Mormon pioneers reenacted the Israelite trek through the wilderness, Joseph Smith's designation of the beginning, the original sacred space, the center (or navel!) of the world, as being in America reinforces the idea of the New World as the promised land, the latter-day Zion. It is an elaboration of Book of Mormon doctrine: God has established his covenant anew among the Gentiles in a pristine land, a second Eden. As the tenth article of faith adds, this will be where the Lord returns at the last day, to renew the earth to its paradisiacal glory. The end is to be a restoration and fulfillment of the beginning: creation redeemed.

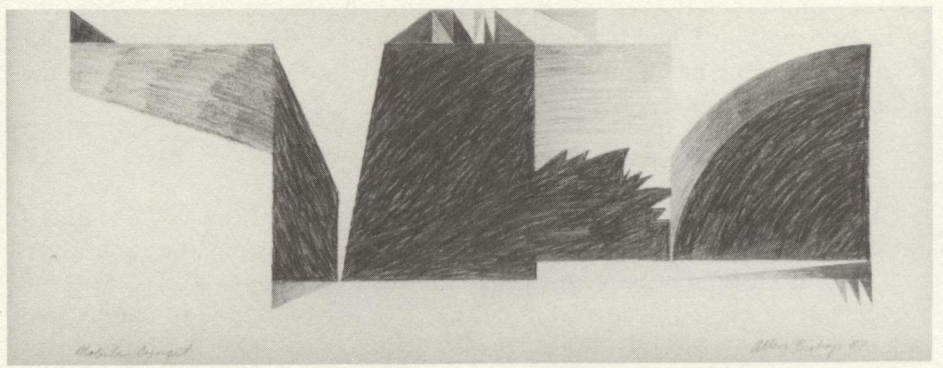
Myth, properly understood, is a powerful means of religious expression and should not be dismissed as though it were the antithesis of truth. Myth is an important element of our religious heritage. To recognize the creation story in Genesis 1–3 as myth rather than history is not to denigrate its value, just as we do not reject the truth of Lehi's vision of the tree of life because it is only a dream or disregard the parables of Jesus because they are fictional. Rather, these literary forms make the truths they teach all the more relevant to each of us. "Adam and Eve . . . are . . . man and woman in general; we are all expelled from our Edens and sacrifice our [innocent or naive] happiness" to our selfish ambitions (Gaster 1969, xxxiv).

Because myth and history deal with different levels of reality, it is still possible to consider Adam and Eve as actual historical figures, while recognizing that the account of creation in Genesis is mythical in nature. In that sense the question of historicity is irrelevant. It is not necessary to believe in a literal Adam to keep the faith, and insistence to the contrary is shortsighted. Nor is a belief in creationism required of Latter-day Saints. Biblical faith and scientific evolution are not mutually exclusive but are two different approaches to truth. Science investigates the mechanisms of creation; Genesis discusses its purpose. We can learn from both if we don't confuse the two. Just as a literal reading of Genesis smacks of superstition, history completely demythologized is ultimately devoid of meaning.

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Messages from Two Cultures: Mormon Leaders in France, 1985

C. Brooklyn Derr

WE OFTEN HEAR THE PHRASE, “The Church is the same all over the world.” While a mutual commitment to the gospel provides a feeling of brotherhood and sisterhood that transcends many cultural barriers, I feel the emphasis on “sameness” ignores the power of pluralism within the Church and can create the false impression that members are the same all over the world. While living in France in 1985 I had an opportunity to analyze patterns of culture among French Mormons and found significant differences between them and their Utah Mormon counterparts.

THE MEANING OF CULTURE

The concept of culture is complex and can be confusing. The study of anthropology offers no intact definition of culture, only numerous and diverse concepts. Both Linda Smircich (1983) and Clifford Geertz (1973) articulate a commonly accepted definition of culture — shared meaning in various communities. Many cultural anthropologists agree that “how the individual is oriented to his situation is, in the concrete sense, ‘within the actor,’ but not in the analytical sense, for modal orientations cannot, by definition, be determined from observing and questioning a single individual — they are culture” (Kluckholm 1954, 960–61). Viewing culture from the perspective of an actor’s representations stresses the way in which culture is capable of elucidating different symbolic systems of meaning.

Much of the current fascination with culture stems from recent popular books on corporate or organizational cultures (Ouchi 1981; Pascale and Athos 1981; Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982; Sathe 1985; Schein 1985). William Ouchi describes this type of culture as “symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of the organization to its members” (p. 41).

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Another variety of culture, “national culture,” is values and beliefs demonstrated by symbols and ceremonies within national boundaries. Some argue that early educational experiences, family patterns, religious experiences, institutional arrangements, language, and geography form common fabrics of meaning for individuals within a national boundary. Obviously, this is more true for homogeneous nations, such as France, than it is for more heterogeneous countries like the United States or the Soviet Union. Cultural subgroups in heterogeneous countries may exert more influence than national origin. Countries such as Belgium and Switzerland are subdivided according to religion, language, and family patterns, resulting sometimes in two separate cultures within the same nation state. Other geographical regions, such as Latin Europe, include different nations with markedly similar cultural make-up.

In 1985, I was a visiting professor at the European Institute of Business Administration (INSEAD), in Fontainebleau, France, for eight months. INSEAD is one of Europe’s most culturally diverse and exclusive business schools, drawing students from all over Europe, North and South America, and the Far East.

My particular research at INSEAD was a cross-cultural study of career orientations (attitudes about work and its relationship to personal life) among business executives in Europe. During my time in France I became interested in my French brethren in the faith, who seemed to me to be listening to messages from two cultures: that of the Church and of their own nation. Membership in one group sometimes made it difficult for them to fit comfortably, without conflict, within the other group, and they often seemed caught between two organizational cultures, trying to develop their own way of doing things. I hypothesized that even long-time Church members, because of life-long national culture experiences, would undoubtedly experience cultural conflict as members of the Church.

In order to examine some of these cultural differences, I asked some French Latter-day Saint leaders to complete a questionnaire that I was using as part of the INSEAD study. Some of the questions, I felt, might shed light on the possible cultural problems associated with being socialized into the Church in France and might provide a model for examining Latter-day Saints in other cultures as well.

ABOUT THE STUDY

For this particular problem, I compared the usable surveys returned by four different groups of men: (1) twenty-two non-LDS Frenchmen enrolled in executive development programs at INSEAD; (2) ten successful French businessmen with high-level administrative positions in the Church who had been Church members for five or more years in the Paris Stake and the Bordeaux District; (3) eighteen Utah Mormons who were enrolled in my classes in the University of Utah’s executive development program (I did not assess either the level of their activity or their current Church position); and (4) forty-six non-Mormons enrolled in the same Utah program.

Because I added subjects to an already-existing sample and used convenience sampling, my respondents were not perfectly matched. Many of the Americans I studied were executives in small and medium-sized companies, while my twenty-two INSEAD executives mostly came from large, multinational corporations. The eighteen Utah Mormons were in various stages of church activity but were active enough to list themselves as practicing Latter-day Saints, while the ten French Latter-day Saints were all considered very active. All of the respondents either were or had been married (a few were divorced and had not remarried), and all had children.

Each of the issues compared below are statistically significant, at least between the two groups with the most extreme scores. I have not reported questionnaire items not significantly different at the .05 level of confidence.

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISONS

Most career surveys concentrate only on professional self-assessment, but one group of questions in this survey was designed to examine the hypothesis that an individual's personal situation affects and, in some cases, limits his or her career choices (Derr 1986, Ch. 11). Such personal constraints might include accommodating a spouse with his or her own career, not wanting to move because of responsibilities for aging parents, or needing more time at home to deal with children or family problems.

One personal constraint question asked respondents, on a scale of one (representing strong agreement) to five (representing strong disagreement), to agree or disagree with the statement: "It is wishful thinking to imagine I can begin a new career once I am invested in the old one; there are too many personal constraints (for example, family obligations, financial responsibilities, geographical location, my spouse. . .)."

The French Mormons agreed most strongly out of the group (their mean score was 2.0 on the five-point scale), followed by the non-LDS French (2.9), the American Mormons (3.44), and the American non-Mormons, who agreed the least (3.76). The response to this question would lead me to hypothesize that national culture is more important than religion in producing this particular feeling of limitation. The rigid educational system and the socio-economic class system in France tend to limit options to a smaller group of people earlier in life than in the United States. For instance, elite French universities, known as *les grandes écoles*, have no way to accommodate beginning students who are not entering directly from the high schools and, with competition for the places so keen, no motivation to encourage people to come back for retraining or sampling classes. Late bloomers may simply not get the second chance they need.

A second statement on the survey was: "A personal life factor which greatly influences my career planning is my parental responsibility." In this case, religion seemed to be the most important consideration. The French Mormons agreed most strongly with this statement — 1.4 (where 1 indicates "strongly agree") — followed by the American Mormons (2.2), the non-LDS Frenchmen (2.3), and the non-LDS Americans (3.0).

Although Mormons in general agreed with this statement more often than their non-Mormon colleagues, the French Mormons were significantly ahead of the Americans. Why do French Church members perceive that fatherhood has such a significant impact on their careers? Perhaps sampling bias accounts for the results. Church activity among the American Latter-day Saint group varied, but the French Mormons all had stake or ward leadership positions.

Since the French non-LDS score differed from the American Mormons' by only one-tenth of a point along a five-point scale, the difference could be attributed to a greater national concern in France with fatherhood. A typical middle- and upper-class French family is small; the children receive a great deal of attention, affection, and care; parents routinely save for years to provide education for their children, sacrifice their own interests to spend time with their children, and focus a great deal of energy on their children. Working parents, for example, dutifully observe a four-week vacation period in the summer. Both parents also normally work with their children on school assignments each evening. At INSEAD, French executives in multi-national corporations who were also parents of school-age children were most reluctant to take promotions that would require them to move outside of their country. From the earliest grades on, French education depends on placement by examination before continuing to the next level. If another country did not have well-recognized French schools, it would be very difficult for children to reenter the French educational system and qualify for the *grandes écoles*.

A related survey question involved extended families: "A personal life factor which greatly influences my career planning is my extended family responsibilities (caring for parents, living near extended-family members)." The overall mean score for this item on the five-point scale was 3.29. The French Mormons scored 1.5, followed by the American Mormons (3.4), the non-LDS Americans (3.54), and the non-LDS French (3.7). There was a significant statistical difference between French Mormons and all other groups on this question. It is possible with only ten subjects that all of them coincidentally had unusual situations; but it is also tempting to hypothesize that the Latter-day Saint emphasis on the importance of families reinforces the French emphasis on extended families. To my knowledge, five of these men were second-generation Mormons who had grown up with their new religion as an additional bond between them and their parents but as a separating factor between them and their non-Mormon brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

A fourth question probed the extent to which a strong geographical preference constrains careers. In most companies people being groomed for the top must be willing to move with the opportunities. Many American executives routinely move every three to five years until they are senior executives. I asked my groups to respond to this statement: "A personal life factor which greatly influences my career planning is my strong geographical preference. (I am not geographically mobile)."

The American Mormons, mostly from Utah, had a mean score of 1.2. There was a considerable gap between them and the next group, the non-

Mormon Americans, at 3.6. The French Mormons followed closely at 3.7, and the French non-Mormons trailed at 4.25. Utahns are commonly perceived as placing a high value on staying in the state. This bias may, in fact, skew the data. Would Latter-day Saint participants from other areas in the United States respond the same way? Because France is a relatively small country, we might also ask if Mormons would have a higher mobility rate within the traditional zones of intermountain Zion than outside that area? In any case, French Mormons seem more geographically mobile — at least within France — than their Utah counterparts.

As my INSEAD studies showed, French executives, more than those of other nationalities, work hard but keep their personal and professional lives strictly separate. They take full advantage of long lunch hours, private evenings, weekends, and holidays. They very seldom take work home. I asked them to respond to this statement: “Our company believes that how an employee manages his/her ‘personal’ life is not the company’s business, as long as personal life doesn’t affect performance.”

As Figure 1 shows, the French agreed with this statement more emphatically than the Americans, and French Mormons showed the highest rate of agreement. This value was underscored for me when the Paris Stake Primary held an all-day children’s olympics for families on a national religious holiday in May (Ascension Day). In May the French have one work holiday per week, so there are only four working days per week. I did not attend the

FIGURE 1
BALANCE AS SEPARATING PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE

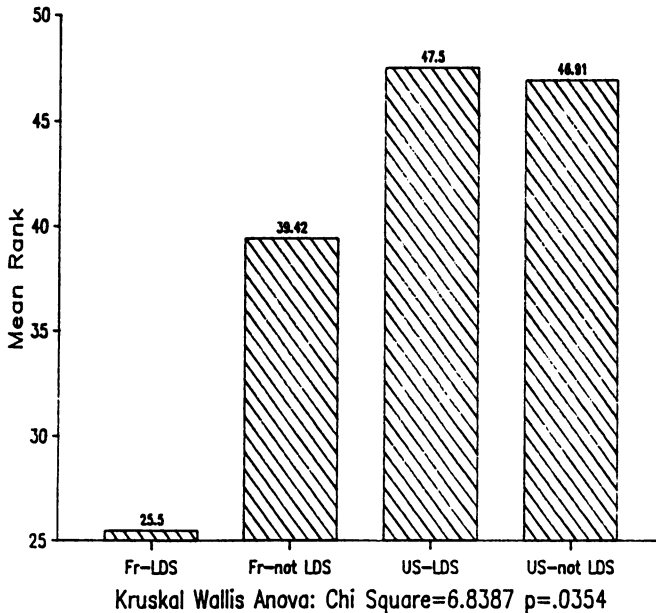
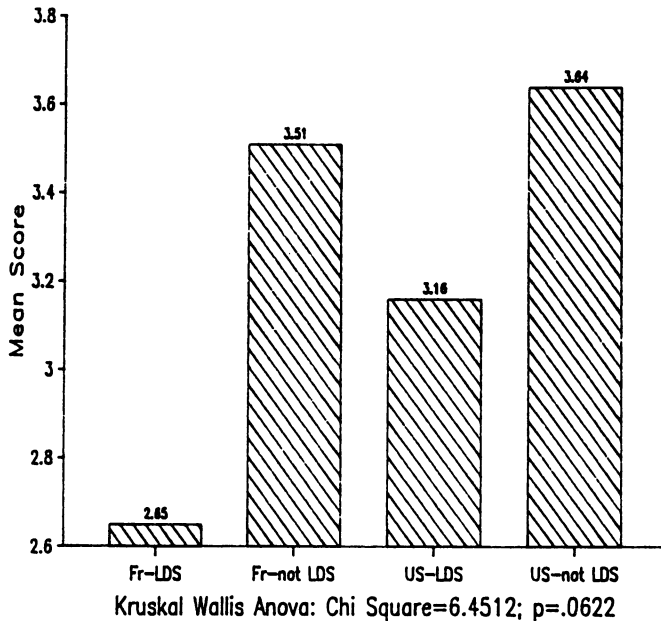


FIGURE 2
 OVERALL PERSONAL CONSTRAINT MEAN SCORES
 Contrasting 2 Nationalities and 2 Religious Affiliations



Primary Olympics because an internationally known American professor was coming to INSEAD for a faculty seminar. At that seminar, most of my French colleagues were conspicuously absent; I later found out I was virtually the only father in the stake who worked instead of attending the Olympics.

Figure 2 shows the impact of all the personal constraints: spouse's career, parental responsibilities, extended family, health, geographical rootedness, social/economic background, age, and lack of support networks. All of these can constrain or alter progression along a basic career path. The French Mormons report more perceived personal constraints affecting their careers (2.65), followed at a considerable distance by the American Mormons (3.16). These scores may reflect the Latter-day Saint emphasis on putting family and church first, on wariness about "worldly" rewards, and on the importance of service to others. All of these values would modify a single-minded pursuit of career success. In short, for both American and French Mormons religion seems to modify national culture when it comes to career success orientations.

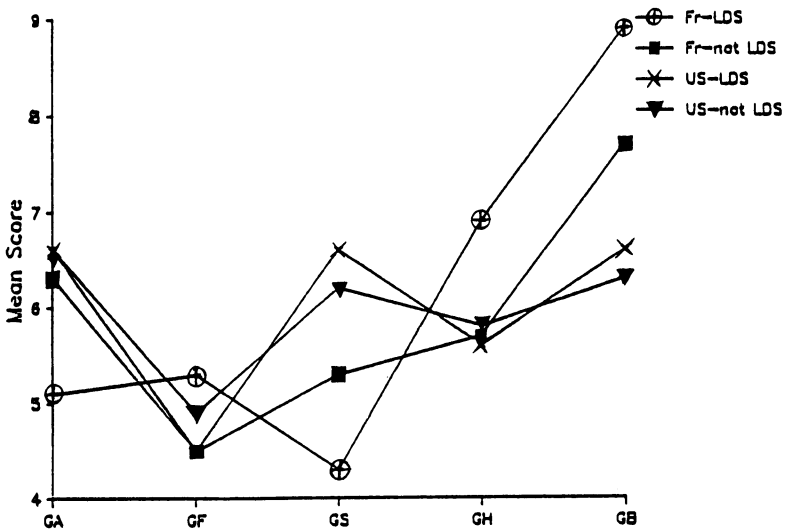
I also asked the participants to fill out another questionnaire to identify what they felt constitutes career success. Is it an unbroken string of promotions (getting ahead)?; loyalty to the company family (getting secure)?; autonomy in deciding how to do your work (getting free)?; the excitement of the work itself (getting high)?; or finding a satisfactory balance between personal and professional life (getting balanced)? (Derr 1986, 189-93)

As Figure 3 illustrates, the French Mormons rated significantly higher on getting balanced and significantly lower on getting ahead, followed closely on both dimensions by French non-Mormons. In Figure 3, the lower the mean score or place on the graph, the less a group has that particular career orientation. According to the Career Success Map Questionnaire, American Mormons rated about the same on the five orientations as did non-Mormon Americans. This data further indicates that the French define career success as achieving equilibrium between personal and professional life where American career values cluster around company loyalty (getting secure) and getting ahead.

A study I did with an INSEAD colleague on the career orientations of European executives corroborates these findings. The French come out significantly higher on getting balanced than British, Swedish, German, or American executives (Derr and Laurent 1988).

To summarize, by comparing the French Mormons with their compatriots and with their LDS faithmates in the United States, we can ascertain the extent to which French Mormons may be caught in the middle between two cultures. As shown in the summary in Table 1, there are no clear patterns of similarity: French Church members are in between the French and Latter-day Saint cultures on these various dimensions.

FIGURE 3
 MEAN SCORES FROM THE CAREER SUCCESS MAP
 Contrasting 2 Nationalities and 2 Religious Affiliations



GA = getting ahead
 GF = getting free
 GS = getting secure
 GH = getting high
 GB = getting balanced

TABLE 1
CAREER CONSTRAINTS: A COMPARISON

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEM	FRENCH MORMONS COMPARED TO:	
	<i>Non-LDS French</i>	<i>LDS Americans</i>
1. I can't change — there are too many personal constraints	More Similar	Less Similar
2. Parental responsibility an important personal constraint	(Slightly) Less Similar	More Similar
3. Extended family responsibilities an important personal constraint	Less Similar	More Similar
4. Strong geographical preferences an important personal constraint	More Similar	Less Similar
5. Total personal constraints	Less Similar	More Similar
6. My private life is none of the company's business	More Similar	Less Similar
7. Getting-balanced career orientation	More Similar	Less Similar

CULTURAL CONFLICT

In a 1986 study of corporate culture and European executives, André Laurent claimed that national culture is more important in forming basic assumptions about managing people than age, education, job, professional experience, hierarchical level, or type of company. Furthermore, even in U.S. firms with international branches, national culture predicted values and behavior more accurately than did being in a particular company. In other words, a French employee of Exxon, at a very basic level, is more like a French employee of Shell than another non-French Exxon employee.

Does the same hold true in a multinational church? The Church should, at least theoretically, influence values, beliefs, and assumptions as much as a multinational corporation because it seeks to change some of these values at a deep level. One common Latter-day Saint value, for example, is family life, summarized by the epigram, "no success can compensate for failure in the home." Another is the covenant of consecration to building the Church. Mormons of all nationalities who are also committed to professional success at high levels can experience severe conflict between the heavy demands of executive life (where it is assumed that the company comes first) and the requirements of their religious culture. However, because of the acceptance of a variety of religious cultures in the United States, the work place often accommodates many subculture orientations, and Mormons can usually find a fairly comfortable place within it.

French Mormon executives, however, come from a much more homogenous national culture — a more tightly woven national web. Latter-day Saint culture interrupts that web with a pattern of its own. French converts (and other converts in other cultures) may be caught in the middle, and the pressure points may be particularly severe.

For example, several LDS French executives talked openly about the conflict they feel because they do not drink wine or coffee. Americans really do not understand what an important part food plays in conducting business in the French culture. The French business lunch, a leisurely and congenial three-hour affair accompanied by fine wine, focuses on building a relationship. Business concerns simply do not come up until the end of the meal — during cheese and dessert, accompanied by wine, coffee, and liqueurs. This process reflects a deep cultural value that breaking bread together and establishing collaboration is the best foundation for doing business together. If one member of the party causes a serious break in the routine — such as refusing wine or coffee after dessert — he disrupts the ritual, emphasizes differences rather than similarities, and creates uneasiness by not being on the same wavelength. My Mormon colleagues report having to find alternative ways of communicating that they can be trusted.

On the other hand, it may be easier for business executives to live the underlying Latter-day Saint value of consecration to church and family in France than in America. Because of the French separation between personal and professional life (see Figure 1), activities outside work are not the employer's business. Employees are not expected to be work-oriented during nonwork hours. Even busy executives have Sundays, many Saturdays, holidays, and the sacrosanct three- or four-week summer vacations to devote to personal concerns. Clearly, this is why even high-powered INSEAD executives scored higher on the getting-balanced scale than the Americans.

Most American executives, in contrast, are known for working long hours and taking work home. American executives take few vacations that are not work-related, and they have a difficult time separating their personal and professional lives. For example, even if they golf or play tennis, it is very often with business associates (see Mintzberg 1973; Kotter 1982).

My wife Jill and I recently had dinner with a Swedish couple who currently live and work in France. The husband is a highly placed executive in a dynamic, multinational corporation headquartered in Sweden. He ruefully compared his work style to that of his French colleagues, whom he saw as much better at leaving their work behind them and going home. Furthermore, they were frequently unavailable once they had left the office. On the other hand, the Swedish executive took a six-week vacation every summer. He shook his head when the topic of his American colleagues came up. "I just don't know how they do it," he said. "It takes me three weeks just to unwind and get back into the family. The Americans I know take a week — or even four days — off and call it a vacation. It's crazy."

The French also separate personal and professional life by maintaining rigid boundaries about which relationships belong to which category, a custom that can be somewhat disconcerting to Americans. My banker in Fontainebleau was invariably friendly, accommodating, and helpful in expediting my banking business, calling me by name and exchanging courtesies. One day, I encountered her at the open-air marketplace and greeted her in the usual way. She looked at me as if I were part of the scenery and did not respond. She had

certainly recognized me, and I was quite taken aback, wondering if I had somehow offended her. A French colleague, to whom I related this incident, explained that outside of the role requirements of her work, she had no obligation to be friendly. As a person, rather than as a worker in role, she was completely free to choose her private associations.

The underlying achievement ethic in many American Mormons may also clash with French culture. Perhaps due to our long-time minority status, many Mormons overcompensate by striving too much for success, status, and influence. As Eric Hoffer, the longshoreman philosopher, once said at a lecture I attended in 1967 as an undergraduate at Berkeley, "Put a Mormon in the hopper and out comes a tycoon." Vivid examples of the role models our culture embraces are illustrated in *This People* magazine, various firesides and meetings extolling high-achieving Mormons as heroes and heroines, and the ideal models of manhood and womanhood held up to our youth exemplified by the stake president/corporation president/father of eight.

Paradoxically, one of the strong norms in French society is to recognize and accept your place within the socio-economic class structure. Even making a fortune does not necessarily buy a place within that structure. This concept contradicts the popular version of "eternal progression" that begins with social progression in this life and strongly encourages achievement and success. Some French Mormons lean to the French side of this issue, but many members accept the American perspective of upward mobility. For French Mormons, the Church offers their children opportunities outside the class structure. Going on a mission and learning another language or going to BYU and getting an American degree outside the structure of the *grandes écoles* could circumvent more traditional paths to success and catapult the younger LDS generation into higher career and social positions. An MBA or similar degree from an American university is viewed as prestigious in some less traditional French circles. I cannot say whether the career orientations and personal constraint picture will change in the future.

PERSONALLY EXPERIENCING CULTURE

During our time in France, our family wanted to have a French experience rather than an expatriate one, so we did not seek out other American groups. A major and much-valued part of that cultural experience came through our interaction with the members of the Melun Branch, a relatively small congregation of about fifty, very welcoming and very involving. I had served a French mission some twenty years earlier and was called to serve in the branch presidency within two weeks of arriving. Jill and the children were in the process of learning French, but Jill was immediately called to the Relief Society presidency and the children were absorbed into their various classes. We were the only American family in the branch.

One of the cultural differences we experienced was doing church home visits, as in home teaching or visiting teaching. Monthly visits were advocated according to policy but seemed to me both impractical and also inappropriate

for a number of reasons. Members were widely scattered in our branch, even though it was in a stake, and many of them did not have cars. Using public transportation to visit these dispersed members was both expensive and time consuming.

However, even if travel had not been such a laborious process, the French sense of privacy would also work against casual drop-in visits. French homes are very much private spaces. It is obvious even to the casual observer that massive stone fences and imposing gates for houses and multiple locks for apartment doors are barriers between the outsider and the resident. One French executive commented to me that in visiting a fellow Frenchman at their U.S. subsidiary, he was invited to his home for dinner. He loved the New Jersey suburb where he lived but felt very uncomfortable because there were restrictions against fences and the backyard was open space. He commented that his host also liked everything about the house except the open yard.

To be welcomed into a French home, we found it necessary to formally ask permission to come in advance. The permission was not lightly given, for the family gave serious thought as to when they might receive us. When the visit actually occurred, elaborate preparations had often been made. The whole family was usually in attendance, prepared to spend two or three hours with us. If a member was missing, his or her absence was explained with apologies. The children were scrubbed, dressed in their best, and on good behavior. Quite clearly, they expected our children to make the call with us and be similarly prepared. Such visits never passed without carefully prepared refreshments.

Despite such formalities, the visits were not formal. We never felt that we were received grudgingly or out of mere courtesy, as both Jill and I have sometimes felt when making similar home visits in Utah. Our French member-hosts were gracious, delighted to have us, warm and welcoming in every sense, and very open. The conversations were personal, significant, and intimate. We had profound gospel discussions and much warm sharing. In short, once they decided to let us in, they let us in all the way. I want to stress as well that conversations with other French friends led me to understand that we were not receiving special treatment because we were Americans.

Sometimes, we would be invited to dinner as part of the visit. Again, we found that this was not casual or drop-in hospitality. A French dinner can last up to five hours, with the formalities of serving and eating setting the stage for extended conversation. Needless to say, such visits are events that represent a commitment to a relationship. Through them we often became *des amis de la famille* (friends of the family), a term implying near-kinship.

In this cultural context, an unannounced ten-minute home-teaching visit every month would be puzzling, perhaps offensive, and certainly ineffective, even if it were practical. A formal family visit each month would, in my opinion, be too often for such an intense experience. Even if our family had the time to make such visits, it was quite clear to us that they were prohibitively expensive in terms of the French family's time, as well as the money spent

preparing food. It seemed to be that a better system — one which fit better within the cultural norms — was to visit with the family at church or on the telephone regularly and to make a formal visit once every three months. It would be appropriate, in these circumstances, to entertain them at about the same intervals.

A second cultural difference involved administrative styles in the Church. A colleague of mine at INSEAD who has researched extensively the impact of national cultures in international corporations has observed:

French managers look at the organization as an authority network where the power to organize and control the actors stems from their positioning in the hierarchy. They focus on the organization as a pyramid of differentiated levels of power to be acquired or dealt with. French managers perceive the ability to manage power relationships effectively and to 'work the system' as particularly critical to their success (Laurent 1986, 96).

In the branch I also encountered this phenomenon. On one occasion when our branch presidency needed to make a decision affecting only our branch, which seemed completely in our jurisdiction, I was surprised that the French brethren, though agreeing with me that the decision we wanted to make was logical and meaningful, still insisted on searching the handbook of instructions to find a rule which would permit us to proceed — or at least allow us to say that the decision was not against the rules. When I asked about this, one of them explained that not to be able to cite the handbook would cause stake leaders to view them as incompetent. But he added with a smile, "You can always find a way around the rules." Mind you, these were loyal, dedicated, and experienced Church officials, not inexperienced or rebellious individuals trying to undercut or sabotage Church policies. I began to understand that members of the Church in France had some different assumptions and shared meanings from those members we knew in the United States.

CONCLUSION

I began this study out of curiosity about the possible cultural binds of Latter-day Saint Church leaders in France who were also successful businessmen. In fact, I found that French Mormons were different from both the non-LDS French and from American (Utah) Latter-day Saints in several ways. They experience personal life factors as constraints or modifications of their basic career orientations to a much greater extent than their non-Mormon counterparts in France or than American Mormons.

Possibly, the hand-picked, highly orthodox French Mormons skewed the results; perhaps because the non-LDS French group was also a hand-picked, high-achieving sample in an executive development program, they were more success centered. The constraints of both cultures (French and Latter-day Saint) might cause French Mormons to adopt a more extreme, less flexible lifestyle. However, it is also evident that the French Latter-day Saints in this study have developed their own cultural orientations and assumptions that

differ from both their national culture and from the American version of their religious culture.

No doubt this same phenomenon occurs in other cultures where the Church has existed long enough to establish stakes and has a history of a generation or more. I recently pondered with a Latter-day Saint colleague, for example, how LDS business executives in Japan cope with the expectation that they attend beer and saki bashes after work to get to know their peers and their boss more intimately, especially once they are intoxicated. As an expert in Japanese management practices, my colleague maintained that many Japanese members go to these events and act silly and friendly even though they don't drink. They have their own Japanese way of adapting. Future studies should try to understand more systematically the unique cultural adaptations and coping mechanisms of individuals and groups caught between two definite cultures.

In an international church, we must learn to understand cultural binds, cultural adaptations, and individual coping mechanisms if we hope to understand religious experience and practice in diverse national cultures. The Church may become too big to manage centrally; program and other cultural adaptations will probably need to be made at the local level. For example, a former stake president, now a General Authority, used to tell us to take the Church programs and first adapt them to our East Coast situation before presenting them to him. Finally (and my own values enter here even more explicitly than before), the Church will be strengthened as it learns to value cultural diversity. Within some doctrinal limits, most programs, norms, values, assumptions, and practices could benefit from cultural adaptation. Achieving a good fit — a symbiotic relationship — between a culture and the Church can only energize our faith. Members who feel like misfits and apostates simply because they observe the rules of a different cultural fabric will inevitably suffer.

Does there exist a uniquely Mormon culture which is worldwide and supercedes both national and organizational cultures? Perhaps it is a level deeper than even the cultural influences coming from homogeneous national roots which, according to André Laurent (1986), supersede organizational culture at the most fundamental levels of thinking and behaving. One Latter-day Saint colleague, an expert in Mormon research, asserts that there is such a culture and that it becomes dominant for each individual at some point in time and at some level of commitment after initial conversion. The unanswered questions, he said, are how long it takes Mormon values and maps to assume such dominance and what level of commitment is reached. Some may view this attitude as cultural imperialism, Mormon style. An alternative theory would argue that even long-time, active Church members will always feel conflict about culture, caught at a deep level between Mormon and national culture.

Does a hybrid culture, the Mormon-French culture, exist? If so, how do we describe it as its own unique subculture? Is Mormon culture more compatible with American or French culture? All of these questions deserve study. I would propose, from my observations, that there is a Mormon-French sub-

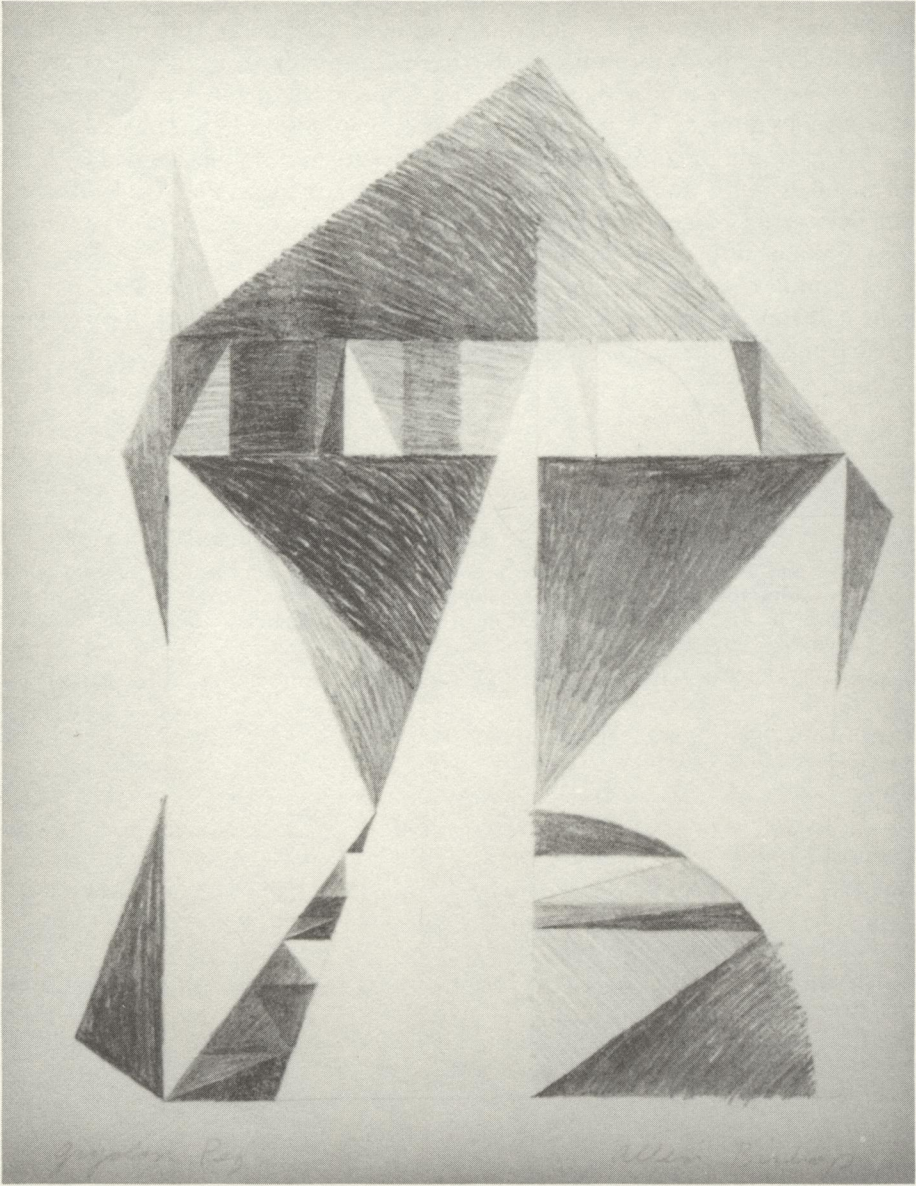
culture and that it borrows from both the Mormon American and French traditions.

General Church leaders could enhance the Church's effectiveness by better understanding the cultural binds of members in these situations and adapting programs. For instance, it would make sense to have home visits take place at wider intervals in France and to rewrite lesson materials to include a greater role for extended family members. The Church has made some adaptations to national cultures (for instance, rewriting manuals and materials) but may not yet have fully realized the benefits of diversity and richness added by faithful members with unique cultural orientations. American and Utah Mormon practices could indeed be strengthened by importing ideas and programs from these unique cultural groups.

We understand and value the strengths of sameness in the Church. Perhaps it is time to further explore the strengths of an orientation that rejoices: "The Church is different all over the world. *Vive la différence!*"

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Mormonism and Eastern Mysticism

David D. Peck

Mysticism (see False Doctrine; Sorcery; Superstitions; Traditions of Men)

BY ADOPTING THE ABOVE-CITED DEFINITION OF MYSTICISM, the compilers of the "Topical Guide" (LDS Edition 1979) distance Mormonism from a religious heritage which is perhaps as old as any other of record. The most obvious differences between Mormonism and mysticism are ones of form, and not necessarily of doctrine. The Church organization is both pervasive and extensive, whereas mystical practices are generally much less formal. Mormonism accepts a prophet as head of the Church organization which is endowed with divine authority through an organized priesthood, whereas many mystical traditions manifest a strong non-institutional tendency and go only so far as to incorporate the notion of a "guide," a leader who does not speak with divine authority but is instead familiar with one path to God.

Setting aside the question of formal differences, if significant doctrinal correlates can be found between Mormonism and mysticism, does the latter deserve descriptive labels such as "false doctrine"? For example, the mystic maintains that the path to God must be trod alone, or at least unaccompanied by fellow humans. The journey is a personal one. This parallels Mormonism's emphasis on direct knowledge of God through individual testimony or personal spiritual experiences as central not only to conversion (Moro. 10:3-5), but to attaining salvation as well.

On what criteria, then, has the "Topical Guide" critic based the accusation of falsehood? Are the reasons substantive, or are they based on insignificant differences of terminology or tradition? These questions must ultimately be answered by the reader, yet an informed answer calls for at least a cursory doctrinal comparison. This essay briefly investigates two fundamental aspects of

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mysticism and inquires into the existence of a Mormon counterpart: knowledge of the Absolute, or God, and the unitary nature of existence.

The most accessible mystical traditions¹ have in common their general recognition of what constitutes the path to God: the initiate (for Mormons, a newly baptized member) into the mystic's path must transcend conventional practices and understandings of the origins and bounds of knowledge and thereby reenvision the nature of discipline — mental, spiritual, and physical. Thereafter the initiate's behavior changes to reflect a deep devotion to God, mankind, and all creation. The individual who successfully accomplishes this achieves direct unity with God.² Perhaps most radical of these concepts, from a Mormon viewpoint, are mystical knowledge and unity with the Absolute.

The need to discuss the mystic's concepts of discipline and devotion is less pressing since these correspond roughly, though not entirely, to popular Mormon ideas. So let me briefly describe two common types of mystical discipline. The first is an effort to focus mental energies, subjecting them to the spirit. This is often termed prayer, contemplation, introspection, or meditation. The second is an attempt to subject the body to the will of the spirit. The natural senses together with appetites and carnal desires are overcome and surrendered to God through fasting and asceticism.

Mormon parallels to these activities abound. Prayer is advocated frequently in scripture. Fasting is a regular feature of monthly worship. There may be, however, significant differences between discipline as practiced by the mystic. The mystic's disciplinary practice is entirely voluntary and is not performed out of a sense of duty lest the aims of linking the mind and body to God be defeated. Whenever religious practice becomes duty, the ritual forms are in danger of losing their spiritual qualities. This, to mystics, is hypocrisy and deceit, as it was to the Savior. (See Matt. 23.) Isaiah reveals likewise that when we obey God as if his commandments were coercive rather than liberative, God is offended. Speaking of fasting, Isaiah states: "Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?" (Isa. 58:5). To the contrary, when we accept God's will voluntarily and submit ourselves to it freely, this voluntary servitude paradoxically becomes the source of our liberation: "Is not *this* the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break

¹ Some traditions are very secretive, passing on understanding via an oral tradition as was/is common among the North American Indians, and are thus not readily accessible to the average investigator.

² Among the numerous scriptures describing the path to perfection, or God, 2 Peter 1:5–11 stands out as an example of the Christian correlative to the mystic's conceptualizations. Faith, virtue (or selflessness), and knowledge as described by Peter support the mystic's vision of knowledge of reality, which is acquired through "faith/action." Temperance and patience indicate a high degree of self mastery and spiritual discipline. Godliness and brotherly kindness bespeak a devotion to humankind founded upon serious spirituality. Finally, charity is love born of unity with the divine, the love manifested by God Almighty. Thus, whether we adopt the terms employed by Peter or those of the mystic (knowledge, discipline, devotion, and pure love), the path is generally the same.

every yoke?” (Isa. 58:6, italics added). Likewise, “he that is compelled in all things is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward” (D&C 58:26–27). We must engage ourselves in the cause of righteousness of our own free will and thereby bring to pass righteousness. To obey because we feel compelled is not discipline but mere obedience. More than simple obedience is required for only “the *willing* and obedient shall eat the good of the land of Zion in these last days” (D&C 64:34; italics added).

Mystical devotion differs from discipline by focusing attention on rendering service to others through divine activity and good works rather than upon the individual and his or her relationship with God. The perfect balance of devotion and discipline is the hallmark of the true saint and the true mystic. It is the essence of deity. God is the Man of Holiness whose single aim is to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of all humankind and all creation.

I will forego further treatment of these devotional and disciplinary practices and will present an overview of mystical knowledge and then a discussion of the concept of divine unity. Since most readers are familiar with LDS scripture and teaching, I will present comparatively little in the text, emphasizing rather the more unfamiliar writings of mystics. Hopefully these quotes from a few of the more well-known “Eastern” mystics will help the reader develop a feel for the spirit and content of these writings.

Latter-day Saints, as well as others trained in traditional Occidental or Western³ concepts of conventional knowledge, will find interpreting mystical writings, especially those of the Oriental or Eastern tradition, a difficult but rewarding task. Mystics do not necessarily exclude knowledge acquired through conventional means but believe that such knowledge is often distorted by convention and not likely derived from an Absolute Truth (God, nature, the

³ I use the terms “Western” and “Eastern” with trepidation. The earliest Greek thinkers, to whom we attribute the rise of Western thought, could be described as mystics. The school of Miletus, which included Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, searched for a primary, unitary element, of which all creation was made. Copleston describes them thus:

From the moment when the proverbial wisdom of the Wise Men and the myths of the poets were succeeded by the half-scientific, half-philosophic reflections and investigations of the Ionian cosmologists, art may be said to have been succeeded (logically, at any rate) by philosophy, which was to reach its splendid culmination in Plato and Aristotle, and at length in Plotinus to reach up to the heights where philosophy is transcended, not in mythology, but in mysticism (Copleston 1:35).

The Ionian “mystics” were unfortunately replaced by the number-oriented Pythagoreans and the early Milesean philosophers. Their reliance on numbers parallels our own Western orientation. Our fields of psychology, sociology, and quantitative historical inquiry pretend to understand the complex human organism by adding up lists of numbers and arriving at answers, which, of course, fail to account for the merest fraction of what we truly are. In the same manner, the Pythagoreans sought to quantify nature, or the cosmos (God, if you will); but the “totality” of nature is greater than the sum of its parts. As God revealed to Moses: “No man can behold all my works, except he behold all my glory; and no man can behold all [the totality of] my glory, and afterwards remain in the flesh” (Moses 1:5). Even the highest states of spiritual transport do not reveal the totality of God. The Pythagoreans’ logical games, as our own today, disabled them from pursuing a path of introspection, particularly when they spent much of their time trying to figure out how the square root of two fit into a “rational” scheme of the cosmos. We might as well contemplate the meaning of the imaginary square root of a negative two as to quantify God. The philosopher’s axiom that man divided by reason leaves a remainder applies to God, humankind, and all creation.

universe or cosmos). The mystical path involves learning by awakened, intuitional experience rather than by deduction, induction, or simple sensory observation. It is understandably impractical to assess the value of a mystic's teachings when the student's only point of comparative reference is founded exclusively upon knowledge acquired by conventional means. Furthermore, any attempt to define mysticism, such as this one, has problems since all communication between author and reader is through a conventional medium, language.

Language presents special problems for those who would understand mystics. It is, in many cases, the only medium through which we have any record of their wisdom. The mystic would often, however, decline to acknowledge the truth or reliability of their own writings. Lao Tzu, a famous Taoist mystic of pre-Christian Chinese antiquity, sums up the problem of using language to describe the Absolute:

Existence is beyond the power of words
to define:
Terms may be used
But none of them are absolute (in Bynner 1972, 31).

Chuang Tzu, a later disciple of Taoism, adds: "Were language adequate, it would take but a day fully to set forth the Tao.⁴ Not being adequate, it takes that time to explain material existences. Tao is something beyond material existences. It cannot be conveyed either by words or by silence" (Watts 1957, 28).

The inability of words to define the Absolute applies to any and all forms of verbal abstractions:

Life and Death, though stemming from each other,
seem to conflict as stages of change,
Difficult and easy as phases of achievement,
Long and Short as measures of contrast,
High and low as degrees of relation (in Bynner 1972, 32).

While terms such as high and low, difficult and easy, help us relate to one another, they express no reality, only a relativity.

Our language trains us in certain thought patterns which do not easily lend themselves to the mystic's approach to knowledge. In language, the basis for communication and understanding is an agreement, conscious or unconscious, of the definitions of words. The words, arranged by us in certain orders, are a medium through which we transmit ideas and concepts to one another. So long as the concepts we wish to transmit are abstract or founded on a relative truth, the language functions reasonably well as a medium of communication. But when we attempt to define the Absolute, language's effectiveness becomes doubtful. As soon as we say "God is merciful," we have spoken less than the truth, as God is more than the word "merciful" represents. Furthermore,

⁴ Tao is often translated as "the way of Life" and calls to mind Christ's saying: "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life" (John 14:6).

“merciful” corresponds to our conventional concept of mercy, irrespective of what mercy means to God. Stringing out a series of attributive nouns does little more to paint an accurate picture of God, quantity being unable of itself to make up for lack of quality. No matter what words are used, they represent abstractions and are incapable of describing the Absolute.

The author of 3 Nephi also testifies of the inability of language to adequately describe the attributes of God or the most exquisite spiritual transports: “And behold he [Christ] prayed unto the Father, and the things which he prayed *cannot be written*. . . . And no tongue can *speak, neither can there be written by any man*, neither can the hearts of men conceive so great and marvelous things as we both saw and heard Jesus speak (17:15, 17; italics added). Though not a subject of much doctrinal discussion, the inadequacy of language to express the divine is a familiar event in scriptural history.⁵

Enoch was concerned that his inability to speak fluently and persuasively would result not in conversion but in further disbelief: “Why is it that I have found favor in thy sight, and am but a lad, and all the people hate me; for I am slow of speech; wherefore am I thy servant?” (Moses 6:31). The Lord promised to fill Enoch’s mouth with the words that he should utter. Thus divine inspiration can function to overcome the inadequacy of language to express the divine. Joseph Smith, Moses, and other prophets also expressed concern that they were “slow of speech.” But even words supplied by the spirit must be accompanied by a spiritual and inspired understanding on the part of the listener or else even God-inspired language cannot convey a message of absolute value:

“And he that receiveth the word of truth, doth he receive it by the Spirit of truth, or some other way? If it be some other way it is not of God. . . . He that receiveth the word by the Spirit of truth receiveth it as it is preached by the Spirit of truth. . . . Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another” (D&C 50:19–22).

True understanding or knowledge of the Absolute cannot come of language unassisted by the spirit; language must be coupled with divine endowment or remain useless as a vehicle of the Absolute. Therefore, language remains insufficient, the true mode of communication being spiritual.

In addition to language, the scientific approaches which Westerners have developed over the past centuries to describe various activities — human, animal, geological, or cosmic — are often further impediments to knowledge and understanding of the mystical path, and subsequently of God (see Capra 1983). Scientific constructs are fundamentally artificial: the universe which science attempts to explain would not disappear if we all decided not to believe in science. The cosmos is absolute; it exists. It is our ideas and theories of the cosmos which are of only relative worth. Yet we persist in judging the “truth” of a particular phenomenon by our ability to describe, and thus communicate, it through a language (including mathematics). The locus of our attention

⁵ See also Isa. 64:4; 1 Cor. 2:6–10, 12:3; 2 Cor. 12:4; Eccl. 5:2–3. Compare this to the inadequacy of language to express the reality of God as expressed in 2 Ne. 33:1–5.

has thus shifted from reality to the various scientific theories invented to describe that reality. Truths no longer “exist” in such a system but must be proved by an external theory in order to exist. The quest for truth becomes a competition to find the theory which makes sense in this closed system of inquiry. Indeed, the more we delve into the mysteries which science pretends to explain, the farther we stray from the Absolute. Our scientific specializations and subdivisions of specialization cause us to focus on a fragmented existence, rather than on the unitary nature of all Being. Doctrine and Covenants 88 and Moses 1 illustrate the scriptural foundation of the doctrine of the unitary nature of God and creation. Our attempts to understand creation without understanding God are doomed to failure: we can learn about only a portion of existence while denying God, the force that sustains and directs creation, who, through Christ, is in all things, through all things.

Albert Einstein wrote:

The province of scientifically determined fact has been enormously extended, theoretical knowledge has become vastly more profound in every department of science. But the assimilative power of the human intellect is and remains strictly limited. . . . Worse still, as a result of specialization, it is becoming increasingly difficult for even a rough general grasp of science as a whole [unity], without which the true spirit of research is inevitably handicapped (1979, 15).

A spirit beyond scientific research may, in contrast, fill the gap between conventional knowledge and the reality of God. The scientists of Daniel’s time were unable to interpret the king’s dreams. Daniel, endowed with a higher understanding and direct revelation (by which he also “saw” the king’s dream), was able to pierce the veil of confusion which surrounds understanding based upon reason and unravel what was otherwise a mystery:

The king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his dreams. . . . The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, . . . it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none who can shew it before the king, *except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*. . . . Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision (Daniel 2:2, 10–11, 19; italics added).

Organized religion has suffered a similar frustration in its search for absolute truth. The contemporary split between science and religion was practically inevitable since Western civilization traditionally linked belief in the Absolute with institutionalized religion. When science found itself at odds with conventional religion, it found itself at odds with a conventional religion’s god. In studying the Middle Ages, it is difficult (if not impossible) to speak of society as separate and apart from the church. People’s behavior, thought, lives, and deaths were governed by conventions allegedly dedicated by God. The Absolute was thereby thought to be pervasively involved in the development, maintenance, and perpetuation of convention. During and following the Renaissance, scientists and thinkers began to question convention. Such questioning was considered heresy, since to question convention was to question the church and, ultimately, the authority of God Almighty. As modern science

developed, it raised serious questions about viewpoints vital to the conventional credibility of the church and Christianity. Scientists, for example, found themselves arguing with organized religion about the origin of species. When their conclusions were seemingly at odds with the dictates of an institutionalized God, they became atheists, not because they all abandoned belief in the Absolute, but because they no longer believed in his conventions.

Christians in general found themselves similarly troubled. So long as there was one church (ignoring the ancient traditions of Christianity in the East), there was one convention. When Luther and others broke away, they not only proclaimed another doctrine but developed another convention to go with it. As the conventions, supposedly the creation of God, multiplied, confusion resulted. No single convention could be proved superior, or more God-inspired, than the others. As a result, many chose to abandon the Absolute because they could not reconcile themselves to "his" conventions. Atheism is better understood, then, not so much as the negation of the Absolute as the denial of those institutionalized conventions ascribed to him.

Yet Westerners also have difficulty understanding the spirituality of the East because it has so few institutionalized religious conventions in the Western sense. Hinduism, Buddhism in all its varieties, and Taoism, for example, have no single visible head, no living leader, no pope, or patriarch. Furthermore, they have no scripture or "word of God" in the Western sense but rather refer to collections of sayings or stories about devout men and women who made no claim to speak for God. Adherents to strict convention are often startled by the contempt with which Eastern mystics hold convention.

Legendary or true, it is told that Confucius, impressed by Lao Tzu's influence on people, visited him once to ask advice, ironically enough, on points of ceremonial etiquette. Baffled by the answers of the older man, to whom etiquette meant hypocrisy and nonsense, Confucius returned to his disciples and told them: "Of birds I know that they have wings to fly with, of fish that they have fins to swim with, of wild beasts that they have feet to run with. For feet there are traps, for fins nets, for wings arrows. But who knows how dragons surmount wind and cloud into heaven? This day I have seen Lao Tzu and he is a dragon" (in Bynner 1972, 13).

It is precisely this absence of formal, conventional structure that allows these religious traditions to be accessible to virtually all men and women. In such a system, science and religion need not be at odds. Albert Einstein, perhaps our most eminent scientist, seemingly agreed. In fact, he indicated that his understanding of relativity may have been experiential, rather than based upon conventional Western epistemology. He described his view of the universe and religion thus:

There is a third state of religious experience . . . which I will call cosmic religious feeling. It is very difficult to explain this feeling to anyone who is entirely without it, especially as there is no anthropomorphic [institutionalized, conventionalized] conception of God corresponding to it. . . . The individual feels the nothingness of human desires and aims and the sublimity and marvelous order which reveal themselves both in nature and the world of thought. He looks upon individual existence as a sort of prison and wants to experience the universe as a single significant whole (1979, 26).

Although science need not be bound by artificial convention, for the most part it unfortunately is, and we train and educate our youth to accept this system and to perpetuate its conventions. One primary vehicle of these artificial conventions is spoken language. We teach children that the sound represented by the letters “frog” corresponds to a particular kind of animal, whereas the sounds represented by the letters “zxmdj” do not. Formal education later reinforces these lessons. Children are taught to accept as truth a difference between a “toad” and a “frog,” reinforcing what a particular group of taxonomists has determined concerning life forms. The child is thereby distracted from learning about reality by subjective contact with the universe, and from acquiring knowledge directly through experience, accepting instead what it is taught about its surroundings. As Alan W. Watts states in “The Way of Zen”:

We have no difficulty in understanding that the word “tree” is a matter of convention. What is much less obvious is that convention also governs the delineation of the thing to which the word is assigned. For the child has to be taught not only what words are to stand for what things, but also the way in which his culture has tacitly agreed to divide things from each other, to mark out the boundaries within our daily experience. Thus scientific convention decides whether an eel shall be a fish or a snake (1957, 5).

Significantly an eel is neither a fish nor a snake in an absolute sense; the agreed-upon categorization is purely arbitrary. The terms “snake” and “fish” are convenient for our everyday use but lose meaning when taken out of the context of the society that created the terms.

Grammatical categories, as well as other rule-oriented systems of inquiry, must be recognized as misleading and useless tools for arriving at truth. It is commonly understood that for virtually every rule of English grammar, there is an exception. This is because the rules are an artificial convention and do not represent any absolute truth.

We assign the term “noun” to one class of words and “action verb” to another. Watts demonstrates that the differences between a noun/object classification and that of verb-of-action are artificial: “How arbitrary such conventions may be can be seen from the question ‘what happens to my fist (noun/object) what I open my hand?’ The object miraculously vanishes because an action was disguised by a part of speech usually assigned to a thing!” (1957, 5)

In Western thought, the child is largely the product of a formalized educational system. At home or in the schoolhouse, a child is instructed to accept the ritual forms of conventional knowledge. In order to understand the mystic, we must abandon, or at least question, both our acquired conventional knowledge and the means of learning it.

Rather than focusing attention upon the relative merits of a theory, the mystic seeks direct access to the truth through personal experience — contemplation, discipline, or devotion. Mystics set aside reason and abandon the senses as vehicles to knowledge of reality. Lao Tzu states it thus:

The five colors can blind,
The five tones deafen,

The five tastes cloy.
 The race, the hunt, can drive men mad
 And their booty leave them no peace.
 Therefore a sensible man
 Prefers the inner to the outer eye:
 He has his yes, — he has his no (in Bynner 1972, 42).

The mystic thus prefers introspection and self-mastery to indulgence in the senses, which may mislead. Christian and Mormon thought support these same truths. First Corinthians 3:2–3 emphasizes that carnality, or attachment to the senses and the flesh, blocks our ability to experience the Absolute directly. God functions not on a carnal but a spiritual plane, and the seeker of God must seek him on that same plane (Heb. 7:16). The path away from God is, at least in large part, a carnal or sensual one (2 Ne. 28:21; Mosiah 16:12).

From the discipline acquired through self-searching (the inner eye) and self-mastery comes freedom of action. Albert Schweitzer states, “For an external abandonment of the things of the world, . . . [Paul] substitutes an inner freedom from them” (1966, 39). Paul exhorts in Galatians 5:24–25, “And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.” We are thereafter no longer bound by habits of the senses but are free to choose our course. We then have our “yes” and our “no.” Lao Tzu wrote:

Curb your tongue and senses
 And you are beyond trouble,
 Let them loose
 And you are beyond help (in Bynner 1972, 79).

When we abandon our senses, we replace the scientific approach, based upon observation and reason, with an experiential learning, a participatory approach to knowledge in which the senses no longer confuse and reason does not mislead.

In this, as I have said, it [mystical Truth] resembles the knowledge given us in sensation [intuition] more than that given by conceptual thought. Thought, with its remoteness and abstractness, has often enough in the history of philosophy been contrasted unfavorably with sensation. It is a commonplace of metaphysics that God’s knowledge cannot be discursive but must be intuitive, that is, must be constructed more after the pattern of what in ourselves is called immediate feeling, than after that of proposition and judgment. But our immediate feelings have no content but what the five senses supply; and we have seen and shall see again that mystics may emphatically deny that the senses play any part in the very highest type of knowledge which their transports yield (James 1961, 318).

The mystic’s mistrust of reason as a path to absolute truth is well founded. In order to prove something, we must adopt a premise. If it is absolutely false, then no amount of thinking can make it true. In order to prove a premise true, we must adopt another premise, the veracity of which is equally unascertainable. The acquisition of truth by reason is further flawed since our view of the universe is always piecemeal, never composite, and science constantly attempts

to further subdivide the cosmos into a myriad of small pieces. The application of critical reason to this piecemeal understanding complicates our picture even more since we arbitrarily decide which pieces of the universe are important or significant and which are not within the context of a particular theoretical construct. Yet being unfamiliar with the larger picture, we cannot know which pieces are relevant and which irrelevant. Finally, we must add to this picture of confusion an additional limitation: we can only obtain answers to the questions that we ask. This limit to our understanding is built into any system of knowledge based upon reason. The tale told by Ch'u Ta-kao of the centipede illustrates the incapacitating effect which reliance solely upon reason and observation creates:

The centipede was happy, quite,
Until a toad in fun
Said, "Pray, which leg goes after which?"
This worked his mind to such a pitch,
He lay distracted in a ditch,
Considering how to run (in Watts 1957, 27).

We assure ourselves that the knowledge obtained through the scientific process is sure, that there can be no other way of learning. We train our children to accept our epistemological paradigm without question, base their punishments and rewards on how well they have learned the system, and then congratulate ourselves on our fine achievement. Should a mystic attempt to upset our fine learning by discounting the senses and our observations based upon those senses and upon our reason, we often dismiss him or her as a simpleton whose learning lacks sophistication and polish. Lao Tzu responds to this:

Everyone says that my way of life [Tao] is the way of a simpleton.
Being largely the way of a simpleton is what makes it worth while.
These possessions of a simpleton being the three I choose
And cherish:
To care,
To be fair,
To be humble.
When a man cares he is unafraid,
When he is fair he leaves enough for others,
When he is humble he can grow;
Whereas if, like the men of today, he can be bold without caring,
Self-indulgent without sharing,
Self-important without shame,
He is dead (in Bynner 1972, 96).

The love of reason causes us to create differences among ourselves, to convince each other that these differences are real and that we should fight and kill for a difference, shun and demean others for a difference, and deny life or sustenance to them for a difference. Thus, focusing on these false differences

(the offspring of our reason), according to Lao Tzu we divide ourselves from each other, cause conflict and strife, engender unhappiness:

People through finding something beautiful
Think something else unbeautiful,
Through finding one man fit
Judge another unfit (in Bynner 1972, 32).

This contrasts with the true “unitary” relationship between God and humans, which must exist in celestial orders.

The mystic, instead of priding himself on knowledge acquired by reason and observation, develops an attitude toward life that engenders humility and love and respect for other people and for all life and all creation, thus resembling God. According to Lao Tzu:

Man at his best, like water,
Serves as he goes along:
Like water he seeks his own level,
The *common* level of life,
Loves living close to the earth,
Living clear down in his heart,
Loves kinship with his neighbors,
The pick of words that tell the truth,
The firm tenor of a well-run state,
The fair profit of able dealing,
The right timing of useful deeds,
And blocking no one’s way
No one blames him (in Bynner 1972, 36; italics added).

Thus, the mystic achieves a state of consciousness which portends a new understanding, a new knowledge. Some call this a rapture, an awakening, or Nirvana. In this state, the mystic participates with the universe in a cosmic unity, blending his essence with that of the Absolute, acquiring knowledge directly from the Source with no mediation of senses or of reason. A peace and oneness with all creation manifests itself in a concern for others and for all life. The awareness of the mystic passes beyond time and becomes an eternal awareness.⁶ The mystic or true follower of God then comes to know him unitarily, directly, and with a deep familiarity, his or her life paralleling to a great degree that example given by Christ.

The Christian tradition echoes this aspect of Eastern mysticism in significant ways. We must all come to understand God in this wise, irrespective of our creed, or fail forever to understand and know the truth (Christ) as an absolute: “And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent” (John 17:3). The Christian’s quest to find the kingdom of God is an internal one. Through introspection,

⁶ In order to attain an “eternal awareness” or that state of consciousness in which one is filled with a timeless understanding of reality, one must break free of the prison which our existence in time and finite space forms. When one realizes that there is no time, only the illusion of a past and a future separate from our present existence, then one is empowered to view the universe as God does — from an absolute and eternal vantage point.

that is, prayer (a form of meditation which supplants reason and sensory observation), we can find the kingdom of God. In Luke 17:20–21 we read: “And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: Neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, Lo, there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.”⁷

According to scripture, knowledge, in its purest sense comes not from reason and observation but from divinely inspired action: “And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered them, and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself” (John 7:15–17). Jesus’ knowledge of God came by direct contact with him, from days of fasting and constant prayer, and from a life of divine activity, not from a formal or conventional education. He invited all men and women, regardless of their station in life or their educational background, to follow him and his example.

Christ also petitioned all to join in unity with himself and God. In fact, directives to unity abound in the New Testament. His lesson on the true vine indicates that those who follow his path become one in a real sense (whether physical, spiritual, or otherwise is unimportant since these terms have relative and not absolute value). He is the vine, and we are the branches:

Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing (John 15:4–5).

If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit (1 John 4:12–13).

The disciplined person participates with all creation in a union that cannot be reasoned, observed, or fully described:

I [Krishna] am impartial to all creatures,
and no one is hateful or dear to me;
but men devoted to me are in me,
and I am within them (Miller 1986, 87).

The disciple John details the last teachings of the Savior before his crucifixion. These teachings dwell on the union between God, Christ, and disciple. Christ made clear the fact that he and the Father are one, that the disciples, or saints, are to become one, in order “that they may also be one in us” (John

⁷ This passage is often translated “The kingdom of God is *among* you,” reinforcing the notion that not only as individuals but as a community we must become one. The Zion concept attempts to create a oneness among the believers, so that the kingdom of God may indeed be among us. Nevertheless, each individual must bind him- or herself to God or a community bond is impossible. The United Order of Zion was separated from that of Kirtland due to transgressions, “the covenants being broken . . . by covetousness and feigned words” (D&C 104:52); “this was done in order to preserve the integrity of the Zion order: And this I have commanded to be done for your salvation” (D&C 104:51).

17:21). The apostle Paul also emphasized the unity or oneness that must exist among the believers: “So we, being many, are one body in Christ” (Rom. 12:5) and “stand fast in one spirit, with one mind” (Philip. 1:27). This unity, once found among the believers, can then be extended to include Christ: “For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one” (Heb. 2:11).

The unitary relationship between believer and Christ⁸ has been likened to that between husband and wife in true marriage: “They shall be one flesh” (Matt. 19:5; Mark 10:8; Abr. 5:18; Moses 3:24; 1 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 5:31; D&C 49:16). The Song of Solomon strongly resembles other mystical poetry depicting the relationship between believer and God as one between lover and beloved. Read in this way, the scriptural poem takes on new meaning. Christ becomes the beloved: “Thou art fair my love; there is no spot in thee” (Song 4:7). The poem depicts the search for the beloved (Ch. 3) just as the story of our lives should reflect a quest for the Absolute.

The relationship between Christ (Jehovah) and the elect, likened to the marriage relationship, was the subject of much of the book of Hosea. Israel is the unfaithful spouse and Christ the ever steady husband. Hosea, representing faithful Jehovah, is commanded to seek a whore (Gomer) as wife in order to teach Israel of her iniquity: “Go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel, who took to other gods, and love flagons of wine” (Hosea 3:1). Eventually, Israel turns from whoring after the gods of flesh and man’s knowledge to become the faithful spouse: “I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely . . . Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have heard him, and observed him: I am like a green fir tree. From me is thy fruit found” (Hosea 14:4, 8). A final parable from the New Testament, that of the ten virgins (Matt. 24:1–14), depicting Christ as the bridegroom and the believers as the bride, again illustrates the marital ideal of unity between Christ and the church, as bride.

The United Order was the Mormon attempt to create a unified church, one worthy of the bridegroom. The Zion concept has from ancient times attempted the unification of those who seek God so that he may be one with them. This earthly reflection of the celestial order has the power to create the mystic’s unity, albeit on a larger community-of-believer’s scale. The Zion ideal of oneness between God and man closely resembles the mystic’s vision of the state of man when unified in the Absolute: “And the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of *one heart and one mind*, and dwelt in righteousness” (Moses 7:18; italics added).

The concept of Zion also encouraged geographic unity, Zion as a place where the righteous could gather to unite with one another and with God: “Until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye *may be gathered*

⁸ See the epistles of John and Galatians 2:19–20, “Christ liveth in me”; Galatians 3:26–28 “for ye are all one in Christ Jesus”; 2 Cor. 5:17, “If any man be in Christ, he is a new creation.” See also Romans 4:10–11; 7:4; 8:1–2; 8:9–11; 12:4–5; Philippians 3:1–11.

in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God” (D&C 42:9; italics added). The concept of the gathering of the elect, the remnants of scattered Israel, from the corners of the earth is fundamentally a unitary concept.

Although the general concept of union with God is common to both Mormonism and mysticism, in contrast to many Western religious traditions, Mormon teachings concerning a doctrine of unity do differ from those of mystics in several respects. First of all, the mystic usually claims no power to assist another in achieving a oneness with God. In contrast, God “restored” to Joseph Smith the power to seal, or unite souls to him: “And of as many as the Father shall bear record, to you shall be given power to seal them up unto eternal life” (D&C 68:12. See also Matt. 16:19; 18:18; John 20:23; 1 Cor. 5:4; Hel. 10:7). Second, genealogical work, indicating a power to seal the living to the dead, is regarded to be the key and central work of this dispensation. Joseph Smith interpreted Malachi 4:4–5 as requiring the sealing of the living to the dead:

It is sufficient to know, in this case, that the earth will be smitten with a curse unless there is a welding link of some kind between the fathers and the children, upon some subject or other — and behold what is that subject? It is the baptism for the dead. For we without them cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect. . . . For it is necessary in the ushering in of the dispensation of the fulness of times . . . that a whole and complete and perfect union, and welding together of dispensations, and keys, and powers, and glories should take place, and be revealed from the days of Adam even to the present time (D&C 128:18).

However, the similarities of Mormon doctrine with the central mystical teachings of a union with the Absolute, as well as direct spiritual enlightenment or knowledge from him, cause us to question the Topical Guide label of “False Doctrine.” No doubt the doctrine of mystics is incomplete in certain respects from a Mormon point of view, but the striking similarities should lead us to question how well- or ill-informed the compilers of the Topical Guide might have been in regard to mystical thought. The devout and charitable lifestyle that mystics often adopt as the result of their beliefs is testimony to both the general veracity of their teaching and their dedication to God. As the Savior said, “By their fruits ye shall know them” (Matt. 7:20).

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To a Modern Isaac

C. L. Christensen

I'm no Abraham.
I've bowed to a few idols in my day —
Just somewhat unintentioned.
Sacrificing children to idols
Is a little crass,
And might have caught my attention.
But low grades didn't pass
My threshold of pain.
Threatening to leave is
An attention scheme.
It'll pass; ignore it —
Or really, ignore you.

There is no need of an altar
On that lonely mount, with you.
You wouldn't lie there.
I couldn't raise the knife.
Only I could lie on the altar,
Not knowing if you would plunge the knife.
Not knowing if God would have you do it.
And if so, why.

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Twenty Years with *Dialogue*

The following essays were delivered as speeches at DIALOGUE's twentieth anniversary banquet, held in Salt Lake City on 27 August 1987.

On Building the Kingdom with Dialogue

Eugene England

IN THE SPRING 1987 ISSUE OF *DIALOGUE*, the first of the twentieth-anniversary issues, I was referred to as “the founding editor of *DIALOGUE*.” That is not true. I was merely one of a group of five people (along with Joseph Jeppson, Wesley Johnson, Frances Menlove, and Paul Salisbury) who got together in the summer of 1965 to consider starting an independent journal of Mormon thought. Diane Monson, who knew us all and had heard us each separately talk of the need and possibility of such a journal, had suggested we get together. We decided to go ahead and added Richard Bushman and Ed Geary to our group, then a large board of editors and many associate and assistant editors over the next few years as we actually produced the journal.

Founding and continuing *DIALOGUE* has been in many ways a typical Mormon cooperative lay Church endeavor: Though it was not officially directed by Church authority, it was certainly guided by the firm commitments of those involved to contribute to the kingdom of God with all of their talents and means — and it was accordingly blessed, I believe, with divine assistance. It was not the brain child or exclusive work of one person or even a small group and was not engaged in for pay or professional advancement. The only reason Jack and Linda Newell made that slip about me being *the* founding editor is probably that I have been the only one of the founders who simply could not lose my infatuation and move on to other things. Instead, *Dialogue*, the journal and the process, became an ongoing love: I was the only one of the original group who continued to do some editing for a while and who has from the first published regularly in *DIALOGUE*. Perhaps for that reason, more of the appreciation — and the blame — than I deserve for the journal's existence has focused on me. At least we can be grateful that Jack and Linda didn't identify me, as did the editors at Bookcraft on the jacket of my recent book, as “a founding editor of *DIALOGUE*.”

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At any rate, not long after we started *DIALOGUE*, word came back to me that it was well-known that I had apostatized and was practicing polygamy. It seems to have been hard for some to see us succeed, since they apparently believed, against the evidence of all our theology and history, that if Mormon activities aren't conducted officially then they must be apostate. But whatever else we were, we founders were, in venerable Mormon fashion, building the kingdom, most of us quite consciously. We were not revolting against the established Church or forming our own elitist alternative or even "steading the ark" — though we were certainly accused of all these. We were mainly trying to fulfill our temple covenants — and our intuitive sense of heritage — by using our God-given talents and training to serve God and neighbor. We were focusing on those neighbors closest to us in our own Church and culture — our fellow students and teachers. Even the specific form that service took, founding an independent Mormon journal, had a venerable tradition. That tradition began with Benjamin Winchester's *The Gospel Reflector*, which was published in Philadelphia for six months in 1841, and concerning which Joseph Smith told Winchester he was "at liberty to publish anything of the kind that would further the cause of righteousness" (see David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1982, 153ff). And the tradition continued with *The Woman's Exponent*, *The Relief Society Magazine*, *The Children's Friend*, etc. In fact, Leonard Arrington reminded us at one point in the late 1960s that every official Church magazine then in existence had started out as some kind of independent journal.

Certainly our Mormon training and sense of purpose deeply affected all we did. The original group talked over the idea for a journal for a few weeks, prayed about it, and, blissfully unaware of the enormous effort that loomed ahead, decided to proceed. We each contributed \$25 (the only capitalization *DIALOGUE* has ever had). Not only was that all we could afford (we were all in graduate school or low-paying first jobs), but we felt that if the journal were as much needed as we believed it was, our faith would be blessed with results. It was. That \$125 paid for mailing a simple prospectus to a few hundred friends, and they started sending checks — even though we hadn't announced a price. We used the money we received to pay for a brochure, beautifully designed by Paul Salisbury, which we sent to about 10,000 names, mostly from the *Directory of LDS Scholars* then being published yearly at BYU. (That was the last year, for some reason, that BYU President Ernest Wilkinson allowed it to be published.) Subscriptions poured in at such a rate that by the time we went to press with our first issue, we had enough saved to more than pay for the first year's four issues. In fact, we were so naive that we thought we had a moral obligation to *keep* enough in savings to pay for all the issues we owed subscribers in the future. We later found that *no* periodical operates that way.

That initial lay Mormon faith and naiveté took various forms: We didn't pay anyone anything — except for printing. Wes Johnson arranged to use part of his office at Stanford (the history department was pleased to have us there);

we editors all donated our time; and I invited students and young singles from the Stanford Ward, where I was in the bishopric and we had no official program for the youth, to join us on Tuesday nights in a kind of Mutual Improvement Association activity. An average of fifteen to twenty people came every Tuesday through the fall and winter of 1965–66 and a smaller group in succeeding years. We opened with prayer, typed address labels for the brochure and then the subscriptions (it didn't occur to us to do an expensive computerized list), did the bookkeeping, helped process and edit manuscripts, proofread galleys — and joined in wondering and rejoicing at and then answering the letters we received from all over the world. We had long group discussions about the faith and doubt and anguish expressed in the letters and the issues raised in the manuscripts. It was one of the best MIAs I've ever seen, and it built a lot of faith and love.

Eventually, of course, *DIALOGUE's* managers found that paying a regular secretary and doing computerized mailing was much more efficient, that as curiosity declined somewhat, subscriptions did too, making it difficult to keep a cash reserve, and that we just couldn't ask skilled editors to serve without some salary (though we didn't have sense enough to see that until too late for the founding editors). Thus *DIALOGUE* has become, in twenty years, a highly professional, stable, slowly growing institution, with carefully established financial control, a clear tradition of the highest editorial and design quality, and a conservative process for choosing new editors and maintaining its traditional purposes and quality when editors change.

I confess I sometimes yearn for those early days of naive faith, daily rewarded in exciting, sometimes scary, experiences — much in the way I sometimes yearn for the early periods of naive living the law of consecration and of personalized leadership that have marked each new dispensation of the kingdom of God. But just as the Church is no longer able to operate as it did at the Waters of Mormon or in Kirtland or Orderville, because it has embraced a larger, world-wide mission, so *DIALOGUE* cannot be what it was at Stanford. Like the Church, it is now an institution, with a history as well as a mission. Its responsibilities, and the harm done when it makes mistakes in selection or editing or misuses its position to promote unworthy causes or insincere people, are great — because of what it has already accomplished in helping to build the kingdom and because of the faith many people therefore place in it. As Linda Newell has said, the editors of *DIALOGUE* take on a spiritual stewardship.

What has the journal accomplished that makes this true? At the very time when the Church's size and explosive growth were producing centralization and bureaucratization (in a word, correlation) that could easily have become paramount in Mormonism, *DIALOGUE* has led the way in maintaining and reinvigorating the important Mormon inclination to grassroots lay initiative. Since its founding, in close cooperation with the Mormon History Association, the first independent Mormon scholarly association, over fifteen independent periodicals, at least twelve independent scholarly and cultural associations, and scores of independent lay service and charitable organizations have been formed. *DIALOGUE* played a major role, increasingly helped by those other

periodicals and associations, in establishing a faithful intellectual and artistic community within the Mormon community and in promoting what Leonard Arrington, in the last chapter of *The Mormon Experience*, calls “the independent sector.”

The responses to our first prospectus and then the brochure and first issue soon demonstrated the potential for such a community and that the community had not previously existed: Five or six groups wrote saying they had been thinking of founding such a journal but would now support *our* effort. Hundreds of people wrote from all over the world, teenagers to octogenarians, saying that they had yearned for someone to talk to — something intelligent and beautiful to read that spoke directly to their particular Mormon concerns. From evidence in the continuing response in letters to the editors received regularly to this day, the journal met and meets this need for a particular kind of community, for thousands of Mormons.

We responded to the hunger we detected by not only publishing the kind of journal we did but by forming or encouraging DIALOGUE study groups. We traveled to speak to them and appointed members of the board of editors and then college students on the board of associate editors to lead and encourage such groups. We wrote many letters, often helping troubled people resolve some of their doubts about the gospel and their anger at the Church. We intentionally instituted a costly and cumbersome editorial process, sending each manuscript to three diverse editors for criticism and suggestions and then reviewing each in long sessions and adding our own suggestions, so that for the first time there was a regular, effective way to help Mormons *improve* the quality of their Church-related scholarship and thinking and writing.

That process paid off in the increasing quality of the journal and, I believe, in that of other journals, like *BYU Studies*, *Exponent II*, *Sunstone*, and yes, the *Ensign* and *New Era*. From the first, we received and published some magnificent, landmark, scholarly and artistic work. The editorial process, based in a developing sense of a mutually respectful community in which we could criticize each other and help each other grow in both understanding and faith, helped produce fine *new* things that would have previously been impossible in Mormon publications: I think of Carol Hansen’s ground-breaking personal essay, “The Death of a Son,” the challenging roundtables on Vietnam and urbanization and civil disobedience, and Lester Bush’s thorough and influential review of Mormon policy and practice — and lack of doctrine — concerning blacks and the priesthood.

I am perhaps most delighted that DIALOGUE published, encouraged — even helped many Mormons first learn to write and appreciate — the personal essay. I am convinced that that particular literary form, which has only recently begun to achieve its proper recognition in world literature, best expresses the Mormon theological and cultural qualities: It allows us to bear witness, in effectively artistic ways, to our personal religious and moral experience and to the development of our eternal selves as children of God and members of a covenant community. It encourages in us the most effective kind of voice, that of the great writers of scriptures and givers of sermons in our tradition — from

Nephi and Alma and Mormon to Joseph and Brigham and Spencer: The voice is rooted in the extremes of honestly revealed feeling and experience, from doubt and inadequacy and anguish to exalted faith and love and encounters with divinity. It is the voice that seems to come more naturally in modern Mormon literature to Mormon women, perhaps because they are relieved from the self-consciousness and tendency to project an ambitious, safe, invulnerable middle-range voice that we mistakenly assume must come with the priesthood. Being freer than men to develop that soft, yet piercing voice may be the reason Mormon women, unlike those in any other culture, have always written as well and published as much good work as Mormon men. *DIALOGUE* has for twenty years published most of the best writing by Mormon women and has also encouraged Mormon men to develop that same honest, meek, and thus more genuinely powerful, prophetic voice that makes the personal essay work. That voice, in that genre, can, I believe, not only help us develop a more valuable Mormon literary culture but may become our major contribution to world literature.

The tradition of honest personal writing and genuine dialogue, fostered by our independent journals, will, I believe, increasingly contribute to the religious mission of the Church. Much writing is pose, and much religious expression is dogmatic. But personal essays, critical letters to the editors and published rebuttals to articles, and roundtables that thoroughly examine a range of points of view all tend to undermine pose and dogmatism — unless, of course, they indulge in the particular varieties of cant and dogmatism to which intellectuals are inclined.

DIALOGUE has published some intellectual posturing, but it has also led the way in demonstrating new possibilities for faithful Mormon thought and writing. Its success and innovations were a major factor, according to reports from some who participated, in the reinvigoration and continued publication of *BYU Studies* in the late 1960s and in the reorganization and redesign of the Church magazines in 1970. Some have claimed that *DIALOGUE*, especially that article by Lester Bush, helped prepare Church leaders for the 1978 revelation giving the blacks the priesthood. These claims may be true. But I think even more profound contributions have been made to the kingdom in providing many Mormons of all ages a wider definition of what it means to be a Latter-day Saint, one that can include *them*.

Some have hoped that *DIALOGUE* would usher in a new age of liberal, rational Mormonism, perhaps presided over by Sterling McMurrin as honorary apostle. That has, fortunately, not happened. Neither, despite all the doom-saying in some circles, has the opposite happened. When some of us founding editors visited Utah in the fall of 1965, seeking counsel and support from Mormon scholars, one at the University of Utah said, “The Church will roll over you like a bulldozer and crush you out of existence.” One at BYU reached up on his bookshelf, brought down the four volumes of *Week-day Religious Education*, a semi-independent journal, in many ways like *DIALOGUE*, that he had helped found in the 1930s, and said, “As soon as you publish an article by Sterling McMurrin, like we did, the Church will stop you, like they did us.”

And after our first issue came out, a noted BYU intellectual, with a copy in hand, bemoaned to Richard Bushman, "Well, it seemed like a good idea, but this will finish you." All three prophecies failed: *DIALOGUE* has become neither the radical diatribe nor the reactionary cop-out many feared or hoped, and it has not been either suppressed or sanctioned but has continued, done more good than bad — and improved.

DIALOGUE has certainly not stemmed Mormon anti-intellectualism. As Davis Bitton showed, in one of our early issues, anti-intellectualism has always characterized our revealed, populist, authoritarian religion. But neither has *DIALOGUE* provoked an anti-intellectual backlash among Church leaders or members. I can detect no particular trend in that regard over the past twenty years. Mormonism continues, as always, an intriguing, and for me quite reassuring, mixture of conservative and liberal elements. (It was McMurrin himself who first pointed out the interesting phenomenon that Joseph Smith's teachings combine the most liberal theology concerning the nature of man and God with the most conservative moral rules and ecclesiastical structure.) During the past twenty years we have seen the miraculous formation of Camelot, that exciting decade of professionalization of the writing of Mormon history under Leonard Arrington as Church Historian. We have also seen the rude ending of Camelot: The cancellation of a frank and complete official sesqui-centennial history, the separation out of scholarly writing from the Church Historian's office, and perhaps some overly anxious buying and securing of troubling historical documents. We have seen increasingly more scholarly and humanistic presidents of BYU, and yet BYU remains the very center of ideological Mormon anti-intellectualism and anti-humanism. We have seen more people with advanced degrees made General Authorities, with no noticeable effect except that those chosen become less concerned about things intellectual.

All this is, I believe, as it should be. The Church is given by God for all of his children, with all their diverse gifts, only a few of which — and among the most dangerous — are the intellectual gifts of wisdom and knowledge. I would therefore expect, over time and on balance, no particular advantage or disadvantage for intellectuals. That, I believe, is happening. We easily remember that those intellectual gifts are among the ones promised by God to his Church in Doctrine and Covenants 46, but we forget that people who receive those gifts and the gift of riches are the very people that Nephi teaches tend to become "puffed up because of their learning, and their wisdom, and their riches" and that these are the ones Christ despiseth, "and save they shall cast these things away, and consider themselves fools before God, and come down in the depths of humility, he will not open unto them" (2 Ne. 9:42). Intellectual gifts, like riches, are much valued by the world, and the praise of the world is almost overwhelming in its power to produce pride. Engaging in *Dialogue*, both the journal and the process, can compound the pride, if such activity is used to show off or justify self or belittle others, but it can also express and lead to gentleness, vulnerability, openness, charity — to the meekness and lowliness of heart without which none of us is acceptable to God (Moro. 7:44). I believe that the journal has mainly fostered such charity and meek-

ness and so has contributed significantly to the building of the restored kingdom of God in these latter days.

DIALOGUE's Valuable Service for LDS Intellectuals

Leonard Arrington

Many of you will find it difficult to understand the enormous importance DIALOGUE had to my generation and to young Latter-day Saint readers at the time of its founding — those between the ages of twenty and forty — who were experiencing the years of learning, of making important decisions, of developing personal philosophies, of forming patterns of life, all away from the center of Zion. In explaining this importance, let me be a little personal.

When I began college in 1935, the Church had only 750,000 members. The Idaho county where I had grown up and attended high school had fewer than 3,000 Latter-day Saints out of a total population of about 30,000. Our own town, Twin Falls, had 12,000 residents and probably not more than 200 Latter-day Saints, nearly all living on farms. Largely settled between 1905 and 1910 by midwestern Protestants, the town was not friendly to the Saints. There were no Mormon school teachers and no seminary. We learned about the gospel primarily in our small Sunday school and sacrament services.

When I was eighteen, I did a courageous (or perhaps foolhardy) thing for a young Latter-day Saint. I went, not to Brigham Young University or Utah State Agricultural College, where most Idaho Latter-day Saints seeking university education enrolled, but to the University of Idaho in Moscow — a university that in those days was not accustomed to accommodating very many Mormons.

But the University of Idaho had one saving grace — the LDS Institute of Religion, with a superb teacher named George Tanner, who had been trained at the University of Chicago Divinity School. As an article I wrote for the Summer 1967 issue of DIALOGUE indicates, the very first LDS Institute of Religion had been established at the University of Idaho in 1926. When they constructed the building, Church authorities were thoughtful enough to include rooms that would house twenty-two men students as well as a chapel, office, recreation room, and classrooms. The institute could thus be a center for teaching religion; for holding church-sponsored dances, parties, Sunday schools, and other activities; and for fellowshiping and personal living. I was lucky enough to be invited to live at the institute. The university gave credit for courses completed in the Old and New Testaments, Life of Christ, Christian History, Life and Letters of Paul, and Comparative Religions. At the same time, Brother Tanner also offered classes in Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Church history. I enrolled in all of them during my four years at the university.

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Brother Tanner, who taught at the Moscow institute for some forty-six years, helped us move from a grade school and high school understanding of Church history and doctrine to a university level. His instruction was fully equal in quality and content to our university courses in the sciences and humanities. His courses helped us to remain loyal and active Church members.

After we graduated, many of us migrated to the Midwest, East, and South, where Latter-day Saints were few and far between. Some married outside the Church and became inactive. How could we keep in touch with Latter-day Saint life and thought? There were a few books intended for educated Latter-day Saints — Widtsoe's *In Search of Truth, A Rational Theology*, and *Evidences and Reconciliations*; several of Lowell Bennion's manuals; and one or two other works intended to reconcile secular learning and Latter-day Saint scholarship. There were a few thoughtful articles in *The Improvement Era*, particularly when Bill Mulder was associate editor; but controversial subjects such as pacifism, polygamy, and the not-always-popular stress given to the Word of Wisdom, were almost universally shunned.

During 1939–43, when I was a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and at North Carolina State University, and in 1943–46 when I served with the armed forces in North Africa and Italy, I kept wishing there was a Latter-day Saint scholarly journal — an outlet for thoughtful articles by Latter-day Saint chemists, physicists, economists, sociologists, historians, lovers of literature, and lovers of art. I had no doubt that Mormonism — the gospel of Jesus Christ — was exalting and that Mormon professionals could demonstrate the superiority of our doctrine and way of life in every aspect of thought.

When I came to Utah with my wife in 1946 at the end of World War II and began researching in the Church Archives, I discussed this need for more articles written by Latter-day Saint scholars with some of my new friends and colleagues: Dick Poll, Gus Larson, George Ellsworth, Gene Campbell, Homer Durham, and others. We took our ideas to general board members of the MIA and Sunday School, all of whom responded, "We'll see what we can do!"

Those of us who had engaged in Mormon studies or who had felt the strong need for a more scholarly discussion of Mormonism thought this influence would continue to emanate from Brigham Young University and from the Institutes of Religion, as it had under the distinguished leadership of Franklin Harris, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill, and Franklin L. West. But in the late 1950s and early 1960s the Church educational system no longer encouraged intellectual pursuits with its earlier enthusiasm. Research and writing on controversial matters, at least, would henceforth have to be done primarily by Latter-day Saint professors and students at non-Church institutions.

Charging into the breach was a group of young Saints at Stanford University, fully aware of the wide support they would have from the rest of the LDS intellectual community. In the spring of 1965 I was returning from a professional convention in the East to Utah State University in Logan, where I was professor of economics, when I happened to sit next to Eugene England who was likewise flying West. He confided to me what he and Wes Johnson and their associates planned to do and asked for my support.

As a faculty member in a university where most professors and students were Latter-day Saints, I was well aware that many had intellectual anxieties. I taught an evening class at the LDS Institute in Logan, had been a high councilor in the Utah State University Stake for many years, and was now a member of the University Stake presidency. I had conducted dozens of interviews with couples getting married, with men about to be ordained elders, and with men and women called to ward and stake positions. So I was well aware of their needs and concerns. When Gene England told me of the plans for a journal, I encouraged him and in particular exhorted him to publish articles on Mormon history. He countered by challenging me to write the lead article for the first issue and to be, along with Lowell Bennion, an advisory editor. When I asked my ecclesiastical superior if that would be consistent with my Church assignment, he suggested I counsel with President Hugh B. Brown. President Brown gave his full approval. "We have nothing to fear in the search for truth," he said, "the Church will not be damaged by a responsible independent voice." He thought I was the kind of person who could give good advice.

I will never forget the day the first DIALOGUE arrived at our home in Logan. It was beautiful — more beautiful than any professional journal I had seen. It was well-designed and had wonderful articles — articles of lasting impact. There was Frances Menlove on "The Challenge of Honesty," Victor Cline on the faith of a psychologist, Mario De Pillis on the quest for religious authority, and Claude Burtenshaw on "The Student: His University and His Church." From the pulpit, there was a sermon by Truman Madsen on Joseph Smith. A roundtable discussion featured Richard Anderson, Robert McAfee Brown, and David Bennett on Sterling McMurrin's *Theological Foundations of Mormonism*. There was poetry by Gene England and Stephen Gould and reviews by Mary Bradford, Ed Lyon, John Sorenson, and Laurence Lyon. There was a beautiful cover and layout design by Paul Salisbury and the artwork of Doug Snow. It was a great issue, and I've looked forward to every issue since.

I know from personal experience that the journal has benefited my generation and the generation of my students and children. I know for a fact that DIALOGUE has kept many people in the Church and in the culture who might otherwise have dropped out. I have received many letters, even from bishops, stake presidents, and General Authorities, who have expressed their gratitude for DIALOGUE and indicated what it has meant to them or to someone they loved.

I do not agree with every article that has been published in DIALOGUE, nor do I agree with the decision of the editors to publish every article that they have used. But I devoutly believe that the journal serves a worthy purpose. DIALOGUE has helped the spirit of the gospel permeate many circles that otherwise would never have given us the light of day. I say, long live DIALOGUE! Our profound thanks to Gene England, Wes Johnson, Bob Rees, Mary Bradford, and Jack and Linda Newell. Our profound admiration now goes to Ross and Mary Kay Peterson.

To Give the Heart: Some Reflections on DIALOGUE

Lavina Fielding Anderson

While I was on my mission in France, I received number 1, volume 1 of a publication I had never heard of before — a chunky little journal in a bright blue cover called DIALOGUE. It was a gift subscription from my roommate, Dawn Hall. A few months later, our mission president, reading a long list of things we missionaries should not be concerned with, included “jazz” and DIALOGUE, although he obviously meant “rock music” by the first item and wasn’t quite sure what he meant by the second. However, I had already read Leonard Arrington’s article on history and Frances Menlove’s on honesty and had made an informed decision.

Now, twenty years later, Dawn is on the editorial staff, working proofreading around four young children, and I am bidding farewell to a cause, a delight, and a chore that has consumed a major portion of the last five years of my life. Our son, Christian, was two when this project began, and Erin Green is also two, which should make things interesting for Susette for the next few years. Since Erin refuses to be seen without a pencil in her hand, I have no doubt of her future. In later years, she and Katie Maryon, our other DIALOGUE baby, will be able to talk about “growing up with DIALOGUE.” Could anything more graphically measure twenty years than these children who will never be able to remember a time when there was not DIALOGUE? They will live in a richer world for its presence — just as the world will be richer for their’s.

I speak of children and DIALOGUE in the same breath because they are both objects of love, with the terrible power of any loved object to fill our hearts and also to break our hearts. C. S. Lewis points out:

There is no safe investment [in loving]. To love at all is to be vulnerable. Love anything, and your heart will certainly be wrung and possibly be broken. If you want to make sure of keeping it intact, you must . . . wrap it carefully round with hobbies and little luxuries; avoid all entanglement; lock it up safe in the casket or coffin of your selfishness. But in that casket — safe, dark, motionless, airless — it will change. It will not be broken; it will become unbreakable, impenetrable, irredeemable. . . . The only place outside Heaven where you can be perfectly safe from all the dangers and perturbations of love is Hell (1960, 169).

DIALOGUE is an entangling alliance, a matter, in Gene England’s phrase, of love. It is a matter which requires “the heart and a willing mind” (D&C 64:34). It represents the impossible balancing act, performed quarterly before your very eyes, of loving the Church and loving the human beings who make up that Church, of following leaders, of forgiving leaders, and of being leaders.

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Paul reminded young Timothy, “For God hath not given us a spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind” (1 Tim. 1:7).

The power of *DIALOGUE* is the power of the written word, the power of rational approaches from one rational mind to another, and the canons of scholarly discourse which attempts to persuade, not by the energy of emotionalism, but by the orderly presentation of facts. One of the great courtesies of God is that he waits for us to acknowledge the power of all-powerful truth, thus empowering it by our recognition. There is no other way in which freedom and power may coexist. *DIALOGUE* has existed for twenty years because of the consensus that its power stems from reason and from the honor of scholarship, from the open and dispassionate discussion of issues on which people hold passionate opinions, and from the trust and faith that the best way to deal with painful perplexities is not less information but more, not less discussion but more, not appeals to faith but the faith to continue the dialogue. Jack and Linda, as editors, have been responsible and steadfast guardians of that power. I know of no one who has been less susceptible to the seductions of power and no one who has been wiser in the use of such power.

The sheer information in *DIALOGUE* also represents power — the power of knowledge. The history of totalitarian or authoritarian movements is to coopt or destroy institutions that represent an alternative form of power. Thus, we see the Nazi movement redefining the family, controlling education, presenting an official version of history, and debilitating the churches. I see *DIALOGUE* as making a great contribution to the Church by providing a forum for the presentation of historical facts and interpretations that have frequently differed in significant ways from official interpretations. I think that the essays of Lester Bush and Armand Mauss enabled members of the Church who were uneasy with the policy on refusing blacks the priesthood to focus those thoughts and feelings. I see the same process occurring with the policies of the Church that insist on the subordination and submission of women. *DIALOGUE* also provides records of people who have struggled with hard problems in faith and received answers that don't always fit into Sunday School manuals. It celebrates other ways of being a family besides “*the family*” mode. *DIALOGUE* provides the power of validating other modes of being, and in so doing, it creates a community of believers within the larger community.

Both a cause and effect of such a community is the power of love, the second gift of God that Paul lists. Lowell Bennion is fond of pointing out that God is a rational being who is pleased by the worship of rational beings. *DIALOGUE* represents the tangled loves of every human heart and mind, deeply engaged in a pursuit that honors both the individual and the institution. One of the discoveries of the long-awaited *DIALOGUE* survey is that *DIALOGUE* readers are perhaps more than twice as likely to be active as the average member of the Church. They take their intelligence into their Church callings, and they bring their commitments to the Church to the pages of the quarterly. Such a situation spells inevitable conflicts and pain. I am sorry for the pain, but I would be sorrier for the absence of the conflict. Bill Evans of the Church's Public Communications Department once told me that the Church

suffers as much from the activities of its uncritical lovers as it does from those of its unloving critics, and that what it needs more of is loving critics. I think that DIALOGUE fosters such love.

I could wish for the Church the fierce possessiveness of lovers who cannot be alienated from it — “Set me as a seal upon thine heart . . . for love is strong as death; many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it” (S. of S. 8:6–7) — but who refuse to say “all is well in Zion; yea, Zion prospereth, all is well” but instead are “grieved for the affliction of Joseph” (Amos 6:6) and refuse to be comforted. For the uncritical lovers, in my opinion, are those who “put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near” (Amos 6:3).

Possessing the third quality which Paul denotes as a gift of God — that of a sound mind — is intimately connected with the first two qualities. No one who is dominated by another can have a sound mind, for the locus of power will always lie outside that person, in the will or whims of another. “The power is in *them*,” the Lord reminded Joseph Smith, speaking of the Saints, “wherein they are agents unto themselves” (D&C 58:28). DIALOGUE people claim that power.

With it, they also claim the pain that comes from being an agent. As members of the Church, we face the need to respond either with honesty or with loyalty in many, many situations. The Church rewards loyalty — as any institution does — and usually asserts that there is no conflict between being honest and being loyal. Our daily lives in our wards and in the larger church teach us differently. And God, who sees all, rewards both honesty and loyalty; but I believe he rewards them best when we recognize those conflicts and do not avoid the pain — the sometimes heartbreaking pain — of those conflicts.

I have talked about the ideal of DIALOGUE, just as we often talk about the ideal lessons and rewards that our children bring to us. The realities of both are frequently confusion, perplexities, being overwhelmed by minutiae and exhausted by never-ending demands. More than one winter night at 4 A.M. has found me sitting on the floor in front of the bathroom heat register — the warmest place in the house — proofreading galleys. I have responded with incredulity to more than one manuscript that I know an author has labored over. I have slaved over more than one manuscript to bring it to a state of perfection, only to have its author ungratefully prefer his or her own version. Each member of the staff could share similar stories. There is no way to acknowledge it, recognize it, and recompense it adequately.

But for me, the great reward of DIALOGUE has been the community of DIALOGUE, twenty years of association with the complexities of people who know virtually all there is to know about some aspect of the Church and who still love it loyally, with people who struggle to be mature and responsible in emotionally charged situations, with people who affirm and celebrate the core values of the gospel and find ways of sharing that joy with others. Tonight we share a literal banquet. My parents, who subscribe to the philosophy, “My kid, right or wrong. Usually wrong,” sent flowers. The RLDS friends here are the embodied dialogue between members of our shared yet different faiths.

In all the elements of our twenty-year-old community, I see the situation described by C. S. Lewis in full fruition:

It is one of the difficult and delightful subtleties of life that we must deeply acknowledge certain things to be serious and yet retain the power and will to treat them often as lightly as a game.

. . . Christ, who said to the disciples, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," can truly say to every group of Christian friends, "You have not chosen one another but I have chosen you for one another." The Friendship is not a reward for our discrimination and good taste in finding one another out. It is the instrument by which God reveals to each the beauties of all the others. . . . They are, like all beauties, derived from Him, and then, in a good Friendship, increased by Him through the Friendship itself, so that it is His instrument for creating as well as for revealing. At this feast it is He who has spread the board and it is He who has chosen the guests. It is He, we may dare hope, who sometimes does, and always should, preside (1960, 126-27).

I have experienced that spirit many, many times over the past five and a half years. And *that* has been the ultimate reward.

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A Tribute to DIALOGUE

Levi S. Peterson

I could justly praise DIALOGUE for many qualities. But for the sake of brevity I will concentrate upon a single overriding virtue. DIALOGUE makes my religion interesting.

When I was a boy, I believed that sacrament meeting was nothing less than a heinous test of patience. I believed that those who presided and prayed and preached had conspired to achieve a perfect vacuity. In those unhappy days when a single ward occupied the meetinghouse in my hometown, we attended priesthood meeting and Sunday school in the morning and returned after a noon meal for a sacrament meeting that often went on for two and a half or three hours. I could not escape because my mother was as diligent as she was zealous. Tethered to a narrow portion of a hard oak bench, I slumped, I listed, I writhed, I read hymns, I let my eyes follow moths and wasps in their dizzy spirals about the chapel, I counted the holes in the ceiling tile. In the meantime my mother slept. I never knew her to stay awake for more than the first ten minutes of any meeting. She owed her gift for sleep partly to the late hours she kept in nurturing a large family and partly — I am convinced — to an ancestral propensity. It was my regular duty to awaken my mother

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momentarily so that she could partake of the sacrament. I do not remember resenting her ability to sleep; rather I envied and attempted to emulate it. I closed my eyes tight, I imposed a cataleptic rigidity upon my spine and limbs, I strenuously willed myself asleep. Nothing availed. There was no anesthetic, no merciful lapse into oblivion, no release from the tedium of ponderous hours.

I have found sacrament meeting scarcely more tolerable as an adult than I found it as a child. I have come to enjoy a rousing hymn and a sincere prayer, particularly if they are short, but try as I will I can't manage more than a desperate resignation before the prospect of a sermon. Mormon preaching strikes me as deficient in content, design, and delivery. To a considerable degree Mormonism remains a folk religion. Its most current ideas — even those preached by the Brethren in General Conference — seem slanted toward a recessive juvenile mentality. I think I disliked sermons as a child not because they went over my head but because they went beneath it. Even at six or seven or eight I was already weary of the constant iteration of concepts I had satisfactorily grasped in my earliest Sunday school and primary lessons. The design of the typical sermon is inherently stultifying, depending upon a simple rhetoric of scriptural citation. Preachers assert a truth, leaf through the Bible or Book of Mormon, and read an illustrative passage, repeating the procedure until their designated time has elapsed. Furthermore, the Mormon democracy, the ordinary church members who in absence of a professional clergy preside and preach, bring mediocre talents to the delivery of their sermons. Monotone reigns in Mormon preaching. Church members are suspicious of eloquence, as if they believe sincerity resides only in a humdrum voice and a commonplace vocabulary.

The foregoing sentiments help explain, if not excuse, the fact that for the first couple of decades of my adulthood I fell away from regular church attendance. I attended sacrament meeting about twice a year — just often enough to assure myself that nothing new had come on the Mormon scene. Perhaps I should attribute my return to regular attendance to a change in metabolism. Not long after I turned forty I discovered that I could sleep in church. I had come into my inheritance; my maternal genes had asserted themselves. At last I could tolerate Mormon preaching.

I now attend sacrament meeting regularly, where I am a studied, inveterate sleeper. I sleep hard. I sleep voraciously. I sleep vindictively. Out of respect for the sacrament I resist sleep until I have partaken of the bread and water. The moment the deacon bearing the water moves from my pew to the next, I assume a carefully devised position. I plant my feet with toes turned outward, and I twine my arms and hook my thumbs in my belt. This maneuver keeps me from lolling sideways onto my neighbor while I am unconscious. Next I bow my head, pressing my chin upon my breast. This keeps my mouth closed and muffles the distracting snorting and snuffling common to sleepers. Then I close my eyes and give myself over to slumber. Some forty or fifty minutes later I awaken to the sounds of the closing hymn, much edified and enormously refreshed. No longer do I resent the fact that no one has reported hearing a new idea in a Mormon sermon since the death of Brigham Young.

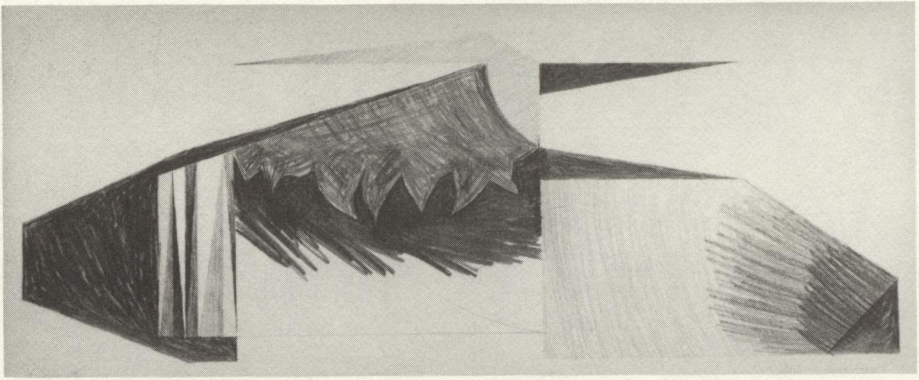
I can see from my new vantage that the soporific nature of Mormon preaching reduces stress and otherwise promotes health.

My sleeping does not go unnoticed by my fellow ward members. One sister frequently asks me whether I have rested well. Another asks why I waste my time since I could sleep as well at home. I reply that surely the Lord would prefer a little of my attention to none at all. Besides, I ask my critics, in what other environment could I sleep with greater security? As I doze comfortably among the most decent and moral people in the world, I know I will be neither robbed nor murdered. I have even attempted to reactivate a couple whom I visit as a home teacher by assuring them that sacrament meeting isn't half bad if one can get off to sleep before the preaching starts. So far this inactive couple remains unimpressed by my argument.

Of course I exaggerate in saying that I have resumed attendance because of a change in my metabolism. Actually, the foremost influence upon my decision to return to a fuller activity was my perception that not all Mormons take their religion simplistically. I resolved to return to activity as a consequence of discovering that the Church has a contingent of members with an interest in ideas, a love for the arts, and a curiosity about the global civilization which modern humanity has evolved. The contingent of thoughtful and cultivated members is amorphous, reticent, and unappreciated; nonetheless it persists. There was no merit in my discovery of this community of Mormon intellectuals; it was there long before I noticed it. But having at last discovered it, I was astonished and encouraged by a splendid correlative fact: Christianity does not have to be boring.

The community of Mormon intellectuals has evolved various media of expression, all of them important and, indeed, indispensable. Among these media *DIALOGUE* looms. In longevity, quality, and reputation it is preeminent. It was *DIALOGUE* which first taught me that a faithful Mormon can lead a life of the mind. *DIALOGUE* publishes many genres — essays, articles, monographs, reviews, testimonies, stories, poems, photographs, prints, and sermons. (Incredibly, I often find its sermons readable.) *DIALOGUE* is attractive in design, format, and print. It is thoughtful and scholarly in content. Its materials are sifted and sorted by conscientious referees. It is not afraid of wit, irony, and dissent. In its pages Mormonism becomes stimulating, challenging, and vital.

The greatest tribute I can pay is this: I can read *DIALOGUE* without falling asleep.



August 6

Marden J. Clark

“Go get dressed. You’re no man for this army!”
I went, thanking for the first time the crook
In my spine that stopped me buck naked
From buck privacy, and took me back to you
After a three-hour, not a three-year separation.

Together we heard the celebration:
Hiroshima Wiped Out! With one bomb!
With one bomb! Now the war will have to end!
We celebrated with the rest. Celebrated the bomb,
Celebrated rejection, celebrated your birthday, my love.

For forty years now, to celebrate your birthday
We’ve had to celebrate the bomb, but on
A sliding scale: from first exuberance
To slow knowing to terror now. Your poor birthday,
Growing on an opposing scale, tonight
Gets only a bad movie as celebration.

The spine that bought my rejection
Has cost me plenty since in pain, but none
Like that of the bomb I failed to feel as pain.

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“The crowning savagery of war!” J. Reuben Clark
Called those bombs. But we dismissed him:
Old and embittered. I’m old and bitter now.
I call him back to witness — against me,
Against all who would not hear, who do not hear.

The speed of light squared! That bomb still lives,
Mushrooming in our memories, a ghost in the galaxy
A thousand times alive in its sleek rude brood
Begotten of that equation
On technology, the mushroom prefiguring
And portending, Cassandra-like, the progeny
Expanding at the square of the speed of light.

Ah, love, let us be true . . . The ebb and flow
Are sucking and swelling to a tidal wave!
Our leaders run like children
Down the sand in the deep ebb sucked out
By the coming wave, like children down the sand
To pluck for their crowns the shining baubles
Bared before the wave.

We love. That may be all we do or have
When the wave bursts over us.
And if the voice of apocalypse be not heard
We must at least let the silent waves of our love
Be known: We love.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Why Were Scholars Misled? What Can We Learn from This?

Richard P. Howard

IN THE MAY 1986 MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION MEETINGS, a panel of historians and archivists explored the impact of the Mark Hofmann documents on the LDS and RLDS churches and views of their common origin. Soon after these papers were published (*DIALOGUE*, Winter 1986) came Hofmann's stunning confession, not only to the murders of two people in October 1985, but also to the forgery of numerous documents "discovered" since 1980. The confusion and concern resulting from these revelations gave rise to another symposium and panel, held at Brigham Young University on 6 August 1987.

This panel convened to explore two questions in relation to the Mark Hofmann forgeries: Why were scholars, archivists, document examiners, and church officials misled so thoroughly; and what has been learned through this long and painful process?

First, why were so many misled? I believe that Hofmann's notably sophisticated historical perspective was an important factor. His documents seemed to settle easily into the historical milieu of early Latter Day Saint beginnings. Salamanders, witching sticks, seer stones, buried treasures, talismans — these and other symbols and usages of the folk magic of New England and Western New York in the 1820s surrounded the budding young prophet and his family in Manchester Township. We have learned this from the writings of D. Michael Quinn, Ronald Walker, Richard Bushman, and Jan Shipps, much of which was published near or soon after the time the "white salamander" letter surfaced.

Hofmann's closely guarded secret of his own disillusionment with the traditional story told by his church of its miraculous beginnings also misled us. He had begun to doubt that official story early in his adolescence. It was as if he had been robbed of his late childhood by the trauma of realizing just how powerfully that honored tradition clashed with his own sense of things as they

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must have been, back there with Joseph Smith, in the “burnt over district.” It would take the woeful October events of 1985 and their aftermath for investigators to exhume Hofmann’s agnosticism from six generations of family faith. The prosecutor’s discovery of Hofmann’s loss of faith — drawn from his personal journal entries as a lad — would engage the mind of any scholar who has raised serious faith questions about LDS history.

No longer would scholars be misled, for now they understood, with an anguish born of their drive to believe the best about themselves and others, that Hofmann was a person they should never have trusted. His own emerging story projected images of vanity, greed, opportunism, and an insensitivity to the integrity so foundational to friendship and all honorable human covenants of trust. Hofmann had been utterly undeserving of the trust of others, yet wholly convincing in his repeated assurances for nearly a decade. Scholars were misled by the plausibility of his documents from every perspective, and by his engaging, if elusive, stories of how they had come into his hands. His lies were told with such apparent candor and offhand humility that concern for *genuine* provenance faded in the face of provenance *by implication* — authenticity soaring on the wings of some very believable lies.

Finally, some were misled by a subtle distinction of forensic science. For example, Albert Somerford and James Dibowski, renowned forensic examiners of questioned documents, each with nearly forty years service in criminal investigations with the U.S. Postal Service, and neither in any way related to Mormonism or the RLDS church, examined the Joseph Smith III blessing document in 1981. They found through their careful testing no reason to consider the Joseph Smith III blessing document a forgery. It seemed to me then that they had “authenticated” that document. And so I wrote to the people of the RLDS church: “the Joseph Smith III blessing document is authentic.” So authentic, in view of Somerford’s and Dibowski’s findings, that I was willing to finalize the exchange with Mormon church officials of a genuine 1833 Book of Commandments for Hofmann’s blessing document. And just weeks before that, Mormon church officials had traded away valuable artifacts to Mr. Hofmann to obtain the Joseph Smith III blessing document in the first place. This they had done on the strength of Dean Jessee’s analysis of its two handwritings and physical properties. We were to learn from George Throckmorton five years later, however, that the best that forensic technology can do is to raise doubts as to a document’s authenticity by pointing out evidences of forgery. Technically, then, the authenticity of the Salamander letter, the Anthon transcript, the Lucy Mack Smith letter, the Joseph Smith letter of June 1825, and the Joseph Smith III blessing document was never *established* but only *believed in* by those who trusted expert testimony that there was no evidence of forgery — that is, until after the October 1985 bombings.

Now to the second question: What can we learn from this? First we can learn to demand (though we may not get it) an unbroken, verifiable chain of ownership and conveyance to every valuable document and artifact that requires our evaluation. We have learned that Hofmann’s consistent refusals to supply provenance rested squarely on his inability to do so in believable ways.

Instead he told fanciful stories of networking with others, unusual coincidences, and hard work combined with uncommon resourcefulness and tenacity. We can learn from this that as believable and enticing as such stories from a master forger can be, they are no substitute for an artifact's impeccable pedigree. From this day forth, archivists, collectors, scholars, and dealers will no doubt be more demanding on this point than ever before.

We can also learn to be more sensitive to our young scholars, from junior high years on up. They often develop what seems to be an inordinate curiosity about the *real* past that lurks behind the stories of heroes and villains that for the most part make up "official" church history. Once every generation or so a few of these troublesome questioners find the courage to ask someone else, out loud, their questions. I, for one, stand committed to be that "someone else" who cares enough about intellectual rigor and integrity to encourage the asking of such questions. We need mature individuals who are willing and open to explore the issues with those young minds. We need individuals who can challenge youth ever to embrace and to be embraced by the quest for historical truth, in all its complexity, ambiguity, and anomalous beauty.

Finally, I believe we can learn to value what Mark Hofmann has taught us through this whole painful course of events. I affirm that at least we can learn from him that our personal religious stories can never safely be isolated from the rest of our lives. While in a sense there is history on the one hand and faith on the other, Hofmann's tragedy seems to warn all serious scholars as well as all "faithful" souls. Simply put, Hofmann teaches us that holding our faith separate and distinct from our historical conceptions is most safely done in exploratory exercises in the seminar, in the classroom, and in theoretical discussions among friends who are committed to mutual growth through understanding. In the end, our individual stories, our faith journeys, are best nurtured and most fully informed by a historical quest seasoned with theological grounding and undergirded by a logical and meaningful philosophical method.

Integrating the power of faith and the discipline of analytical history can best occur in an empathetic community. There we can be fully *for* one another in ways and to degrees that would help prevent the emergence of another Mark Hofmann — hopelessly isolated among family and friends, driven by despair and disillusionment over faith and history which cannot fit together. In the end, such persons must suffer the agonies of a life of lies, torment, guilt, fear, and, as was Hofmann's tragedy, the ultimate degradation — the taking of other human lives just to avoid facing the truth about oneself.

I look with pity and sorrow on the trail of broken dreams Hofmann left behind him. I give thanks, however, that the story of his violent life highlights in bold relief the potentially redemptive power of the members of the compassionate community. Quietly, day by day, they willingly invest boundless energies into seeing that every last member of the community will know the expanding life of learning the glorious and sometimes painful truths of God's universe, "even by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118; 85:36a, RLDS ed.).

Who Came in Second?

Garth N. Jones

MY LATE FATHER-IN-LAW, ANCHOR LUKE CLEGG, often told the following story at family gatherings: “My direct relative, and yours too, was the second convert in the British Isles. He would have been first, but he lost a footrace to a much younger man. His name was Henry Clegg, Sr. This progenitor never came to America but one of his sons did, Henry Clegg, Jr., who was my grandfather.”

I’ve thought a lot about Henry Clegg, who came in second. Being first is pretty important in our culture — both American and Mormon. Family members go to great lengths to prove that a direct progenitor was the first person to enter Great Salt Lake Valley, the first to plow near City Creek, the first to plant potatoes in Cache Valley, the first to mine coal in Coalville, the first to plant ocean willow trees in Fairfield, the first to propagate single sugar-beet seed in St. George, or the first white child born in Heber Valley. Being second does not seem to be at all important.

In collecting material for a four-generation history of the Clegg line, I began researching this family tradition. It was harder than I thought. Oh, not finding the race to the River Ribble. In fact, missionary friends in the British Isles report that the story is widely repeated, and a Church-prepared film, frequently shown at British Mission Centers, features it. But the name of the second-place winner is not mentioned.

Henry Clegg was then fifty years of age. His home was in Walton-Le-Dale, a village three miles from Preston’s market place. He was born into the working class and made clogs and shoes, but was literate and wrote with fine penmanship. Preston, located in the manufacturing area of Lancashire, was a provincial center of culture and social progress with debating groups, drama

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and musical associations, and many Christian denominations. Public schools were becoming available, society was in a ferment, and preachers proclaimed the day of the common man.

Family stories report that Henry and his son Jonathan attended the first sermons delivered by Heber C. Kimball and his companions at Vauxhall Chapel at the invitation of Nonconformist minister James Fielding, a brother of Joseph Fielding. Heber C. Kimball was the first speaker on Sunday afternoon, 23 July 1837, followed by Elders John Goodson and Joseph Fielding at the evening session.

On the following Wednesday evening, Elders Orson Hyde and Willard Richards delivered powerful messages; large numbers of the congregation sought to join the American church. Reverend Fielding, fearing a loss of prestige and income, closed his church to the Mormon missionaries, ruefully reporting, "Kimball bored the holes, Goodson drove the nails, and Hyde clinched them" (Kimball 1950, 2).

On Saturday evening, 29 July, the Mormon missionaries agreed to baptize fifteen of the eager investigators the following morning in the River Ribble near the tram bridge. There the small but tempestuous rapids on one side of the river partly swirled into a quiet eddy, creating a beautiful pool, edged by a grassy slope. Farther back were large weeping willows and bushes.

Word of the forthcoming baptisms quickly spread throughout Preston. The river here ran near the Preston market center, a popular place of recreation on pleasant Sundays and holidays. Kimball estimated that between seven and nine thousand people were sitting and standing on the bank, watching the open-air baptisms. Later in the afternoon, some five thousand assembled in the market place to hear the missionaries preach (Whitney 1967, 135).

Accounts are not clear as to how the missionaries would select the first person to be baptized. Heber C. Kimball records:

A circumstance took place which I cannot refrain from mentioning, for it will show the eagerness and the anxiety of some in that land to obey the gospel. Two of the male candidates, when they changed their clothes at a distance of several rods from the place where I was standing in the water, were so anxious to obey the Gospel that they ran with all their might to the water, each wishing to be baptized first. The younger, George D. Watt, being quicker of foot than the older, outran him, and came first into the water (in Whitney 1967, 135).

George D. Watt was twenty-two years old, lean, and competitive. He had believed in the new gospel from the first time he heard his pastor, Reverend Fielding, mention Joseph Smith in the fall of 1836 (Terry 1980, 23–25). Kimball continues: "Thus was a miracle wrought that day, and nine souls initiated into the kingdom of God; the first fruits of the Gospel in a foreign land. The names of the baptized were George D. Watt, Charles Miller, Thomas Walmsley, Ann Elizabeth Walmsley, Miles Hodgen, George Wate, Henry Billsbury, Mary Ann Brown and Ann Dawson" (Whitney 1967, 136).

The name of Henry Clegg does not appear in this notable group! Is the family legend true? Who was the second person baptized?

As historian and genealogist of the Clegg family, Malicent Clegg Wells prepared an essay for the family centennial on 25 September 1955, marking the entrance of Henry Clegg, Jr., and his six-year-old son, Israel Eastham Clegg, into Salt Lake Valley, in which she reports the family tradition (Wells 1955):

Grandfather was 12 years of age when Heber C. Kimball and other L.D.S. missionaries . . . arrived in Preston. . . Great grandfather Clegg, Sr., and his 21 year-old son Jonathan were in the market place when these missionaries arrived. They were among the first converts. Tradition has it that great-grandfather was the second man baptized in the British Isles. He ran a race to the River Ribble . . . but lost to George D. Watt. . . .

Throughout her long adult life Malicent Clegg Wells was insistent that the family tradition was true. When the Church planned a centennial in 1937 at Preston, England, she sent a letter to the mission president in London “to clarify the record as to who was the man that lost. . . . That man was my great grandfather Henry Clegg and the second man to be baptized.”¹ Nevertheless, the centennial history prepared by Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937), repeats the Kimball account. So does the sesquicentennial history by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987* (Cambridge: University Press for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987, pp. 78–79). It is unlikely, at this date, that new historical material will appear; but what of circumstantial evidence?

Apparently, Henry Clegg’s baptism is not recorded in Preston Branch records. A letter to Drucilla Powell from Archibald F. Bennett, then secretary of the Genealogical Society of Utah, on 21 October 1931, reports: “We could find no records of the baptism of Henry Clegg . . . in the Preston Branch records. But in many cases these old records are incomplete.” His son Jonathan was baptized by proxy for him in the Logan Temple on 24 June 1890 and was endowed for him the next day. (Henry had died in England in 1865.)

Evidence that Henry Clegg, Sr., must have been baptized during the summer or fall of 1837 is the notation in Joseph Fielding’s diary on 25 December 1837, that “Next were proposed to receive Ordination as Priests, viz. Henry Clegg, Peter Melling, Thomas Webster, Thomas Walmsley, John Halsall, Thomas Richardson, and George Watts, who before were Teachers.” This ordination took place in the famous Cockpit in Preston when the first general Church conference in the British Isles was held (Evans 1937, 57).

The first published report of the family legend appears in the obituary of Jonathan Clegg: “Among these we note the death and burial services of Elder

¹ In searching the Wells papers in 1980, I found a four-page handwritten item entitled “What of the Man that Lost?” Merlene Wells Bailey of Provo, Utah, daughter of Malicent Clegg Wells, identified the handwriting as that of her ninety-two-year-old mother. She had prepared this note to clarify the historical record and sent it to the mission president in London. Although I cannot document this fact beyond this personal discussion, I believe it occurred. A copy of this account is in my personal files.

Jonathan Clegg, who was baptized in Preston, England in 1837. His father along with Brother G. D. Watts, being the first two of this our glorious dispensation" (*Millennial Star* 63 [14 Feb. 1901]: 105–6). According to the obituary, Bishop John Watkins of Midway was the principal speaker.

Bishop Watkins and Jonathan Clegg were longtime friends. They had brought their families from England on the same ship in 1856 and had, together, endured and survived with the Martin handcart company to settle in Wasatch Valley where they were both active in church and civic affairs (Mortimer 1963, 205–6).

Bishop Watkins, in paying tribute to his departed friend, recounted the familiar story: "George D. Watt and Brother Clegg's father were the first two persons baptized in England." Unquestionably, in late nineteenth-century Wasatch Valley meetings and social gatherings, Jonathan Clegg had recounted this story of the first baptisms at the River Ribble. Sixty-two years later the identical story appears in the centennial history of Wasatch County (Mortimer 1963, 306–7, 310–12).

Now what of the character and integrity of the nineteenth-century Clegg family? How much confidence can be placed in their veracity?

Little is known about Henry Clegg, Sr., beyond the facts already given. He was born 4 August 1788, in the village where he was residing at the time of his baptism. He married Ellen Cardwell, age twenty-one, on 2 October 1809. They had eight children, five boys and three girls. One child died in infancy. Only two of his children immigrated to Utah: his youngest child Henry Clegg, Jr., twenty-nine, in 1855, and Jonathan, age forty, in 1856.

Jonathan homesteaded the southern part of Heber City, including an area a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide. In 1875, he sold two of the three forty-acre sections to Wasatch County for only 150 dollars, stipulating that the land should be subdivided into city lots and sold to raise money for the city schools (Mortimer 1963, 205–6).

Henry Clegg, Jr., had been baptized at age thirteen by Joseph Fielding in Preston and was associated with the Church in Preston for eighteen years, meeting Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and John E. Page. He was an ambitious man, a solid citizen, and had significant mathematical, poetic, and musical abilities. His travel diary from Liverpool to Salt Lake City was partly written in Pittman shorthand. He served as superintendent of Sunday School, stake clerk, justice of the peace, first president of the Wasatch Canal Company, and as the second bishop of the Heber West Ward, from 1884 until his death on 30 August 1894. The funeral procession "was the longest ever seen in the county, consisting of about 120 teams, besides those who marched in the band" (*Wasatch Wave*, 4 Sept. 1894).

Henry's first wife and one of his two sons had died in Mormon Grove, Kansas. He later married nineteen-year-old Ann Lewis from Wales and seventeen-year-old Margaret Ann Griffith from England. Ann Lewis was an educated woman born into a prosperous merchant family. Margaret Ann's father and two brothers had died with the ill-fated Martin company. Henry

had lifted her down, in pitiful condition, from a rescue wagon in Salt Lake City and had assumed responsibility for her care.

Jonathan Clegg was close to six feet tall, weighed near 200 pounds, and was reportedly fearless. When “a man threatened to shoot him,” Jonathan “pulled back his coat and dared him to shoot” (Mortimer 1963, 311). In 1888 he was sealed for eternity to Sarah Toomer Young (sixty-two), a destitute widow with five children. Jonathan treated the children as his own.

Jonathan’s wife, Ellen Walmsley Clegg, had, with her four children, survived the handcart ordeal: William, fourteen; Alice, nine; Henry, three; and Margaret E., three months. Through her long life she was exceedingly kind and generous. For many years she was Wasatch Valley’s principal midwife, a calling received from President Brigham Young. She and Jonathan were already married when he was baptized in the River Ribble 26 September 1837. She may have been related to Thomas Walmsley and his wife, Ann Elizabeth Walmsley, two of the nine people listed by Heber C. Kimball in the first baptism.

Elizabeth was consumptive and considered to be dying. She had to be carried to the water but, after her baptism, began to recover in accordance with Heber C. Kimball’s promise that if she would repent and be baptized, she would be healed. She died in 1888, in Bear Lake County, Idaho (Esplin 1987, 16; Evans 1937, 32–33).

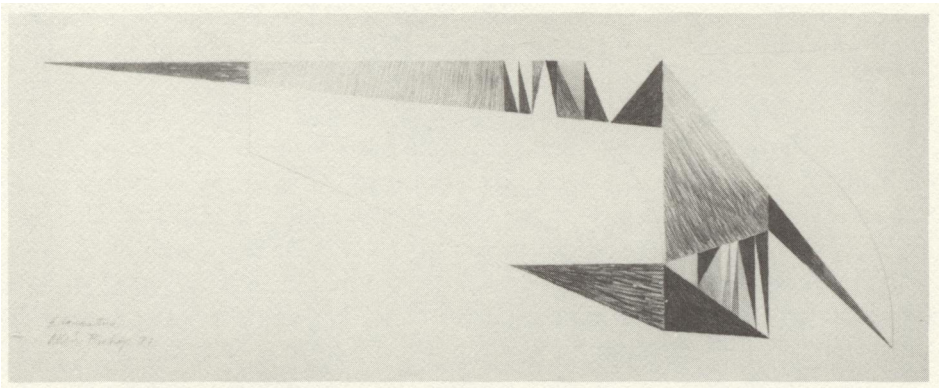
The Walmsleys, like the Cleggs, had lived in and around Preston for several generations. Thomas Walmsley and Ellen Walmsley Clegg may have been first cousins. Nineteenth-century Utah was an intimate and kin-shaped society. If the Clegg claim were not true, the probability is high that someone would have taken issue with it. No one did. George D. Watt, who in his later years became disenchanted with the Church and died in 1881, lived in Salt Lake City and Kaysville — close enough to have had contact with Clegg or to have heard reports of the story.

In summary, the Cleggs seem to have been honorable people, living in close contact with others informed about the events surrounding the baptism. Although there is no documentation of the family claim and no logical explanation for Heber C. Kimball’s omission of Henry Clegg’s name from the list of first baptisms, there is strong circumstantial evidence that precludes simply dismissing the story. In a larger and more important sense this family story has served for 150 years as a powerful bonding force in the now widely dispersed Clegg family — holding many close to the faith of their pioneer ancestry and giving all pride in their Mormon heritage. When taken in this light, the Clegg family came out a winner in the race to the River Ribble.

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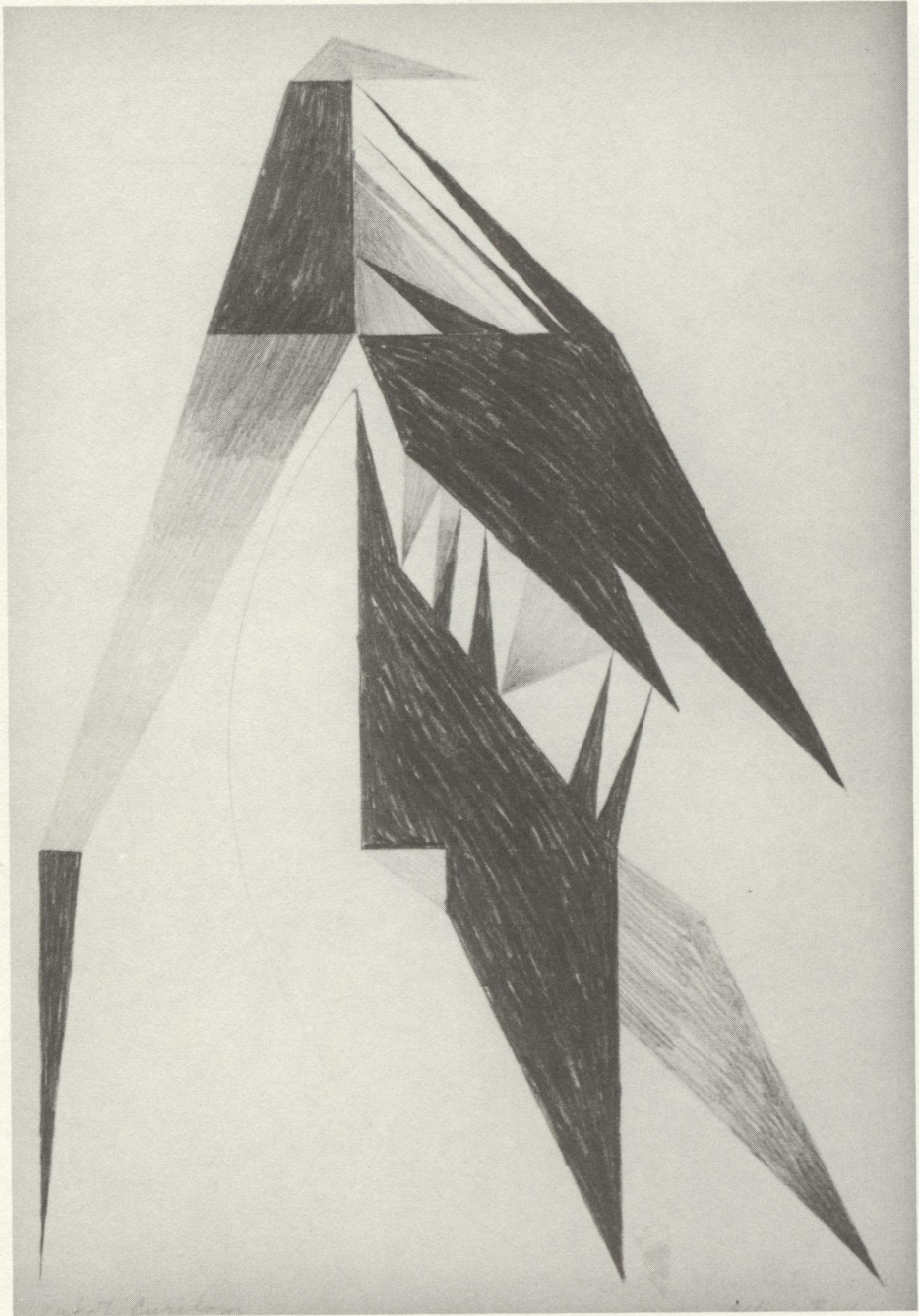


Winton Night Walks

Steve Peck

At night along the canals
Dad was best.
Beside narrow dusty tractor roads
Slow dark waters,
Destined for some distant orchard,
Reflected a boundless sky,
Making it look like a
River of universe
Rather than water.
With a bug-frog band accompaniment
Dad would take
The dancing darkness,
Lying thickly in the peach and
Almond orchards to the side,
And masterfully mold it,
Shaping it skillfully
Into a reliable raft,
Then sail us
To the heavens.

STEVE PECK, originally from Moab, Utah, is completing a master's degree in environmental biostatistics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and will begin a Ph.D. in ecology in the fall.



REVIEWS

Mormon Magic

Early Mormonism and the Magic World View by D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1987), 314 pp., \$14.95.

Reviewed by Alan Taylor, assistant professor of history, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts.

UNTIL RECENTLY, MOST MORMON writers have been pressed onto the defensive by the insistence with which anti-Mormons have exploited every hint that Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, family practiced folk magic. Consequently, the mounting evidence for the Smiths' involvement in folk magic threatens to entrap Mormon naysayers. In a challenging and thorough reinvestigation of Christian magic's role in early Mormonism D. Michael Quinn, a devout Mormon as well as a skilled historian, boldly steals a march on his faith's critics and reveals an escape from the defensive trap. After an exhaustive exploration of an often dense and difficult evidentiary thicket, Quinn emerges with his faith not merely unscathed but reinvigorated. Building upon the pioneering work of Richard L. Bushman, Donna Hill, Marvin S. Hill, Jan Shipps, and Ronald W. Walker, Quinn concludes that both anti-Mormons and defensive Mormons have shared a mistaken premise: that folk magic in the early American republic was an irrational and irreligious challenge to Christianity. He shatters that premise by carefully documenting—principally from Mormon sources—how inextricably interwoven magic and faith were in both the folk Christianity of Joseph Smith's youth and in the Mormon church of his maturity.

Quinn suggests that Joseph Smith, Jr.'s recovery of the golden plates culminated

several generations of preparation by a family committed to the experimental pursuit of spiritual knowledge and power. At the start of the nineteenth century his father, Joseph Smith, Sr., lived in Vermont where he found many like-minded men, chiefly interrelated Connecticut Yankees. A group of them rallied around Nathaniel Wood and Justus Winchell of Middletown, Vermont, to found a sect of Christian Primitivist treasure-seekers known as the New Israelites—a collective spiritual experiment that went badly awry because the participants overestimated their knowledge of divine power. In contrast to previous Mormon historians, Quinn is inclined to accept the circumstantial evidence that Oliver Cowdery's father and the elder Smith were New Israelites—who consequently appear to have been a premature dress rehearsal for the Mormon church. Following the sect's sudden collapse in 1802, the leaders fled to northern and western New York. In the early 1820s Justus Winchell and a shadowy long-time associate and fellow seer named Luman Walter (or Walters) periodically joined the treasure-seeking conducted in Palmyra, New York, by the elder Smith and his sons.

Recognizing the limits of his own spiritual powers, the elder Smith prepared a son—at first eldest son Alvin, after his death the third son Joseph, Jr.—to advance the family's mission. The third son grew up sharing his family's and his neighbors' conviction that deflecting demons and communicating with angels was essential to their well-being in this world and their salvation in the next. By employing magical techniques to communicate with angels and to battle with the evil spirits who guarded treasure troves, Joseph Smith, Jr.,

exercised and developed his seeric gifts. Quinn suggests that Winchell and Walter jointly played a John the Baptist role by giving Joseph magical parchments “designed to be used by an unmarried, pure young man or woman in summoning and communicating with a divine spirit as part of a treasure quest” (p. 110). The preparations began to pay off on the night of 21–22 September 1823 when young Joseph achieved an epiphany with the spirit/angel Moroni: “the dramatically successful result of ritual magic, specifically necromancy, communication with the dead” (p. 119). Following Moroni’s directions and employing treasure-seeking’s techniques, young Joseph acquired and translated the Book of Mormon. His translations, revelations, and system of “temple endowment” all borrowed magical concepts in an effort to communicate a new faith to his contemporaries (pp. 150–91), much as the Apostle Paul drew upon “contemporary magic to teach in terms the common people could understand” (p. 4). After Smith’s death, many rank-and-file Mormons, as well as several leaders (most notably Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, and Brigham Young) clung to Christian magic as a means of communicating with the divine. Only in the late nineteenth century did the Church begin to campaign against folk magic.

Quinn draws upon a broad array of evidence to make his case. He accepts the evidence in the affidavits of contemporary but hostile witnesses when they describe the actions of the Smiths (rather than their presumed motives) and when the hostile accounts are compatible with the testimony of friendly observers—especially Martin Harris, Lucy Mack Smith, and Brigham Young. Indeed, Quinn points out that the Smiths’ folk magic can be thoroughly documented exclusively from the observations of early Mormons convinced that magic enabled their prophet to contact the divine (pp. 146, 194–95). Quinn persuasively links to the Smith family, and astutely analyzes, several artifacts used in magical

rituals: Hyrum Smith’s dagger for inscribing magic circles (pp. 55–56), a silver Jupiter talisman worn by the prophet on the day he died (pp. 66–71), his serpent-headed and Jupiter-symbolized cane (p. 72), and the family’s three parchments (or “lamens”) inscribed with Christian magical symbols (pp. 78–110). Quinn fearlessly ventures onto more uncertain ground to speculate that certain coincidences of Joseph Smith, Jr.’s life with astrological expectations may have reinforced his family’s faith in a magical world view—if they had read any of the cited works which, Quinn concedes, he cannot document (p. 59). The astrological speculation is clever and interesting, but it is inconclusive and overlong and threatens to distract readers from the judiciousness with which he approaches the other, sounder evidence for the Smiths’ Christian magic.

Despite a valiant effort, Quinn fails to clarify the elusive (and usually illusive) distinction between magic and religion. On the one hand he recognizes that in examining the practice of any particular faith it is virtually impossible to disentangle the two (pp. xii–xvi); and yet in his title and most of his text he insists upon a distinct “magic world view” that presumably sets Joseph Smith’s generation apart from our own. I think he starts out on the right track when he argues that “magic” perceives life, spirit, and power in all matter—organic and inorganic (p. xii). Consequently, those who subscribe to “magic” believe that they can empirically learn rituals to master and manipulate the life-spirit-power all around them. The premise is spiritual, but the logic is scientific. But Quinn does not follow up that promising definition of “magic” to counter-define “religion” as an effort (and invariably an incomplete effort) to divorce spirit from matter and set divine power off in a distinct, distant, and immaterial realm. Such a divorce renders it impossible for individuals to immediately and precisely affect their circumstances by manipulating their spiritual content. Instead, Quinn settles for an unsatisfactory

(and I think misleading) observation that “religion subordinates ritual to group and individual ethics (or at least emphasizes both); but magic gives little or no attention to group ethics, and emphasizes individual ethics primarily as another instrument to achieve the desired ends of ritual” (p. xiv). As a consequence of his particular distinction between religion and magic, Quinn differs with the defensive Mormon writers only over the timing of Mormonism’s renunciation of magic, and not with their insistence that their faith made a decisive break and became purely “religious.” Quinn offers no explanation for how and why — over the course of the nineteenth century — most Mormons joined their fellow American Protestants in forsaking the “magic world view.” In his telling, it simply happened (presumably by the growth of “rationality” as a *deus ex machina*).

On the other hand, if we define the magic-religion spectrum as I have suggested above (and never lose sight of the fact that every faith is some middle-ground compromise between the two), magic remains an important presence in Mormon cosmology (as I have argued elsewhere; see *DIALOGUE* 19 [Winter 1986]: 25–26). In contrast to other forms of Protestantism, Mormonism continues to insist upon the

interpenetration of spirit and matter, and continues to seek the progressive perfection of man’s ability to comprehend and master the cosmos through ritual. Today’s Mormons are set off from their progenitors less by their renunciation of a magic world view than by their concession to their church leaders of a monopoly over the exercise of rituals that can be defined as magical (what Quinn refers to as “essential priesthood ordinances of eternal consequences,” p. xx). Rather than extinguishing magic, Mormon leaders have (since 1830) steadily renamed, consolidated, centralized, and regulated its practice. Reconceiving the transition in this way resolves certain puzzles identified by Quinn: throughout life Joseph Smith, Jr., collected seer stones but ordered others’ destroyed whenever they competed with his revelations (p. 201); the prophet publicly denounced phrenological publications other than those he controlled (p. 219); similarly, Brigham Young endorsed astrology but discouraged a separate society devoted to its practice (pp. 215–16). The Mormon church has so successfully monopolized and renamed magic that twentieth-century believers can live in an overtly rational culture but continue to satisfy the universal human hunger for a medley of magic and religion.

Seasoned Saints

A Thoughtful Faith: Essays on Belief by Mormon Scholars compiled and edited by Philip L. Barlow (Centerville, Utah: Canon Press, 1986) xiii, 310 pp., indexed, \$14.95.

Reviewed by Dawn Hall Anderson, Penn State Ph.D. candidate in American and British literature, currently residing in Salt Lake City.

I DISCOVERED EARLY in my scholastic career why a Mormon would never produce great literature. (A good Mormon, that is.) The

reason was simple, expounded with eloquence and authority by my BYU “Introduction to Poetry” teacher. He, along with W. B. Yeats, believed personality and character to be mutually exclusive modes of being: You could not be possessed of both at once.

Character in its most potent manifestation was an LDS businessman turned General Authority, all suited up in the armor of God and narrow-lapeled worsted wool. True personality, on the other hand, was represented by that moral sloven Dylan Thomas, from whose pen flowed high

poetry and praise of God not despite, but because of his eccentricity, flawed character, and heavy drinking. A series of such examples convinced me that the ways of God spell ruin for the aspiring artist or intellectual. In striving to obey God's laws, his or her individuality would be lopped off little by little that she or he might conform to more universal standards of godliness. Thus, the closer the faithful came to living a godly life, the more alike they would become. Losing your life to gain it meant trading individuality for eternity in the company of your duplicates.

Some years later, upon lowering my aspirations from poetry to godhood, I discovered the fallibility of poetry teachers. Phil Barlow's collected statements of faith by Mormon scholars would have saved me considerable mental fumbling as well. There is nothing depersonalized or duplicate about these twenty-two seasoned saints or their essays. They are, in fact, startling in their differences.

Philip Barlow completed his master's in theological studies at the Harvard Divinity School and is currently working toward a doctorate degree from Harvard in American religion and culture. His own essay expounds "fifteen thoughts," clearly articles of belief, which interweave and build into a "spiritual framework" and profoundly moving final profession of faith in the Church.

Poet Emma Lou Thayne plots her evolving relationship to the Church around a metaphor, childhood memories of the big swing at their mountain cabin, in prose which is, as Barlow observes, half-poetry.

In contrast, Eugene England reasons with his readers, carefully guiding them along a course "From Hope to Knowledge to Skepticism to Faith" with enough conversational first and second person plurals to have me checking my room for other members of the congregation.

Allen R. Barlow, an electronics engineer and physicist, writes a short story. Carlfred Broderick, noted marital and family therapist, charts his spiritual odyssey

with wry humor and wonderful candor. He begins, "Many a night as I grew up I lay awake listening to my mother and step-father argue in their bedroom, which was separated from mine only by a thin wall. As I remember, two topics were the major themes of their sometimes heated discussions. One was me" (p. 86).

In ideas, as in style, form, and tone, these essays differ markedly. In fact, some clearly contradict each other in their assumptions and major premises. For instance, historian Richard Bushman records his continuing quest for the "specific, empirical, historical" evidences and arguments which would justify belief (p. 23). "That was why I liked Nibley: because he put his readers over a barrel. I wanted something no one could deny" (p. 25). Hearing the Grand Inquisitor passage in *The Brothers Karamazov* read at a young adult discussion group redirected his thinking.

The sentences that stuck with me that time through were the ones having to do with looking for reasons to believe that would convince the whole world and compel everyone to believe. That was the wish of the Inquisitor, a wish implicitly repudiated by Christ. The obvious fact that there is no convincing everyone that a religious idea is true came home strongly at that moment. It is impossible and arrogant, and yet that was exactly what I was attempting. When I sought to justify my belief, I was looking for answers that would persuade all reasonable men. . . . In that moment in Cambridge, I realized the futility of the quest (pp. 24-25).

Francine Bennion, on the other hand, describes an opposite progress toward deeper faith. From a point in her life when she felt "indifferent to matters of intellect" and what seemed "academic game-playing" (p. 104) she moves to the vantage point from which she asks, "Who can say that faith and reason are separate categories?" and asserts our profound need to establish "a large and reasonable context for looking at what scripture is, what humans are, who God is, what life is for,

and . . . for understanding not only answers, but also the questions" (p. 114).

Overall, these stimulating essays substantiate C. S. Lewis's admonition in *Mere Christianity*: "If you are thinking of becoming a Christian, I warn you you are embarking on something which is going to take the whole of you, brains and all. . . . God is no fonder of intellectual slackers than of any other slackers" (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1943, p. 75).

The contributors, though heavily weighted with historians, also include poets, literary critics, professors, writers, attorneys, psychologists, philosophers, theologians, and a scientist or two: Richard D. Poll, Richard L. Bushman, John T. Kesler, Kenneth W. Godfrey, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene England, Carlfred B. Broderick, Francine Bennion, E. Gary Smith, Robert C. Fletcher, Emma Lou Thayne, Victor B. Cline, Allen R. Barlow, Mary L. Bradford, William Clayton Kimball, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Noel B. Reynolds, Leonard J. Arington, Philip L. Barlow, Bruce W. Young, Richard L. Anderson, and Richard H. Crafcoft. Most of these essays are the length of a modest sacrament meeting talk.

In response to the editor's invitation "to publicly articulate the reasons for their steadfast belief in Joseph Smith's prophetic role and in the restored gospel of Jesus Christ" (p. xii), some offered essays dating from as early as 1966, reprinted from *Sunstone* or *DIALOGUE* articles, a BYU devotional address, and even, in the case of Richard Poll's now classic essay distinguishing between Liahona and Iron Rod saints, a sacrament meeting talk. Others, in the spirit of the New Testament injunction to "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear" (1 Pet. 3:15), wrote expressly for this collection spiritual autobiographies of such honesty, intimacy, humor, and personal wisdom that they would never pass Correlation.

Actually these essays provide a wonderful antidote for those of us who have overdosed on abstract speculative theology and the indignation industry which sometimes flourishes in submissions to *DIALOGUE* and *Sunstone*. They are illuminating, affirmative essays, the best testimony meeting you are ever likely to attend.

God's Hand in Mormon History

The Church in the Twentieth Century: The Impressive Story of the Advancing Kingdom, by Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985). 470 pp., including bibliography, index, photographs, and charts. \$11.95.

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera, publisher, Signature Books, Salt Lake City.

FOR RICHARD O. COWAN, a professor of LDS history at Brigham Young University specializing in twentieth-century Mormonism, the history of the Mormon kingdom is not only the religious success story of the last 2,000 years but the inspiring witness to an increasingly secular society of God's personal and continuing involvement with humanity.

In *The Church in the Twentieth Century*, Cowan faithfully chronicles that triumphal history, producing a useful but sometimes cursory introduction to Mormonism's near-phenomenal growth, its successful adaptation to its environment, and its victories in overcoming many of the problems associated with rapid growth. What he necessarily sacrifices in terms of depth, Cowan makes up for in breadth, painting a vast panorama of impressive accomplishments and simple faith—all of which seems to have marked virtually every aspect of the Church's encounter with the modern, gentile world.

As both a Mormon historian and teacher of religion at BYU, Cowan is aware that some ranking Church leaders have

semi-officially criticized recent Mormon histories as being too “secular” and so frankly acknowledges at the outset that “even though the Lord has worked through fallible human beings and institutions, I am convinced that his hand can be seen, not only in specific incidents where inspired guidance was obvious, but also in the overall progress of his kingdom during the present century” (p. ix).

Indeed, it is clear that although the book is directed primarily to Mormon readers, both Cowan and his publisher view this new history as a potential missionary tool. But such an explicitly faith-promoting approach, while undoubtedly reassuring to some readers, presented me, at least, with several problems.

First, I found Cowan’s repeated emphasis on divine intervention in Mormon affairs sometimes distracting. At what seemed to be virtually every turn of events, Cowan finds indisputable evidence of the hand of the Lord. Eventually, the Lord appears to be almost everywhere, at every level of the institution, personally guiding his chosen leaders (usually men) in every important decision confronting the Church. This is especially apparent in those chapters dealing with the welfare program of the 1930s, the missionary program following World War II, the correlation program of the 1960s and 1970s, and the destiny of the Church.

In fact, towards the end of the book, I found myself asking, somewhat exasperatedly, I suppose, which event in Mormon history the Lord *hadn’t* had his hand in and how he managed to have time to do anything else but supervise his church, which seemed unable to function very long without him. More importantly, however, the more the Lord surfaced in Cowan’s narrative as an active participant, the less of an impact his presence seemed to make. Whatever Cowan’s intentions, I can’t help but wonder if such an approach might actually trivialize the very thing it seeks to highlight.

Second, Cowan’s use of sources occa-

sionally raised some nagging questions. As proof of the Lord’s intimate involvement with his church, Cowan sometimes relies heavily, and apparently without critical evaluation, on the reminiscences and recollections of the men involved (see, for example, pp. 179–80, 225–26). Usually recorded many years after the events they describe, these testimonials unfortunately lack the contemporariness that would have lent Cowan’s conclusions of the Lord’s participation greater plausibility. For it is difficult not to wonder whether the memories of these witnesses have been affected by the passing of so many years.

Third, Cowan’s commitment to the “official” (i.e., faith-promoting) version of Mormon history seems to have affected some of the historical “facts” upon which he bases his reconstruction of the past. For example, he too readily accepts the official version of the 1911 evolution controversy at BYU, writing that “these [i.e., four] teachers were dismissed” (p. 116). Actually, two of the teachers resigned, one was fired, and the fourth resigned four years later in 1915. He refers to Polynesians as “sweet” and “lovable” — no other race is described in this way — and suggests that because of this the Church has flourished among them (p. 268). He discusses briefly the Church’s position on women and the Equal Rights Amendment (pp. 329–30, 397–98), but not Sonia Johnson or the Church’s direct involvement in various anti-ERA movements. His discussion of temples and temple work assumes a Mormon audience, which is unfortunate because I’m certain that, given the Church’s intensive temple-building program, many non-Mormons would be interested in reading more about this topic.

This institutional focus also affects Cowan’s discussion of the 1978 revelation on blacks and the priesthood. Cowan echoes the official rhetoric, consistently referring to the announcement as “the 1978 revelation . . . extending the priesthood to worthy males of all races” (p. 391). Without knowing that before 1978 only black

males of African descent could not hold the priesthood, non-Mormon readers might conclude that the priesthood had been reserved for Caucasians only.

And as a final example: Cowan notes that in 1979 the office of Patriarch to the Church was permanently vacated and its present occupant assigned emeritus status because of "the availability of patriarchal service throughout the world" (p. 409). But, he continues, the Church has nonetheless called several patriarchs on short-term assignment to give blessings in areas of the world not covered by stakes and stake patriarchs. Thus, readers are left wondering why the office of Patriarch to the Church was vacated at all if there is still a need for it.

Topics Cowan does not even broach, evidently because of his emphasis on the Church's successes, include, to name a few, the 1930 debate among General Authorities over organic evolution (an excellent case study of the Church's confrontation with science), the committee of General Authorities assigned to help modernize and streamline the temple ceremonies during the 1920s, the challenges and problems confronting the Church's mutual improvement programs during the 1930s, the Third Convention in Mexico, the tragic Helmut Huebner incident in World War II Germany, the proselyting excesses in Europe in the 1960s when the push for converts resulted in hundreds, if not thousands, of so-called baseball baptisms, and the Church's financial burdens incurred during the late 1950s and early 1960s as a result of the deficit-spending policies of Henry G. Moyle. My guess is that Cowan chose not to discuss any of these subjects because of

their controversial nature. But for me, their absence became far more distracting than any discussion of them could have been.

Given the apparent unwillingness to address these and other presumably sensitive aspects of twentieth-century Mormonism — subjects which, because of their very controversialness, illuminate how the Church has dealt with the modern world — Cowan's narrative sometimes failed to capture the drama that is so much a part of Mormon history and to engage me in what should be a memorable and satisfying experience with my religious and spiritual heritage.

Where Cowan excels is in his use and graphic presentation of numerical data. His book boasts some thirty-five charts and tables, ranging from "The Church's Public Image, 1887–1917," "Sacrament Meeting Attendance (1920–70)," and "Rate of Growth Per Decade (1860–1980)," to "Melchizedek Priesthood Bearers (as percentage of membership by areas, 1920–70)," "Converts Per Missionary (periodically by area, 1925–80)," and "The Lord's Law of Revenue (percentage of Church funds spent for various purposes, 1925–55)." For the sheer breadth of research and knowledge the compilation of these figures must have required, Cowan's accomplishment is impressive.

In summary, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* is an adequate, although incomplete, introduction to modern Mormonism and a useful compendium of statistical and other numerical data relating to the Church's growth and development. A more complete history of the Church's encounter with and response to the twentieth century remains to be attempted.

A Life Well-Shared

So Far: Poems by Margaret Rampton Munk (Bethesda, Maryland: Greentree Publishing, 1986), 93 pp., \$5.95.

Reviewed by Mary L. Bradford, former editor of *DIALOGUE* and author of *Leaving*

Home, who is currently working on a biography of Lowell L. Bennion.

IN THE FALL OF 1985 *DIALOGUE* published Meg Munk's suite of poems entitled, "One Year." In a mature voice and through par-

ticular images, she dramatized her battle with cancer. In the spring of 1986, this suite joined with others, some reprinted from *DIALOGUE* and *Exponent II*, to make her first book of poems. Its title—*So Far*—announced a poet and a life still in process for which poetry had been both therapy and record. “Contrary to the best advice and the best of intentions,” Meg explained in the forward, “I have never been a keeper of diaries or journals. I have found, however, that poetry has been a satisfactory way for me to give expression to feelings and the impact of events on my life.”

Two short months later, in the summer of 1986, Meg died. She spent some of her last moments preparing her funeral service and writing a letter to her friends to be read by her daughter. In the letter she asked that her friends refrain from attempting to comfort her children with the doctrine that she had been called to a better place. Her place, the place she had fought so hard to retain, was on this “sweet terrestrial” earth with her family and friends.

As one of several she had designated to read a poem or scripture at the service, I chose “Let There be Trees” (p. 54). As I sat in the chapel near the windows, I took courage from the trees outside the windows whose curtains were opened at Meg’s direction. The poem pleads for her view of the hereafter: “Tell me there are trees/ And all the sweet terrestrial things I love —/ And that I need not leave these joys/ To be with Thee” (p. 55).

Her love for the earth and all living things is organized in five parts that cover the emotional terrain of her life. The first deals with her family members, in poems sometimes named for them. When her adopted daughter cries for her “real mother,” she answers with a poem about the obscurity of Heavenly Mother: “I cannot tell her yet/ How I have cried/ Sometimes at night/ To one whose memory/ My birth erased/ . . . Then hid her face from me” (p. 7).

In “Kinship” (p. 13), a thoughtless “matriarch” asks her about her Filipino

son: “Why graft this brown-skinned child/
Into your family tree,/ A tropic pineapple/
Upon a bough of temperate pears?/ . . .
This is not your son.” To which the poet responds: “She has forgotten/ To be prouder still/
Forgotten that her family/
And mine,/ Is large,/ and ancient,/ And of royal lineage.” And then she concludes: “She is right/ That he is not my son/
He is my brother.” Thus she joins good Mormon doctrine with brotherhood in a special way.

In these poems, as well as in her fiction, essays, and family history, Meg took upon herself the sufferings of others. If that meant dressing a dead sister’s body for burial in her role as Relief Society president, she did that. If it meant writing openly about an attempted rape so that others might be warned and better informed, she did that. In the other sections of the book entitled “Sisterhood,” “Earth and Sky,” “Faith and Doubt,” and “One Year,” Meg eventually explores her own suffering. When I first read “One Year,” I marveled at her power to describe the ravages of cancer while she was still in the throes of it. Isn’t poetry supposed to be “emotion recollected in tranquility?” She describes all the stations of her cross with strong, sure strokes. Without sentimentality she applies her extraordinary perceptions to the rhythms of speech and the concrete details of ordinary life.

In “The News” she mentally rehearses a scene in which the tumor is pronounced “benign,” and then with a “hard tube filling up/ The passageway of sound,” she rewrites the scene to read “malignant” and turns the instruments of her torture into the language of poetry. When she tells her doctor that she cannot bear to undergo treatment, he assures her that she will change her mind — for the children. And then she recounts the chapters of chemotherapy with their cruel attack on the “copper strands” of her hair. The hair has become a symbol of her childhood, her young womanhood, and her marriage when she “grew it long again/ For him.” Finally,

she combs it "clipped and brittle and drug-dead/ Into a basket/ In the bathroom/ Of my mother's home," and she joins her mother "in mourning."

The worst is yet to come. Her life waits on a tube that she compares to "Shiva, Preserver and Destroyer/ In one essence" where she must "trust the drop-lets/ That carry death/ Into my waiting vein/ To carry life instead" (p. 87). Perhaps writing these poems helped Meg find the final courage to orchestrate her death.

Meg didn't want to die. "God, God!

Not yet!" she cried. "Keep me longer/ From the darkness of those beds. . . . Let me be here to see/ With open eyes/ And well-loved people/ Just a call away" (p. 90). I mourn the loss of one who still had many poems to write, but I can rejoice in a life well-shared. I hear her calling to the autumn leaves, "Hold on! Hold on!" (p. 91) She sets her feet "Fearful but willing/ As the blind curves loom,/ Singing a prayer/ For a completed year. . ." (p. 97).

Margaret Rampton Munk. She showed me how to die. She showed me how to live.

Women Coping

Sideways to the Sun by Linda Sillitoe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 255 pp., \$7.95.

Reviewed by Gary Topping, curator of manuscripts at the Utah State Historical Society.

WHAT HAPPENS when a Mormon housewife, faithful to husband and church, encounters the dark side of human experience including adultery, child molestation, spouse abandonment, and divorce? In this fine first novel, Linda Sillitoe answers that question with a courage and honesty that is most welcome in Mormon literature.

She gives us the story of Megan Stevens, whose husband vanishes without warning or explanation, leaving her and their children to fend for themselves. Trying to cope with her bereavement and locate her husband, she draws strength from Kristen, a divorced woman in her ward, and from her own newly discovered inner resources. The novel contains no epiphanies, no sudden and magical solutions. Life simply deals rotten cards sometimes, Sillitoe is saying, and we have to play them as best we can, with all the patience, creativity, and good humor we can muster.

In working through her tribulation, Megan finds most of the expected sources

of support to be neutral at best. Her church is especially ambiguous; as a faithful married woman with children but no husband, she fits none of the Church's convenient categories, a fact that neither she nor the Church can immediately assimilate. The predictable Relief Society casseroles are as effective as aspirin in a cancer case, and other programs prove little better. Megan finds it helpful to establish a certain distance from the Church: she serves as a visiting teacher but attends only the church meetings that she expects will be personally useful. She discards her temple garments in a particularly memorable and significant passage, finding in the absence of their symbolic armor an opportunity to engage the world directly in a way she has not done before. Megan never leaves her church, but she finds that in coping with experiences for which it neither prepared her nor offers satisfying answers, she has to back away from it and find her own solutions.

Megan does not automatically flee to another man, or to men in general, for support. She engages in a mildly romantic relationship with another man, but he offers few practical solutions to either the day-to-day necessities of living or her recent emotional trauma. When her daughter is recruited as a possible plural wife by her seminary teacher, Megan realizes it is a

matter properly left to the priesthood but instead takes matters into her own hands and achieves the satisfaction of dealing with the problem herself.

Mormon women have their own heritage and their own problems not shared by women elsewhere. The women's movement applies to them in unique ways. In coping with their problems, they need to develop their own thinkers, their own history, and their own literature. Mormon feminism is the mainspring of *Sideways to the Sun*, and Mormon women trying to find a new identity ought to find much interest and inspiration in it.

Sillitoe's literary power is so impressive that I sometimes wish she had sought a broader audience than the Mormon public to which this novel is directed and

to which it will be limited. Interpreting Mormon experience for a wider world is, as Wallace Stegner has observed, a formidable task, since the writer is constantly obligated to explain the culture about which he or she is writing — an obligation not imposed upon writers interpreting cultures with more widely recognized traditions. Sillitoe explains nothing; she assumes an understanding of Mormon theology, institutions, and folkways that only Mormon readers, or those who have lived in Mormon country or made a special study of it, will possess. She has, of course, the right to seek whatever audience she wishes, but writers of her sophistication emerge so rarely within Mormondom that I have to hope her future work will accept the greater challenge.

Livre d'Artiste

The Book of Abraham. Printed and designed by Day Christensen, lithographs by Wulf Barsch (Pleasant Grove, Utah: Wormwood Press, 1985), 19 folios, \$950 unbound in a linen box; \$1450 full leather binding.

Reviewed by Lowell Durham, Jr., past president of Deseret Book Company and editor of the *Journal of Mormon History*.

ON FIRST PICKING UP *The Book of Abraham*, printed and designed by Day Christensen with hand-printed color lithographs by Wulf Barsch, I flinched, then looked over my shoulder to see if any of my children were near. My fear was that one of them might tear a page, spill Coke on it, lose it, or draw on page eleven with an orange crayon. Why publish such an expensive book? The answer is simple. It elevates the genre "book" to an art form.

For that reason, a review of this book cannot be a typical critical analysis of the text which ignores the design, production, and the art. Rather, it is the process of bookmaking as a whole that expresses itself in this, the "livre d'artiste." This symbiosis

of book and art is described by Constance W. Glenn: "Books recognized by this designation [livre d'artiste] are valued for their beauty and their rarity, and sell for prices that climb rapidly from a few hundred dollars to tens of thousands. They are usually handmade, published in limited editions, and represent either a close collaboration between artist and writer, or a sympathetic involvement — on the part of an artist — with historic literature or themes" (*Architectural Digest*, May 1984, p. 62).

For me, there is a dimension far more important than rarity or value. It is that the "livre d'artiste" approaches what a book should be — a miracle. This edition of *The Book of Abraham* is as uniquely designed and solidly crafted as were the great books of antiquity such as the Gutenberg Bible. For example, the margin ratios are 2:3:4:6, starting with the gutter margin of each right-hand page and going clockwise around the page. The left page is the same counterclockwise. The body type adheres to Aristotle's "golden mean." A diagonal from the top gutter corner to

the lower corner will also cut the type diagonally, corner to corner. In a personal interview, Christensen himself described the papers, binding leather, cloth, type, and box with the intelligence and love of an artist filling his palette with colors before painting.

Christensen selected quality paper with beautiful texture and heft. He specially ordered Caslon Old Face type from England and handset each letter. He also designed and colored the red initial letter that begins the book. The paper that wraps the unbound copies was handmade in France at the Richard de Bas paper mill that was founded in 1326. Each box that holds an unbound copy was handmade by Christensen and covered with dark-green cloth imported from Holland. Each bound copy was traditionally bound with goatskin by Robert Espinosa. All these elements bring to this work the classical feel of the architectonic that should be achieved in the design and production of the "livre d'artiste."

Wulf Barsch drew the seven lithographs found in this edition of *The Book of Abraham* on stones, and then Wayne Kimball hand printed them on Arches mouldmade paper. The text serves as a vehicle for Barsch's own artistic search. His lithographs are both a focal point for the work and a powerful, emotional stimulus.

The imagery and symbolism in Barsch's work are full of geometrics, desert, hope, color, sanctuary, temperature, and questions. Since the artist is reserved about the meaning of his work, it is also folly for a reviewer to say too much. I will say, however, that the art is full of lively imagery and emotion — full enough for anyone's search.

Barsch's own background sheds light on some of his personal symbolism. A native of German-speaking Bohemia, Barsch left with his family for an American section of Bavaria during World War II and then later moved to the United States. His conversion to Mormonism and his own

literal and spiritual wanderings brought him to Utah, a desert that may suggest some of the same distance, color, and searching for home that the Old-World desert suggested to Abraham. Judith McConkie described Barsch in a 1984 exhibit catalog as "a wanderer, searching for a prior home and a future rest in a controlled present" (*In the Desert: A Stranger in a Strange Land*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1984). Barsch's haunting lithographs help broaden our understanding of the story of Abraham.

The familiar text of *The Book of Abraham* (here taken from the original *Times and Seasons* text [1 and 15 March 1842], without verse breaks) is part of the Church's canonized scripture and is found in the Pearl of Great Price. The book of Abraham itself describes Abraham's need to leave Chaldea, and in preparation, his need to receive the blessings of his ancestors. The book is full of his search, his revelations about the earth, sun, and moon. He learns about premortal life, the creation, the Savior, and the second estate. The book includes Abraham's great blessing from God: "And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee above measure, and make thy name great among all nations, and thou shalt be a blessing unto thy seed after thee" (Abr. 2:9). Also included in the text of this edition are the familiar facsimiles 1, 2, and 3, printed close to their original size, with their attending explanations.

My only criticism of this work might be that so much effort has been expended to bring us a text similar to that available in literally millions of copies. Still, there are advantages to using the *Times and Seasons* text. Besides some grammatical changes, the most noticeable difference between this and the standard edition published by the Church is the unbroken text. Consecutively numbered scripture verses encourage progressing through the text rather than finding the message, reading the story, or even sensing the revela-

tion. Yet perhaps if Christensen, Barsch, Espinosa, and Kimball try again, they might bring us not only a beautiful book, but the pleasure of a yet unexperienced text. Nevertheless, this edition of *The Book*

of Abraham is a work of art. It reinforces my belief that books are a miracle that can never be replaced by floppy discs, computer printouts, or the green glow of some cathode ray tube.

BRIEF NOTICES

Why the Church Is as True as the Gospel: Personal Essays on Mormon Experience by Eugene England (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1986), 149 pp., index, \$8.95.

HUGH NIBLEY'S FOREWORD acclaims these essays, along with *Dialogues with Myself*, as taking "us out of our intellectual flatland." This volume contains nine essays: "Why the Church Is As True As the Gospel," "The Lord Knew That There Was Such a Person': Joseph Millet's Journal, 1853," "Shakespeare and the At Onement of Jesus Christ," "Hawthorne and the Virtue of Sin," "The Trouble with Excellence," "Brigham Young's University and the Music of Hope," "Brigham Young As Orator and Intellectual," "On Finding Truth and God," and "A Small and Piercing Voice: The Sermons of Spencer W. Kimball."

Personal memories, scriptural exegesis, and literary criticism are mingled in these eloquent essays, most of them given first as addresses and later published. Two of them — "Shakespeare and the At Onement of Jesus Christ" and "Brigham Young As Orator and Intellectual" — are published here for the first time.

Crisis on Campus: The Exciting Years of Campus Development at the University of Utah by Paul W. Hodson (Salt Lake City: Keeban Corporation, 1987), 330 pp., \$18.95.

HODSON, VICE PRESIDENT EMERITUS of the University of Utah, has written this history covering the campus years 1946 to 1969. Hodson worked for the university from 1942 until his retirement in 1973. This book is not meant to be an official history of the university, but according to the author "is a frank recollection of my intimate involvement with the University of Utah's decade of most explosive campus growth, and a record of my contending with the crises of thirty-two years in the president's office" (p. vii). While the book deals with the administration of the university and outside influences such as state funding, changes of governors, etc., most of the emphasis is on university expansion. Hodson includes information on master planning, roads, bonding, campus expansion, naming of buildings, etc. Also included is a chapter on the medical center, Pioneer Memorial Theater, the Physical Education, Sports, and Special Events Center, the Marriott Library, and the heating plant.

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This issue features the work of Allen Craig Bishop, a painter, printmaker, and art instructor who completed his studies at the University of Denver School of Art and now lives with his wife Alene and their three children in Granite, Utah. He is currently pursuing his career with a Visual Arts Fellowship awarded by the Utah Arts Council.

Bishop comments: "In drawing, printmaking, and painting, I use formats and sizes ranging from 2"×2" lithographs to an 8'×240' mural. I am interested in the interactions of geometry, shape, and color, which offer intriguing possibilities for investigating varied but universal structures. Virtually all visual phenomena have an elemental relationship to geometry, shape, and color.

"Primarily non-objective, my work has taken inspiration from such varied sources as chess, astronomy, creation, and scripture. Recently, however, I've introduced elements of time, change, and choice by using shaped canvases in rearrangeable, multi-part configurations. This allows the viewer to more fully participate in the process of visual communication, and the "universal structures" of shape and color function on a more elastic and democratic level.

"To name my work, I rearrange syllables and invent words much as I create and organize visual forms. My titles usually have no direct, literal meaning; I only occasionally intend similarity to real words.

"It would be hard to imagine life without discovery and creation. I hope someday to become as Bezaleel, 'filled . . . with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship' (Ex. 31:3). If my work helps to 'please the eye, . . . gladden the heart . . . and to enliven the soul' (D&C 59:18-19), then I have participated in God's plan."

Artwork by Allen Bishop:

Cover: "Castle of the Celestial Curelom," acrylic on shaped canvas panels, 53"×72", 1988

Graphite on paper drawings:

p. 14: "Celestial Cynqat," 10¾"×10¼", 1987

p. 60: "Nalever Girant," 10¾"×15½", 1987

p. 97: "Mobile Cynqat," 18"×7½", 1987

p. 112: "Gryolon Pez," 8"×10¼", 1987

p. 143: "Zinjopteryx," 18"×7½", 1987

p. 154: "Elongatus," 18"×7½", 1987

p. 156: "Ankot Curelom," 10¾"×15½", 1988

(Courtesy of Phillips Gallery, 444 East 200 South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111.)

Photographs of Hugh B. Brown and Zina Y. C. Brown on pages 16, 33, 50, 52, and 55: Courtesy of Zola Brown Hodson.

