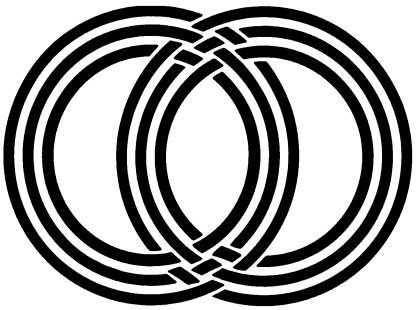
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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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 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 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, P.O. Box 658, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110-0658. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Art Editor at the same address.

IN THIS ISSUE

Each week millions of Latter-day Saints go to church with their King James Bibles tucked under their arms. The story behind the Church's official acceptance of this version is the subject of our lead article by Philip Barlow, who has drawn this essay from his larger study of Latter-day Saint uses of the Bible, to be published later this year.

In our second article, Jeffrey Jacob expands one of the most successful metaphors among Mormon intellectuals, Richard Poll's "Liahona and Iron Rod" categorizations of Mormons, and explores some fascinating implications for a sociological study of the contemporary varieties of Mormon belief.

Of interest to students of Mormon history is an article by Newell Bringhurst taken from a projected biography of Fawn M. Brodie. This essay analyzes Brodie's early life and her continual efforts to achieve independence from her heritage — an attempt that can be seen as only partially successful.

Three essays follow that discuss life in the Church after conversion. Irene Bates, John Sillito, and Karen Maloney — converts from England, Utah, and California — remind us of the differences between expectations and reality and the importance, as brothers and sisters, of accepting individual differences and rejecting even subtle forms of discrimination. The essays were originally presented in a DIALOGUE-sponsored session of the 1987 Sunstone Symposium.

Claudia Bushman's essay traces the history of San Francisco's Sunset Ward, reminding us of the importance of the ward, both as a unique building and close-knit group of people, in Mormon tradition. For fiction, we have chosen "Grandma's Dying" by Margaret Blair Young, a story about the complex arrangements and emotions accompanying an obligation to an elderly relative. The story was awarded first place in the 1987 Brigham Young University Art Festival competition.

We have received numerous letters in the past few months responding vigorously and openly to our recent issues. Our letters section, as well as our reviews and book notices, offer samples of popular reactions to and opinions of current Mormon issues. We are encouraged by the letters and continue to welcome participation in this ongoing dialogue.

LETTERS

A Radical Misstatement

I read with great interest M. Gerald Bradford's "The Case for the New Mormon History: Thomas G. Alexander and His Critics" (DIALOGUE, Winter 1988). Bradford makes a number of cogent criticisms of Alexander's essay, a few of which I also made in quite different form during the review process for the article. Bradford certainly is correct that there is a *tendency* for professional historians to disregard or dismiss the truth claims made by religious believers. I do not feel, however, that this is always or necessarily the case. In particular, Bradford and others need to be willing to assess fairly whether those whom they characterize as "New Mormon Historians" do in fact use such reductionistic approaches. On this crucial point, I feel that Bradford is very misleading since he fails accurately to represent the views of many of those whom he criticizes. This can be seen most clearly perhaps in his radical misstatement of my approach toward Joseph Smith's crucial visionary experiences.

My personal approach toward Joseph Smith's visionary experiences is most fully set out in my *Sunstone* essay "First Visions: Personal Observations on Joseph Smith's Religious Experience" (Sept.–Oct. 1983). In it, I emphasize the great power of those experiences and suggest that if properly understood in a full comparative perspective, they "may raise vital issues not simply for Mormons but for all those concerned with the nature and significance of direct religious experience." I further express my deep frustration that neither Mormons nor anti-Mormons seem to have much interest in "reconstructing precisely *what* Joseph Smith actually experienced." Many believing Latter-day Saints (especially the so-called "traditionalists") appear to be scared of the raw power inherent in Joseph Smith's visionary experiences and find it more comfortable to use the incomplete, canonized 1838 account as a sort of "proof-text" without ever trying to come to grips with the actual experience itself in all its power and inherent mystery.

Although I am not a Mormon, I have attempted and will continue to attempt to grapple with both the power and ambiguities of Joseph Smith's formative personal experiences. I have never denied the possibility that the so-called "First Vision" *may* have involved direct contact with literal beings in some deeper unseen reality with which most of us normally have no direct relationship. On the other hand, as a scholar in the field of religious history who has read accounts of hundreds of similar visionary experiences, I tend (unless I find compelling evidence to the contrary) to try to focus on the naturalistic (including psychological) components which accompanied — and which may or may not "explain" — such phenomena.

My strong personal conviction is that there are dimensions of reality with a "real" existence which far transcend our understanding or comprehension as mere *homo sapiens*. But scholarly parsimony leads me *first* to try to determine the naturalistic components of seemingly extraordinary experiences before I conclude that they are somehow "supernatural" or beyond our own complex earthly reality.

This approach simply is not appealing to "true believer" Mormon traditionalists. They are outraged when serious and sympathetic scholarship reaches *any* conclusion

other than a full and uncritical presentation of the received version of truth, whatever that may happen to be. (For example, consider Louis Midgley's ridiculous assertion that there is "no middle ground" in approaching Latter-day Saint history.) If any real engagement is to be possible between the so-called "traditionalists" and the so-called "new Mormon historians," then the traditionalists will have to be willing to reach out toward the new Mormon historians when we attempt to meet them halfway, as we have done so frequently in the past with little or no response except vituperation against us on their part.

If the traditionalists are not prepared to take seriously the possibility that reality may be more complex than their Sunday School simplifications of it, then they have no valid basis for complaining about supposed "lack of objectivity" of serious scholars who *do* attempt to find out, as much as we possibly can, what really happened. Let he who is without sin cast the first stone! Let not the kettle call the pot black!

Finally, let me correct one minor but annoying error made both by Alexander and by Bradford in quoting Alexander. I am not and never have been a member of the Religious Society of Friends, better-known as Quakers. I made this point explicitly in my essay "A Personal Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History" (DIALOGUE, Fall 1983). While I am very sympathetic toward the approach used by many Quakers, my only formal religious affiliation (now inactive) is with the United Methodist Church in which I grew up. I am annoyed that Alexander failed to correct this inaccuracy when I pointed it out in reviewing an early draft of his essay and that Bradford perpetuates the inaccuracy in his quotation of Alexander. Evidently some Latter-day Saints are slow to understand that people may sympathize with some aspects of a religious movement without being members of it.

Lawrence Foster

Atlanta, Georgia

Which Middle Ground?

The publication of Marvin S. Hill's "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed" (Fall 1988) indicates continuing interest in assessments of Mormon historiography. In addition, it is especially encouraging that DIALOGUE is willing to publish such fine endeavors as M. Gerald Bradford's "The Case for the New Mormon History: Thomas G. Alexander and His Critics" (Winter 1988). In this most recent "update in the ongoing discussion of Mormon historical writing" (p. 4), Hill defends naturalistic accounts of the Mormon past (pp. 115, 117), which he describes as a "middle ground" (pp. 116, 117) situated between a conservative right and an anti-Mormon left (pp. 115–17, 122, 124–25). Unfortunately, his survey of the literature on "Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins" is, as he admits, inadequate. He fails to assess at least twenty books on this topic published since 1959.

And I find that Hill's treatment of the books he elects to evaluate is flawed. An illustration of this is found in his insistence that conservative writers, on the right of his middle ground mode of writing Mormon history, focus on the question, "Is Mormonism true?" They are interested in "defending the truth of Mormon historical claims" (p. 115) by proclaiming "empirical proofs for Mormon claims" (p. 116). While for those in the middle ground, "Mormonism can be neither proved nor *disproved* by historical means" (p. 125, cf. p. 116). From Hill's perspective, what vitiates conservative Mormon history on his right, as well as anti-Mormon history on his left (p. 117), is the notion that historians believe they can somehow prove or disprove the prophetic claims of Joseph Smith.

The trouble is, Hill makes far too much hang on his loose use of the word "proof," for it is not clear that *any* of the writers he catalogs as conservative assume that it is possible, to cite his example, "to finally establish the historicity of the Book of Mormon, or to disprove it" (p. 116). Hill chides Hugh Nibley (pp. 118–19, where

he mentions Nibley's *Abraham in Egypt* [1981]) for "failing to meet his own essential criteria for proof" (p. 119), but he seems unfamiliar with what Nibley has actually written on the question of whether it is possible to "prove" the Book of Mormon. Nibley has set forth his position on this issue as follows: "For the past twenty years we have repeated in the pages of *The Improvement Era* and elsewhere that nothing is to be gained by trying to prove or disprove the Book of Mormon, but that a great deal can be gained by reading it and discussing its various aspects" (*Since Cumorah* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988] 421; see also his handling of the issue under the heading "Forever Tentative . . . ," p. 213).

In addition, Hill's characterization of those he stigmatizes as "far right" critics does not adequately describe their position. His sketchy paraphrase of their arguments, for instance, does not describe my stance, even though in the past I have severely criticized his "middle ground" approach to Mormon origins, nor does he adequately portray or address the issues I have raised (see my "Faith and History" in "*To Be Learned Is Good, If . . .*", edited by Robert Millet [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987], pp. 219–26).

Hill concludes his meager survey of the literature on Mormon origins by attacking certain "critics" on the "far right" of his middle ground position for being relativists whose approach amounts to a dangerous nihilism about the past (pp. 117, 124–25). It is interesting to note that Thomas G. Alexander earlier claimed that those he labels "New Mormon Historians" are thoroughgoing relativists because of a devotion to historicism ("Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective," DIALOGUE, Fall 1986, pp. 31, 42). Such a radical relativism presumably avoids the positivist contamination (pp. 37, 39, 41) which David E. Bohn saw at work in some Mormon history ("No Higher Ground," *Sunstone*, May–June 1983, pp. 26–32).

Ironically, it appears that both Hill and I are troubled by relativism about the past precisely because it may tend toward a nihilism that would virtually dissolve crucial Mormon historical claims (p. 125) and thereby radically transmogrify the content of faith. The relativism found in historicism may turn out to challenge faith more profoundly than positivism precisely because it wears a more tolerant mask.

On the other hand, I tend to agree with Alexander (1986, 39) that objectivity in the sense of detachment, especially from fundamental beliefs of some sort, is both undesirable and ultimately impossible — in opposition to the position now apparently advanced by Hill (p. 125). But I agree with Hill (pp. 115–16), rather than Alexander, that it is confusing to talk about a "new Mormon history," for neither the issues nor the positions have changed very much in twenty or more years. (Incidently, after denying that there is a "new Mormon history," Hill then proceeds to defend *it* against criticism from a "far right" but neglects to explain why it is necessary to defend something that does not exist.) On the other hand, Alexander is wise in discovering, even if somewhat belatedly, that there are a few secularists who are busy doing Mormon history in naturalistic terms (pp. 45–46), and in admitting that they are more or less enthralled by elements of positivism (p. 39). So it seems that I have my own middle-ground position somewhere between Alexander and Hill, who may disagree with each other at least as much as either disagrees with me. I admit, however, that I am uncertain how to situate these matters, or even why they should be situated, on such a simplistic left-center-right spectrum. I loathe such categorizing of views, whether political or otherwise.

It seems that the debate over the proper manner of dealing with Mormon origins is not over, partly because it is still unclear *what* is being debated. And this is true in spite of the fact that a number of responses have appeared in the pages of DIALOGUE to those perceived as critics of something loosely called "new Mormon history" (or of "middle ground history"). If

the crucial issue is the propriety of naturalistic explanations, as Hill now claims, then what is needed is an opportunity for the opponents of a secular history done in naturalistic terms, that is of what is sometimes called "Revisionist History," to set forth their views. Revisionist History may seem an overly pejorative label, but I have borrowed it from Richard P. Howard, RLDS Church Historian, one of Hill's few examples of a genuine "middle ground" historian other than Donna Hill and Leonard J. Arrington (see his "Revisionist History and the Document Diggers," Winter 1986, pp. 65–69).

In spite of the claim made by the editors of DIALOGUE (Fall 1988, 4), Hill's essay is simply not "careful and dispassionate," nor does it advance the analysis of the crucial issues. I will briefly illustrate some of Hill's carelessness and inaccuracy. He began his essay by attributing to Moses Rischin (whoever he is) the statement that "Mormon history and culture can be studied in human and naturalistic terms — indeed, must be so studied, without thus rejecting the divinity of the Church's origin and work" (p. 115). Rischin was actually quoting from the very first essay in the first issue of DIALOGUE — an essay by Leonard Arrington. Alexander made essentially the same mistake in 1986 (p. 25). The editors of DIALOGUE had that inaccuracy drawn to their attention. It seems odd that DIALOGUE would allow another prominent Mormon historian to again erroneously attribute Arrington's famous statement about the use of naturalistic terms in the doing of Mormon history to Moses Rischin — the author of an obscure one-page essay which carried the title "The New Mormon History." Rischin merely happened to quote one of Arrington's more famous remarks. But even that remark is merely a bald assertion, which Arrington later admitted needed further study (Spring 1966, p. 23 n. 44).

In private communications with DIALOGUE, I earlier called attention to Alexander's mistake, since he had begun by quoting Arrington's language with approval (Fall 1986, p. 25) — though, like Hill, he also incorrectly attributed it to Rischin. Later he attacked Gary Novak and me for having violated "the canons of ordinary academic discourse" (p. 43) because, after accurately quoting the passage from Arrington that he had quoted with approval (p. 25), we implied that some of his explanations could be understood as naturalistic, a position at that point in his apology, which he suddenly staunchly disavowed (pp. 42–44). (In addition, both Alexander [p. 49] and Hill [p. 127] incorrectly cite volume 5 of the *American West* as the reference to Rischin's one-page review — it actually appeared in volume 6, number 2.) Perhaps the accuracy of essays that are awarded prizes and otherwise lauded ought to be checked before they are published. Without such careful checking, it is impossible to know whether a writer is careful, accurate, or responsible.

I trust that DIALOGUE will continue to publish other views of the problems associated with writing Mormon history. The apologists for a naturalistic history have had an opportunity to attack those they consider critics and thereby defend their own views. Those who oppose Revisionist History have been stigmatized as "traditionalists" (Alexander, Fall 1986, pp. 25–30, 41–45) or as constituting a conservative "far right" position (Hill, Fall 1988, pp. 117, 118). They have also been accused of being grossly uninformed (Hill, p. 124; Alexander, p. 41), and of intentional, shameless, and obtuse misrepresentation of the views of others (Alexander, pp. 37–38, 41–42, 44–46). Furthermore, they are indicted by Hill for "not listening" to what "middle ground historians" have been saying, presumably because, in his psychologizing slur, "they are caught up in their own inner perplexities and turmoils" (p. 125). Those who have questions about the soundness of Revisionist History deserve an opportunity to respond to such charges, or at least to present their own views.

It would be a shame if, after thirty or more years in which some large advances

have been made in Mormon history, the door is now slammed on a genuine dialogue on the theoretical or philosophical issues that surround the study of Mormon origins. The publication of Bradford's essay (Winter 1988) is an encouraging indication that this may not happen. But much more is needed. One would assume that apologists for Revisionist History would welcome a genuinely free and open discussion, especially if the position of their critics is as problematic as has been alleged by Hill and Alexander.

Louis Midgley
Provo, Utah

Is That History?

I would like to respond to Thomas Alexander, Gerald Bradford, and Mormon historians in general. One historian writes a different history than another, rendering the facts in differing contexts, depending upon the nature, experience, and disposition of the historian. Here is my guess as to how each of several Mormons might report the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. I have rank-ordered these individuals according to their religious conservatism:

Louis C. Midgley: "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob be praised for sending forth an angel to lead the Prophet Joseph Smith to where ancient records were buried."

Jerald Tanner: "Joseph Smith LIED when he said that an angel appeared to him and led him to a hill where gold plates were buried."

Stephen R. Covey: "After getting in touch with the divine center, the Prophet Joseph Smith was visited by an angel who led him to where ancient records were buried."

M. Gerald Bradford: "Nothing makes me so furious as Mormons, more liberal than I, whose accounts vary from these exact words: 'An angel led the Prophet Joseph Smith to a hill where ancient plates were buried.' "

Thomas G. Alexander: "Joseph claimed that an angel appeared to him to lead him to a hill where ancient records were buried."

Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton: "What we are about to say should be prefaced by our telling you that we are both active Mormons, possessing temple recommends: Joseph Smith claimed that an angel appeared to him to lead him to a hill where ancient records were buried."

Sterling M. McMurrin: "A first step toward the Prophet's denying the dominant Christian doctrine of ex-nihilo was his acquiring ancient plates, buried in a hill."

Fawn M. Brodie: "Psychological forces were brought to bear on Joseph, which resulted in his coming up with a story about an angel appearing to him and leading him to a hill where ancient plates were buried."

G. Eugene England: "Lowell Bennion and I talked about Joseph Smith's being visited by the Angel Moroni, who led Joseph to where the Book of Mormon plates were buried. We have found several passages in that book indicating to us that had Moroni lived in our own day, he would have given blacks the priesthood, set us straight on how there won't be polygamy in heaven after all, and solicited groups to gather food for the hungry people of Poland and the earthquake victims of Armenia."

Rustin Kaufman: "An angel led the Prophet Joseph Smith to a hill where ancient plates were buried."

Richard L. Evans: "The spiritual experiences of the Prophet Joseph Smith, in acquiring the Book of Mormon plates, place him in the company of the greatest religious leaders in world history."

Mark Hofmann: "An angel led the Prophet Joseph Smith to a hill where he met a salamander."

Joseph H. Jeppson
Woodside, California

Is She at Home?

In "The Need for a New Mormon Heaven" (Fall 1988) Melodie Charles calls for

> more caution from those who project onto Mother in Heaven the traditional earthly model of housewife and nurturer of children. I would prefer that we project no model of womanhood into heaven to define her. Instead, since revelation often comes when questions are asked, I am encouraging Church authorities to ask for revelation about her. Then we might learn what she really is (p. 85).

At the same time, Charles laments that the Church says very little about Mother in Heaven: "She appears fewer than ten times, always as 'mother in heaven' (all small case), in contrast to forty plus appearances of 'Heavenly Father' (capitalized), and twenty plus appearances of Jesus" (p. 83).

Charles seems to be asking for it both ways — say more and project less. Yet she herself — though awaiting further revelation — projects her own model of womanhood onto Mother in Heaven: "I can see why today's General Authorities who define womanhood as stay-at-home mothering would also envision her this way. But I can't see any reason now to let *such a degrading concept* of the female deity continue to exist without protest" (p. 84, italics added).

In contrast, the Church refrains from official pronouncements expanding our notion of Heavenly Mother, while apparently not interfering in the considerable unofficial speculation on the subject. Perhaps given a few hundred years of future Church history we may evolve a tradition about Heavenly Mother every bit as rich, and probably binding, as the Catholics have about the Virgin Mary, with or without further revelation on the subject.

I hear more speculation about Heavenly Mother from the liberal and feminist ranks of the Church than from the more traditional sectors, which is fine. I hear about a Heavenly Mother equal in power and status with the Father. Assuming that is true, we can make several inferences. Wherever Heavenly Mother is or whatever she is doing, *she* has chosen not to reveal herself. Apparently she is not into nurturing her earthly children right now.

What is she doing then? Perhaps she is too busy in the pre-earth realms (the nursery, if you will) to check on her adolescents in mortality — a very stay-at-home mother. Or perhaps she is wonderfully individuated and self-actualizing, traveling about a more interesting galaxy, leaving the children under the auspices of Dad and big brother. But whoever and wherever she is, she certainly has not visited here for a very long time.

Occasionally I hear a prayer that includes a supplication or other acknowledgment of Heavenly Mother. When I do, I sense a yearning for nurturing, for some time at home. "Are you listening, Mom? Look in on us! Tell us you love us and care how we're doing. Give us some insight on being a woman . . . or on just being. But most of all, be our mother." I doubt that people who offer such prayers think it is degrading for Heavenly Mother to answer her children's prayers, to carry on conversations in our childish language, or stay close enough to this galaxy so that even in this tiny portion of eternity we may feel her presence.

Underneath the rhetoric, I sense that nineteenth-century Mormon men weren't the only ones to envision a Mother in Heaven as a bearer and nurturer of children. Is it possible that the contemporary, liberated Mormon woman yearns for some nurturing contact from a Heavenly Mother who is more available to her children? Somehow that kind of stay-at-home mothering does not seem degrading. "One-dimensional" might be a better characterization on which to focus objections.

Personally I quite enjoy the speculation about Heavenly Mother. I think Melodie Charles has every right to project her favorite model of womanhood onto Heavenly Mother — as long as she reserves the

same right for others, even those who advocate "degrading" stay-at-home mothering. In a sense we are all like orphaned or adopted children who can't help wondering about our "real mother." Forbidding a child to speculate about an absentee mother would be foolish; it is equally fruitless to tell each other not to speculate about Heavenly Mother. We would be in real danger, however, if we held so firmly to our own ideas — in this area of almost total ignorance — that we then began to judge everyone else's spiritual worthiness on our own opinion.

Stephen Jay Hammer
Somis, California

More Than Two Cultures

C. Brooklyn Derr, in his "Messages from Two Cultures: Mormon Leaders in France, 1985" (Summer 1988), has given a very interesting report about Mormons in France. Although he used technical data and summarized his findings in a professional way, I feel it is important to remember that his description of the religious life of French Mormons and his claims about what makes French Mormons unique are limited to a very small group. His data indicate that there are cultural differences in French/American and LDS/non-LDS comparisons, but these differences may not apply to all French Mormons.

Derr has done an admirable job of comparing two similar groups — LDS leaders in two different countries and cultures. However, his study was limited geographically and socially, as he dealt mostly with members of the Church living in the Parisian region and with educated executives rather than working class leaders. Derr's personal experiences gave us a glance at other categories of members, but he didn't elaborate on them. It would be interesting to see how an LDS American would encounter LDS culture in France outside of the educated, Parisian area.

I think Derr would have found other important differences if he had distinguished between "native Mormons" and "converts" in France, for instance. I came to make this distinction while working at the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah. My job there allowed me to become acquainted with many international LDS young people who came to the MTC to prepare for missions. I noticed that "native" French Mormons — those born into Latter-day Saint families or whose families were converted while they were still young — had less difficulty adapting to their American companions and the unique MTC way of life than did the "converts" — those recently converted to the gospel, whose families may not be members of the Church.

From my experience, converts had more difficulty adjusting to new relationships, especially with their companions. Being relatively new members, still very sensitive in their religious beliefs, they expected a mostly spiritual experience and found it difficult to cope with the "material" aspects of mission life — the daily routine, the need for basic financial and physical preparations, the differences of opinion and conflict between missionaries. Compared to native members, who usually adapted within one or two weeks to the MTC discipline and to their companions, French converts were more critical and often became disillusioned.

I conclude that some unique aspects of Mormon culture are basically the same all over the world, even though Mormonism may differ between countries in minor ways. While native Mormons have found a way to adjust to this "bicultural" dilemma (living in both a secular and religious culture), converts need time to make this adjustment. The longer one is part of this Mormon culture, the easier it is to deal with the conflicts with non-LDS cultures.

I am familiar with one ward and two branches in eastern France. These three LDS communities do not resemble each other and do not resemble the ward described by Derr. The Mulhouse Ward is known as a "worker's ward," the Colmar

Branch is called "bourgeois" (although there are no rich members), and the Belfort Branch, with only about twenty members, is too small for such categorizing. In Mulhouse, for example, most members are from working class areas and are skilled laborers. Very few have university education. In Colmar, the seat of government for the *département* (equal in importance to a state capital in the USA), some members work for the government or related organizations; others are property owners or educators. The Colmar Branch social structure is very different from the Mulhouse Ward, and likely very different from a Parisian setting.

In each of these LDS communities, natives and converts can be distinguished by their ways of life and how they deal with the bicultural problems French Latter-day Saints face. Natives are more at ease being Mormon and French, while many converts are still trying to integrate their old way of life with the newly acquired one. For example, many converts still have a hard time being polite in social occasions where coffee or wine are served. But natives who have never practiced the social habit of coffee or wine are less embarrassed about it, as it is natural for them not to drink.

Derr's description of home teaching visits is an example of behavior within the Church that is also not true of all French Mormons. He described very formal visits in a traditional French or Parisian style. In Mulhouse, for example, where there are many native Mormons, the casual, unannounced home teaching visit is not uncommon, and members are much less formal with each other than Derr describes. They do not feel that a monthly (or more frequent) visit is an intrusion. This may be because they know each other more intimately or because their social background is different and they would not be so formal with any guests.

I found many things interesting and of value in Derr's article but of course would like to see more studies in this area. I am fascinated by Mormon culture. As a convert, I have lived with these kinds of problems and think it is interesting that in our time we can watch the development of the unique LDS culture — a rare phenomenon in the world these days!

Christophe Dietsch
Mulhouse, France

Greater Equality for All

Lee Copeland's article "From Calcutta to Kaysville: Is Righteousness Color-coded?" (Fall 1988) rightly identifies a major area where culture has invaded doctrine by teaching racial superiority on the basis of scant or no scriptural support.

It is almost irresistible for those who believe in our premortal existence as sentient beings with responsibility for our conduct to connect that conduct with our birth circumstances. This view finds reinforcement in such statements as Paul's that "God . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts 17:24–26). This suggests that while we are all of "one blood," we are born where and when we are for a purpose. I believe that.

However, our ignorance about God's purposes almost insures that our assumptions about them will be wrong. Though my first impulse is to think that for someone to be born rich, white, smart, healthy, American, and Mormon would be a reward, my second thought is that in an eternal view, such birth circumstances could well be a curse, because character is developed more by successful struggle with difficulties than by ambling along the easy path. In any event, it is highly presumptuous of us to judge the significance of life's events and circumstances on the basis of our terribly limited view of things. Belief in a premortal existence, by opening up additional possible explanations, should make us less rather than more sure. I

understand the compulsion to explain the differences in birth, in wealth and poverty, health and suffering. But any answer we might think we see simply raises new questions. Copeland quotes statements that seem incredibly insensitive today. The statements are particularly troubling when coming from people we hope would be more insightful and tolerant than most. It is another reminder to us that divine calling does not make for infallibility or even wisdom.

If we look for extenuation, we can say that our leaders were no worse than most others of the time, though we wish we could say they were better. And the attitudes expressed have not been restricted to Western society. Whites and Americans have had no corner on prejudice. Members of other races have thought that whites were barbarous, laughable, and ill-smelling. And children of mixed races have often been poorly accepted by both groups.

Much of the rhetoric may offend us, but it was not intended to offend. Emphasis on the blessedness of the speaker's and audience's birth conditions was not designed to degrade those of other races, but to explain why so much was properly to be expected of the listeners. In context, statements about the supremacy of the white race were often urging *noblesse oblige*. Though they have a negative side, the statements were intended as a spur to do good. That does not make them true or desirable, for they tended both to perpetuate negative stereotypes and to suggest an unwarranted entitlement to higher status, but it does drain them of some malignancy.

Spencer W. Kimball is rightly identified as one who fought intolerance, but he still consistently counseled caution in interracial marriage. His concerns were several. First, if one married a partner whose priesthood was limited because of race, he or she was choosing to share in those limitations by giving up the opportunity of temple marriage. Happily that concern has now disappeared. Second, he felt that partners with different backgrounds (and in his day, race almost always indicated significantly different cultural background) faced added difficulties in relating well to one another. And third, additional stress on their marriage would come from outside, from the likely isolation from both cultures. I think, for example, of a couple I know who some years ago moved to Hawaii hoping to find greater tolerance for their racially mixed marriage.

In addition to the statements quoted by Copeland (p. 92), other earlier ones in similar vein are set out in *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*:

> [W]e must discourage intermarriage, [but] not because it is sin. I would like to make this very emphatic. . . . But it is not expedient [i.e., wise]. Marriage statistics and our general experience convince us that marriage is not easy. It is difficult when all factors are favorable. The divorces increase constantly, even where the spouses have the same general background of race, religion, finances, education, and otherwise (E. Kimball 1982, 302).

This was a 1958 talk to seminary and institute teachers. And in a letter, probably written in 1959, he said, "The interrace marriage problem is not one of inferiority or superiority. The difficulties and hazards of marriage are greatly increased where backgrounds are different. For a wealthy person to marry a pauper promises difficulties. For an ignoramus to marry one with a doctor's degree promises difficulties" (in E. Kimball 1977, 302).

This further illustration of his views appears in his biography:

> A white girl was considering marriage to an Indian college student. Her parents came to Elder Kimball, objecting. He agreed with them that such a marriage carried with it greater risks than marriage between people of similar racial and cultural backgrounds, but he told them there was no wrong in it. He would not encourage it, but neither would he try to block it. A year later the young couple were married in the temple; Elder Kimball performed the ceremony. The bride's parents refused to attend (Kimball and Kimball 1977, 342).

The limited information on stability of racially mixed marriages that Copeland cites seems counterintuitive, but if accurate and well publicized, it could make a great deal of difference. That seems an important area for research. If, in fact, it were clear that such marriages run no special risk, opposition to them would then be seen as based in prejudice rather than wisdom.

Racial attitudes of whites in the United State have come a long way in recent years. Change has come as blacks have been consciously reinserted into world history and as Asia has ascended as a world economic power. And in the Church, the revelation on priesthood has had an effect. The enormous success of missionary work in many countries with different racial and ethnic backgrounds from those in North America and Europe — where the first missionary success came — will inevitably bring more change in attitudes. We can expect a greater acceptance of the ultimate equality before God of all people. Considering our biblical roots, we shall probably never abandon an interest in lineage, but there is now and will be greater emphasis on spiritual alliance resulting from mortal choice than on physical heritage resulting from premortal assignment.

Edward L. Kimball
Provo, Utah

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It's No Accident

I thoroughly enjoyed David Bailey's splendid article, "Scientific Foundations of Mormon Theology" (Summer 1988). It is as full of goodies as a plum pudding and well deserves the first place it won in the DIALOGUE 1987 writing awards for philosophy and religion. His prose is so good that almost anyone, even I, can begin to understand relativity, cosmology, and other tricky subjects.

I am glad that Bailey welcomes comments on the notion that we are preprogramed to be born into a certain situation: i.e., parents, environment, problems. The subject recently came up in a Relief Society class, and the consensus was that at least some spirits were chosen before birth to fill sensitive roles. This doesn't seem quite democratic to me. I would rather think that we all earn our place because of the way we keep our first estate. We are placed where we — and in some cases, humanity — can benefit. Let the spirit be right for the place, and let genetics take care of the body.

Mark Twain certainly thought we were predestined for certain roles when he wrote:

> Prov'dence don't fire no blank ca'tridges, boys. . . . There ain't no such thing as an accident. When my Uncle Lem was leaning up agin a scaffolding once, sick, or drunk, or suthin, an Irishman with a hod full of bricks fell on him out of the third story and broke the old man's back in two places. People said it was an accident. Much accident there was about that! He didn't know what he was there for, but he was there for a good object. If he hadn't been there the Irishman would have been killed. Nobody can ever make me believe anything different from that. Uncle Lem's dog was there. Why didn't the Irishman fall on the dog? Becuz the dog would a seen him a coming and stood from under. That's the reason the dog warn't appinted. A dog can't be depended on to carry out a special providence. Mark my words, it was a put-up thing (*Roughing It*, vol. 2, ch. 12).

As to Bailey's worry about how God could handle all the details of matching children to parents, we have a great thing in the Church called "delegation." People in metaphysics call these planners the "Lords of Karma"; the American Indians call them the "Grandfathers." Sir Edwin Arnold had another solution: "Don't poets know/ Better than others?/ God can't

be always everywhere; and, so/ Invented Mothers."

Besides, the placement might not have to be all that precise. Consider this. While Sam'l and I were engaged, he once said in a burst of enthusiasm, "You are one in a thousand!" (Was this after he found I could type ninety words a minute?) Then he went on in a typical Taylor way, "That means, of course, that there are 999 other girls who would do as well." He thought a minute. "It would be a matter of sorting them out, and it would take a lot of time. I do have my writing career to consider. On the whole, I think I'll let it go as it is."

Gay Taylor
Redwood City, California

A Means of Support

As a freshman at Ricks College in 1978, I spent most of my free time reading and listening to Paul H. Dunn. By the time I completed my mission in 1981, I was strictly a Bruce R. McConkie fan. Returning to Ricks, I found myself slowly converting to Hugh Nibley, which led to my embracing *BYU Studies*, *Sunstone*, *Journal of Mormon History*, and DIALOGUE. I don't mean to say that I've "grown out" of General Authorities, but by arriving at DIALOGUE, I have truly found something that makes me proud to be a Latter-day Saint and helps me appreciate my religion more than ever.

I first became familiar with DIALOGUE while reading Jerald and Sandra Tanner's book *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality?* at Ricks College. The Tanners quoted from its articles and essays enough for me to become intrigued. Finally, I located someone who had copies, and on 15 September 1985 I had my first look at DIALOGUE. After spending a fortune copying articles to keep me busy reading, I finally became a subscriber. As one of the steps of repentance is to make restitution where possible, I am now spending most of my time and money securing copies of every back issue of DIALOGUE until I have them all. Truly DIALOGUE has become one of my best friends, and I'll give you a few reasons why.

For more than eight years, some members of my ward have met together as a study group. My wife and I joined this group two years ago. The meetings rotate from home to home, with the host giving the lesson. For my first turn, I presented a historical overview of Mormon polygamy. For the post-Manifesto period, of course I referred to Michael Quinn's study which appeared in DIALOGUE (Spring 1985). Everyone seemed to enjoy this "controversial" evening.

Eight months later, when it was my turn again, we had been discussing one chapter per month of Joseph Fielding Smith's *Doctrines of Salvation*, and my lesson happened to be the chapter on the Adam-God theory. The class was expecting me to agree with President Smith that Brigham Young never taught the doctrine, case closed. Yet I couldn't say that and be honest. I was well aware that it would be difficult and perhaps offensive to some to say otherwise. So, I took a chance and in as faith-promoting a way as possible shared some thoughts from David John Buerger's DIALOGUE article, "The Adam-God Doctrine" (Spring 1982). Several members of the study group seemed to feel that my view that Brigham taught the doctrine bordered on apostasy. It didn't help matters when my bishop grabbed my copy of DIALOGUE and made it very clear that this was not a Church publication and that someone he knew very well who read this journal faithfully was now without a testimony.

I left that night feeling very hurt (wishing Hugh B. Brown were there to comfort me) yet more committed to DIALOGUE and its purpose. Two weeks later, this bishop submitted my name to the stake to be called as his executive secretary. Later, my ward clerk friend said that the bishop wanted me because I seemed "somewhat intellectual, and this calling should help" me.

While the study group experience left me feeling alone, DIALOGUE has surely been my means of support. I know the feeling of Jack and Linda Newell when they said "Without DIALOGUE, it would have been easy to conclude that we were oddballs who didn't have a place in the Church. But the articles in the journal kept reminding us that we weren't alone and we weren't even that odd." This has been a comfort to me, although I wish someone, somewhere near me had the same interest in scholarly Mormon studies, especially Church history, as I do. Just once I would like to say to someone, "What did you think of Mike Quinn's recent article?" "Do you agree with Jan Stout's essay on homosexuality?" "Wasn't David Buerger's study of the development of the temple endowment ceremony informative and stimulating?"

I have come to admire and respect those who started DIALOGUE and those who now and in the past have put this journal together for people like me to read and consider.

Thank you, DIALOGUE, and may you be around long enough to have a "Special Millennium Issue"!

Devery Scott Anderson
Kelso, Washington

An Elitist Class?

I am pleased beyond measure to have recently found the 1988 summer and fall issues of DIALOGUE in a local bookstore. In reading through them cover to cover, I'm distressed to discover that you have celebrated your twentieth anniversary and I have missed so much.

When I was very young, I asked my Junior Sunday School teacher who our Heavenly Mother was. She responded that I should not ask such questions. In high school seminary I asked, if the inspired version of the Bible is true, why not teach from it? Once again I was told that this was one of the mysteries, not to be discussed. I openly applaud your candid published thoughts on the many topics that you seem to cover. While I cannot agree with all that you print, I am very happy to have discovered a source of intelligent opinion, right or wrong.

I wish you and those who submit materials to be published the very best in the next twenty years. I would like to add a note of caution: overusing the term "intellectual" denotes an elitist class, not consistent with the grass roots member, the lay clergy. I would hope that neither you nor I take ourselves too seriously in our quest for knowledge of all things, thereby losing sight of the fact that the Church is true, despite the ever present holes in the cloth.

Rodney J. Sorensen
Mendon, Utah

LDSF4

Following the publication of our first three science fiction anthologies, we are now gathering stories for *LDSF4* (1991) and are looking for speculative or supernatural science fiction or fantasy with LDS characters or themes, rated G and full of action and conflict. Please send manuscripts and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to:

Benjamin Urrutia, Editor
2015 South 200 East, Apt. 31
Salt Lake City, Utah 84115

Miller-Eccles Study Group

Eight years ago Ron Miller and I started a study group in southern California. Both Ron and I were working in the stake mission presidency and had organized firesides so that stake members could invite their friends to hear outstanding LDS scholars such as Leonard Arrington.

Ron and I agreed that a small meeting with scholars held away from the Church building and organization would be enlight-

ening and open to a free flow of discussion and ideas. We invited friends from the local area, suggested a modest donation, and arranged to have Leonard Arrington meet with us. This first meeting was so successful that we met a second time, and a third, and are now meeting nearly ten times a year. Our group has grown from a few personal friends to a mailing list of nearly 200 from all over southern California. We also have organized ourselves into a nonprofit association and have obtained a tax exempt status, so donations are tax deductible. Although our primary focus is Church history, four out of ten meetings deal with sociology, ancient scripture or history, current events, or other topics.

I wonder how many other groups there are like us. If you belong to one, I would appreciate a note telling me what you do and how. Perhaps if we shared information on discussion topics, speakers, financing, etc., we could all benefit.

I must say that the articles in DIALOGUE have provided a continuing list of topics and speakers for us. Keep up the good work.

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Why the King James Version?: From the Common to the Official Bible of Mormonism

Philip L. Barlow

THE EXCELLENCE OF THE King James Version of the Bible does not need fresh documentation. No competent modern reader would question its literary excellence or its historical stature. Yet compared to several newer translations, the KJV suffocates scriptural understanding. This essay offers a historical perspective on how the LDS Church became so attached to a seventeenth-century translation of the ancient biblical texts.

To gain this perspective, we must distinguish between the sincere justifications offered by leaders and teachers in recent decades and the several historical factors that, between 1867 and 1979, transformed the KJV from the common into the official Mormon Bible. In addition to a natural love of the beauty and familiarity of KJV language, these factors include the 1867 publication of Joseph Smith's biblical revision, the nineteenth-century Protestant-Catholic conflict over governmental authorization of a single version for use in American public schools, the menace of higher criticism, the advent of new translations perceived as doctrinally dangerous, a modern popular misunderstanding of the nature of Joseph Smith's recorded revelations, and the 1979 publication of the LDS edition of the Bible. While examining these influences, I give special notice to J. Reuben Clark, who by 1956 had appropriated most previous arguments and in the process made virtually all subsequent Mormon spokespersons dependent on his logic. So influential was his work that it too must be considered a crucial factor in the evolving LDS apologetic for the King James Version.

THE COMMON INHERITED VERSION

When the Geneva Bible was published in 1560, it made no attempt to disguise its Protestant origins: its prefatory dedication to Queen Elizabeth

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expressed the optimistic hope that her majesty would see all papists put to the sword in timely fashion. The Geneva Bible's marginal notes contributed greatly to its popularity among the Protestant laity, but royalty, clergy, and Roman Catholics were disturbed by many of the notes' interpretations. The Pope naturally objected to being identified as "the angel of the bottomless pit" (Rev. 9:11), and defenders of royal privilege were equally upset by a note on Exodus 1:19 approving of the midwives' lying to Pharaoh. It was thus no great shock when England's new king, James I, commissioned a fresh translation in 1604.

When the new product first issued from the press seven years later, not all readers were favorably impressed. Some thought its English barbarous. Others criticized the translators' scholarship. Prominent churchmen, like the Hebraist Hugh Broughton, "had rather be rent in pieces by wild horses, than any such translation by my consent should be urged upon poor churches" (Bruce 1963, 229). However, the revision — for it was a revision of earlier versions — was well received by the authorities and therefore authorized, though never formally, to be read in the churches. But for two generations this Authorized Bible waged a struggle to replace the Geneva translation in popular usage. The Puritans brought this struggle to America, where the conceptions and arguments of the two factions in the famous "Antinomian Controversy" in Massachusetts (1637) were conditioned by the respective use of the two different Bibles (Stout 1982, 31).

Gradually, the phraseology of the Authorized Version came to be viewed as classically beautiful, and it wielded a major influence on English literature and the language itself. So completely did its turns of phrase eventually capture the popular mind that by the eighteenth century many Protestants felt it blasphemous to change it or even to point out the inadequacies of its scholarship (Daiches 1941). The subsequent efforts of Noah Webster and others to mend its defects had little effect on most antebellum Americans. Joseph Smith's generation was raised on the King James Version (as it came to be known in this country) as thoroughly as it was raised on food and water.

Yet while the familiar translation influenced virtually every aspect of his thought (Hutchinson 1988; Barlow 1988, chs. 1 and 2), Joseph Smith was in no sense bound to it as an "official" Bible. To the contrary, he regarded the version he inherited as malleable and open to creative prophetic adaptation. He believed the Bible was the word of God, but only "as far as it is translated correctly." And, he noted, the King James Version was not translated correctly in thousands of instances. The Prophet used the KJV as a baseline because it was generally available and known, but the thrust of his work was to break away from the confinement of set forms, to experiment with new verbal and theological constructions while pursuing his religious vision. Through good honest study, he worked to understand Hebrew and other tongues that would improve his scriptural perspective. While so doing, he experimented freely with Bibles in various languages, once observing that the German Bible (presumably Luther's) was the most correct of any (HC 6:363–64).

Neither did the KJV enjoy official status among the Saints as a whole. Early Mormons took the familiar version for granted in many ways, but they

routinely cited various translations of a given text, noting the King James rendition as but one among others (e.g., *Times and Seasons* 5:601 and 6:791). Orson Pratt stressed the textual limitations behind *any* version. For him, a translation from the original tongues was not really the word of God, and this specifically applied to the KJV (JD 7:26–27, 14:257a–60, 15:247–49, 16:218).

In fact, Church leaders such as Pratt, John Taylor, and George Albert Smith went out of their way to insist that the King James translators were not inspired (JD 1:25, 7:23ff, 12:264, 14:257–58, 17:269). Claiming no scholarly or prophetic basis for his view, Brigham Young casually guessed that, for all its errors, the Bible was probably translated about "as correctly as the scholars could get it." Yet what he sought was accuracy and truth, not loyalty to a tradition: "If it be translated incorrectly, and there is a scholar on the earth who professes to be a Christian, and he can translate it any better than King James's translators did it, he is under obligation to do so, or the curse is upon him" (JD 14:226–27). For a generation after Joseph Smith's death, the KJV was thought of as the common, not the official, Bible of Mormonism.

Antecedents to "Official" Status

This began to change in 1867–68 when the newly formed Reorganized Church, which had access to the original manuscripts, published Joseph Smith's inspired "translation" for the first time. Some Utah Mormons, like Orson Pratt, were enthusiastic about the Prophet's revision, but Brigham Young was not (JD 1:56, 15:262–65; Bergera 1980, 39–40). Antagonism between the Utah Church and the smaller group in the Midwest who rejected his leadership led Brigham, and most of his colleagues, to suspect the new publication. Had Joseph's original work been altered? Furthermore, they reasoned, the Prophet had not been able to finish and publish his revision during his lifetime. Some now suggested this failure was providential.

As copies began to proliferate in Utah, various leaders at the School of the Prophets in Provo voiced the Church's stand against the new revision: "the world does not want this [new Bible] . . . they are satisfied with the King James translation"; "The King James translation is good enough. . . . I feel to support the old Bible until we can get a better one" (Durham 1965, 245–75). This sentiment was not universal in Utah, and it was explicitly provisional ("until we can get a better one"), but it was reiterated in later years[1] and marked the ironic beginning of a conscious stress on the King James Version.

An indirect but pervasive influence increasing the status of the KJV among the Saints was the general Protestant antipathy to Catholic immigrants. Antipopery had long flourished in Protestant lands, but Catholics were too few and too localized in eighteenth-century (eastern) America to incite broad conflict.

[1] In 1881, for example, future apostle Charles Penrose asserted that the Church would use the Authorized Version "until the inspired . . . revision commenced by the Prophet Joseph Smith shall have been completed, in a form acceptable to the Almighty and suitable for publication." This suspicion of the "Reorganite" production was still apparent in the Utah-based church as recently as the early 1970s, after which it rapidly faded.

By the 1820s, however, Protestants were viewing Catholics, who before mid-century would constitute the nation's largest denomination, as a genuine threat to an evangelical America.

Mutual suspicion abounded, and many Protestants discerned conspiracy everywhere: Catholics' first allegiance was not to democracy and "the Bible alone" (a Protestant cliché), but to "Roman powers across the deep." Catholic "foreigners" simply did not belong — never mind that Maryland had been founded by Catholics and that Catholics had colonized the American shores for a century and a half before the Puritan migration. Large numbers of Catholics seemed to undermine American freedoms. Some evangelicals, like Lyman Beecher, believed Catholics were forbidden even to read the Bible "but by permission of the priesthood." Even then, they used their own foreign version instead of the "real Bible" of "real Christians" (Fogarty 1982, 164).

Quite apart from Beecher's misconceptions, Catholics *were* prohibited by the Council of Trent from reading the King James Version[2] In the 1840s, one New York priest outraged the nation's religious majority — and heightened their KJV sensibilities — by enforcing Trent's prohibition with excessive zeal: he collected and publicly burned the Bibles given his immigrant parishioners by one of the Protestant Bible societies. Even earlier, in the 1820s, the Catholic First Provincial Council had castigated the Protestant bias of public education — particularly the use of the King James Bible — and encouraged the founding of parochial schools. The issue did not fade for generations, and tensions often escalated to violence (Ahlstrom 1:666–81; Fogarty 1982, 163–65; Billington 1964, 68–76).

Thus, in restricted locales at first and across the land as the century wore on, the conscious use of the real, Christian, American, Protestant Bible — the King James Version — was increasingly momentous for many Americans. The KJV was still *almost* taken for granted, but to specifically mention it as one's own version often implied a declaration of one's Americanness and one's Christianity (which was to say, one had no Catholic sympathies).

To some extent, Latter-day Saints participated in this trend. Alienated from the culturally dominant Protestants in so many ways, the Saints plausibly might have identified with the embattled Catholics by defending alternative translations. But most LDS converts had come from Protestant ranks that assumed the KJV. Moreover, the Saints themselves had inherited a significant strain of anti-Catholicism, and during the course of Mormon history some would identify the Pope as the head of "the great and abominable church" mentioned in the Book of Mormon. An occasional Mormon leader even made these drifts explicit, remarking on the worth of the Authorized Version against Roman Catholics who objected to it (Cannon 1875, 246).

After the turn of the century, a more pressing influence — the newly perceived threat of modern biblical studies — helped entrench the Authorized Version. Although the responses of Church leaders to higher criticism were

[2] The Council of Trent banished from general use all translations not deriving from the Latin Vulgate; this naturally applied to the subsequent KJV. The prohibition was finally rescinded by Pope Pius XII in the 1943 encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu.*

actually quite diverse, many leaders were decidedly hostile, seeing the new approach to scripture as a menace to Christian faith. Some became defensive, viewing any attempt to progress beyond the trusted King James Bible *through scholarship* as a related challenge to faith. Joseph Fielding Smith, for instance, was so bitter at the inroads made by higher criticism that he viewed textual criticism equally dimly (1970, 364).

In addition to such causes, we must also acknowledge that Mormon loyalty to the KJV was simply the fruit of a diffuse conservatism, a natural attachment to the vehicle through which a people feel they have encountered the sacred. This love of the Bible "of one's youth" is easily traced in the resistance with which every major new translation, including the King James Version, has been greeted.[3] This preservationist impulse will be explored more fully as we look at the later twentieth century, but it doubtless was a factor in earlier decades as well.

I must reiterate that this new emphasis on the Authorized Version in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented a real shift from Joseph Smith's era. But it is similarly important not to overstate the change. As many Saints had done since 1830, some continued simply to equate the Bible itself with its 1611 English translation; they had never known another. Indeed, although the KJV was spoken of with increasing self-consciousness as *the* Mormon Bible, considerable diversity continued to exist. B. H. Roberts and others were relatively open to ongoing studies that improved the Greek text from which better translations could be made (Roberts 1907–12, 31). A new generation of Latter-day Saint leaders continued to instruct that the KJV was not translated by inspiration (Penrose 1893, 544; Talmage 1899, 236–37; Clift 1904, 655, 663) and noted here and there other versions without asserting KJV superiority ("Translation" 1898).

Even when Church leaders did articulate reasons for recommending the King James over other translations, they rarely claimed that it was more accurate. They supported it primarily because they suspected the RLDS production of Joseph Smith's revision or because they believed the elegant familiar version had "taken too firm a hold of the popular heart" to forsake it (Penrose 1881; Smith and Roberts 1899, 621). Sometimes, in fact, they highly praised modern translations, offering only an appended tolerance for those who would

[3] The 1611 translators were sensitive to the criticism of their work, which they properly foresaw. In the Preface to their translation, they pled their case in words that should give pause to those who so adamantly resist modern translations:

"We are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traueiled before vs in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea. . . . that we acknowledge them to have beene raised vp of God, . . . and that they deserue to be had of vs and of posteritie in everlasting remembrance. . . . Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that breake the yce and give the onset vpon that which helpeth forward to the saving of soules. Now what can bee more auaileable thereto, than to deliuer Gods booke vnto Gods people in a tongue which they vnderstand? . . .

"So, if we building vpon their foundation that went before vs, and being holpen by their labours, doe endeavour to make that better which they left so good; no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike vs; they, we perswade ourselues, if they were aliue, would thanke vs.

"For is the kingdome of God become words or syllables? Why should wee be in bondage to them if we may be free. . . . ?"

continue to prefer the familiar version "because they have grown accustomed to its lofty phrases" (Steele 1935, 6).

Occasionally, a leader even argued extensively for the superiority of the major revisions of 1881 and 1901 (the [British] Revised Version and the American Standard Version). One writer noted that the KJV scholars did not have access to older manuscripts subsequently available and that even the Catholic version was more accurate in many instances than the KJV. He went on to ridicule the common "beautiful literature" argument — as though scholars should take it upon themselves to add "grace and dignity" to the original language of the uneducated fishermen of Galilee. Although loyalty to the Bible of one's ancestors was commendable, "those who accept the eighth article of the Church will seek for the best translation" (Clift 1904a, 654–64; 1904b, 774–78).

Despite this wide spectrum of attitudes, ordinary Church members during the first half of the century were not so much hostile as they were indifferent to the new translations that were beginning to multiply. Leaders increasingly noted that the KJV was the "best" version but often gave no rationale for the assertion (Smith 1954–56, 3:191; Widtsoe 1947, 257–60).[4] The Church produced various editions for its missionaries, children's organization, and education system — all using the KJV.

In the days of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, then, Church leaders had largely taken the KJV for granted. But they had also insisted on its limitations and had encouraged the exploration, through both scholarly and prophetic means, of new and better expressions of God's word. By contrast, leaders in the early twentieth century also took the KJV for granted but tended to resist scholarly improvements. They seemed passively to assume that if a new translation of the scriptures were needed, God would take the initiative and let his prophet know. Nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints shared much with their contemporaries but reacted creatively against a confining orthodoxy; early twentieth-century Saints shared much with their non-Mormon peers but reacted conservatively against a changing, secular world. Of course, Church members continued to feel free — sometimes they were even encouraged — to compare various translations. But we must wonder how many actually bothered.

J. REUBEN CLARK, JR.

The 1950s brought a significant change for readers of serious literature. The Revised Standard Version appeared and met the stiff resistance of J. Reuben Clark, dedicated and forceful member of the Church's First Presidency. In the wake of President Clark's still influential response, a substantial number of Saints for the first time moved beyond assuming the preeminence of the KJV, to believing they had scholarly and prophetic reasons for assuming it.

[4] Elsewhere, Widtsoe did suggest that the language of the KJV was "unsurpassed," that it had an excellent "spiritual connotation," and, although he offered no basis for his guess, that it was probably superior in faithful adherence to the text available to its translators (1:100–101).

Brigham Young still had six years before him as an earthly prophet when J. Reuben Clark was born in the rural outpost of Grantsville, Utah, in 1871. Although his intellectual prospects were initially modest, Clark went on to an illustrious career in national public service. After graduating from the University of Utah as valedictorian, he attended the Columbia Law School, served as a principal editor of the *Columbia Law Review*, and graduated as one of the top students. Later, he became solicitor of the U.S. State Department, then U.S. undersecretary of state, and finally ambassador to Mexico. Throughout his public career, Clark's brilliance, integrity, and thoroughness earned high praise from senators, justices of the Supreme Court, and U.S. presidents. Indeed, he regularly declined the urging of men like Harry Chandler, owner of the *Los Angeles Times*, to run for president himself. In 1933 Clark resigned as Mexican ambassador to serve as a counselor to Church president Heber J. Grant. He continued in the First Presidency until his death in 1961, one of the longest periods of such service in LDS history (Yarn 1973; 1984; Fox 1980; Quinn 1983). One of the enduring legacies of his service resulted from his encounter with the scholarly revision of the text of the English Bible.

The complete Revised Standard Version was launched in 1952 with a publicity campaign such as few, if any, of its predecessors had enjoyed. That, of course, did not protect it from adverse criticism. Some thought the translation was unnecessarily conservative and did not deviate sufficiently from the KJV. A more vocal group believed it not only deviated excessively but was itself devious — scarcely Christian. The project had been sponsored by the liberal National Council of Churches, and this alone was enough to insure the mistrust of many evangelicals and the undisguised contempt of their fundamentalist cousins. Pamphlets bearing titles like *The New Blasphemous Bible* and *The Bible of Antichrist* are as indicative of the virulent response as the fact that Senator Joseph McCarthy's Senate investigation committee formally charged members of the RSV translating committee with allowing Communist influences to subvert the Bible (Bruce 1970, 194–209; Noll 1984, 109–10).

Mormon responses were more reserved, though some did use the occasion to affirm the stature of the KJV. An unsigned editorial in the October 1952 *Church News* asserted: "For the Latter-day Saints there can be but one version of the Bible" — the King James Version (p. 16). One year later, Apostle Mark E. Petersen echoed that the Bible "officially used in the Church" was the KJV (1953, 17–21). J. Reuben Clark clearly was not the only Latter-day Saint who disliked the new Bible; he was merely the most articulate.[5]

President Clark rebelled for much of his adult life against "the pettifogging, doubt-raising attacks" of the higher critics, and he was equally disdainful of the new "lower" or textual critics. His passionate objections to the revisions of 1888 and 1901 launched him on a decades-long course of meticulous research in defense of the KJV. Over the years, he expressed his views in personal correspondence, in private conversations, and in public sermons. Upon the appearance of the RSV — which, in the wake of earlier revisions, he con-

[5] Leaders like Mark E. Petersen did, however, use other versions when they seemed helpful.

sidered "more of the same, only worse" — Clark spent several additional years preparing his research notes for publication. The result was his monumental 1956 tome, *Why the King James Version*.[6]

In the book, President Clark presented his case with a lawyer's skill and a churchman's zeal. His arguments were interwoven and reiterated throughout his work, but for purposes of analysis they may be separated into six categories. Most of these he shared with KJV apologists of various denominations. Some, however, were distinctive to the Latter-day Saints, and these were perhaps the reason why the issue of the KJV's status did not rise even to the level of serious debate in Mormon ranks. Compared to the three revisions (1888, 1901, and 1952), President Clark believed the Authorized Version was (1) doctrinally more acceptable, (2) verified by the work of Joseph Smith, (3) based on a better Greek text, (4) literarily superior, (5) the version of LDS tradition, and (6) produced by prayerful souls subject to the Holy Spirit, rather than by a mixture of believing and unbelieving, or orthodox and heterodox, scholars.[7]

Easily the most important of these arguments — the one that controlled and motivated his entire KJV apology — was Clark's belief that the revisions were infected with a despicable, conspiratorial humanism. "As one notes . . . the havoc which [the revisions] work upon vital portions of the Scriptures as contained in the Authorized Version, . . . one can but wonder if there be not behind this movement . . . a deliberate . . . intent to destroy the Christian faith." Adding a self-revealing metaphor, he proclaimed the King James Bible the "citadel of Christianity" (1956, 6–7, 27, 34, 121, 126, 356).

In particular, President Clark was bothered that the revised versions cast doubt on cherished phrases by offering alternative readings, supported by ancient texts, in the margin.[8] He was yet more offended that other treasured sayings were actually removed from the text and given only marginal status.[9]

[6] On the title page, Clark justly described his work as, "A series of study notes, neither treatises nor essays, dealing with certain elementary problems and specific scriptural passages, involved in considering the preferential English translations of the Greek New Testament text."

[7] Clark cast additional aspersions against modern versions, but he failed to develop them into arguments. For example, he accused the RSV scholars of "interpreting" rather than "translating." This seems a fundamental misunderstanding, however, since all translation necessarily entails interpretation and since, in any case, the KJV scholars, with their predominant concern for literary excellence, could more easily have been accused of overtranslating than could the RSV scholars. Similarly, the preface and conclusion to Clark's book emphasized that God is greater than humans, who ought not attempt to mar God's word. But the RSV translators as a group would have concurred.

[8] The revisions of Luke 23:34, for instance, read essentially the same as the KJV, but add a marginal note: "Some ancient authorities omit *And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*" Other examples troubling Clark were Matthew 17:21; Matthew 18:11; and the famous "long ending" of the Gospel of Mark (16:9–20).

[9] For example, the revisions reduced to marginal status the doxology ("For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory") from the Lord's prayer in Matthew 6:13. Other prominent instances include Luke 2:14; 22:19–20; 22:43–44; 23:44. Clark seemed more concerned about the possibility of losing something from the scriptures than he was about canonizing words that may have been later additions. But the KJV also omits various clarifying words and phrases included in virtually all recent critical editions of the Greek New Testament. For examples, see Larson 1978, 125–32.

Equally distressing, familiar KJV words were replaced by new translations: "charity" in I Corinthians 13 became "love"; "lunatic" (Matt. 17:14) became "epileptic." But what disturbed Clark most deeply was the tendency he thought he saw to reduce the divine status of Jesus and the supernatural dimension of scripture in general. "Miracles" were now called "signs," "wonders," or "mighty works." Textual doubt over the phrase "the Son of God" was noted in revisions of Mark 1:1. Marginal alternate readings were documented for Christ as "God over all" in Romans 9:4–5. Like opponents of the revisions nationally and internationally, Clark followed conservative scholars (especially John W. Burgon and F. H. A. Scrivener) in citing example after example where modern translations scandalized traditional tastes (1956, 318, 398; Carson 1979, 43).

President Clark's reasoning, however, contained two major flaws. The *least* that could be said of the revisers' changes was that plausible scholarly reasons existed for making them.[10] And if the best evidence suggested that certain passages in the KJV were not in the originals but were interpolated by later copyists, it was hardly becoming to insist that they be retained simply because they were treasured traditions or because they reinforced Latter-day Saint perceptions. Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and the Bible itself had all condemned such tampering.

Moreover, even if one allowed theological perspectives to consciously take precedence over textual and translation accuracy, there are passages where modern translations, including those Clark attacked, directly ascribe deity to Jesus when the King James Version does not (Appendix). It is thus scarcely just to accuse the modern translators of systematic theological bias exceeding the inevitable bias of any translation, including the KJV. The central point, however, is that even for a people like the Latter-day Saints, who believe in current revelation, translations of scripture accomplished by human scholarship must be based on what the best texts actually say, not on what a preexisting theology or tradition wants them to say.

President Clark was aware of this, of course. He therefore marshaled evidence, both prophetic and scholarly, to back up his doctrinal concerns. Unfortunately, he drew his prophetic support from a fundamental misperception of Joseph Smith's revelations. Specifically, Clark felt the Prophet's inspired revision of the Bible supported the King James Version in all essential matters. Whenever one compared the Prophet's "translation" with objectionable changes in the RV/ASV/RSV, Joseph's Bible more closely resembled the KJV — thus demonstrating the errors of the modern revisions (Clark 1956, 3, 43, 318, 398).

[10] Where the KJV and the revisions differ in English but depend on identical Greek texts, we may defend scholarly logic on both sides. Paul's *agape* in I Corinthians 13, for example, does not mean "charity" (KJV) but "love" (RSV). Yet the English word "love" is inadequate also, since Greek distinguishes several kinds of love with different words. The King James scholars apparently tried to convey a meaning that would give particular shape to our general concept of love. There remain dozens of readings where KJV phraseology is arguably preferable to the RSV. For several examples in a single chapter, see Grant's exegesis of Mark 1:14, 16, 44 (1951). But weighing against such examples are thousands of instances where the RSV is clearly superior.

This line of thought was reinforced by President Clark's understanding of revelation in general. For all his erudition in other matters, he seems to have had little apprehension of the conceptual nature of Joseph Smith's revelations. Instead, Clark thought of them as almost verbally exact expressions recorded by the Prophet precisely as they fell from the mouth of God. President Clark believed the Doctrine and Covenants, for example, preserved "the words of the Lord as He [actually] spoke them" (Durham 1971, 36–37). Similarly, for Clark, Joseph Smith's changes in the KJV indicated the original form of the ancient texts.

There was irony in the fact that Joseph Smith's inspired translation, as published by the RLDS Church, was now being used to authenticate the KJV text. After all, it had been Mormon *suspicions* about this publication that had, in the 1860s, sponsored the initial elevation of the KJV's stature among the Saints. But more than irony was involved here. Clark's logic actually inverted reality. Joseph Smith's biblical revision resembled the King James Version because that is the version he worked from and amended, not because God's native tongue was Late Middle or Early Modern English. For similar reasons, Joseph's other revelations also retained a measure of the language of King James (Barlow 1988, chs. 1 and 2). However, the Prophet himself could scarcely have considered all his revelations to be the exact words of God, which he then recorded as if by dictation, for he frequently, publicly, and unapologetically rearranged, reworded, conflated, and augmented them (Howard 1969).

President Clark was by no means the first, it should be noted, to use this reasoning. Because Joseph Smith had couched his revelations as though God were speaking in the "first person" in a nineteenth-century dialect of Jacobean English, the earliest Mormons, who were as immersed in biblical phraseology as Joseph was himself, doubtless assumed this was God's manner of speech when he addressed Americans. A century later, however, the language of the KJV was less taken for granted by believing Christians. Alternative translations in modern language, not merely revisions of the KJV, were rapidly appearing (Hills 1961). Remaining allegiance to Elizabethan and Jacobean forms became more conscious. Thus, in celebrating the 300th anniversary of the KJV, a 21 April 1911 column in the Church-owned *Deseret Evening News* marveled, even more innocently than did J. Reuben Clark, that King James's "is the version given to the world by eminent scholarship in the very same language in which modern revelations are given."

IN SEARCH OF SCHOLARLY SUPPORT

President Clark's misapprehension of the nature of Joseph Smith's revelations was unfortunate. Yet it was not on this but on scholarly grounds that he made his most elaborate case for the authorized text. He was modest and honest enough to preface his academic argument with the disclaimer that he was not a genuine biblical scholar. As he acknowledged, he knew no biblical language, had no formal training, and based his assessment entirely on secondary materials.

His use of these secondary sources was, however, prodigious. If his major concern with the revised Bibles was that they were laced with a modern humanism, his undergirding contention was that an *ancient* humanism — the heresy of Arianism[11] — tainted the Greek text upon which the revisions rested. In order to legitimate the doctrinally more acceptable King James Bible, President Clark championed the "*Textus Receptus*" (TR), the Byzantine-based Greek text from which the KJV had been translated. Those scholars who similarly supported the Byzantine text, Clark called "Sound" or "High" Textualists; those who did not, he pejoratively labeled "Extreme Textualists."

The details of modern textual criticism are complex and available elsewhere (Metzger 1969; Carson 1979; Moulton 1967; Brown 1968). But to understand Clark's academic reasoning, a brief account of the development of the New Testament texts behind the KJV and the revised versions is necessary.

Erasmus published the first Greek New Testament in 1516. His edition was based on only six manuscripts, dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, and these in turn came essentially from a single tradition which, anciently, had several rivals. Thus, by modern standards, his edition was inadequate. In fact, for small parts of the New Testament where he lacked any Greek manuscripts, Erasmus simply translated the Latin Vulgate into what he conjectured the original might have been! One intriguing result is that there are no Greek manuscripts at all behind a dozen or so readings in the KJV.

Thirty years later, Robert Estienne (Stephanus) produced Greek editions following Erasmus in the text but using several additional manuscripts and introducing a critical apparatus to show alternate readings in the margins. His text was thus only a minimal improvement over Erasmus's. Theodore Beza enriched this tradition somewhat by publishing nine editions of the Greek New Testament between 1565 and 1604. Two of these influenced the King James translators. The resultant text became the *Textus Receptus.*[12]

It is unfortunate that so influential a version as the King James was based on the TR, a text incorporating relatively few, relatively late, and relatively poor manuscripts. Not only had Beza and his predecessors ignored several earlier manuscripts than those they used, but for three centuries after 1611, additional manuscripts more ancient than those used by the King James scholars became available. A far more important development was the gradual recognition by scholars after 1725 that there were manuscript *traditions* or "families" — not merely numerous manuscripts — that differed from the TR. This insight led to continual improvement of textual classifications and allowed

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[11] The fourth-century Arian controversy was waged on sophisticated, highly nuanced metaphysical and ontological ground. As used by J. Reuben Clark, Arianism meant essentially that the humanity of Jesus was emphasized and his divinity minimized or lost.

[12] J. Reuben Clark imbued this title with great dignity, but the term actually originated from what textual expert Bruce Metzger calls "an advertising blurb." Thirteen years after the publication of the KJV, two brothers published a compact Greek New Testament, the text of which was essentially Beza's. The "blurb" reads: "*Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibut receptum: in quo nihil immutatem aut corruptum damus*" ("The text that you have is now received by all, in which we give nothing changed or perverted"); hence, "Textus Receptus" (Carson 1979, 36).

"lower" criticism to proceed on a more scientific basis, reaching a peak with the landmark work of Cambridge scholars B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, who in 1881–82 published *The New Testament in the Original Greek.*

Hort and Westcott positioned four major "families" of ancient texts. Of these, they said, the "Syrian," represented by the Byzantine tradition, was the latest and most corrupt. The least corrupt, or "neutral" tradition, was the "Alexandrian." This represented a direct challenge to the Byzantine-based King James Bible. The theory was bitterly attacked but won the support of most scholars and underlies virtually all subsequent work in New Testament criticism. As Raymond Brown observes, if the King James was a translation of the *Textus Receptus*, the RV and the subsequent RSV were heavily influenced by principles akin to those of the Westcott-Hort Greek Testament (1968).

Because he believed that the revised versions undermined cherished Christian ideals, J. Reuben Clark turned the guns of his formidable mind against the Westcott-Hort text (1956, 67–118).[13] He followed critics who protested that the Westcott-Hort construction was overly dependent on the Alexandrian text-type, particularly the famous codices (manuscript volumes), Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. He further followed those who alleged that these codices were not only fourth-century (that is, late) manuscripts, but that they represented a text-type that only *originated* in the fourth century, under heretical conditions, which is why the early church rejected them.

Most serious scholars were unpersuaded by such theories,[14] and subsequent discoveries have demonstrated that the Alexandrian text-type goes back at least to the second century. Westcott and Hort definitely established that certain traditions were generally preferable to others, and it remains true that the Alexandrian type has the best credentials. The able textual studies of even arch-conservative Protestants like Benjamin B. Warfield and J. Gresham Machen argue that the Byzantine text-type is essentially a late one (Carson 1979, 43).

But some of President Clark's contentions have merit. The Westcott-Hort theory has, in the twentieth century, been modified in many respects. Among other things, the textual traditions identified by the theory have been reclassified. Modern scholars recognize, unlike Westcott-Hort, that no text group has descended essentially uncontaminated from the original autographs. Also,

[13] It should be noted that the *Textus Receptus* and the Byzantine text-type are not synonymous. The TR is based on a mere handful of relatively late manuscripts, compared to the thousands in the Byzantine tradition. The closest manuscripts within the Byzantine or any other textual tradition average six to ten variants per chapter. Thus even a successful defense of the superiority of the Byzantine tradition (which most scholars reject) would not constitute a successful defense of the King James Bible, which is a translation of the TR (Carson 1979, 37, 67–68).

[14] A small minority of scholars, including the fine thinker Richard L. Anderson from BYU, marshal at least plausible reasons for the superiority of the *Textus Receptus*. In my view, however, many such defenses by Latter-day Saints — though here I mention no scholar in particular — are motivated as much by, "This is the Church's position; I must find an intellectual way to defend it," as by a more objective attempt to determine the best Greek text. Moreover, as this essay insists, the Church's current stance toward the KJV has evolved from a significantly different one.

while the Byzantine text is not generally preferable to the Alexandrian, some of the Byzantine readings (as with all the major traditions) are genuinely ancient. Westcott and Hort had indeed, as Clark charged, been overly dependent on the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus codices. However, President Clark failed to allow that modern critical editions are eclectic, established on a case-by-case basis, using the best available evidence. They do not slavishly depend on the Alexandrian or any other tradition.[15]

But President Clark went further in his criticism. Because modifications in the critical text were ongoing and scholars admitted they were likely to continue indefinitely, Clark implied that we therefore need not take too seriously changes that went beyond the TR (and thus beyond the KJV) (1956, 358).[16] This perspective, however, did not give sufficient weight to the tentative nature of all progress in human knowledge.

In any event, the case for the RSV was never based solely on the existence of better manuscripts than those available to King James's translators. The discovery of a wealth of papyri in the twentieth century has significantly deepened scholars' understanding of the New Testament language as a whole, making better translations inevitable. Linguistic progress has been even more dramatic in the case of the Old Testament.

Perhaps the most enduring argument marshaled for the King James Bible against its challengers has been its unmatched literary elegance. As we have noted, this was not self-evident when the work first appeared in 1611. But within fifty years of its publication its excellence was increasingly acknowledged; feelings of reverence became ever more deeply attached to this beauty.

During most of the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saints said little about the Bible's literary value, much less that this criterion should take priority over accuracy. Their oft-repeated refrain was that all texts and translations were corrupt, and they professed to care most about precision, not beauty. However, with the arrival of the Joseph Smith revision and the threatening appearance of major new revisions, the literary importance of the KJV was increasingly stressed.

For J. Reuben Clark, this was an important issue. "Could any language be too great, too elegant, too beautiful, too majestic, too divine-like to record the doings and sayings of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ?" he said. The language of God was ill-served when rendered "on the level of the ordinary press reporter's style of today" (1956, 355, 377).

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[15] Richard Anderson feels that the so-called eclectic texts pay only lip service to eclecticism and remain overly dependent on Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

[16] The provisional nature of textual criticism may be illustrated by the return to the text, in the second edition of the RSV, of a few passages formerly moved to the margin. Clark would have felt vindicated, for example, by the return of the account of the woman caught in adultery (John 7:53–8:11). But the essential point is that, rather than allow scholarship to weigh its evidence unencumbered, Clark would have refused, on grounds of familiarity or doctrine, to excise or even to annotate the passage in the first place. It was just this sort of thought that had forced Erasmus, against his judgment and against virtually all manuscript evidence, to include the text of 1 John 5:7, the classic proof-text for the Trinity, in his Greek New Testament. Consequently, the spurious passage remains in the KJV to this day (Carson 1979, 34–35).

This concern for literary beauty had practical consequences. Before publishing *Why the King James Version*, Clark approached Church president David O. McKay for permission. McKay resisted. "We ought to be a little careful," he said, "about criticizing the Revised Version," since in some places it proved more accurate than the familiar text and it also eliminated confusing, outdated terms. Clark countered that President McKay, who had literary training, would probably not wish to rewrite Shakespeare's plays for the same purpose. The Church president acknowledged the point and assented to Clark's publication of the book (Quinn 1983, 177).

President Clark's belief in the decisive importance of the linguistic superiority of the KJV was a plausible perspective, certainly. The KJV *is* a literary masterpiece and has perhaps more power in certain instances to awaken religious feelings than more pedestrian translations. But this belief could hardly pass as the official Church view when the prophet and president of the Church remained unenthusiastic. And President Clark's quip about Shakespeare would apply only if one's central purpose in reading scripture were literary. But for Latter-day Saints the Bible served other purposes. And unlike Shakespeare, the Testaments were not original products of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Translating the Bible afresh was not analogous to marring the original Shakespeare but to offering a new translation of Shakespeare to, say, German-speaking peoples, when Germans already possess a beautiful but inaccurate rendition they hold dear.

The literary argument had other weaknesses. President McKay pointed out the most obvious ones: an archaic style and terms that were sometimes charming but markedly difficult for most modern readers to understand. Clark allowed the problem but insisted that the Authorized Version could be understood in all essential parts by the careful, thoughtful reader. A little work with a reference book, he felt, could overcome this small obstacle.

Perhaps President Clark's own diligence led him to overestimate the ambitions of the ordinary reader. Even so, his own experience undermined his position. Difficult Jacobean words and phrases might here and there be overcome by the few who would bother to consult reference material,[17] or when readers encountered familiar material such as the Sermon on the Mount. But such measures would hardly suffice for those attempting to understand, say, the intricate and sustained arguments of the Epistle to the Romans. President Clark himself admitted he did not grasp much of Paul, which is no wonder (Clark 1956, 60; Quinn 1983, 162). The famous apostle is difficult enough to read for any length of time in the original Greek; for the average reader, the challenge is yet more severe in archaic English. For the Church's young members, attempting to view the overall message of Paul or Isaiah or Hebrews through the dense lens of Elizabethan prose is very nearly hopeless.

Other facts further diluted the "beautiful literature" argument. In presenting ancient documents to a modern world, modern translators had, in many passages, been faced with either retaining the elegance of the KJV or offering

[17] Or, in contemporary Mormonism, the larger number who consult the footnotes of their current LDS edition.

a modern accurate rendition. To choose elegance over accuracy ran explicitly counter to the calls of Brigham Young and others for exactness in translation. It also ran implicitly against a more general dislike of elaborate religious display: Latter-day Saints and Protestants alike had long disparaged what they saw as the gorgeous robes, overly ornate cathedrals, ostentatious public ceremonies, and other trappings of Catholicism.[18] Yet for Mormons to insist on retaining a beautiful language no longer accessible to the common person differed only in degree from contemporaneous American Catholics who insisted on a beautiful and mysterious Latin Mass.

Earlier in the century, Latter-day Saints had already expressed reserve toward the tendency of scholars to inflate the humble dialects of many of the original biblical writings into a "masterly English." Twentieth-century scholars made a similar point, demonstrating what the scholars of the RV and ASV, to say nothing of the KJV, did not know, namely that the New Testament had been written in *Koine* or "common" Greek. As one eminent authority has put it, "an elaborate, elegant style is unsuited to" biblical translation, "and in proportion as it is rendered in a conscious literary style, it is misrepresented to the modern reader." [19]

Beyond the literary argument, an even weaker claim for the authorized translation was President Clark's assertion that it was the Bible of Mormon tradition, one that had successfully guided the Church from its beginning. This was technically true, of course, but, as already suggested, Joseph Smith would have been the last person to make allegiance to an inaccurate Bible an official practice when he knew of an alternative. His use of the KJV was incidental to the time and location of his birth and, even then, he refused to be confined by it. The Book of Mormon itself scoffed at tradition-bound souls who refused progress in hearing the word of God.

President Clark reinforced his "argument by tradition" by noting that "the great bulk of our people know and use only the Authorized Version, and do not have access either to the Revised Versions . . . or to other versions." Moreover, he said, "references in our Standard Church Works and our Church literature are to the Authorized Version," and Bible commentaries and dictionaries are in good part keyed to it. In a comment perhaps more revealing

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[18] President Clark himself worried that the Church risked duplicating what Mormons believed was the early apostasy of Christianity, warning against such practices as specified dress in Church administration and pageantry in Church ceremonies (CR 1945, 166; Quinn 1983, 173).

[19] Edgar J. Goodspeed (in Clark 1956, 355). The Church's First Presidency has shown sensitivity to the potential problems of translations that attempt to improve upon ambiguities or literary infelicities of the scriptural text being translated. In 1980, for example, when giving instructions for a new translation of the Book of Mormon and other Latter-day Saint scriptures into German, the First Presidency observed: "The translation must contain the recurring expressions and also awkward sentence constructions. No attempt may be made to paraphrase in an explanatory way, to make alterations, or indeed to improve the literary ability and knowledge as expressed in the current English text versions" (Snow 1984, 136). Such a statement reflects the deep reverence felt toward Mormon scriptures but, in light of the Church position on the KJV, it reveals no awareness of the ways in which the Authorized Version of the Bible has been guilty of improving upon the original Hebrew and Greek manuscripts.

than he knew, Clark added that the "Authorized Version is to most of us *The Bible*, and we would feel we had been disloyal to the record of God's dealings with men if we were to use any other text (we love the Word of God as therein given)" (1956, 60–61).

The sentiment was appropriately reverent, but the logic was not cogent. And what little force the point then held is rapidly evaporating. Gaining familiarity with other versions and access to them were scarcely insurmountable problems even in President Clark's time. And what was then a minor difficulty was only compounded by his making the KJV seem more official to ordinary believers. Commentaries and dictionaries by the most competent scholars are, of course, no longer "keyed" primarily to the KJV.

In a subset of the tradition argument, President Clark made much of the fact that the RV and ASV had not displaced the King James Version in popularity (Yarn 1984, 78–79, 92). He was sure that the RSV would fare no better. There was substance to this claim, since the KJV had, in fact, retained an entrenched loyalty. But this became less and less true as time went on. Recent translations like the New English Bible, Today's English Bible, the New International Version, the RSV itself, and a number of others have continued to gain an increasing share of the market. And even if the weight of President Clark's assertion had endured, to insist on a Bible that is more popular than accurate remains a problematic posture.

Clark's final defense of the Authorized Version (or final assault on the revised translations) arose from his doctrinal concerns. In this defense, President Clark implied that the King James translators had been inspired, while the Revised Standard Version scholars had not: no "clear cut statement of the Revisers is noted that . . . they either sought or enjoyed the help of the Spirit of the Lord. . . . It would seem the whole Revision was approached in the same spirit they would employ in the translation of any classical work." Against this President Clark contrasted the KJV translators' work as described in their preface:

> And in what sort did these assemble? In the trust of their own knowledge, or of their sharpness of wit, or deepness of judgment, as it were in an arm of flesh? At no hand. They trusted in him that hath the key of *David* . . . ; they prayed to the Lord . . . to the effect that St. *Augustine* did; *O let thy Scriptures be my pure delight; let me not be deceived in them, neither let me deceive by them.* In this confidence, and with this devotion, did they assemble together.

Thus, Clark implied, the KJV scholars — and not the Revised scholars — were "amenable to the promptings of the Holy Spirit" (1956, xxvii, 4–5, 274–86, 355–56, 418–19).

This position was a bit awkward. First, the newly implied claim that the KJV translators were inspired was directly opposed to the almost unanimous contention of Church leaders from 1830 to President Clark's own time. Second, we might argue that including "non-believing" translators on the Revisers' committee helped minimize sectarian bias in the finished product. Third, whatever the advantages or disadvantages of secularity, the Revised translators did, in fact, invoke the hand of God over their work. In an essay so pious that it

would have embarrassed the self-respecting modern translators of any work but holy scripture, the British Revision concluded its preface thus:

> We now conclude, humbly commending our labours to Almighty God, and praying that his favour and blessing may be vouchsafed to that which has been done in his name. We recognised from the first the responsibility of the undertaking; and through our manifold experience of its abounding difficulties we have felt more and more, as we went onward, that such a work can never be accomplished by organised efforts of scholarship and criticism, unless assisted by Divine help.
>
> Thus, in the review of the work which we have been permitted to complete, our closing words must be words of mingled thanksgiving, humility, and prayer. Of thanksgiving, for the many blessings vouchsafed to us throughout . . . our corporate labours; of humility, for our failings and imperfections in the fulfillment of our task; and of prayer to Almighty God, that the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may be more clearly and more freshly shown forth to all who shall be readers of this Book.

The preface to editions of the later RSV went on to say:

> The Bible is more than a historical document to be preserved. And it is more than a classic of English literature to be cherished and admired. It is a record of God's dealing with men, of God's revelation of Himself and His will. It records the life and work of Him in whom the word of God became flesh and dwelt among men. [The] Word must not be disguised in phrases that are no longer clear, or hidden under words that have changed or lost their meaning.

J. Reuben Clark found such professions weak, reserved for the end of the respective prefaces of which they were a part, and more remarkable for what they did not say than for what they did. Their authors, he seemed to feel, damned themselves with faint praise of God.

Now we must readily acknowledge that the Revisers were more restrained in their overt piety than their KJV predecessors, whose eloquent preface continued at great length. But President Clark made no allowance for the difference between modern tastes and those of an age of rhetorical flourish. He seemed to take the worshipful KJV preface at face value, as though it could with little change be transferred to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That such a wholesale transfer would have been inapt may be seen by a glance at what modern standards would judge as the obsequious, almost idolatrous 1611 dedication to the increasingly unpopular and autocratic King James.[20]

So distressing was James's behavior to the Puritans that his reign became but a preface to that of Charles I, whose more extreme actions prompted the great Puritan exodus to New England, then British civil war, and finally his own execution. Despite such tensions, the age of literary extravagance induced the Puritans, who were well represented among the Authorized translators, to support "The Epistle Dedicatory" to King James: "Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of England, when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us." The appearance of "Your Majesty" was "as of the *Sun* in his strength, instantly [dispelling] mists . . . accompanied with peace and tranquillity at home and abroad." "Your very

[20] For James's increasing difficulties with his subjects, see Ahlstrom 1:134–35.

name is precious" and Your subjects look to You "as that sanctified Person, who, under God, is the immediate Author of their true happiness." Similar effusion was not absent from the Authorized "Translators to the Reader"; J. Reuben Clark was expecting too much if he thought its grandiloquence should be duplicated by modern scholars.

REPERCUSSIONS

Under careful scrutiny, then, J. Reuben Clark's justifications of the King James Bible do not fare well. While the various points of excellence of the Authorized Version ought not be treated lightly, to insist on it as an official version guarantees significant misunderstanding (or non-understanding) by ordinary Saints. Moreover, although Clark held his views passionately, he was literally the first to admit his opinions were personal. The initial words of *Why the King James Version* were: "For this book I alone am responsible. It is not a Church publication."

Yet President Clark held an exceedingly prominent position in Mormondom. Despite his own disavowal, there were inevitably many who believed his words represented God's opinion on the issues, especially since some other Church officials actively supported his views. In addition, President Clark was unusually erudite. Because of his forcefulness, making it seem that to abandon the King James translation in favor of another was to abandon one's faith, and perhaps also because no one of influence and competence publicly presented an alternative view, his book galvanized conservative impulses among the Saints and quickly acquired a quasi-official aura. Virtually all subsequent apologies for the Authorized Bible depended primarily on President Clark or used similar arguments less ably than he (Petersen 1966, 16, 24–25, 44, 52; 9 Sept. 1972, 16; McConkie 1966, 421–23; 1970–74, 1:59–63; 1984; Gonzalez 1987, 23–25; *Life and Teachings* 1978; "Bible Versions" 1952; "Why" 1956; Sperry 1961, 498–99, 546–50; "Which Bible" 1970).

On rare occasions, leaders have offered reasons for continued KJV usage that Clark did not call upon. Joseph Fielding Smith, for example, suggested the Authorized Version was retained because it was accepted by most Protestants, providing "common ground for proselyting purposes" (1957–66, 2:207). President Smith's assertion was perfectly true in the 1950s when he wrote and therefore, quite apart from Clark's reasoning, the KJV was a logical choice for the Saints if proselyting, rather than scriptural understanding or scriptural accuracy, was the controlling criterion. However, even if we were to accept this rationale, it becomes less true with each passing year. By 1979, when the Church produced its new edition of the Authorized Bible, only 34.8 percent of American homes used the KJV as their primary Bible.[21] This

[21] Elwell 1979, 48. RSV sales averaged one million copies a year during its first decade and had risen to total fifty million copies in print by 1981. The RSV has been adapted for use by Catholics, who also produced the superbly annotated Jerusalem Bible (1966) and, as their main version in this country, the New American Bible (1970). By 1981, American sales of the paraphrased Living Bible stood at twenty-five million; the New American Standard Bible (a conservative revision of the Authorized Version) at fourteen million; both the Good News Bible (Today's English Version) and the New English Bible at twelve million

is actually an impressive figure and proves that the KJV is still the popular choice among U.S. Protestants. But its dominance is waning; it no longer represents "the majority of Protestants." And what of the country's fifty million Catholics?

In recent years, LDS religious educators have not usually borrowed the slightly more developed defenses offered contemporarily by the few fundamentalist scholars who continue to push the *Textus Receptus*. Instead, they have tended to cite J. Reuben Clark or use his logic and to augment his uniquely Mormon argument that Joseph Smith's modern revelations verify the accuracy of the KJV.

One teacher compares many passages where he feels modern translations obscure "doctrines of the Restoration," whereas KJV language "triggers" them. For instance, the "dispensation of the fulness of times" (Eph. 1:10) has a very specific Restorationist meaning for most Latter-day Saints. Therefore, translating the Greek phrase behind it as "when the time is right" or "when the time fully comes," as some scholars do, mars a proof-text for a popular Mormon concept and abandons "unique terminology seemingly preferred by God." [22] This approach, like President Clark's, ignores the fact that all sorts of popular illusions are based precisely on this process, which allows — *forces* — theology to depend on incidental KJV phraseology rather than on the genuine intent of the original authors or on some other basis.[23] As a result (to stay with the same example), the KJV translation of Ephesians 1:10 helps confine Mormon thought to an early nineteenth-century dispensational mindset popularized by John Nelson Darby of the Plymouth Brethren.[24]

Another LDS writer uses Joseph Smith's modern revelations to verify the accuracy of the KJV from a slightly different angle. He notes that the Prophet translated the Book of Mormon and recorded his own revelations in the idiom of the KJV. The writer goes on to suggest that this style must be preferred by

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each; and the New International Version at three million (a figure that has since grown dramatically as more evangelicals have adopted it). The New King James Bible, a significant improvement over the KJV, was issued in 1979, just as the new LDS edition came out. For recent figures, see Ostling 1981, 62–63.

[22] Gonzalez n.d. The notion that the language is "seemingly preferred by God" arises because KJV language is echoed throughout the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Mormon — an idea treated fully in Barlow 1988, chapters one and two. Other examples Gonzalez cites where LDS notions are cemented to the particular phraseology of the KJV include the idea of a pre-existent "first estate" (KJV Jude 6; Abraham 3:26, 28) rather than a "proper domain" (New King James Version); the "veil" of the temple (KJV Mark 15:38; D&C 110:1) rather than the "curtain" (RSV); and "We have . . . a more sure word of prophecy" (KJV 2 Peter 1:19; D&C 131:5) rather than "confirms for us the message of the prophets" (New English Bible).

[23] Anthony Hutchinson (1988) has recently shown how profoundly misleading this approach has been in the very formation of scripture.

[24] Ahlstrom 2:277–79. Although the idea of successive divine dispensations began well before the time of Jesus, the modern form of "premillennial dispensationalism" is usually tied by scholars to Darby. My own impression is that the idea was too diffuse in Darby's time to be traced so neatly to him as its "effective originator." In any case, "dispensation" has a number of rich meanings, as a look at a dictionary will suggest; one can have faith in Joseph Smith's prophetic calling without dividing human history neatly into prepackaged epochs in quite the way many Mormons and fundamentalist Christians do.

God, since Smith's successor prophets have continued to record revelations in the same idiom. He cites as "obvious illustrations" Doctrine and Covenants 135, 136, and 138 by John Taylor, Brigham Young, and Joseph F. Smith respectively. Because of this continued use of KJV language, he writes, the clear "intent is that [all scripture] be woven together as one book" (J. McConkie 1987, 126).

This line of thought gives little weight to the probability that Joseph Smith cast his revelations in KJV idiom because, raised on the KJV, he (unconsciously?) equated it with religious terminology. But he did the same thing with early accounts of his first vision, yet greatly lessened the tendency in later accounts (particularly the one now canonized), as his confidence in his prophetic calling grew (Barlow 1988, Ch. 1). And Brigham Young, who thought his sermons "as good scripture as . . . this Bible," did not preach in KJV idiom. Furthermore, of the three "obvious illustrations" cited to show the necessary continuance of King James English, only D&C 136 is clearly created in the image of the KJV. Section 138 uses transitional language, retaining heavy vestiges of Elizabethan style because the section is an inspired commentary on and expansion of certain KJV passages. But the section itself is not unambiguously in KJV form. Section 135 is manifestly *not* in Jacobean idiom; it retains only slight traces of the KJV simply because of its biblical subject matter.

The work of such teachers, sincere though it is, has magnified misconceptions among a younger generation of Latter-day Saints. Thus, the inertia of tradition and the continued absence of a competent public alternative to the personal opinions of J. Reuben Clark, have all helped support the increasingly unopposed reign of the King James Bible in Mormondom. The 1979 publication of an "official" LDS edition of the KJV, widely promoted by Church officials and diverse Mormon organizations, has ensured the dominance of this version for the indefinite future. This publication in essence completed the metamorphosis of the King James Bible from the common into the official version among English-speaking Latter-day Saints.[25]

As the Church approaches the twenty-first century, it has settled on an early seventeenth-century translation as its official Bible. Prospects for immediate change seem discouraging. But we must remember that Mormon attitudes toward the KJV have evolved in concert with historical processes that continue

[25] Of course, this metamorphosis was in its last stages by the early 1970s. By then the primacy of the KJV was assumed by most Saints. The fact that it was President Harold B. Lee (long a protégé of J. Reuben Clark) who initiated the new Bible project probably insured that none but the King James Version was seriously considered (Matthews 1982, 388). For Elder Lee's relationship with President Clark, see Quinn 1983, 57, 88.

The KJV's official stature in contemporary Mormonism is not, of course, the LDS equivalent of a Tridentine censorship of other versions, a prohibition that has never existed in Mormon history. Individual teachers and leaders continue to make use of various versions, and the KJV is official only for English. Several dozen Bibles in foreign languages are approved for missionary and other uses (*Policies* 1981). It is quite possible that Mormon growth in non-English-speaking countries will foster among Church authorities a greater awareness of the KJV's limitations. In 1980, for example (and despite Joseph Smith's praise of what was probably Luther's translation of the German Bible), the Church adopted the Uniform Translation as its official Bible for German-speaking Saints. Unlike the KJV and Luther's version, the Uniform Translation is in contemporary idiom and takes advantage of recent scholarship.

to unfold. Since its inception, Mormonism has time and again proved its resilience and dynamism by creatively adapting to the developments of the modern world. As they look toward the future, informed Saints may be justified in having faith that the present state of affairs is but a way station, not a final resting place.[26]

Appendix

J. Reuben Clark gave the bulk of his attention to the revisions that culminated in the RSV, and he of course did not have access to translations that appeared after his death. However, since he argued that the KJV is singularly loyal to the notion of the divine stature of Jesus, and since others of influence have subsequently depended on his logic, it seems worthwhile to include in the comparison below several modern versions published after Clark last wrote. The chart notes places in the New Testament where the Greek can *possibly* (either by the right choice of textual witnesses or by the appropriate grammatical interpretation) be construed to specifically call Jesus "God." I have adapted the comparison from Victor Perry, "Problem Passages of the New Testament in Some Modern Translations: Does the New Testament Call Jesus God?" (*The Expository Times* 87 [1975–76]: 214–15). An "×" means the version in question directly ascribes deity to Jesus; an "0" means it does not. "Mg."=marginal reading"; NEB=New English Bible; NIV=New International Version; NWT=New World Translation (Jehovah's Witnesses).

	JN. 1:1	JN. 1:18	Acts 20:28	Rom. 9:5	II Thess. 1:12	Titus 2:13	Heb. 1:8	II Pet. 1:1
KJV	×	0	×	×	0	0	×	0
RV	×	0	×	×	0	×	×	×
RV mg.		×	0	0		0		0
RSV	×	0	0	0	0	×	×	×
RSV mg.		×	0	×		0	0	0
NEB	×	0	0	0	0	×	×	×
NEB mg.		×	0	×		0	0	
Moffatt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	×
Goodspeed	0	0	×	0	0	×	0	×
NIV	×	×	×	×	0	×	×	×
NIV mg.		0	0	0	×			
NWT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

[26] Of various other English translations, the Revised Standard Version is the most widely accepted for scholarly use. It deliberately remains in the King James tradition but adapts to modern knowledge where necessary. The New International Version, produced by conservative evangelical scholars, is a good alternative. The New English Bible, though it tends to overtranslate here and there by rendering what is ambiguous in the original languages as unambiguous in English, is a delightful, readable production, also based on good scholarship. In my view, the very least the Church should do — the most conservative action it could take and still maintain a position of responsible attachment to modern realities — is to consider adopting the *New* King James Version, published in 1979. Yet in truth the New King James, like the old, is hobbled by dependence on what even conservative scholars acknowledge are outdated manuscripts.

The fact and nature of Jesus' divinity were complex issues in the earliest Christian centuries, but the results of the comparison above suggest the hollowness of the assertion that the KJV is the champion defender of this divinity and that the revisions systematically obliterate it. Only the Jehovah's Witnesses' NWT omits all specific references to Jesus' deity. Even Moffatt and Goodspeed, whose liberal propensities have been well publicized by opponents, manage one and three references respectively. The KJV accepts only four of the eight possibilities, the same number as the RSV and NEB. The RV, which so bothered Clark, accepts six such references, two more than the KJV. The evangelical NIV, translated not from the Textus Receptus but from an eclectic Greek text, has the highest incidence of passages suggesting a deified Jesus.

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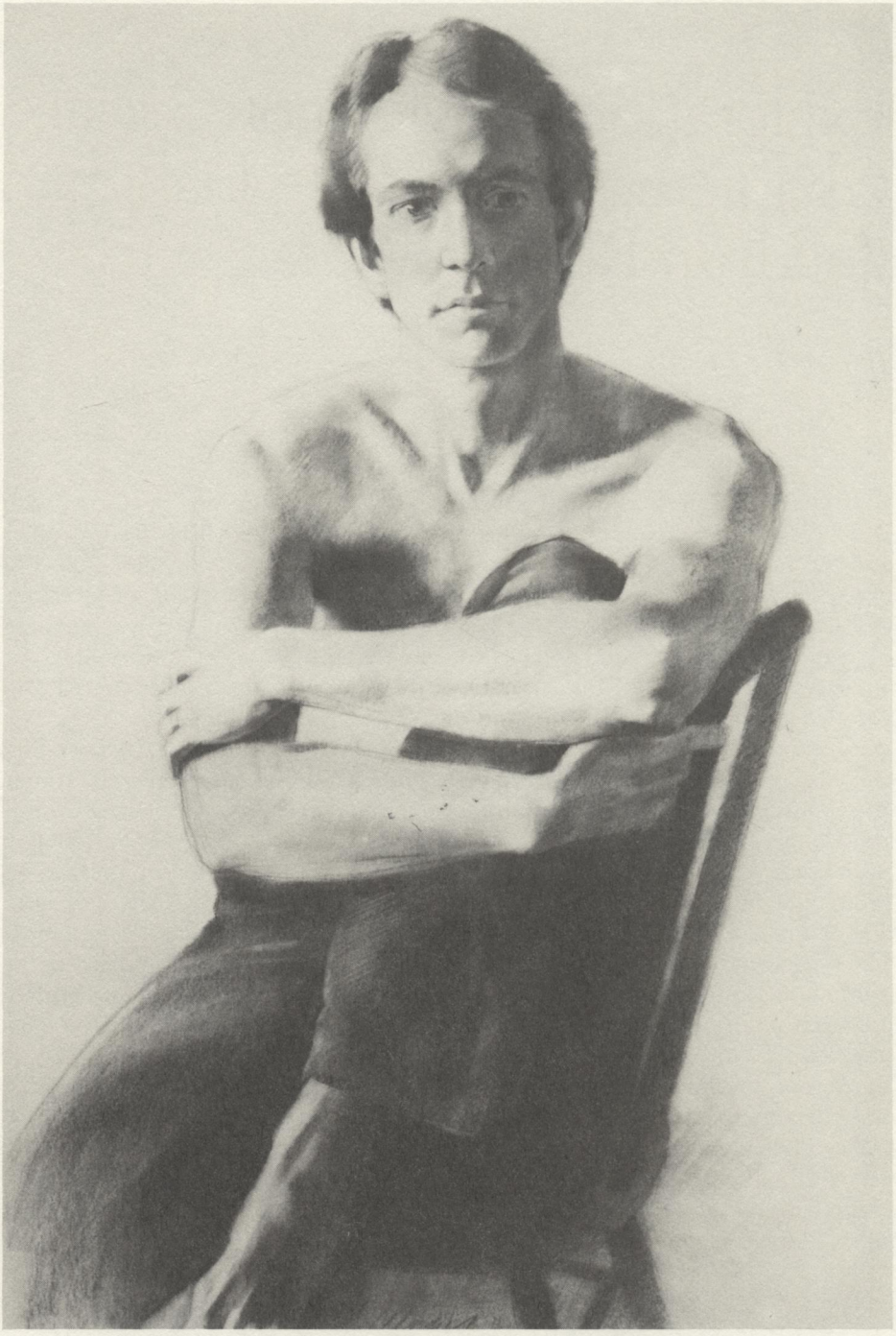

Explorations in Mormon Social Character: Beyond the Liahona and Iron Rod

Jeffrey C. Jacob

RICHARD POLL, HANDS CLASPED, leaned forward and strained to clarify, with labored sensitivity, two kinds of ideal-typical Mormons, the Iron Rod member and the Liahona Saint, whose characteristics he had recently detailed in a controversial DIALOGUE article (Poll 1967). His audience, a group of sociology graduate students of whom I was one, was attending a brown bag seminar in the statistics laboratory of BYU's Joseph F. Smith building. Surrounded by one-armed calculators and a computer card counter/sorter, we mobilized and paraded our insights, arguments, and questions.

The lunchtime discussion left me uncomfortable, as had my earlier reading of Poll's article. The source of my discomfort was not so much the claim that a committed member of the Church (a Liahona) could combine fellowship and doubt, but that in Poll's view, there were only two kinds of Latter-day Saints: his kind and the Iron Rods. In a retrospective article published in 1983, Poll reported many similar responses to the original article, responses that "came — and still come — from people who object to being pigeonholed. Their perspective was well expressed by a recent respondent, 'Is there not a continuum along which individuals may be categorized in terms of their interpretation and application of the gospel rather than being placed in a discrete category?' " (p. 71).

A continuum offers an attractive alternative to the simplicity of a dichotomy. I take, then, as my first task in this essay to construct a continuum from Poll's original faith-reason dichotomy and to characterize the continuum itself. I will also introduce another dimension to this attempt at Mormon social character exploration by adding a second continuum, that of social class location. Juxtaposing these two continua forms a matrix. Three definable points

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located along each continuum suggest a typology of nine different kinds of Latter-day Saints. I will discuss in detail three character types from the nine possibilities.

In the intellectual exercise that follows, I make every attempt to be academic and objective, but, as with Richard Poll, this is also a personal enterprise — to say "what the Church means to people like me."

Sources of Personal Direction

The original Liahona-Iron Rod division of the Saints counterposes reason and faith as primary sources of personal direction, but this categorization aggregates a variety of religious and intellectual experiences. The first step from dichotomy to typology is the untangling of these experiences.

Faith, for example, can be selective. Scriptural prophets may carry an intensity for which the more immediate messages of latter-day apostles cannot compensate. The *General Handbook of Instructions*, as an object of faith, can be an expeditious means of eliminating the static and interferes with the reception of the whisperings of the still small voice.

At the other end of the continuum, reason is no less multidimensional. What is logical (reasonable) has to compete in the marketplace with what actually works. What is called good or common sense, evolved from the laboratory of day-to-day experience, may conflict with the a priori formulations of less seasoned thinkers.

Even these brief considerations multiply by several factors the Mormon social types now represented by the Iron Rod-Liahona dichotomy. But rather than pushing at the limits of the definable points along the faith-reason continuum, I merely propose modifying the poles of the continuum and then identifying one additional location distinct from the original extremes.

The focal concern remains the primary source of one's personal direction. The Liahona reliance on reason-experience remains at one end of the continuum while at the other end are the stereotypical Iron Rods who rely on the institutional Church with its hierarchy of authorities as the core source of their personal direction. With disaffection from the continuum's poles an alternative third position emerges, a group I will call the Charismatics. Charismatics take a less mediated approach to religious experience by elevating the place of the Holy Spirit in their lives, not simply to confirm Church directives, but as an independent source of guidance and inspiration.

As seen in Figure 1, I have changed the conceptual space from a bounded dichotomy to overlapping continua. Although most faithful members accept all three sources of authority as legitimate, we differ in our habits of relying on one more than the others.

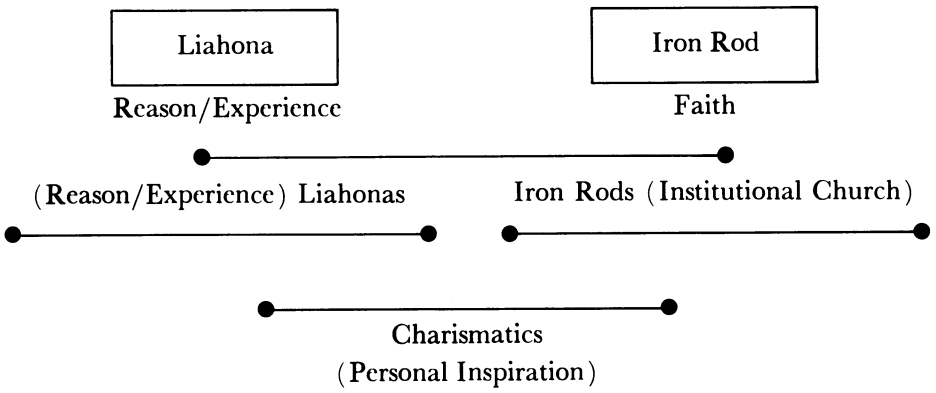
Reason/Experience

Poll characterizes the essential difference between the Liahona and Iron Rod Saints as one of answers and questions:

> The Iron Rod Saint does not look for questions but for answers, and in the gospel — as he understands it — he finds or is confident that he can find the answer to

FIGURE 1

SOURCES OF PERSONAL DIRECTION: DICHOTOMY TO OVERLAPPING CONTINUA



every important question. The Liahona Saint, on the other hand, is preoccupied with questions and skeptical of answers; he finds in the gospel — as he understands it — answers to enough important questions so that he can function purposefully without answers to the rest (Poll 1983, 70).

It would be interesting to explore which answers elicit the Liahona's skepticism, as well as to identify which "answers to important questions" he or she finds essential. The key, though, to understanding the Liahona does not lie in a catalog of specific moral-religious controversies, but in what the Liahona would perceive as defects in the Iron Rod's epistemological resources. According to the Liahona, the Holy Spirit and Church leaders are not consistently reliable sources of truth nor infallible guides for moral agency. Poll's assessment of the efficacy of the Holy Spirit is revealing:

> As a method of confirming truth, the witness of the Spirit demonstrably has *not* produced uniformity of Gospel interpretation even among Iron Rod Saints, and it is allegedly by the witness of that same Spirit — by the burning within — that many apostates pronounce the whole Church in error. As a method of influencing the course of events, it seems unpredictable and some of the miracles claimed for it seem almost whimsical. By the prayer of faith one man recovers his lost eyeglasses; in spite of such prayer, another man goes blind.
>
> All of which leaves the Liahona Mormon with a somewhat tenuous connection with the Holy Spirit (1967, 111).

If traditional Church resources are unpredictable, where do Liahonas find their religious direction? The answer is, of course, in some combination of rational-empirical methods, exercised *within* the ongoing dynamic of Church tradition. It is important to remember that even though they may be preoccupied with the empirically verifiable, Liahona members are still committed to experiences that transcend the reasonable.

Prayer is an interesting example of the collision of the natural and the supernatural in the Liahona worldview. Poll writes:

> Prayer is rarely for miracles, or even for new answers. It is — or ought to be — an intensely personal exercise in sorting out and weighing the relevant factors in our problems, and looking to God as we consider the alternative solutions. (Many of our problems would solve themselves if we would consider only options on which we could honestly ask God's benediction.) (1967, 115)

At times this attitude may seem to deny fundamental religious experience. "What is seen as a miracle by the Iron Rod Saints," comments Richard Poll, "my type tends to interpret as coincidence, or psychosomatic manifestation, or [an] inaccurately remembered or reported event" (1967, 114). An Iron Rod Saint might wonder what a Liahona member finds attractive in a church built on a tradition of God's miraculous interventions in the lives of his people, as a church and as individuals, from crickets and seagulls to healings and patriarchal blessings.

The Liahona members are, however, deeply committed to their church, and this commitment directly relates to their rational-empirical approach to religious experience. That approach is rooted in the Mormon principle of eternal progression, that men and women can become as God. The apparent meaninglessness of life does have an answer, and "the answer is grandly challenging. It lies in three revealed propositions: (1) Man is eternal. (2) Man is free. (3) God's work and glory is to exalt this eternal free agent — man" (Poll 1967, 114).

The uniquely Mormon scriptures, "The glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36) and "If a person gains more knowledge in this life, he will have an advantage in the world to come" (D&C 130:19), crystallize the Liahona worldview. Here we have God's children encountering life in all its manifold and challenging complexity, the Lord allowing them to learn by experience, intervening in their affairs only when absolutely necessary. By thinking through moral alternatives and building on experience, men and women gain the spiritual knowledge and skills that allow them to progress step by step towards the character of their heavenly parents. Thus minimal intervention as well as a plentitude of unresolved questions might be considered essential to spiritual growth. As Poll stated, "He has left things pretty much up to me — a free agent, a god in embryo, who must learn by experience as well as direction how to be like God" (1967, 115).

The Institutional Church

I have modified Richard Poll's Iron Rod category to include only those whose spiritual lives center on the institutional Church. According to Poll's characterization, the religious lives of these unreconstructed Iron Rods are not particularly complex. They find answers to the mysteries of life in two extra-scriptural injunctions: "Follow the Brethren" and "Obedience is the first law of heaven." For this kind of Saint, the most important prophet is the prophet we now have.

This allegiance to the gospel and Church generates both personal and institutional strength. Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* and the *General Handbook of Instructions* provide not only instruction but an enabling security and self-assurance that leads to unequivocal church-directed action, from asking golden questions to sand-bagging river banks — though as every bishop knows, it's not quite enough to ensure that "the home teaching gets done."

With answers in the *Ensign* and the demands of planning the ward Christmas party, the kinds of introspective struggles that preoccupy the Liahona rarely rise to the issue stage for the Church-centered member. "For in an activity-centered Church it is quite possible to be deeply and satisfyingly involved without looking seriously at the philosophical implications of some Gospel propositions which are professed" (Poll 1967, 112).[1]

Personal Inspiration (the Charismatics)

I would prefer a Mormon symbol consistent with Iron Rod and Liahona to denominate the Charismatic type, but I have not as yet come up with an equally felicitous label. I have elected to use the respectable "charismatic" (personal) as a contrast to the "priestly" (Iron Rod) or Liahona approaches to the gospel. Regardless of the unhallowed label, let me emphasize that the Charismatics are also faithful members of the Church who sustain their leaders. Devotion to the Church, however, does not inhibit them from seeking unmediated spiritual direction, which is their defining characteristic. The Charismatics are, then, those who rely on the Holy Spirit as their primary source of guidance. Liahonas easily mistake them for Iron Rods. These Saints, however, share a common experience with the Liahonas: inevitable ambiguity stalks both Liahona and Charismatic quests for truth and light, though Charismatics quietly endure uncertainty rather than systematically engaging doubt.

The Charismatics' personal and church experiences confirm Paul's observation that "now we see through a glass, darkly . . . now [we] know in part" (1 Cor. 13:12). Thus Church programs and policies change and the messages of the Spirit are not always patently decipherable. Length of missionary service changes from twenty-four months to eighteen, then back to twenty-four, and Young Men's and Young Women's activity night is once a week, then twice a month, before coming back to once a week. The Spirit whispers all is well, but a dear friend dies.

Although the Charismatics accept the divine injunction to "study it [an issue] out in [your] mind" (D&C 9:8), they part company with the Liahonas on the ultimate efficacy of rational discourse and empirical verification. The Charismatics are struck by the inevitable contradictions and endemic revisionism of the scholarly enterprise, rather than drawn to its challenges. In pur-

[1] Though Poll struggles valiantly to give equal legitimacy to both Iron Rod and Liahona points of view, his condescension toward the Iron Rods is underclothing that shows throughout his essay: if the Iron Rods would only think, they would be Liahonas! One of his correspondents describes Poll's elitism this way: " 'Liahonas see themselves as somehow *outside* the pale; over there are the plodders, the iron rodders, clinging blindly to pull themselves through the fog, while over here are we Liahonas, basking in the light of superior knowledge' " (Poll 1983, 72).

suit of truth, they turn instead to cultivating a sense of God in their lives. They seek the presence of the divine, which also sustains and comforts as it "enlightens your mind" (D&C 11:13).

Free agency is at the heart of both the Liahona and the Charismatic's less-than-direct course toward truth and light, but the Charismatics are much nearer to the Iron Rods on the issue of the place of God in our everyday lives. Poll characterizes the Liahona view in the following manner:

> To me, this prerequisite for exaltation [free agency] explains the apparent remoteness of God from many aspects of the human predicament — my predicament. My range of freedom is left large, and arbitrary divine interference with that freedom is kept minimal, in order that I may grow. Were God's hand always upon my shoulder, or his Iron Rod always in my grasp, my range of free choice would be constricted, and my growth as well (1967, 114).

The Charismatics are no less committed to our fundamental need for agency, but at the same time they see no inherent contradiction between agency and God's intimate involvement both in the trivial and profound aspects of our lives. The Lord hears each prayer, and then permits or prohibits natural consequences and occurrences. Despite apparent accident, disease, and outright evil, the Charismatic believes that the sum total of the free agent acts that precipitate tragedy are carefully monitored and ultimately bounded. There are reasons; there is a purpose. Indeed, for the Charismatics, as in the hymn's refrain, "his eye is on the sparrow and I know he watches me" (cf. Luke 12:6–7). Our Heavenly Father is not remote and uninvolved in our lives.

Many Charismatics are likely to find spiritual guidance through a personal relationship with Christ. They seek in the person of Jesus a friend who stands near to sustain them. For them he is truly the "living water" (John 4:9–15), the "bread of life" (John 6:35), and the "true vine" (John 15:1–5). Without him they "can do nothing" (John 15:5). Dependent on the person of Christ, they endeavor to follow his injunction: "Look unto me in every thought; doubt not, fear not. Behold the wounds which pierced my side, and also the prints of the nails in my hands and feet; be faithful" (D&C 6:36–37).[2]

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[2] Charismatics usually blend in with their Iron Rod brothers and sisters, their only peculiarity being that they are a little on the "spiritual" side. But since they emphasize the importance of direct access to the Savior, it is only natural that from time to time the Iron Rod guardians of Church ritual might regard them as a threat to the correlation of Church spirituality. An intriguing point of conflict occurred when Elder Bruce R. McConkie at a Brigham Young University devotional denounced the work of a popular Christ-centered BYU instructor (Pace 1981). Elder McConkie's address later became Lesson 7 of the 1984 Melchizedek priesthood personal study guide, *Come Unto Christ.* But there are evidently General Authorities with Charismatic sympathies. A subsequent address by Elder Neal A. Maxwell which became Lesson 7 of the 1987 Relief Society course of study, *Learn of Me,* took poignant exception with Elder McConkie's point of view, though in the marvelously harmonious manner in which many of the General Authorities handle their public differences: there was no mention of names or an explicit counter-position. Then the 1988 reincarnation of the 1984 Melchizedek priesthood personal study guide, bearing the same name, contained an extensive rewrite of Elder McConkie's 1984 lesson, the only lesson in the manual with substantive revisions.

While there are certainly Church leaders with Charismatic sympathies, the Charismatics are more often found among Church teachers (professional as well as lay). Perhaps the

While Charismatic energy currently centers on the worship of Christ, these impulses were more widely diffused in nineteenth-century Mormonism. Speaking in tongues, personal prophecies for friends and families, and Relief Society washings, anointings, and healings were still Church institutions at the turn of the century (Alexander 1986, 272–306; Newell 1987). Scientific rationalism and a drive for organizational (priesthood) definition of members' spirituality in the early twentieth century led to a disappearance or a redefinition of these spiritual gifts by mid-century. The underlying religious inclinations, however, were not contained; they have reappeared in a more exclusive form: the quest for a relationship with Christ as personal savior.[3]

But even with faith centered firmly on Christ, contemporary Charismatics still face the same general dilemma as their fellow Liahona members. Both struggle to find their way through darkness toward light: Charismatics seek the light of Christ for the sake of his peace, and Liahonas search for the light of eternal principles to make them one with God. Their Iron Rod brothers and sisters travel less falteringly through life following paths clearly marked by the institutional Church.

The place of the scriptures as sources of religious direction provides further insight into the character of these three types. The Iron Rods are more likely to see the scriptures as a kind of handbook, the "Topical Guide" taking on definitive status, guiding and directing the reader from one gospel principle to another. Liahonas are much more selective; they contextualize patterns of behavior and theological propositions in the historical moment, sifting through allegories and parables to find general principles worth practicing. Charismatics, by contrast, use the scriptures as a medium through which they receive revelation and a personal knowledge of their Savior, after pondering and meditation.

Perhaps these three views on the role of God in our lives should be seen more as matters of temperament than of propositional validity. The Charismatic character structure is one of essential dependency — dependency, in this context, on the spirit of God for direction and sustenance. While Charismatics may be talented and accomplished, they are likely to feel that personal achievement emanates from the grace of God. Iron Rods also possess dependency

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organizational demands of Church administration overwhelm the incumbents of leadership positions, precluding the meditation and communion requisite to Charismatic spirituality. It is also possible that women, institutionally excluded from most demanding leadership positions, find alternative fulfillment in a Charismatic approach to the gospel.

[3] I would like to emphasize that even the Christ-centered Charismatic point of view has important variations, as the overlapping continua characterizing personal direction in Figure 1 attempt to represent. O. Kendall White, for example, sees in Charismatic Mormonism, which he labels Mormon "neo-orthodoxy," a strong reflection of the right-wing political concerns of Christian fundamentalism. The initial subjects of White's analysis were a number of Brigham Young University religious instructors actively teaching and lecturing in the 1960s. White (1987, 139–57) does, however, note a renaissance of sorts in Charismatic thinking in the 1980s, represented in the work of Margaret Toscano (1988) and Paul Toscano (1988), among others. While White does not attempt to place a political label on these thinkers, there is an evident cultural and academic, if not political, shift in this recent body of thought.

character traits, but in this case the foci of the emotional investment are clear and definable Church programs and personalities. In contrast, the relatively independent Liahonas draw on their own powers of reason and observation as they navigate their way, with the institutional Church providing a porous umbrella, through the storms and sunshine of mortal probation.

Social Class Location/Social Formation

Although Richard Poll's essay is not a political treatise, it clearly has political implications. Since the Iron Rod identifies so closely with the predominantly conservative Church, Iron Rods, following the brethren, are likely to be politically conservative as well. On the other hand, the relatively liberated thinking of Liahonas may lead them towards more liberal politics — civil rights two decades ago and ERA in the eighties. This probable confluence of the political and spiritual is diagramed in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2

Stereotypical Religious/Political Positions

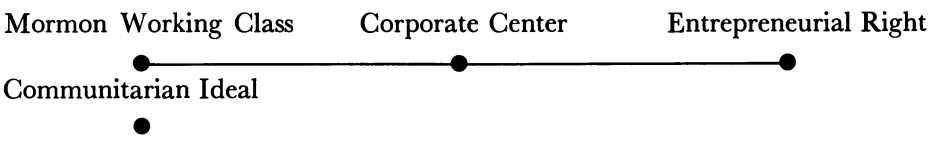
		Political Position	
		Liberal	Conservative
Sources of Personal Direction	Reason/Experience	Liahona	
	Institutional Church		Iron Rod

While these superficial and somewhat stereotypical categories of Mormon political ideology often capture media attention, they are far less critical than the "deep structures" of social class position. I contend, in fact, that one's class location rather than one's political position reflects fundamental social and economic interests, shaping and molding religious obligations from fast offering donations to prayers for the oppressed.

I have mapped the landscape of class in the Church using two criteria: (1) the class distinctions need to be simple yet inclusive and (2) the distinctions should reflect Mormon political culture. Employing these criteria, I have located three structurally identifiable classes and envision a fourth alternative society or "social formation." This embryonic social formation suggests itself as a viable option to the dilemmas and contradictions inherent in the relations among the first three classes. The three broad structural classes are the Entrepreneurial Right, the Corporate Center, and a Mormon Working Class. The alternative social formation is the Communitarian Ideal.

FIGURE 3

STRUCTURE OF MORMON POLITICAL CULTURE



Note in Figure 3 above that the Entrepreneurial Right, Corporate Center, and Mormon Working Class are placed on the same continuum while the Communitarian Ideal occupies a separate space. I argue that the Right and Center, as well as the Mormon Working Class with a decidedly underdeveloped class consciousness, share many fundamental assumptions about relationships with their fellow men and women, though matters of style and specific positions on particular issues vary. The Communitarian Ideal should be conceptualized as categorically distinct, a type of society just as different from capitalism as capitalism is from feudalism or socialism.

OVERVIEW OF MORMON CLASS RELATIONS

I have based my work on neo-classical class analysis, in particular, the work of Erik Olin Wright (1985). Wright constructs a typology of twelve class locations from three critical variables: (1) ownership of capital versus dependency on wage labor, (2) possession of organizational assets (being actively involved in policy decisions with real authority over subordinates), and (3) possession of skill and credential assets (a university degree).

Capitalist Classes

For the purposes of this essay the Corporate Center consists of (1) the capitalist class (under 2 percent of the population), joined by (2) a diverse group of wage-earning managers, experts, and supervisors, who make up another 35 to 45 percent of the class hierarchy. While most of this second group (managers, experts, and supervisors, working in both the private and the public sectors) do not as a rule own significant amounts of capital, they do control the critical institutions of advanced capitalism through two key possessions: (1) their organizational positions, which they claim through (2) credential and skill assets. With this New Property (Reich 1964), the professionals and managers of the Corporate Center constitute a New Class (Gouldner 1979) that plays a pivotal role in the class relations of the last decades of the twentieth century.

Owners of capital, however, are not synonymous with the Corporate Center, but may be subdivided into three distinct classes: (1) the capitalist class (those 2 percent in the Corporate Center who own sufficient capital to hire workers and not work); (2) small employers (those who own sufficient capital to hire workers — usually about ten employees or less — but must work); and

(3) the self-employed (those who own sufficient capital to work for themselves but without the resources to hire more than another worker or two). Only the first, the capitalist class proper, is part of the Corporate Center. I have collapsed the last two categories into the Entrepreneurial Right, made up then of small business people who are either self-employed (an independent real estate salesperson, for example) or who have a small number of employees (a building contractor or a crafts manufacturer, for example).

The Entrepreneurial Right constitutes only 10 to 15 percent of the labor force but has a very important place in Mormon folk life. On the surface, their occupations represent initiative, freedom, and self-reliance — quintessential pioneer values. Nevertheless, the Entrepreneurial Right must buy, sell, and trade in a socio-economic world dominated by the Corporate Center. These irksome dependency relationships often produce tension and frustration, but not enough to inhibit the Entrepreneurs' alliance with the Corporate Center against the interests of the working class. Consequently, even though some small business people may be politically "liberal," as a group their fundamental interests and their structural position in the political economy are on the "right."

Mormon Working Class

The working class, as the subordinate class, is composed of wage laborers without organizational or credential assets. This group of formally supervised and nonautonomous laborers constitute the remaining 35 to 45 percent of the work force. While many from the working class enjoy the considerable benefits of a consumer culture, they are nevertheless without socially valuable property: their structural positions leave them *organizationally* propertyless and thus powerless.[4]

As a cursory examination of the occupational backgrounds of stake presidencies, mission presidents, and regional representatives in the *Church News*

[4] Erik Olin Wright's work, which informs this conceptual mapping of Mormon class relations, is empirical as well as theoretical. Using attitude indexes, questions on organizational position, credentials, skill, etc., Wright operationalized his class criteria for a national survey conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. The 1487 households in the survey are broken down here in percentages based on Wright's twelve class locations: (1) capitalist class (1.8 percent), (2) small employers (6.0 percent), (3) self-employed (6.9 percent), (4) expert managers (3.9 percent), (5) expert supervisors (3.7 percent), (6) expert non-managers (3.4 percent), (7) semi-credentialed managers (6.2 percent), (8) semi-credentialed supervisors (6.8 percent), (9) semi-credentialed workers (12.2 percent), (10) uncredentialed managers (2.3 percent), (11) uncredentialed supervisors (6.9 percent, and (12) working class (39.9 percent) (1985, 195).

An additional theoretical matter needs attention. Wright's class map is not primarily concerned with inequality, though his data show a close correlation between class position and income (1985, 232–37). My concern is the relationships among classes. Inequality (in income as in opportunity for self-actualization) result from dominant classes appropriating surplus from a subordinate class, i.e., consuming more than they produce. The poor are poor because the rich are rich — and the affluent comfortable. John Roemer (1982) works out in detail the nature of these exploitive relationships.

My analysis of the Corporate Center was also influenced by Randall Collins (1979); for the reader interested in my own work on the theoretical and empirical bases of inequality, see Jacob 1981.

confirms, middle-level Church leaders come from the Corporate Center, and to a lesser extent from the Entrepreneurial Right. Because the behavior and attitudes of these key decision-makers as members of identifiable classes are the primary subject of the social character analysis that follows, I will not examine further the Mormon Working Class nor include it as a category in my typology of social character. The practical constraints of the essay's organization should, though, in no way be interpreted as denying the strategic importance of workers in the Mormon future. The poor and the dispossessed joining the Church all over the world as a Rainbow Coalition (Davis 1986) could become one of the critical forces in encouraging the Church to examine its uncritical acceptance of the mandates and ideals of Corporate Center and the Entrepreneurial Right.

By including the Communitarian Ideal alongside the empirically available classes, I intend to make my analysis of Mormon class structure dynamic rather than static — a theory of history. The dilemmas, contradictions, and even crises of living in a society dominated by the Corporate Center, and the Entrepreneurial Right, are likely to prompt at least some Church members *and* leaders to search actively for solutions to their own and their brothers' and sisters' problems of underemployment, unemployment, a deteriorating physical environment, absence of quality health care, and insufficient resources to care for aging parents. Church members disturbed by the ethos of inequality and competition of the Entrepreneurial Right and the Corporate Center, especially as it affects their community worship, could very well find the antithesis of their predicaments in an idealized Mormon past, here conceptualized as the Communitarian Ideal — a society that attempts to revive the nineteenth-century experiments of living and working cooperatively together in a state of equality.

Since those Saints who are attracted to the Communitarian Ideal are unlikely to be presently living in any social arrangement that could be called communitarian, these members use the resources of their religion to transcend the immediate interests of their current class locations. A series of fundamental social crises might be a precondition, though, to provide the opening necessary for Church leaders to mobilize their fellow members toward new kinds of Church communities.

However, the shift could be more gradual. The Corporate Center, naturally, is not all of one piece. To varying degrees, factions of the Corporate Center, except for the capitalist class, are exploited as well as exploiters. Most of the Corporate Center can be seen, again by degrees, as working in contradictory class locations between the capitalist and working classes. Occupants of these contradictory locations, including many middle-level Church leaders, could very well look for alternative socio-economic solutions when the everyday dislocations of capitalism threaten their positions.

As Wright concludes, "Particularly under conditions where contradictory locations are being subjected to a process of 'degradation' — deskilling, proletarianization, routinization of authority, etc. — it may be quite possible for people in those contradictory locations which are clearly net-exploited to see the balance of their interests as being more in line with the working class than

with the capitalist class" (1985, 125–26; Gouldner 1979). Consequently, it may well be that segments of the Corporate Center, including influential Church leaders, will constitute the progressive class in the movement toward a more just social order, whether inside or outside of the Church.

To move now beyond this conceptual overview and towards the social character typology central to the essay, I want to examine in detail in the following two sections the class aggregates, the Entrepreneurial Right and the Corporate Center, which define the ethos of the contemporary Church.

The Entrepreneurial Right

An entrepreneurial spirit permeates contemporary Mormonism. Brigham Young University professors make and sell paperweights and keychains memorializing a championship football team; engineers' spouses have their Amway clientele; and "everybody" has been approached by "somebody" with an investment enterprise calculated to bring fortunate investors algebraic if not geometric returns.

The essence of the Entrepreneurial Right's worldview is an idealized direct relationship between work and success. Individual failure, if and when it comes, results from moral deficiencies: lack of persistence and/or inability to defer gratification. Opportunities abound, and we may, if we will, take advantage of them. In the entrepreneurs' opinion, the poor are the victims of their own ineptitude, just as affluence is secured by ingenuity and diligence. Since one's status is earned, not a product of chance or inherited advantage, no one is under moral obligation to share surplus beyond perfunctory charity. There is "no free lunch," and little exasperates the Entrepreneurs more profoundly than the possibility that someone might enjoy a measure of material reward, e.g., welfare, without effort comparable to their own.

The Entrepreneurial Right's moral certitude masks the inherent precariousness of their status. They possess few guarantees. The entrepreneurs must rise early tomorrow, and all the mornings thereafter, to maintain and marginally advance their relative advantage. It is only natural, then, that they react, with a collective reflex, towards perceived threats to their tenuous accumulation.

An overriding concern to many on the Right are alterations in a free market that otherwise allows them to translate their skills and hard work to affluence. The usual source of threatening changes in the benign marketplace springs from the cartel character of corporate capitalism itself, accompanied by its meddlesome regulatory agencies born of the partnership of big business and big government.

A certain segment of the Church's Entrepreneurial Right actively opposes the erosion of a free market and is likely to articulate and propagate anti-establishment sentiments. Carried to their logical conclusion, their frustrations evolve into a full-blown populism that is revolutionary in character. This politics of extremism has produced its own literature (Skousen 1970; cf. Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie 1987) and mobilized true believers through formal organization (e.g., the Center for Constitutional Studies, formerly the Free-

men Institute). The agenda of this ultraright faction is not dissimilar from that of the far left: to dismantle the base of transnational capital and return "power to the people" — to earn without interference if not to establish social justice and equity.

While some theorists regard the Mormon right as all of one piece (Shupe and Heinerman 1985), in actual practice most entrepreneurial Mormons gravitate toward a much more moderate brand of conservatism. They are preoccupied with a round of church, work, and family life that leaves little room for political activism. Furthermore, Church members receive little, if any, direct encouragement from the official Church to attend to other than their ecclesiastical and domestic obligations.

Beyond this practical division in the Entrepreneurial Right, disparities of wealth also prevail among those with similar fundamental class interests. The owner of a fabric store in a shopping mall, clinging to middle-class respectability, may feel no discomfort being hometaught by a building contractor and developer whose tithes and offerings approach his shopkeeper brother's net income.

Such unity in the face of deep material divisions brings us to another anomaly in the Entrepreneurial Right's worldview. While poverty is thought to have moral roots, business failure is seen as systemic, the marketplace made imperfect. Thus the entrepreneur expects individual remediation to be the cure for underemployment, yet he calls for structural renewal to remedy circumstances that now enchain the entrepreneurs' energy and inventiveness.

The Corporate Center

Diverse political expressions mask the deep similarity of socio-economic interests among Latter-day Saints who work for corporations, universities, schools, and government. Liberal policies versus conservative programs are little more than epiphenomenal when compared with the Corporate Center's common drive to preserve and enhance its hegemony. The Corporate Center's hegemony is rooted in the enmeshed nature of large-scale organizations. They are powerful socio-economic actors who command large and stable clienteles for their services and goods, from master of fine arts degrees to chocolate chip cookies.

The essential benefit of membership in the corporate community is less remuneration than security. Employment in the corporate establishment often brings with it a kind of sinecure, a guarantee of income with a less-than-tight correspondence to performance.[5]

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[5] Warner P. Woodworth, in an article that parallels this one both in general tone and in the specific characterization of the Corporate Center, provides a necessary corrective to the picture of corporate security. He graphically describes the underside of sinecure: competition in the struggle for the executive suite leaves in its wake anxiety, depression, and broken health (1987, 30).

The term "large-scale organizations," used to characterize the Corporate Center, also needs to be qualified. In Wright's 1985 survey, just over one-quarter of the managers and just under one-fifth of the supervisors worked in private firms with fewer than fifty employees. Wright concluded from these data that "this may be the era of monopoly capital,

The organizational largess of the Corporate Center goes beyond secure income. Corporate life provides personal and family benefits rarely reflected in tithing: training courses, travel, and familiarity with the cutting edge of technology from telecommunications to desk-top publishing, not to mention perquisites such as generous perdiems, "frequent flier" bonuses, and company cars.

Though one place in the economy is inherently precarious and the other a comfortable niche, Mormons of the Entrepreneurial Right and the Corporate Center are still likely to share a similar diagnosis for the social and economic marginality of the underclass: moral failure. But whereas the Entrepreneurial Right prescribes an isolated and individual moral renovation, spurred by removal of the social safety net, the Corporate Center remedies poverty by extending the net through the very organizations they represent. The poor become clients of school teachers, nurses, and social workers, moving through corporate therapy toward responsible citizenship. As it became evident during the Great Society projects, "Poverty's where the money's at!"

Undoubtedly many kind and skilled Latter-day Saint professionals are honestly trying to reach out to the less fortunate, but they do it in their own way, the Corporate Center's way. The Corporate Center's way is to provide opportunity, equal opportunity, through its institutions and its proffered therapy, to assist and encourage the poor to lift themselves up and out of poverty and to, theoretically, whatever level of the social order their performance might merit.

While the Corporate Center's paternalism may be the prevailing, though not unchallenged, answer to poverty, the scriptures suggest otherwise: "I the Lord have decreed to provide for my saints, that the poor shall be exalted, in that *the rich be made low*" (D&C 104:16, emphasis added). Neither the Corporate Center nor, for that matter, the Entrepreneurial Right would be inclined towards the hierarchical transformation demanded by this scripture. Nevertheless, despite the imputed progressivism of liberal Mormons in the Corporate Center, currently it is the Entrepreneurial Right that represents fundamental populism and seeks the more radical revision in the structure of power and influence in the social order.[6]

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but this does not imply that monopoly corporations *directly* organize most wage-labour" (p. 208, emphasis added). Large-scale, then, does not apply so much to individual firms as to a web of (large-scale) corporate interrelations that define the ethos of late capitalism, including sub-contracting, holding companies, plus government contracts, subsidies, and oversight.

[6] A perceptive letter written to DIALOGUE over a decade and a half ago cuts to the heart of the contradictions in Mormon political liberalism. The letter's context was critical of reviews by Mormon liberals of W. Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Capitalist*:

> Dear, Are you asleep?
> Not quite.
> Did you read the Round Table Review in this last DIALOGUE?
> No.
> They're reviewing Cleon Skousen's book, *The Naked Capitalist.*
> You mean *The Naked Communist.*
> No, the *Naked Capitalist* C-A-P-I-T-A-L-I-S-T.
> It's Communist, C-O-M-M-U-N-I-S-T. He wrote that book a long time ago.

THE SOCIAL CHARACTER TYPOLOGY

We can now add dimension to this Mormon social character construction. In Figure 4 we have the two cintinua placed at right angles to each other to

FIGURE 4

A TYPOLOGY OF MORMON SOCIAL CHARACTER

	Class Location/Social Formation	
Communitarian Ideal	Corporate Center	Entrepreneurial Right
	Primary Sources of Personal Direction	
Reason/ Experience	Institu- tional Church	Personal Inspiration
	Scribes Watchmen Utopian Communalists	

No, it's a new book called *The Naked Capitalist*. He says there's a conspiracy by the rich banker types to control the world.

You must have things mixed up. Our Cleon Skousen wouldn't write a book with that thesis or title. That's like Lowell Bennion suggesting that sweet reasonableness is a vice. It just wouldn't happen.

Well, Skousen wrote it and Midgley's reviewing it.

I suppose you'll tell me that Midgley came out for the rich guys.

Yes, that's exactly what he did. How did you guess? He supported the rich people and the status quo.

Look, dear, it's getting late. Perhaps we can talk about this in the morning. Midgley is an old U. of U. debater, a confirmed liberal. Liberals want to wrench the power from the rich and give it to the poor and powerless.

That's Skousen's program. According to Midgley, Skousen wants to: (1) angrily arouse people to the point where they will seize control of a political party, (2) take over the government, (3) use its power to eliminate the wealthy, (4) dismantle credit and money power, and (5) disperse POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

That's Skousen's program? Our Skousen, the arch crime fighter, super American, darling of the John Birch Society, former FBI agent? That's the program of a radical populist left winger type, but not Cleon Skousen. There aren't twenty-five active LDSers in the whole church, who are that radical.

Well, there are now. According to Midgley there's a flock of true believers following Skousen at the B.Y.U. and Midgley calls them right wingers not left wingers.

Let me get this straight. Skousen's a populist, his followers are right wing conservatives who are pursuing a radical left program and Midgley, the liberal, is defending the capitalist system and the rich guys.

Yes, that's pretty close.

The end must be near, do we have our two-year supply of food?

You're avoiding the issue. Whom do you choose?

What are my choices?

Skousen and the poor people or Midgley and the rich guys.

I'll take Midgley and the poor people.

Chicken (Shirts 1972, 4).

produce a typology of at least nine "ideal-typical" Mormons. It would be intriguing to try to sketch the contours and the nuances of each category, but such a task is beyond the central purpose of this essay. My intent is to describe and analyze the social-spiritual dynamics of contemporary Mormonism. To achieve that end with some parsimony, I will deal with only three cells from the typology: the Scribes, Watchmen, and Utopian Communalists. I begin the discussion with two recognizable Liahona and Iron Rod derivatives, Scribes and Watchmen, and then characterize the Utopian Communalists in a separate section.

Before we examine the Scribe and Watchman points of view, note that my project is sociological analysis and as such diverges sharply from Poll's perspective. His Iron Rods and Liahonas were isolated moral agents, driven by the demands of their own psychologies — the need for certainty or the impulse to explore. In contrast, my Scribes and Watchmen are much more products of their social environments, shaped, molded, and even "trapped" by the web of social relations of which they are a part.

This apparent sociological determinism conflicts with traditional Mormon notions of individual agency. Yet, aside from the presumed threat of social constraint, the sociological approach is quite consistent with what faithful Latter-day Saints take for granted: the importance, even the necessity, of ecclesiastical organization (in this case the institutional Church) for the "perfecting of the Saints" (Eph. 4:12).

Social organizations provide support to members, enabling them to achieve both personal and organizational goals. Similarly, a larger web of social relations (class position in this analysis) exerts a coercive influence over individual actions and attitudes. In this case the push is towards system ends rather than individual or sub-group goals. And in terms of Mormon social character, the possibility exists that the deep structures of the larger social system have over time created inconsistencies, anomalies, and contradictions within what may have once been a much more autonomous, isolated, and unified worldview.

Scribes

I use the label Scribe, here denoting the intersection of reason-experience and the Corporate Center, in its noblest sense: those who in the tradition of Ezra and Nehemiah labor to preserve and then enlarge upon a community's core truths. The work of codification and elaboration was considered important enough to allocate productive surplus to ensure that the scribes might devote all their energies to their labors.

During the Hebrew monarchy, a scribe was a court official, and after Ezra the title referred to teachers of the law. For the purposes of this essay, the prototypical Scribe would be a university professor, a knowledge worker who enjoys a comfortable sinecure. Others in this class might be the custodians of knowledge in occupations such as accounting, law, medicine, information sciences, management, public school teaching, and graduate work.

Two obvious characteristics of Scribes are independence of mind and relative security of position. Their independent spirit places them in a paradoxical

relationship to the Church. As faithful Saints they wish to preserve and enhance their heritage (as, say, Mormon historians), but at the same time their inbred skepticism as knowledge workers places them on the margins of Mormon folk life — in the imagery of Plato's *The Republic*, they have "left the cave and know from whence come the shadows on the wall." The Scribes selectively embrace the noble they find in the Church without allowing themselves to be totally embraced by the Church.

Consequently, the Iron Rod types (the Watchmen of the Corporate Center) will fit much more comfortably into presiding positions, while, as one of Poll's correspondents observed, the Liahonas (Scribes) are called " 'to teach classes, be Boy Scout Leaders and do all kinds of things that require goodness and sensitivity, but not so much unquestioning obedience' " (1983, 73). The Scribes are, then, typified by a more detached frame of mind that may often create a psychic aloofness placing them emotionally if not spacially outside Church ritual. Poll's approach to Sabbath observance reflects this attitude: "What is fitting, not what is conventional, becomes the question. On a lovely autumn evening I may even with quiet conscience, pass up an MIA fireside for a drive in the canyon. But the thankfulness for guidelines is nonetheless strong" (1967, 116).

The independent Scribes find it difficult to embrace, with other than intellectual curiosity, rituals or activities that require the surrender of the personal will to the will of the community. Rather, the Scribes find emotional and spiritual fulfillment in their relatively isolated pursuit of truth, as much in the Corporate Center's institutions, as in the Church itself. While the Entrepreneurial Right demands the freedom to earn, the Scribe struggles for the freedom to learn.

In their scribal role to "enlarge upon core truths," Scribes are typically advocates for change in Church policies, as seen in the controversies surrounding evolution, blacks and the priesthood, the place of women and ERA, and any number of other issues from a litany of fashionable concerns. The Scribes want change in the Church that would make it more modern and progressive, more in harmony with the mainstream of the Corporate Center. One might well wonder the fate of the Church if the Scribes were to move from Boy Scout leaders to Regional Representatives. Would the Church in becoming ever more adaptable find its evolutionary assimilation into the Middle America mainstream all the more accelerated?

In addition to the Scribes' struggle for the freedom to pursue truth, a second defining characteristic is the security of position Scribes enjoy in the Corporate Center's central institutions. This security and its resultant comfort often lead to an uncritical acceptance of the Corporate Center. While generally taking a meliorative stance on issues of social justice, the Scribes are reactionaries over proposals for fundamentally altering the status quo. Their conservatism is prudent, since altering inequality in contemporary America would place their privilege in jeopardy. But rarely are Scribes actively reactionary; rather they are merely oblivious to the possibility that their very lifestyles contribute to the sorrow and suffering of both their fellow Church mem-

bers and a good part of the rest of the world. In short, they fail to question the material and spiritual bases of their day-to-day lives.

A recent article by Garth Jones provides an example of this blindness. Jones calls on the Church to "do more" materially as well as spiritually, in order to fulfill its international mission. While a well-intentioned plea for the Church to dramatically expand charitable relief similar to the collective day of fast for the African famine in early 1985, the article's analysis does not advance beyond a familiar refrain: the authoritarianism and ethnocentrism of the Church incapacitate it for progressive social action (1987, 66). Because the author treats the Church as an isolated institution, he fails to regard as problematic the *entire* system of which the Church is an integral part.

It seems indecent to object to the Church expanding its humanitarian mission. But how aware are we of the nature and functioning of the very system that makes charity necessary and that benefits the affluent in the process? Scribes are reluctant to entertain this kind of question, much less to seek its answers.

One answer to questions on the fundamental causes of hunger and misery could start with a string of interrelated (systemic) connections. Americans eat fast food hamburgers from Central American beef whose cost is half as much as U.S. meat. Large tracts of Central American rain forests are cut to provide grazing land for the cattle destined for hamburgers. The shrinking rain forests provide winter habitat for ever decreasing numbers of North American birds. Fewer birds returning north for the spring means the elimination of a natural and safe method of insect control, resulting in a greater reliance on pesticides. Pesticide contamination of ground water now poses a major health hazard for American farmers, not to mention the pesticide residues with which supermarket shoppers cope.

Degradation of the environment also works its way from North to South. The United States farm debt stands at one-third that of the trillion dollar Third World debt — some of the Third World debt is incurred to finance the clearcutting of the Central American rain forests. Insurance companies buy farmland at foreclosure prices as an investment and then hire bankrupted farmers to manage their investments, burning and bulldozing the farmhouses, barns, and silos to lower property taxes. Much of the grain these new mega-farms grow (supported by the $25.3 billion government farm subsidy programs) competes with locally grown grains in the underdeveloped South, adding to its debt. Mexico supplies half of the United States' winter vegetables on land that could easily make the country self-sufficient in corn and beans. The winter vegetables are sprayed with pesticides and herbicides banned in the United States, and hundreds of low-paid Mexican farm laborers die each year from chemical toxicity.

Laying bare the relentless movement of transnational capital and its consequences in the world system can be transfixing. But I will stop at this point, leaving a brief bibliographic overview. Lloyd Timberlake (1986) argues that a major contributor to desertification in the African Sahel (one of Jones's concerns) has been the cash crop plantation farming of cotton and peanuts. Samir

Amin et al. (1982) outline the structure and functioning of the world system that creates regions of underdevelopment, and Mike Davis (1986) accounts for absence of a working class resistance movement to this system in the United States. Norman Myers (1986) places the world system in an environmental and ecological context, and Steven Sanderson (1986), Steven Bunker (1985), and Mark Kramer (1987) treat specific manifestations of the world capitalist system in Mexican, Brazilian, and U.S. agriculture respectively.

The natural questions to ask next are what allows this kind of system to persist, and how are Mormons of the Corporate Center, and all the rest of us, implicated? The easy, as well as correct, answer is greed. But in the world of the Corporate Center greed becomes depersonalized, and partly sanitized, as "responsibility to shareholders" or the "protection of a budget line." Investment managers for mutual funds who buy the junk bonds of corporate mergers do not consider themselves responsible for the inevitable unemployment and family dislocations caused by the resulting company realignment. Oblivious to their collective impact and the personal morality of sustaining a destructive social order, the Scribes and Watchmen, residing in the security of the Corporate Center, are relatively insulated from the socially disruptive flows of profit-seeking international capital. The demands of transnational capital may transport factory jobs to Haiti and broccoli-growing to Guatemala, while middle-class Mormons continue as ever driving their children to ballet lessons and Cub Scouts.

Watchmen

Many observers define the character of the Church by the politics of the Entrepreneurial Right and the spirituality of the Iron Rods. Naturally, then, I would have liked to develop as one of my three ideal types the now labelless cell at the intersection of the institutional Church and the Entrepreneurial Right. Though this cell without a label is a legitimate, empirical, social type, its unnamed residents find themselves in an anomalous category, out of synch with the historical moment. They are freedom-loving, small business people who owe their allegiance to a church with all the organizational trappings of an institution of the Corporate Center: a dedicated bureaucracy, cadres of experts, considerable financial resources, and an aura of permanence and stability. Consequently, the cautious outlook of a Church lawyer who patiently works day-to-day with counterparts in the Internal Revenue Service may well collide with the perspective of a real estate developer chronically frustrated by zoning regulations.

The entrepreneurial mentality that is critical in understanding the dynamics of Mormon folk life has little permanent office space at Church headquarters. It is true that entrepreneurs with managerial charisma are called to general presiding positions, but it is more likely that the demands of the organization will shape and mold their style, rather than the other way around.

The Watchmen, whose primary source of personal direction comes from the institutional Church and whose training and outlook are inherited from the Corporate Center, are the ones who guard the traditions and mission of

the Church. From the towers of the Church, they mobilize the ranks within and guard against the enemy without. Their guardianship begins, interestingly, in moderating the influence of the Entrepreneurial Right, in terms of ideology as well as style.

Entrepreneurs with an articulated political agenda do try to mobilize Church support for a variety of moral-political causes. What is remarkable is how rarely the Church directly involves itself with issues like ERA. A strong countervailing religious pragmatism limits the Church's social activism (Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie 1987, 242–47). Those Iron Rod Entrepreneurs who "follow the Brethren" will be increasingly frustrated by a lack of reciprocal sensitivity to their political concerns.

Administrative style is another issue over which the Iron Rod Watchmen and the Entrepreneurs, whether Liahona or Iron Rod, are likely to collide, however gently. The creative instincts of the Entrepreneurs and their highly valued personal initiative clash with leadership by handbook and strict adherence to correlation imperatives. Of course, centralized coordination gives the correlated Church great organizational strength, but the Entrepreneurs and the Scribes may at times take positions toward the Church similar to the Spanish Conquistadores' toward the Crown: "*Obedezco pero no cumplo*" (I obey, but I do not comply). Nevertheless, the Church has successfully unified its membership, and sacrament meetings in Santiago, Chile, are strikingly similar to those held in Rexburg, Idaho. The massive power of the Church to take concerted action is thus a fundamental reality, even if it commonly limits itself to nothing more remarkable than being the world's single largest buyer of pianos.

Scribes present a different kind of problem to the Watchmen. They wish to scrutinize Church traditions in the interest of truth, a project Watchmen feel does little to further the cause of Zion. While the Scribes claim that knowing the unvarnished struggles of now sainted forbearers would animate members who are depressed by the gulf between Church demands and personal performance, the Watchmen fear that such unfaithful history could demoralize the Lord's army at just the hour in the nightwatch when the enemy is ready to mount its most vicious attack.

This very attack from without, though, shifts the Watchmen's energies from consternation with the Scribe mentality or the idiosyncracies of Entrepreneurs to protecting Church members from the evils of contemporary immorality. The Watchmen's mission of protecting the Church from outside evil is a frustratingly complex and ambiguous one. In fact, the watchman metaphor itself dissolves in the face of reality. The Church is not a walled city; rather its members and the Church itself dwell, as C. S. Lewis points out, in "enemy occupied territory — that is what the world is" (1977, 44).

To appreciate fully the dilemmas with which the Watchmen struggle, we need to ask a series of interrelated questions about the nature of the Corporate Center the Watchmen accept and the tide of immorality they categorically reject. To begin with: Is there a connection between personal immorality and the regulated marketplace of the Corporate Center? An answer starts with the

straightforward observation that in the world of the Corporate Center sex is not simply an area for transgression but a commodity to be bought and sold. The pandering and purchasing of sex, from situation comedies to new wave rock to hard-core pornography, is a multi-billion-dollar-a-year industry unique to corporate capitalism. Institutionalized violence against women becomes a matter of a commercial transaction, no different in form from the purchase of airline tickets or mutual funds. It becomes a matter of what the market will bear and what the state will allow. The question is whether the Watchmen can reject evil but embrace the system that distributes it and profits from it. Naturally the answer is equivocal. The Watchmen *are* men and women of high principle who battle valiantly against the forces of darkness. Their energies are focused. But selectivity is the heart of the problem. The Watchmen work, justly and compassionately, with the symptoms of immorality without taking into full account its sources.

Since the Watchmen are rarely sensitive to the social-structural roots of evil, they will seldom see that the very system they accept can create personalities vulnerable to the evil they hate. Which brings us to the second question: Is lack of self-esteem connected to the despair that finds solace in personal deviancy? A sense of inadequacy is deeply rooted in the market processes of the Corporate Center where self-esteem has become a comparative product: we can feel good about ourselves if our marketable characteristics (appearance and skill) and possessions are superior to others'. Yet such self-approval is all too perishable. There are always those with more of the accoutrements of status, and time and the vagaries of the marketplace tarnish appearance and leave skills obsolete. The end result is too often a vulnerable personality who assuages anxieties through spiraling levels of immorality.

The prophet Ezekiel apparently recognized the close connection between social inequities and immorality. Identifying the primary weaknesses of Sodom and Gomorrah, the prophet did not dwell on immorality but bluntly declared, "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, *pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness* was in her and in her daughters, *neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy.* And they were haughty, and committed abomination before me: therefore I took them away as I saw good" (Ezek. 16:49–50, emphasis added).

Ezekiel's statement attests to the universality of inequality as well as immorality. And while it has always been possible to live a life of personal purity in a society that trades on evil, one has to wonder whether a church that does not take full account of the social-structural roots of personal immorality will possess sufficient resources to deliver itself, and its members, from the anguish of collective transgression.

UTOPIAN SOCIAL CHARACTER

Given, then, the dilemmas that come from trying to "be in the world but not of the world" — strains and contradictions that faithful members constantly encounter as they try to reconcile their beliefs to overly familiar alien

values and practices — it is only reasonable to expect that some, whether Watchmen, Scribes, or Entrepreneurs, would begin to consider alternative social arrangements. I will now turn to one set of possible alternatives, beginning with the sentiments of the emergent Communitarian Idealists. Once I have established the outlines of this society in embryo, I can focus my attention on the Utopian Communalists, a union of the Charismatic source of personal direction and Communitarian Idealist vision of class relations.

The Communitarian Ideal

To introduce the Communitarian Ideal point of view, I need to repeat that the Entrepreneurial Right, not the so-called progressive liberals of the Corporate Center, appear to have the revolutionary agenda. They see in the symbiotic relationship between big government and big business a conspiracy of global proportion, threatening the very foundation of a democratic society. They envision a new social order where all goods and services (bachelors degrees as well as corn flakes) compete for buyers in a free market, unfettered by cartels and monopolies. This brand of radical individualism places a primacy on personal freedom, to the end not only of uninhibited promulgation of the gospel, but also as a mechanism for releasing creative energies to pursue material advantage.

Thus throughout the Reagan years, the Corporate Center has been waging a war of defense (of conservation) against the Entrepreneurial Right's attempts to "downsize" the welfare state and eliminate sinecure. But as the battles ebb and flow, it has become evident that the Radical Right is not so much engaged in a revolution as a palace coup. The generals march through the revolving doors, but the furniture is merely rearranged. The rhetoric and the programs may vary from free enterprise to welfare state capitalism, but the substructure remains: societies deeply divided by wealth and privilege.

This noxious division in the Church as well as in society at large, is what most disturbs the Communitarian Idealists. Since the Communitarians are not presently an identifiable class in our society, they own no sociological real estate (theirs is more a state of mind than an address). They may labor for daily bread in any number of social locations — as employees, proprietors, caseworkers, or teachers, in either small businesses or corporate entities. Regardless of their actual location in status hierarchies, they are ill at ease. Their interpretation of Mormonism leaves them very uncomfortable with prevailing inequality and its ethic of competition. They envision an ideal society, drawn from their own historical roots, where "they had all things in common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift" (4 Ne. 1:3). Since this ideal would entail a fundamental reordering of society as we know it, it is the Communitarians who should wear the progressive labels.

The Communitarian malaise is not simply directed towards injustice in an impenetrable system but is more likely to focus on the community, even the ward, level. A Communitarian Saint finds it painful to live in a congregation where some children's imperfect teeth benefit from orthodontal care, while for

others such care is beyond luxury; where some couples rely on comfortable pensions to carry them through full-time missions, while others must maintain workplace rhythms.

Economic inequality, though, is only one cause of the Communitarians' discomfort. These idealists cherish the sense of community found in Church councils and committees and regard these experiences, though they often carry extensive responsibilities and commitments, as all too fleeting and fragmented. They long for the wholeness of a more embracing community, where brothers and sisters do not go their separate ways after Sunday meetings to compete for their individual and family fortunes in a hostile world. Only when they can place all their energies into cooperative ventures with their fellow Saints will these members find complete religious fulfillment. They long to take literally the scripture from our communitarian past: "In your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld" (D&C 70:14).

Now the natural question is why would a group of Saints who have grown up in an unequal and competitive, but affluent, society question their advantages and opportunities? But I find more interesting the Communitarians' question: How can Church members, whether on the Entrepreneurial Right or in the Corporate Center, countenance the even minimal estrangement between brothers and sisters that inequality brings to a community of believers? Perhaps our sensibilities have been numbed by the Church's assimilation into America's culture of inequality where our self-esteem is so much a function of competitively locating ourselves in terms of the accoutrements of status in relation to others less well-off, gifted, or accomplished. An additional contributor to our comfort in affluence is a firm conviction that our relative well-being is largely earned, a product of talent and perseverance, not the grace of God nor the vagaries of fortune.

Hugh Nibley incisively characterizes the Church's preoccupation with wealth and its acceptance of inequality: "the two marks of the Church I see are and have been for a long time these: a reverence for wealth and a contempt for the scriptures. Naturally, these two go hand in hand. We should call attention to the fact that these things we are doing are against the work of the Lord. . . . And now the Church isn't just shot through with covetousness, it is *saturated* with covetousness" (in Strack 1983, 13). Extending Nibley's observation, we could ask an unsettling question: Just as someone might drift into a series of intimate relationships with more than one partner, the affairs assuming a taken-for-granted quality, might many of us in the Church have become so conditioned to the inequality and competitiveness of our environment that we are incapable of considering it a problem?

In an effort to make it more problematic, I devote the rest of this essay to the possibility of an alternative social formation.

THE UTOPIAN COMMUNALISTS

Dependency is the attribute that best represents the social character of the Utopian Communalists, the cross of Charismatic and Communitarian Ideal.

As Charismatics they naturally depend upon the spirit of the Lord. Charismatics feel guided by the hand of the Lord and constantly attribute both their spiritual and material blessings to the grace of God. It is not that they do not feel exempt from diligent labor but believe rather that the Lord hallows their efforts — work that might otherwise be left unrewarded.

Dependency is also inherited from the Communitarian Ideal side of the Utopian's social personality. An organic community, as opposed to a collection of individuals, promotes mutual dependency. The labor of the community requires many hands. Any community member is at once both a beneficiary of his or her fellows' care and a contributor to the well-being of others. Interdependence is a community virtue, while practiced independence is a vice that turns brothers and sisters to associates.

Charismatic devotion may to some appear to resemble Christian Fundamentalism, but it finds fulfillment in an all-embracing community, whereas Christian Fundamentalism is grounded in marketplace individualism. The popular psychotherapist M. Scott Peck in *The Different Drum, Community Making and Peace* has also noted the natural connection between the spiritual and the communal. He develops four stages of spiritual growth that resemble the social character types of this essay: Stage I: Chaotic, anti-social; Stage II: Formal, institutional [Iron Rod]; Stage III: Skeptical, individual [Liahona]; Stage IV: Mystical, communal [Utopian Communalist]. On the connection between the "mystical" (Charismatic) and community, Peck observes that "through the ages, mystics of every shade of religious belief have spoken of unity, of an underlying connectedness between things: between men and women, between us and the other creatures and even inanimate matter as well, fitting together according to an ordinarily invisible fabric underlying the cosmos" (1987, 192).

If we, then, depend upon God for our spiritual nourishment and upon community for our material subsistence, we cannot claim either special privilege for achievement or accept condemnation for failure. God blesses, and joy and sorrow are shared equally in Community.

Two overarching principles follow from the Utopian Communalists' double dependency on God and their neighbors. The first is the norm of equality, and the second, the imperative of cooperation. If the Lord freely blesses the secular ambitions of one of his children yet allows everyday contingencies to frustrate another's worldly struggle, then only arrogance would permit the first to enjoy affluence while a brother or a sister suffers relative deprivation. And if it is God who ultimately blesses his children with the necessities of body and spirit, then it is incumbent upon brothers and sisters to share freely their Father's benevolence.

The Utopian's particularly Mormon roots reinforce the importance of equality. If our Heavenly Father would share everything he has and knows with his children, then surely a community of believers is obligated to share everything they have with each other.

An organic community based on equality cannot function effectively without a high degree of cooperation. Community members help and work with

each other to share scarce resources rather than to compete for them. This vision of the ideal community is, then, diametrically opposed to the inequality and competition that characterize economic life in either the Corporate Center or Entrepreneurial Right.

In addition to the defining characteristics of equality and cooperation, Mormon Utopians would no doubt add three more qualities to their vision of ideal communities: (1) community self-reliance, (2) voluntary simplicity, and (3) ecological integrity.

Community Self-Reliance

Community self-reliance is a long-standing Mormon ideal that has been honored much more in rhetoric than in practice. From the Utopian Communalist perspective, community self-reliance would be a venture in total commitment, moving beyond the limited contemporary practice of offering mutual aid to developing actual community independence. Congregations would become economically self-sufficient by growing their own food, making their own clothes, and constructing their own furniture. Self-reliant communities would benefit in two ways. First, spiritual benefits would flow from the intense cooperation community self-reliance demands. Second, a self-reliant community would be less vulnerable to a world system that relentlessly undermines community independence and ultimately destroys community itself.

Transnational corporations of the Corporate Center manage the resource flows that alternately impoverish and temporarily enrich the regions in which they operate. These powerful social actors desert productive communities to seek less expensive workers and then move on again when labor costs rise. Since the world system is based on values (competition and inequality) that are fundamentally antithetical to the Utopian Communalist's virtues of equality and cooperation, it is a system beyond remediation. The only alternative to the chronic compromises of living in this competitive economic system is separation in self-reliant communities.

This suggestion may be radical, but it is not unique. Hugh Nibley has analyzed the phenomenon of "Churches in the Wilderness": the not infrequent scriptural accounts of groups of believers trying to live God's laws separating themselves from those who ignore the Lord's directions. The Israelite flight from Egypt, the Book of Mormon migrations, and the record of separatist communities from the Dead Sea Scrolls all testify that utopian communities are not idiosyncratic in the flow of religious history. Referring to Lehi's predicament, Nibley observes, "A society on the brink of destruction is not a safe place to linger, and so we are immediately introduced to the *Rekhabite* motif: 'Come out of her, oh my people! Partake not of her sins lest ye partake of her plagues' (cf. Jeremiah 35)," and then on a more general level summarizes, "So here we have two sharply divided societies to whose *irreconcilable* views there is only one solution — *separation*" (1988, 15, 16, emphasis added).

Voluntary Simplicity

Self-reliance demands a style of living directly opposed to the high consumption ethos of mainstream America. Voluntary simplicity means the con-

scious choice of a simple, low-consumption lifestyle, not the "involuntary simplicity" of barren, unadorned poverty. Voluntary simplicity prefers spiritual goods over material and resembles the poet Wordsworth's ideal of "plain living and high thinking." [7]

Church members grown comfortable in an affluent middle America may strenuously object to what they foresee as the inevitable primitivism of community self-reliance. While it is certainly true that the ideals of voluntary simplicity and self-reliance diverge sharply from the advertised goals of a leisure-dominated high-technology future, the dramatic everyday difference that voluntary simplicity and community self-reliance would demand is as much a matter of attitude and awareness as a change in work routines. The new attitudes center on conservation and reinforce the prudent use of resources. These attitudes require an awareness of the repercussions of our actions and a constant monitoring of personal and community impact on the environment.

Ecological Integrity

The attitudes I speak of can be illustrated with a simple example. Rather than using five gallons of water to flush our toilets, shift our waste around the globe, and thus pollute other people's drinking water, we may redefine the once repugnant waste as a resource to be composted and transformed into rich, life-giving soil. We could turn technology toward ways of life that are self-sustaining and consciously cyclic, developing, for example, affordable composting toilets, passive solar heating, solar greenhouses, and material recycling.

Community self-reliance and voluntary simplicity reflect a way of life that is ecologically responsible. Ecological integrity springs from our most visible dependency, on the earth as a living host for humankind's spiritual pilgrimage. In the best tradition of Christian stewardship, Utopians would feel it our duty to care for and improve the gift of the good land the Lord has given us.

Despite my agrarian coloring of the Utopian vision of the good community, there is no reason why, at least in theory, urban versions of these communities would not prosper. Self-reliant urban homes and communities, however, are likely to have fish tanks in basements, chicken coops in the backyard, and intensive gardens on rooftops. Their residents would be involved in a variety of conservation activities and would trade produce and recycled goods within the neighborhood.[8]

Utopian Possibilities

With this sketch of the Utopian Communalists now before us, the question arises, how realistic is this vision? Are there significant numbers of Church members who hold a Utopian Communalist view of the world, however unarticulated their perspective might be? And more important, is there a critical

[7] Discussions of simple living can be found in Duane Elgin (1981), Warren Johnson (1985), and David Shi (1985). Or, in brief, I paraphrase from Ivan Illich's *Tools for Conviviality* (1973): "The good life will only arrive by bicycle."

[8] Visions and blueprints of self-reliant cities can be found in David Morris (1982), Sim Van der Rhyn and Peter Calthorpe (1986), and Nancy Jack Todd and John Todd (1984). A larger picture of self-reliant regions has been sketched out by Kirkpatric Sale (1985).

mass, however much of a minority, of Watchmen, or even influential Scribes, who subscribe to at least the outlines of the Utopian agenda? The answers, of course, are empirical and await verification by students of social character. Nevertheless, I would like to venture a few observations on the nature of the social and cultural forces that lead us both towards and away from the Utopian Communalist ideal.

I believe our heritage of communitarian experiments in Missouri and pre-statehood Utah, plus the modern emphasis on community and Church discipline at the ward level, influences Latter-day Saints who are Utopian Communalists at least in embryo. For example, the 1987 Relief Society course of study, *Learn of Me*, discusses the failure of the Missouri experiment but holds out the promise that "we expect to be allowed to live these principles [united order/law of consecration] someday" (1986, 60).

If so, then the utopian communities may turn out to be only an extension, though a very critical and fundamental extension, of a Mormon ward's organization. The ward "owns" its members' time and at least part of their money. The bishopric spends members' donations on their behalf and extends calls and releases to positions. No one claims exclusive rights to any ward position, and few would give more than a passing thought to their budget contributions being used to purchase Primary supplies. Consequently, while a move to a more pervasive community could not be accomplished without its own special brand of trauma, it would in reality be a matter of organizational progression, rather than one of discontinuity.

The question of history, however, haunts any discussion of Mormon communitarianism. Will separate Mormon communities be tolerated in the late twentieth century any more than they were in the nineteenth? While a definitive answer is impossible, it is worth noting the general cultural permissiveness of contemporary society. The "do your own thing" mentality may not denounce Mormon separatism as anything other than peculiar. Difficulties, though, would come as the Mormon communities became powerful and independent actors in local and regional economies, prompting animosity from smaller and less well-organized competitors. But if such communities took seriously the ideals of self-sufficiency and simple living, the impact on their neighbors would likely be less threatening.

The different lifestyles and encounters with the outside world of the Hutterites and the Amish are instructive in terms of the resistance separate Mormon communities might face. The Hutterites participate actively in regional and international economies, though their production is communal. Consequently, there have been legislative attempts to control Hutterite expansion in Western Canada. On the other hand, the noncommunal, but cooperative Amish, living much simpler lives, appear to suffer more from cultural-religious discrimination.

But utopian communities do have to count on resistance. The question, however, in terms of Mormon social character is whether the majority of us have become so acculturated into the American mainstream that we now lack the will even to consider the possibility of separate and all-encompassing com-

munities. If much of the influential leadership of the Church has grown comfortable in Middle America, then it is likely that only a series of very severe social crises will create a climate for a reexamination, revelation, and reapplication of the communitarian past.

Are we, though, not close to the crisis of another Great Depression and the anarchy that could trail Watts-like behind it? The crucial question for the Cassandra in me is not so much whether there will be another Great Depression, but its depth and breadth — and, more important, what will we do about it when it comes. While Pollyannas talk about "safeguards" and lessons learned from the last depression, it seems to the Cassandras unlikely that a major crisis can sidestep so many critical and interrelated variables: debt (Third World, corporate, farm, and consumer), deficits (pushed by an unproductive military buildup), trade imbalances, expensive environmental repairs, technological unemployment (the microchip revolution), deindustrialization, and heightened social and economic polarization. All these ills are exacerbated by unadorned greed in all its individual manifestations and in the corporate dictum: migrate, automate, or evaporate! Will the remedy to the crash be New Deal/Neo-Liberal policies that will give the world more "bread lines knee-deep in wheat" (Poppendieck 1986), or might tightly knit groups like the Church seize the time to construct just social orders?

My immediate concern, however, is not the future. It is a more fundamental and profound moral crisis that has haunted us for some time already. I see it in the contrast between the corpulence of East Bench Salt Lake and the hollow eyes of children from Manila's Smoky Mountain — a garbage dump where thousands live. Surely the gospel can redeem the children of Smoky Mountain, but how long must we wait for its liberating powers to flow freely? Will we have to wait until Watchmen and Scribes begin to lose their positions of sinecure in the Corporate Center and then find that the solutions to their problems are the same solutions that could even now feed the hungry and clothe the naked of God's Church?

Conclusion

Each of the characterizations described in this essay is a composite of social tensions, strains, and contradictions. The Entrepreneurs, heirs of much of Mormon political folk life, find themselves increasingly on the margins of a once parochial church that now moves in the world of the Corporate Center. Scribes, the Liahona element of the Corporate Center, see themselves as progressives, trying to push and pull their church into open dialogue with the aggrieved elements of a liberal coalition (women, single parents, ethnic minorities, and homosexuals). Watchmen, the Iron Rods of the Corporate Center, cautiously move the Church forward, representing the Church as the embodiment of all that is noble in the American dream, yet lashing out at the moral decay that surrounds the institutions they cherish. The Utopian Communalists possess no identifiable constituency. They suffer in isolation the frustrations of being so close yet so far from the community they covet, while they wait for the Church they love to divorce itself from the American center.

This picture presents Mormon social character in its various manifestations as ill-at-ease in its several environments, if not in turmoil. Mormonism has yet to define its character, or its characters. As a movement that demands solidarity of purpose, it is deeply troubled by growing diversity. Yet it is this identity crisis that gives the Church part of its dynamic quality. As long as the social character of the Church does not calcify, the dialectic of its everyday confrontation with the world and its own faithful members still carries the possibility of moving it towards the fulfillment of its original promises.

Richard Poll's essay, which inspired this exercise in social analysis, did not attempt to characterize the personality of an entire church and charter its movement. Poll's intent was to announce to the LDS community that there is more than one kind of committed Church member. Poll's primary concern was authoritarianism, as he attempted to carve a niche for the Liahonas, archetypical free-thinking believers. Much of my analysis turns instead on the issues of inequality and social justice.[9] My Utopian Communalists are thoroughly egalitarian.

What are we to make of our differences? Much of Mormon critical thought, both before and after Poll, has been preoccupied with authoritarianism in its various manifestations, from patriarchy to political orthodoxy. Mormon authoritarianism is not an issue I wish to ignore. I have defined the Charismatic attitude as a third alternative and more independent relation to religious authority, in contrast to Iron Rod compliance. But my analysis leads me to wonder whether authoritarianism is not analytically epiphenomenal, though very real in its everyday consequences. At its root, authoritarianism springs from inequality. (Those in authority are "superior" to those they direct.) And so I cannot help believing that if we were somehow to come together, men and women raising children and working side by side both in the kitchen and the machine shop, we would in one way or another resolve the problem of authoritarianism, though not without pain and vigilance.[10]

In the meantime, I will continue to enjoy my associations with fellow Saints, however limited I consider those relationships to be. My love of things Mormon sustains me. While the portraits of the social types painted above were

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[9] Even at the end of the essay I still feel the need to clarify and reemphasize my overriding concern. Material inequality is not the problem as much as its inevitable by-product: a community where members unequally possess the resources for self-actualization. I do not for one moment, though, doubt that a loving Father will "consecrate [the] afflictions" of his disadvantaged children "for [their eternal] gain" (2 Ne. 2:2). But I am worried about what the conservation of however slight an advantage might mean for the spiritual welfare of the rest of us, both here and in the hereafter.

[10] My use of "kitchen" and "machine shop" is thoroughly self-conscious. I work from the assumption that much of inequality and consequent authoritarianism is rooted in dependency and its associated powerlessness. It seems more than coincidence that women in the Church during the first part of this century lost their institutional rights to healing, laying on of hands, and washing and anointings (Newell 1987) at the same time they were becoming progressively dependent economically (males *outside* the home becoming primarily income earners). Mutual economic dependence, whether on the frontier or in a utopian community, patriarchical rhetoric notwithstanding, is a potent resource for correcting gender inequality. For a cross-cultural treatment of the material bases of dependence and mutual dependence and their outcomes, see Bossen 1984.

not uncritical, in the end I celebrate the diversity that is Mormonism, convinced that in this imperfect world, or even in a perfect one, oneness does not have to mean sameness.

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Three Poems for My Mother

Philip White

For Your Birthday: Planting in the Rain

Halfway through, a dogged rain
sluiced down, skin-slapping
and unseasonably cold, slopping the soil
at our shoes, filling the holes
with brown puddles showing plashed

glimpses of the sky's broken gray.
Then he pitched in, fell
to his knees in the slick mud,
splayed roots and sickened color
of his own hands in the holes so we,

sinking, too, in the slime and shivering,
could press soil around them and pour
in root starter he'd mixed in one of his womb-
shaped flasks. All this, near the end
of his five years' tenure in hell,

an existence in which every breath and move
meant suffering. And you stood by,
nervous at his exertion, suffering it,
the way a child must suffer forever
the mystery of his mother's love

and pain — suffering it,
because it was for you.

PHILIP WHITE lives in Provo, Utah. This collection of poems won second place in DIALOGUE*'s 1987 poetry awards.*

Fall Canker

In October, rose blight
overran the roots and stems,
flecks infecting the skin
like scabs or tiny cancers.
Still, the night he died,

your crimson-tipped buds,
pronged the vitiated light.
You hovered in the dark hush
of a room filled with flowers
and the presence of the dead,

and everyone marveled.
But, young, at odds with life,
and bewildered by such easy
grace, how could I accept
your faith, unless I'd seen

your pain, your terror?
Two years now. Mother,
the canker this fall
has taken the rose buds.
Only so much corrupt life

can be cropped away by cold,
well-meaning shears.

A Place for Roses

The spring moon sheds
its bloodless gray tonight,
and the pruned thorns spread
their dead stick shadows
like a hand of blessing

across the prints
from your canvas shoes.
All day you spent digging
about the roots, loosening
the soil, turning in

bone meal and nutrients.
Tonight, something in me
stirs at the memory
of the ruddy leaf shoots,
furled and tender skinned,

that now are horned
and liverspotted and stiff.
After your day of labor
I can almost believe
these lopped, ill limbs

will rise up
and bear life.

Fawn Brodie and Her Quest for Independence

Newell G. Bringhurst

FAWN MCKAY BRODIE IS KNOWN IN MORMON CIRCLES primarily for her controversial 1945 biography of Joseph Smith — *No Man Knows My History.* Because of this work she was excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In the 23 May 1946 summons, William H. Reeder, president of the New England Mission, charged her with apostasy:

> You assert matters as truths which deny the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, the restoration of the Priesthood and of Christ's Church through the instrumentality of the Prophet Joseph Smith, contrary to the beliefs, doctrines, and teachings of the Church.

This reaction did not surprise the author of the biography. For Brodie had approached the Mormon prophet from a "naturalistic perspective" — that is, she saw him as having primarily non-religious motives. As she later noted: "I was convinced before I ever began writing that Joseph Smith was not a true Prophet" (1975, 10). Writing *No Man Knows My History* was Brodie's declaration of independence from Mormonism. In the words of Richard S. Van Wagoner, Brodie's "compulsion to rid herself of the hooks that Mormonism had embedded in her soul centered on her defrocking Joseph Smith" (1982, 32). She herself, in a 4 November 1959 letter to her uncle, Dean Brimhall, described the writing of the biography as "a desperate effort to come to terms with my childhood."

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FAWN MCKAY BRODIE, 1931

Fawn McKay Brodie came from patrician Mormon stock.[1] Her paternal grandfather, David McKay, helped found Huntsville, the small Utah farming community ten miles east of Ogden where she grew up. Her father, Thomas E. McKay, was a respected Church leader who served as president of the Swiss-German Mission and later as president of the Ogden Stake for nineteen years. Politically active, he had been president of the Utah Senate and later state public utilities commissioner. His older brother and hence Fawn's uncle, David O. McKay, was already a member of the Quorum of the Twelve when Fawn was born. On her mother's side, Fawn's grandfather, George H. Brimhall, served as president of Brigham Young University from 1904 to 1921. Her mother, Fawn Brimhall (for whom she was named), was an accomplished water-colorist of minor renown.

Fawn, the second of five children, early demonstrated her exceptional intellectual abilities. Her older sister Flora recalled:

> When I was five and Fawn three, I remember mother trying to teach me to repeat the poem "Little Orphan Annie." I was struggling just to learn the first verse. One morning [when] mother and dad were in bed and we were playing at the foot of the bed . . . mother asked me to say the poem. I just barely got past the first verse and stopped. Fawn piped up, "Let me say it mother," and she went through all three verses without one mistake (Crawford n.d.).

When Flora was six and due to begin first grade, an epidemic of whooping cough persuaded the McKays to teach her at home rather than send her to school. Her mother taught her to read, write, and do simple arithmetic. Four-year-old Fawn was eager to learn along with her older sister, and by the following spring, she was reading fourth grade books. When she was formally enrolled in school two years later at age six, she was initially placed in the third grade because she was already reading at a sixth grade level. Convinced of her exceptional ability, the principal gave Fawn an IQ test and found that "she went over the top score" (Crawford 1988). He then promoted the bright six-year-old to the fourth grade.

In a schoolwide spelling bee held during that fourth grade year, Fawn defeated everyone in grades four through six except for one sixth grader, a bright twelve-year-old, twice her age. She wrote poetry, and when she was nine *Child Life*, a national literary magazine for children, published one of her poems. She later recalled that it was "an unspeakable thrill to see my name in print. I had fantasies about writing great short stories and fine novels [but] did nothing about it" at the time (Berges 1977).[2]

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[1] Aside from Shirley E. Stephenson's oral history interview of Fawn Brodie, her sisters and brother are the most useful sources for her early life. Flora McKay Crawford has recorded her memories, "Flora on Fawn," and in 1982 Barbara McKay Smith presented an address, "Recollections of Fawn M. Brodie," to the Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, Provo, Utah.

[2] There is some confusion about the children's publication that published Fawn's poem. She told Marshall Berges that it was "a Mormon church children's magazine" (1977, 8). However, according to Flora McKay Crawford (n.d.), the poem was published in *Child Life*, a nonreligious journal published in the Midwest.

Fawn's precocity, however, was not without its price. Because she was three to four years younger than her classmates, she was "quite insecure" and reticent (P. Brodie 1988; McKay 1987). Her sister Flora (who was in the same grade) was much more at ease.

Fawn attended school dances, which were generally stag affairs. One former classmate, Louis A. Gladwell, recalled that Fawn, despite being skinny, tall (she ultimately reached 5'10"), and "kind of gawky," glided across the dance floor gracefully. Her personality was sunny and upbeat, and Gladwell recalled her declaration that "she intended to enjoy life to its fullest, to hear the lovely music, read the great books, and enjoy the hills and dells of Huntsville" (1981; 1988). Although only thirteen, by the end of her sophomore year, Fawn was dating, on a steady basis, Dilworth Jensen who, according to Dilworth's daughter Patricia, was also from Huntsville and five years older (P. Jensen 1988). Fawn herself described Dilworth as "tender, sweet, witty, [and] gallant," noting in her later recollections that she "fell passionately in love" with him (F. Brodie 1980). But theirs was a stimulating intellectual relationship as well. Barbara, Fawn's younger sister, recalled that when they would attend a dance, "they would generally just stand in one spot . . . so absorbed with conversation that many times they weren't aware when the music stopped" (Smith 1982, 11). Fawn and Dilworth frequently double-dated with her older sister Flora, who was seeing Dilworth's older brother Leslie.

Fawn attempted to overcome her shyness by participating in school activities, student government, and especially debate. A vivid storyteller, she spoke frequently in student assemblies, won two state-wide oratorical contests, and was a member of the Weber debate team that took the state championship. An excellent student, she was salutatorian for the Weber High class of 1930. She was fourteen.

Besides the difficulties of trying to fit in socially with older classmates, Fawn was aware that her parents did not have the same approach to their Mormon beliefs. She described her father as "very devout" and felt that through his quiet assertiveness "he was always pulling me, trying to pull me back into the Mormon community" as she grew older and started drawing away. By contrast, she characterized her mother as "a kind of quiet heretic." This made it "much easier for me. Her heresy was very quiet, and took the form mostly of encouraging me to be on my own. But this made for some family difficulties, too" (1975, 4).

Fawn, however, was involved with the Huntsville ward both spiritually and socially. According to Keith Jensen, a neighbor and long-time Huntsville resident, she taught a Sunday School class and frequently spoke or gave poetry readings as a member of the local congregation (K. Jensen 1988). Much of her recreation centered around the ward's youth group, known as "the Builders Club." It was here that she developed her long-lasting relationship with Dilworth Jensen. In Huntsville ward meetings, moreover, Fawn expressed her own religious beliefs. Her brother Thomas recalled that in a particular fast and testimony meeting, Fawn got up and "bore a beautiful testimony" asserting her belief in the truthfulness of the restored gospel (McKay 1986).

After graduating from Weber High School, Fawn enrolled at Weber College, a junior college in Ogden run by the Church. Fawn continued to excel in forensics and was a star debater, winning almost all of her debates. She traveled as far as Chicago to participate in intercollegiate contests. In 1932, sixteen-year-old Fawn and her older sister Flora graduated from Weber College together. Flora later recalled: "Our father was president of the Weber College board and he was so proud" when he presented his two daughters with their diplomas (Crawford n.d.).

Fawn entered the University of Utah in Salt Lake City in the fall of 1932.[3] As she recalled, "these were the deadliest of the depression years," and she felt "lucky . . . to be in college at all" (1981, 86). Away from home for the first time, she and Flora shared an apartment a half mile below campus. At first, Fawn continued her debate activities, but during that first year "something happened," she recalled, "to dull my appetite for confrontation and the heady satisfaction of winning." Fawn developed "a revulsion at our debater's practice of canvassing the documents on the nation's suffering only for the purpose of finding arguments with which to win." At this turning point, "whatever fleeting fantasies" she may have "had about going into law and politics, [although] never articulated" to her parents, "vanished at this point forever" (1981, 90–91).

Fleeing from what she described as "both national . . . and personal problems," Fawn turned inward to the "fantasy world of literature." During what she characterized as "the three most rewarding months of study of my life," she "read almost all of Shakespeare, a fair sampling of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Corneille, and Racine, and . . . developed a taste for Russian novels to which" she "later became an addict." The "Gargantuan literary feast" revived her childhood dream of "writing great short stories and fine novels." But this dream was dashed with "ineffable bitterness" as Fawn learned from her teachers that she had "no talent" for writing fiction. Later, she noted philosophically that "it was useful to have had it pointed out so early, though I clung for several years to the illusion" that this assessment was "in error" (F. Brodie 1981).

Fawn's experiences at the University of Utah also began to create tensions with her heritage of Latter-day Saint beliefs. According to her older sister Flora, Fawn "began doubting the strong ties she had with the Church" (F. Brodie 1975; Crawford n.d.). In Fawn's own words, "I was devout until I went to the University of Utah." She began to move "out of the parochialism of the Mormon community." But this separation "was tentative and constantly subject to testing." She noted that the "Socratic questioning" of her philosophy professor, E. E. Erickson, "gently shook the faith of some of us who were devout, but did not raise tumultuous anxieties." In one of her English classes, she remembered reading Milton's *Paradise Lost* where Satan, despite being "wrong headed and vulnerable, had heroic qualities and was far more likeable than the omnipotent Jehovah." The impact on her religious faith was

[3] Fawn Brodie's experiences at the University of Utah are vividly described in "It Happened Very Quietly," including in *Remembering, The University of Utah* (1981).

"subtle but indelible." In another English class, she recalled "the delicately worded criticism" of a professor who had encouraged her to write a research paper on the Latter-day Saint missionary system — a paper which she conceded "had echoed only the propaganda of the faithful." Fawn summed up her two years at the University of Utah as "a quiet kind of moving out into . . . the larger society and learning that the center of the universe was not Salt Lake City as I had been taught as a child" (F. Brodie 1975; 1981).

She did not discuss her growing doubts with her father or any other family member. According to Fawn's younger sister, Louise, there was a complete absence of dialogue, particularly between Fawn and her father. Whenever Fawn would attempt to raise questions, the only thing her father would say was, "You've got to believe" (Card 1986). She later recalled in a 4 November 1959 letter to her uncle Dean Brimhall, "We both found it impossible to communicate on the subject, as on most others." She attributed this lack of communication to a McKay family tendency to avoid unpleasant matters.

Fawn completed her university studies in 1934 and was awarded a bachelor of arts degree in English with high honors (joining Phi Kappa Phi, the scholastic honor society). At the age of eighteen the new graduate returned to Ogden and Weber College to teach English for the modest salary of sixty dollars a month. Although she was younger than most of her students, her cousin Jeannette McKay Morrell (a college English teacher herself), recalled in a letter to Fawn's sister Barbara that Fawn "did a beautiful job" and "taught rings around a great many of the long-established teachers" (Morrell n.d.).

But her doubts persisted. According to Flora, Fawn "began looking into the history of the Church . . . particularly the founder Joseph Smith." This, in turn, affected her still flourishing relationship with Dilworth Jensen. Dilworth had been called to the Swiss-German Mission at the beginning of Fawn's freshman year at Weber College, and Fawn had maintained close contact through weekly letters. He returned home in June 1933, enrolled that fall at the University of Utah, and was, thus, with Fawn her senior year. When Dilworth completed his bachelor's degree in zoology in June 1935, both he and Fawn were awarded graduate fellowships at the University of California at Berkeley. They even talked of marriage (P. Jensen 1988b).

But Fawn's persistent questioning of Latter-day Saint beliefs created difficulties. Dilworth, firmly committed himself to Church tenets, became "very frustrated and worried" as he observed Fawn's problems with Church history and doctrine. Fawn, her strong attachment to Dilworth notwithstanding, was concerned about their present and future religious compatibility (F. Brodie 1980; P. Brodie 1988; P. Jensen 1988a). A potential impasse was averted when Flora, over her parents' objections, eloped with Leslie Jensen, Dilworth's older brother. The McKays apparently feared that Fawn and Dilworth might follow their course, and so Fawn and her parents mutually agreed that she would not go to Berkeley but would instead attend graduate school at the University of Chicago (Crawford 1986; P. Brodie 1988; P. Jensen 1988a).

Fawn's departure for Chicago was undoubtedly the turning point in her life. Living away from Utah for the first time, "she met . . . people with tre-

mendous intellectual curiosity and completely open minds" (B. Brodie 1983). But at the same time, she maintained ties both with Church members and Utahns. She was active in the "Utah Club," a group of University of Chicago students who occasionally got together socially (Larson 1988). She also continued certain Latter-day Saint practices despite her doubts. According to Fawn's daughter, Pamela, Fawn prayed every night before going to bed (1988). Fawn, moreover, continued to correspond on a daily basis with Dilworth, at Berkeley pursuing his own graduate studies (F. Brodie 1980; P. Jensen 1988b).

However, Fawn asserted her independence from her Mormon heritage with some apparent success:

> the confining aspects of the Mormon religion dropped off within a few weeks . . . . It was like taking off a hot coat in the summertime. The sense of liberation I had at the University of Chicago was enormously exhilarating. I felt very quickly that I could never go back to the old life, and I never did (F. Brodie 1975, 3).

And after she met fellow student Bernard Brodie, she completely severed her relationship with Dilworth Jensen. She was working in the school cafeteria, serving free second cups of coffee — a job that she got because she was tall and could be seen across the large dining hall — when a mutual friend introduced her to Bernard. He was immediately attracted to Fawn, who was not only very intelligent but statuesque, beautiful, and sociable.

In turn, Bernard was unlike anybody Fawn had ever known in Utah, having grown up in Chicago "surrounded by tenements . . in a lower-middle-class family" of Latvian-Jewish immigrants (Berges 1977). But like Fawn, he was articulate, extremely bright, and charming. According to their son Bruce, Bernard was "quite a romantic, and along with bringing [Fawn] flowers each day, would recite poetry to her and take her horseback riding in the parks" (1983, 5–6). Fawn's parents had strong reservations about the match. Flora recalled that the McKay family fasted and prayed for a week that the objectionable marriage would not come to pass (Crawford 1988). But it was a whirlwind courtship.

On 25 August 1936, the day that Fawn received her M.A. in English and after a mere six weeks of courtship, Fawn and Bernard were married in Chicago, interestingly enough, in the local Mormon ward. Fawn consented to be married there, despite her growing alienation from the Church, in order to please her mother (P. Brodie 1988). Indeed, Fawn's mother was the only one of either set of parents to attend the wedding. "And she," according to Bruce Brodie, "came from Salt Lake City to Chicago as much to talk my mother out of it as to attend the wedding" (1985, 5). Pamela Brodie recalls her mother telling her that because the local Mormon ward served as the site of the wedding, Bernard's side of the family was offended, particularly his mother and brothers who declined to attend (P. Brodie 1988). However, Bernard Brodie's younger brother, Leonard, recalls that tensions and conflicts within the Brodie family itself were more responsible for his family's decision not to attend (L. Brody 1988). Whatever the case, Fawn was only twenty and according to

her son, "had to lie about her age to get her marriage license" (1983, 5).

Shortly after her marriage, the new Mrs. Brodie began the research which led to the publication of *No Man Knows My History* seven years later. To some extent, her initial research on the life of Joseph Smith was an effort to answer the questions of a husband "totally new to the Mormon scene. . . . Answering his questions," Fawn later noted, stimulated her "to find out the roots and sources of what Joseph Smith's ideas were." She started out "*not* to write a biography of Joseph Smith but to write a short article about the sources of the Book of Mormon." But, as she pursued her research, she found there was "no good biography of Joseph Smith" and so undertook the task herself (F. Brodie 1975, 6–7).

Researching and writing about Joseph Smith would moreover enable Brodie to secure independence from her Mormon heritage and thus relieve the tensions between her secular learning and what she perceived as the apparent naivete of Mormon beliefs. Her questions, although long antedating her marriage to Bernard Brodie, intensified as she pursued her research and writing following her graduation in 1936. Since Bernard had not completed his doctoral program, she remained at the university and secured a job in the school library entailing minimal duties. Fawn was left with a significant amount of time for her own pursuits.

During these years, she was particularly close to her uncle, Dean Brimhall, her mother's younger brother. Brimhall, a Columbia Ph.D. in psychology, was then an administrative assistant in the Department of Labor Management of the Works Progress Administration. As he was also known as a free thinker and critic of various aspects of Mormon doctrine and practice, Fawn felt comfortable confiding to him her doubts and concerns.

In 1937, following Brimhall's lead, Fawn took an interest in the Church Security Program (later known as the Welfare Program), at the time touted by Church leaders as a Mormon version of the WPA. The Church Security Program was initiated in April 1936 in reaction to the anticipated curtailment of federal relief. Although this program aided many destitute Church members, both Brodie and Brimhall felt that Church officials overstated the program's impact in taking Church members off federal relief rolls. Their point was that the Church was deliberately creating the illusion that it had removed "most or all of its members from public assistance" rolls through its Welfare Program (F. Brodie 1937). But in reality, the number and percentage of Church members receiving public assistance remained high. Brimhall, who studied the issue carefully, remarked to a friend in late 1937 that "only six states had a 'higher load' on the Emergency Works Program than Utah." [4]

Prompted and encouraged by Brimhall to make her own study of the problem, Brodie arrived at the same conclusions but also suggested in a 13 April 1937 letter to her uncle that the Church, in collecting tithes and other donations to be used in its relief efforts, was "actually making money on the whole business." In this same letter, she confided that "I have been working up this

[4] See Heinerman and Shupe (1985, 181–87) for an account of the Church Security Program.

paper which I hope will be worthwhile to someone if it ever sees the light of publication." But if it were to be published, she continued,

> I shall take the utmost pains to prevent anyone from home discovering who wrote it. I have too deep a regard for daddy and mother to let them know my present attitude toward the plan, and the Church as a whole, especially since I am trying to make a minor move against it.

But then she concluded, "It's all very complicated and sometimes a little sickening." Brodie's inner conflicts were clearly evident.

Latter-day Saint activity in Nazi Germany during the late 1930s further alienated her. Brodie's reaction had a familial aspect, due in part to her immediate family's "quasi-German heritage." Thomas E. McKay had served two Church missions in Germany: the first during the 1890s and the second just before World War I, when still unmarried and in his mid-thirties, he was called as president of the Swiss-German mission. Indeed, it was during his second mission in Germany that he met his future wife, Fawn Brimhall. She had been vacationing in Europe and had stopped off in Germany to visit her missionary brother Dean, who then introduced his sister to Thomas McKay. In the late 1930s, Brodie's younger brother, Thomas B. McKay, was also called as a missionary to Germany, and shortly thereafter the Church dispatched her father to Switzerland to serve first as president of the Swiss-German mission and then as president of the Swiss-Austrian mission. The elder McKay's jurisdiction eventually came to include Church affairs not only in Germany but elsewhere on the continent.

Fawn Brodie, therefore, had more than a passing interest in pre-war Nazi Germany. The Church's position there had become increasingly precarious as Nazi officials placed more and more restrictions on Church activities. Alfred C. Rees, mission president for eastern Germany, attempted to ease the situation by currying favor with Nazi officials. In early 1939 he wrote an article describing those features within Mormonism he thought would appeal to Germans. His article, "In the Land of the Mormons," was published in the Nazi Party's propaganda sheet, the *Volkischer Beobachter*. Brodie, made aware of this controversial development by family members close to the scene, was further distressed to learn that "Rees has encouraged all of the missionaries to write [similar] articles for the local [German] newspapers." In a 14 June 1939 letter to Dean Brimhall, Fawn commented on the semi-official Church position vis-a-vis the general German situation: "If the *Deseret News* is careful not to offend Germany, and I gather from your statements that it is falling over backwards on the attempt, it is my guess that first of all the Church is afraid of complete banishment."

Brodie continued in this same letter to comment on the critical situation of German-Jewish refugees as Nazi persecution intensified during the late 1930s. The Church, she complained, did not confront this issue editorially in the *Deseret News* and thus appeared oblivious to its moral dimensions. Although Brodie was also sensitive to the difficulty of the Mormon position, noting that "the Church [in Germany] can ill afford persecution at this

moment," she also attributed Latter-day Saint evasiveness to "the latent anti-Semitism which exists in every area as provincial as Utah and which is not dispelled by the Church doctrine that we are all of the 'blood of Israel.' " She ended the letter with a touch of ironic sarcasm: "I can just hear the good brethren . . . at home saying — 'of course the persecution of the Jews is terrible but God moves in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform.' "

On this issue Brodie once again reflected her own ambivalence. On the one hand, she was very aware of the Church's quandary in Nazi Germany — difficulties that directly involved her immediate family. But, at the same time, she was indignant at what she perceived as Latter-day Saint indifference to the German persecution of the Jews — an issue that assumed particular relevance by virtue of her marriage to Bernard.

During the same period, Bernard himself found it difficult to secure an academic position, despite his intellect and his Ph.D. in international relations from the University of Chicago. According to his son Bruce, Bernard attributed the difficulty "at least in part" to being Jewish since "at that time many institutions still openly discriminated against Jews" (1983, 7). Eventually Bernard was offered a position at Dartmouth College, and in 1941 the Brodies moved to Hanover, New Hampshire.

Encouraged by her uncle Dean Brimhall, apparently Fawn had begun to think seriously about writing a biography of Joseph Smith in late 1938 or early 1939. In the same 14 June 1939 letter Dean Brimhall mentioned above, she also outlined the research she had completed and added, "I hope sometime to be able to turn out a genuinely scholarly biography."

But the biography would be no mere academic exercise. By this time, Joseph Smith had become the focus of her accumulated grievances. Convinced that he "was not a true prophet" and that she had found real answers, Brodie would flesh out her convictions and supply her answers in an account of his life that would invalidate his claims to a divine mission. This would enable her not only to reject Joseph Smith and hence the authority of the Church, but also to satisfy her need to understand and explain by supplying a naturalistic interpretation of his life. Once an alternate version was in place, she could free herself from all the baggage of Mormonism.

According to her son Bruce, Fawn "felt an intense sense of betrayal but was working through in a way an equally intense childhood love for [Joseph Smith] who had been vitally important [to her] as a young Mormon" (1983, 12). Brodie in 1975 maintained that she had been "conned" and two years later elaborated that she "simply had to know whether I'd been taught the truth, years earlier in Sunday School" (F. Brodie 1975; Berges 1977). "The whole problem of his credibility," Brodie maintained, "was crying out for some explanation" (1975, 7).

Smith's credibility was apparently further undermined in Brodie's eyes by the results of concurrent research being done by scholars on the life and activities of James Jessie Strang — the schismatic Mormon leader. M. Wilford Poulson, a professor of psychology at Brigham Young University, whom Brodie knew well and corresponded with, had decifered the coded portions of Strang's

"Diary," revealing a different, albeit mercenary side of Strang contrasting to his public image of religious piety. According to writer Samuel W. Taylor, the diary revealed Strang to be "intensely ambitious but frustrated until he deliberately became a fake prophet strictly for what was in it for Strang — the pomp and trappings of authority, the wealth from tithes, the adulation of the flock and the choice of pretty girls for plural wives." Taylor later recalled that Brodie "learned of Strang's code from Poulson and applied Strang's attitudes to Joseph Smith" (1978, 232).

In retrospect, Fawn Brodie summarized her varied motives for writing her biography of Joseph Smith:

> It was a rather compulsive thing. I had to. It was partly that I wanted to answer a lot of questions for myself. There were many questions that no one had answered for me. I certainly did not get any of the answers in Utah. Having discovered the answers and being excited about them, I felt that I wanted to give other young doubting Mormons a chance to see the evidence. That, plus the fact that I had always wanted to write, made it possible — not made it possible — made it *imperative* that I do a serious piece of history (1975, 10).

In explaining to Dale Morgan why she wrote the book, Brodie placed her motives in a somewhat different perspective. In a 23 May 1946 letter to Juanita Brooks, he passed on Fawn's explanation that the biography served her the same way "the autobiographical novel serves many other writers; it has been a kind of catharsis" (Walker 1986, 121). The ambivalence, however, did not go away. She admitted that "there was always anxiety along with [this work] because I knew it would be difficult for my family." And she added, "I . . . always felt guilty about the destructive nature" of the book. But at the same time, she confessed that she found the "detective work" involved in exposing Joseph Smith as a "fraud" or "imposter" to be variously "fun," "fascinating," or "exciting" (F. Brodie 1975, 10, 15; 1939).

Brodie's inner conflicts were reflected in other ways as she got deep into her research and writing. In a 14 October 1943 letter to her fellow author and close friend, Claire Noal, she confessed: "More and more I am coming to believe that the great biography of Joseph Smith will be a fictionalized one." She continued: "There is plenty of evidence to write a book without fictionalizing, but to bring to life the man's inner character, to display all the facets of his infinitely complex nature, requires I think the novelist's perception rather than the historians digging." Brodie then concluded "I shall have to be content with the latter."

Despite such conflicts (or more properly, because of them), she completed the biography. It took her approximately seven years from late 1938 (or early 1939) until its publication in November 1945. The "major research" was done in the University of Chicago Library, which had "a great collection" of western New York State history. Brodie also made extensive use of materials in the New York State Library at Albany, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress. She also examined materials in the Huntington Library, Western Reserve Library, the library of the Reorganized LDS Church in Independence, Missouri, and in the collection of the LDS Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City (F. Brodie 1945, xi).

Brodie apparently began synthesizing the results of her research after the Brodies moved to Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1941. She had the assistance of both her husband Bernard and Dale L. Morgan in this difficult task. In her 14 June 1939 letter to Dean Brimhall, Fawn credited her husband with providing "a detachment" she could "never have" and acting as "a first-rate literary critic." According to her acknowledgments, he "read the manuscript many times, each time effecting some improvement in its literary qualities" (F. Brodie 1945, xi).

Fawn also relied heavily on the help of Dale L. Morgan, whom she first met in 1943 when they were both living in Washington, D.C. Brodie and Morgan became immediate friends with Morgan quickly assuming the role of mentor. Morgan "went through the manuscript with painstaking care," utilizing his skills as "an exacting historian and penetrating critic" (F. Brodie 1945, xi). Moreover, both Bernard Brodie and Dale Morgan exerted a moderating influence on Fawn, urging her to be less negative in her assessment of Joseph Smith. In a 29 January 1979 letter to Revere Hansen, Brodie disclosed:

> The volume would have been a harsher indictment of Joseph Smith had it not been for [Bernard's] influence. I was angered by the obvious nature of the fraud in his writing of the *Book of Mormon*; I felt that his revelations all came out of needs of the moment and had nothing to do with God, and I thought the frantic search for wives in the last four years of his life betrayed a libertine nature that was to me at the time quite shocking. My husband kept urging me to look at the man's genius, to explain his successes, and to make sure that the reader understood why so many people loved him, and believed in him. If there is real compassion for Joseph Smith in the book, and I believe there is, it is more the result of the influence of my husband than anyone else.

Dale Morgan assessed a preliminary draft of Brodie's manuscript as "oversimplified in its point of view." Morgan told her in his undated letter,

> I am particularly struck with the assumption your ms. makes that Joseph was a self-conscious imposter. . . . Your own point of view is much too hard and fast, to my way of thinking; it is too coldly logical in its conception of Joseph's mind and the development of his character. Your view of him is all hard edges, without any of those blurrings which are more difficult to cope with but which constitute a man in the round.

He proposed that the biography

> should be so written that Mormon, anti-Mormon, and non-Mormon alike can go into the biography and read it with agreement — disagreeing often in detail, perhaps but observing that you have noted the points of disagreement and that while you set forth your point of view, you do not claim that you have Absolute Truth by the tail.

However Brodie may have moderated her assessment of Joseph Smith, it was not enough for the leaders of the Church. In May 1946, six months after the publication of *No Man Knows My History*, the Church moved to excommunicate her. Two Mormon missionaries came to Brodie's home in New Haven, Connecticut, with a letter asking her to appear before a bishop's court in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to defend herself. According to her account, she "simply wrote in reply that I would not be present," later adding "because after all, I was a heretic." She was then "officially excommunicated and got a letter to that effect" (1975, 4; 27 May 1946.).

Although it seemed that Fawn Brodie had achieved her long-sought independence from Mormonism, even at this critical point, she manifested apparent inner conflict. According to Wallace Stegner's account, later corroborated by Fawn herself, "she came to Dean Brimhall in tears, and . . . could hardly be comforted because she was so disrupted to be disfellowshipped" (1983, 109–10). Aware that her uncle had relayed the details of this incident to her mother and father, Fawn wrote them 2 June 1946, "I hope Dean didn't give you an exaggerated picture of my own attitude. It was just that I could see so clearly what it might mean for you and Daddy. . . . I felt badly about it in the beginning because it seemed to symbolize how completely I had burned my bridges behind me." She never associated with another church. Years later, in an 18 October 1967 letter to Monseigner Jerome Stoffel, Brodie confessed that she had dismissed all religion as "only a complication in my life," asserting that "abandoning religion altogether has been a wholly liberating experience."

But the independence was less than complete. According to her brother Thomas B. McKay, Fawn "never really left her Mormonism behind" (1987). She continued to embrace values and behavior which, although universal, received special emphasis within the Latter-day Saint community. For example, maintaining strong family bonds was important to her. Fawn and Bernard, despite what their son Bruce called "not an easy marriage," remained together for forty-two years until Bernard's death from cancer in 1978. Fawn's desire to forge strong family bonds was also reflected in the way in which she related to her children. Although she enjoyed and needed the stimulation of research and writing, Fawn was acutely aware of devoting the time necessary to be a good mother to her three children: Richard, born in 1942; Bruce, who came along in 1944; and finally Pamela, who was born in 1950. She asserted on more than one occasion that being a mother gave her much greater satisfaction than writing books. "Children are more rewarding than books," she declared. Unlike children, "once a book is finished it is the deadest thing in the world" (F. Brodie 1975, 47–48). Thus, during the years they were growing up, her children took priority over the research she was doing for her second biography on Thaddeus Stevens, the radical Reconstruction leader.

Brodie also shared the Latter-day Saint emphasis on community involvement. "A political activist," she was "more liberal and far more closely identified with student causes than her political scientist husband" (Van Wagoner 1982, 36). She was also concerned about the natural environment. Brodie, moreover, not only proclaimed the Mormon "work ethic . . . one which I greatly admire." Judging from her five major books, teaching, community activities, and her family responsibilities, it was one to which she strongly subscribed. Brodie admitted to working "extremely hard," attributing it to "some kind of mad, inner compulsion which has to do with God knows what" (1975, 46). On another occasion, she described herself as a "compulsive woman racing around frantically," asking rhetorically, "Why do I do it? Because I'm unhappy when I'm not doing it" (in Berges 1977).

Brodie's Mormon background, moreover, had an influence on the approach she took in her four later biographies. In her second biography, *Thaddeus*

Stevens, Scourge of the South (1959), she attempted to rebuild the reputation of a man whom she felt "had elements of greatness" but had been "abused and vilified by history." Brodie confessed that this was "a total about face" in terms of what she had done earlier with Joseph Smith. With Smith she had brought down to earth a man whom she felt "did not deserve" the reputation that he had among the Latter-day Saints. In contrast, by writing about Stevens, Brodie was pleased "to be doing a positive rather than a destructive thing" as she "had always felt guilty about the destructive nature of the Joseph Smith book" (1975, 15).

Brodie's third biography, *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (1967), also had a connection with Utah and the Latter-day Saints. Burton, a nineteenth-century British explorer and anthropologist, had had an intense interest in varied (some would say deviant) sexual customs. To pursue this interest, Burton had visited Utah in the 1860s to observe Mormon polygamy. His account appeared in his book, *The City of the Saints.* In the early 1960s, Alfred Knopf decided to reissue this volume and asked Brodie to edit and write the introduction. Brodie soon found Burton "fascinating beyond belief" and pushed ahead with a full-scale biography that she completed in 1967 (1975, 66–67).

In researching *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, her fourth biography, she recognized parallels to her own life as the daughter of a prominent Church leader. In interviews given shortly after the book's publication in 1974, Brodie noted that "when I examined Jefferson's life, I had a sense of *deja vu*" in that "I'm obliged to admit important resemblances between Jefferson and my father." Like Jefferson, Thomas McKay "exhibited deep affection for his offspring along with equally strong expectations" (Eckman 1974). Both men "insisted on orderliness. Both stressed self-control. Both admired 'adoring, deferential daughters.' Both were chronically in debt." She acknowledged that Jefferson "reminded me of the way I was brought up. My father was a gentle, courtly man, but a benign despot in his own family. Just as Jefferson was" (in Hano 1974, 4).

Brodie also took note of certain parallels in the controversial nature of her research on Jefferson, comparing it to her earlier work on Joseph Smith. She did this in outlining her approach in relating "the story of [Jefferson's] slave family by Sally Hemings, as well as a proper accounting of his wonderful love affair with Maria Cosway in Paris." She noted that in taking this approach "the problems are major, and I find the Jefferson establishment at the University of Virginia almost as protective of Jefferson as were the brethren in Salt Lake City protective of Joseph Smith" (F. Brodie 1971).

Brodie's final biography, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (1981), also echoed back to Joseph Smith in certain respects. As had been the case with Joseph Smith, Brodie found Nixon to be a "very, very complicated man" (F. Brodie 1975, 40). She saw Nixon as she saw Joseph Smith: a man who presented himself as something more than what he was. Nixon was a "man who promised to bring truth to government" but who entered "into a situation of telling so many lies." This paralleled her interpretation of

Joseph Smith's quest for religious truth and his subsequent covert practice of Mormon polygamy. Brodie was intrigued by another facet of Richard Nixon's life, "the intensity of affection for the man" by people who "supported him through his career" and who were "still supporting him" even in the wake of the Watergate Scandal (Berges 1977). Like Nixon, Joseph Smith's integrity and credibility had been questioned and carefully scrutinized, but unlike Nixon's case, this had been going on for over a century with a parade of critics and skeptics, including Brodie herself, exposing his weaknesses and contradictions. But, despite such disclosures, devout, practicing rank-and-file Latter-day Saints retained their affection for him, and the Church continued to grow.

Thus, Fawn Brodie was never truly independent from Mormonism. Even as she was dying of cancer in late 1980 and early 1981 and struggling to finish her biography of Richard Nixon, two stories circulated concerning her past and present relationship to the Church. The first suggested that immediately following the appearance of *No Man Knows My History* in 1946, Brodie had asked to be excommunicated from the Church and that in purging her name from the Church rolls, Church officials were merely acquiescing to her request. This, of course, was untrue.[5]

A second story, circulating in early 1981, was that Brodie had asked to be rebaptized. (Versions of this story had circulated since the publication of *No Man Knows My History.*) What gave renewed impetus to the rebaptism story was the late December 1980 visit Thomas B. McKay made to his sister, who was gravely ill in St. John's Hospital in Santa Monica. According to Brodie's 1980 account, "I was very glad to see [Thomas] and asked for a blessing — as my father had communicated blessings over the years as a kind of family patriarch. This blessing he gave me, and I told him I was grateful, saying he had said what I had wanted him to say." Her account reveals her lingering inner conflict: "My delight in asking for an opportunity for a blessing at that moment indicated simply the intensity of an old hunger." But she carefully added: "Any exaggeration about my requests for a blessing meaning that I was asking to be taken back into the Church at that moment I strictly repudiate and would for all time."[6]

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[5] At the time of Brodie's death on 10 January 1981, the Associated Press reported that she "had requested excommunication." See: "Fawn McKay Brodie Dies; Known for Biographies of Jefferson, Mormon Leader," *Washington Post*, 13 January 1981. Barbara McKay Smith's rebuttal to this claim appeared in a 19 January Associated Press article, "Relatives of Fawn Brodie Dispute Statement on Excommunication." She stated that Brodie "had never asked to be excommunicated but had chosen not to answer a summons in June 1945 to an ecclesiastical trial called by her local church leaders in Cambridge, Mass."

[6] Indeed, Fawn Brodie's own children, who kept a close watch over their mother during the last weeks of her life, minimized the religious implications of this blessing. According to Pamela Brodie, her mother's cancer had by this time moved into her brain, and this, combined with the heavy medication that she was under, caused her to "hallucinate." Pamela believed this was the condition Fawn was under when she requested a blessing (P. Brodie 1988).

Bruce Brodie, in a 30 November 1988 letter, concurs, noting that his mother "was suffering from an organic brain syndrome when this incident occurred, due probably to a combination of heavy medication and cancer metastasis in the brain." He added: "During the last weeks of her life, either my brother, my sister, or I were with her nearly twenty-four

On 10 January 1981, Fawn Brodie died at the age of sixty-five, and in accordance with her wishes, her body was cremated and the ashes scattered over the Santa Monica mountains she loved near Pacific Palisades where she had spent the last thirty years of her life.

Fawn McKay Brodie was never able to free herself completely, despite having written *No Man Knows My History* and despite being excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This failure can be attributed, in part, to the close ties she maintained with her parents, sisters, and brother who all remained in the Church. Also, Brodie herself shared many of the distinctive values of devout, practicing Latter-day Saints. And finally, she had emotional ties from which there was no escape. She seemed to recognize this in admitting to her brother, Thomas B. McKay, "that once you're a Mormon you can never escape it" (McKay 1987).[7]

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hours a day. None of us ever heard her mention the Mormon Church or anything remotely related to it. For that matter, she never ever talked about God or heaven."

Bruce Brodie, moreover, characterized his mother's request for a blessing on another level — that is, as a "gift" that she chose to "give" her brother. In explaining this, he noted that "When my mother saw her brother she spontaneously asked him for his blessing." Brodie compared his mother's behavior to her actions toward her younger sister Louise Card, noting that "when she saw my Aunt Louise (who has always loved fancy clothes), [Fawn] modeled a new hat for her. As my aunt wisely pointed out, 'She gave a gift to each of us.' Asking my uncle for his blessing was just that: a gift to him." Bruce Brodie took care to emphasize that his mother's request for a blessing "was in no way an indication of any ambivalence toward the Mormon Church" (B. Brodie 1988).

[7] Again, Brodie's children minimize the significance of the interaction that their mother had with "things Mormon" during the course of her life. Fawn's son Bruce concedes that during the "first half" of her life "the Mormon Church held a fascination for her, as it does for many ex-Mormons." But he continues that "during the second half of her life she lost even that fascination with the church." He concludes: "She gladly accepted honors from Utah historical groups and would occasionally read Mormon history when requested. But she had no real interest of her own" (B. Brodie 1988).

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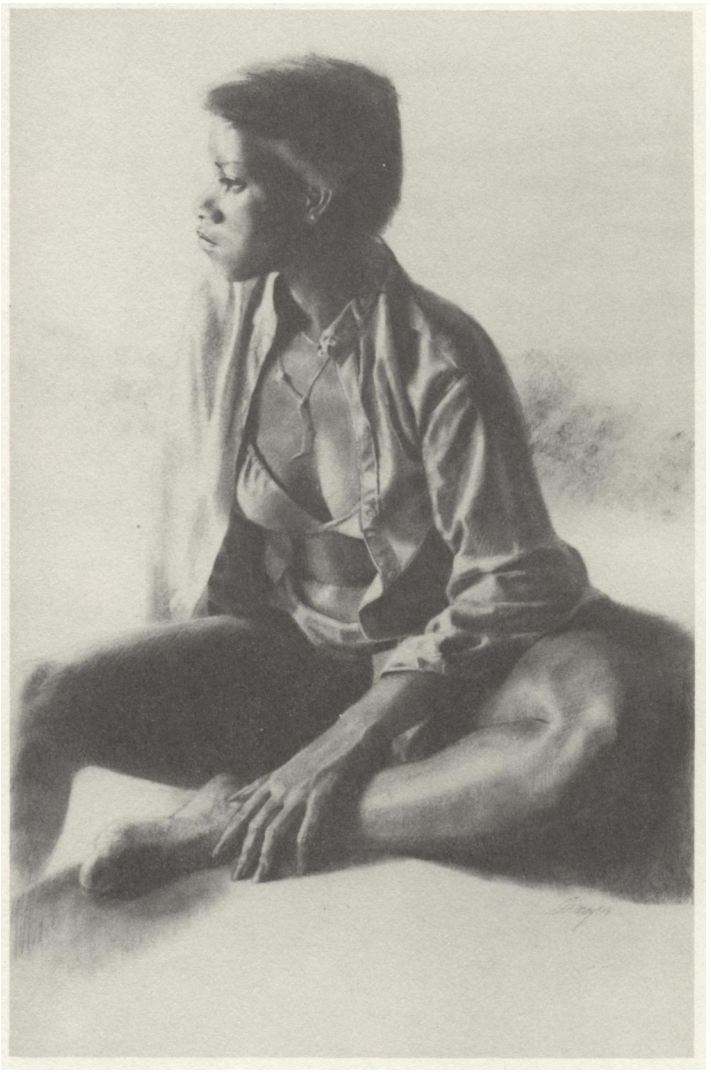

Life in Zion after Conversion: Hazed or Hailed?

Toward a More Mature View

Irene M. Bates

WHEN WE IMMIGRATED TO UTAH IN 1967, Elder Mark E. Peterson said to my husband, "I hope you won't be like so many converts who come to Zion. They think we should be perfect, and when they find we are human, they become disenchanted, often go home, and sometimes leave the Church." We knew there was some truth in what he was saying. Converts in foreign missions tend to think that a Mormon community will resemble the City of Enoch, an illusion sometimes fed by Church publications. Although during our thirty-two years in the Church we have never entirely believed that myth, we have experienced disillusionment and disappointment.

Much has been written about the loss of innocence all humans experience as they mature, but I have seen few references to the similar growing-up experience, the spiritual loss of innocence, that many converts face after the euphoric rebirth of the spirit at baptism. Ironically, that loss often becomes keener as one nears the centers of Zion.

My pain has not stemmed from acquaintance with imperfect saints, as Elder Peterson feared. In Utah I have met some wonderful, "imperfect" members of the Church, many of whom I admire and love. Nor has my faith been assaulted by the skeletons in Mormonism's historical closet. I have always believed that even prophets are human. Flaws that threaten and put some members on the defensive only help me identify with people in their struggles. Nor has the gospel itself become less important in my life.

My loss of innocence has resulted from a growing awareness of the many conflicts, large and small, that emerge between the Church as an institution and the gospel of Jesus Christ. This discord was not at first apparent to us in

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the mission field, but it began to dawn on us as our area grew into a stake directed from a central bureaucracy. I now realize that this means-and-ends dilemma is a universal one that confronts all institutions. However, the problem is especially acute when a religious institution must compromise the very principles it preaches. This not-so-simple paradox in a worldwide church operating within a variety of cultural value systems represents an ongoing, complex balancing act.

Compromise itself is not necessarily bad and may sometimes be required by higher law. As Justice Learned Hand said of compromise, "He who would find the substitute [for victory] needs an endowment as rich as possible in experience, an experience which makes the heart generous and provides the mind with an understanding of the hearts of others" (Barzun and Graff 1977, 44). So, while I try to discover the values that determine the choices in our institutional balancing act, honestly seeking some virtue in them, my heart aches for the damage to faith inflicted by policies that grow from some of those choices. My concern, I suppose, is similar to that of a nineteenth-century woman preacher, Jarena Lee, who said, "Oh, how careful we ought to be lest through our by-laws of church government and discipline we bring into disrepute even the word of life" (in Zikmund 1981, 213). Church government and discipline are the very areas in which we have suffered disillusionment.

For example, when we first came to Utah, we encountered much kindness from our new ward members, which softened some of the cultural dissonance inevitable in moving to a different land. Hence, we were totally unprepared for the insensitivity that assaulted us in our most vulnerable spot — our children. Our daughter and two of our sons (our eldest boy was still attending London University) had been in the center of a very active Church youth group in England. In Utah they were suddenly regarded as less-than-worthy members. Lynda's skirts were too short and the boys' hair was too long. By today's standards they would be considered entirely respectable. When other boys (who called their mothers "cows," electrocuted grasshoppers, and had a stack of *Playboy* pictures hidden in their rooms) were considered worthy simply because their hair was cropped short, our two sons lost respect for the Church. Our daughter, who was older, weathered the trauma better than our highly vulnerable, transplanted, thirteen- and sixteen-year-old sons. At the time I tried to explain that this rather narrow-minded response to their appearance was only the overzealous reaction of a recently reactivated bishop, but later events caused me to doubt the validity of my assessment.

An English convert friend, a faithful member of the Church now living in California, is married to a wonderful man, a recent convert. He is a mature, responsible person, good-looking, smart, impeccably groomed. Called to a stake position, he was told, in accordance with Church policy, that he would have to shave off his moustache if he accepted the call. His wife was dismayed but joked, "But I've never seen you without a moustache. I may not like you without it." He was obedient, however, and when he shaved it off, he warned her of the change before entering the room. It was several seconds before she dared look at him. Of course, she still loved him, but the demand seemed so

petty; the moustache was totally unrelated to her husband's worthiness. Another member who had a moustache most of his adult life also was required to shave it off before becoming a counselor in a bishopric. A newly called bishop was told he should not wear colored shirts when he assumed office, and a young, newly ordained deacon was not allowed to pass the sacrament one Sunday because he did not have a white shirt. Even in the service of the institution I fail to see what benefits accrue from all those shaved-off whiskers and white shirts. Even as a test of obedience these requirements seem rather frivolous. I wonder how Jesus would fare in our midst. Would he be deemed acceptable?

Then a few years ago there came a ray of light: Elder Ronald E. Poelman's wonderful, liberating talk in October 1984 general conference. Many of us were filled with joy and relief as Brother Poelman pointed out the distinctions between the gospel and the institutional Church. His message provided an oasis of truth that refreshed and comforted me to the point of tears. With bitter disappointment, I watched the oasis become a mirage. His talk was retaped in the empty tabernacle and "corrected" for publication. Because I had heard the original, however, the retaping merely served to bring the haunting suspicion that other beliefs, once accepted as true, had been mirages.

In spite of the "corrections," his talk has continued to help me, enabling me to deal with other sacrifices required at the institutional altar: the speaking ban on authors Linda Newell and Val Avery because their "Emma" book did not portray the traditional image of Joseph Smith, and the firing of an old missionary friend from his position in the Institute system after long and faithful service simply because he honored a commitment to speak at a Sunstone Symposium. The content of his talk in no way threatened the Church, but his participation was prohibited lest he, as a representative of the institution, be seen as part of a group of "faithful rebels," as Gene England once dubbed those who question. To their credit, these people remain good members of the Church, but our sacred tenet of free agency becomes a mockery in such circumstances. I believe more damage is caused by denying honest expression than by encouraging its intelligent consideration by Latter-day Saints who are divinely enjoined to think and grow.

Elder Poelman's inspired talk allowed the possibility of a reconciliation by reminding us that we are dealing with two distinct entities. On the one hand is the vehicle, the institution, with its own needs and demands and with all the frailties of the human beings who administer it. On the other hand is the gospel itself. By separating the two, Brother Poelman allowed the gospel to shine through in all its beauty. Sometimes the waters become so muddied by institutional policies (including deceptions such as the Poelman retaping) that gospel principles become confused with policies. If we cannot separate the two, then we must subscribe to the legitimacy of a religious double standard, one that requires an increasingly rigid observance of standards on a personal level while allowing elective application on an institutional level. For example, around the time that Elder Poelman's talk was being retaped in an empty tabernacle, the 1984 Relief Society manual included a lesson entitled "Teach-

ing Honesty" that demanded absolute honesty on the part of Church members. Even a white lie was not to be excused.

All of this adds up to some quite basic dilemmas, of course, ones that have been with us for centuries, including the troubling debate about means and ends. Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1944) and his brother H. Richard had opposing views on this question. Reinhold, after a lifetime's practical experience as a pastor, decided that the Children of Light had to attack the Children of Darkness on their own terms, sometimes using the methods of the Children of Darkness (but without malice) in order to defeat them. Richard Niebuhr did not agree. He said as soon as virtue adopts these means it becomes a part of the evil it is trying to overcome. This is a question each of us must confront.

My own personal dilemma causes me much pain. Because the Church was responsible for teaching me the gospel — bringing me to a deeper consciousness of God the Father and Jesus Christ and enlightening every aspect of my life — and because it gave me a chance to know many good people who love the gospel of Jesus Christ, I owe it my grateful allegiance. However, along with an aching hunger for truth and integrity, the Church has, ironically, brought me much sadness. I am sad because of some wonderful young people we have lost — some of our brightest and best who would contribute much to the Church but whose faith has withered because their enquiring young minds, transplanted into ultraconservative wards in Zion, have been suspect.

I tremble to think that a worldwide church operating in many different cultures might be governed by a bureaucratic need to preserve order and orthodoxy but which in reality may be exporting more of our Mormon culture than the gospel message. Thomas O'Dea in his insightful study, *The Mormons*, wrote, "The basic need of Mormonism may well become a search for a more contemplative understanding of the problem of God and man" (1957, 262). Such spiritual concerns transcend cultural boundaries, but we spare little time for them in our activities. When institutional directives require only routine obedience, the balancing act requiring greater sensitivity and reverence for the human condition may fail, bringing slow death to that spirit that emerges so joyfully at baptism.

I have been fortunate. Help has come from many sources, usually in unofficial gatherings. In 1966 an insightful missionary gave us a gift subscription to a new journal, DIALOGUE. We have subscribed ever since and will always be grateful to him. DIALOGUE, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II*, and the *Journal of Mormon History* have provided lifelines. Local study groups, retreats with sister-saints from all over the nation, Mormon History Association conferences, and the Sunstone Symposia have fleshed out the many kindred spirits I had met within the pages of those periodicals. All of these activities are unofficial — not exactly approved — and yet the participants, I remind myself, *are* products of the Church.

Just recently I gained some insight from the words of a lesser-known nineteenth-century writer, George B. Loring. He said,

> Between the individual and his God there remains a spot, larger or smaller, as the soul has been kept unclouded, where no sin can enter, where no mediation can come,

> where all the discords of life are resolved into the most delicious harmonies, and [one's] whole existence becomes illuminated by a divine intelligence. Sorrow and sin reveal this spot to all men. . . . They reveal what beliefs and dogmas becloud and darken. They produce that intense consciousness without which virtue cannot rise above innocency (in Miller 1950, 479).

As one lovely sister said to me at a retreat last year, "We really do have to grow up and stand on our own feet." Maturing, never an easy process, is even harder in an institution that in many ways tries to keep us as unquestioning, obedient children. It is a paradox inherent in our own belief system. Perhaps dealing with these tensions can bring strength and wisdom, but the process requires honest confrontation and commitment to truth, not relinquishment of responsibility. Developing the kind of courage that such freedom demands may in the end bring us the virtue that can rise above innocence and allow us the greatest gift of all — understanding.

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Beached on the Wasatch Front: Probing the Us and Them Paradigm

Karen Marguerite Moloney

IN A CHAPTER FROM HER AUTOBIOGRAPHY, *Blackberry Winter*, Margaret Mead describes the rejection she experienced during her freshman year at DePauw, a small midwestern college. Students had come to DePauw, in Mead's words, "for fraternity life, for football games, and for establishing the kind of rapport with other people that would make them good Rotarians in later life and their wives good members of the garden club" (in Comley 1984, 666). Mead didn't fit in. As an Episcopalian who dressed unconventionally, spoke with an eastern accent, didn't chew gum, and openly displayed her poetry books and tea set,

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she did not possess the assets prized by the campus sororities. As a result, she spent a productive year writing pageants, designing floats, getting a friend elected class vice-president by "setting the sororities against one another" (p. 666), and feeling like an exile while she sat in the library reading drama reviews in the *New York Times*. At the end of the year, she transferred to Barnard College, but her fleeting and mild experience of discrimination colored her life, leading her to strong conclusions about how society should not be organized.

My own experience with prejudice as a Mormon convert, like that of Mead's with the myopia of the Greek system, has been mild. Like Mead, I was born neither self nor slave, nor have I been denied an education due to my sex. I have never been barred entry to a temple on the basis of my race; I have not even been required to use a separate temple entrance, as are today's black South African Church members. Still, my experience is not without lessons. I may not be male, but I am white, middle-class, physically whole. And if I am to believe the compliment paid some time ago by a friend of vintage Salt Lake descent, then I have also lost the "fanatical edge" that sometimes sets apart a convert to Mormonism. (After discussing with this friend at length the implications of his asking for excommunication, he remarked on my compassion, noting that one could never tell I was a convert.)

But if I have a few horror tales to tell, what about those converts who do not blend in? I contend that, even if they are unaware of any prejudice leveled against them, such bias may still exist. I believe, in fact, that the shortsightedness I have encountered might well remain disguised to a new convert in Bolivia — or Los Angeles. Even so, as long as any Church members cherish the belief that they are inherently superior, then that belief may well result in prejudice toward their newer peers. I also believe that even the mildest form of discrimination is utterly incompatible with the gospel of Jesus Christ.

One month after my high school graduation, as a sensitive eighteen-year-old, I was baptized a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After what had been for me a long and stressful investigation of the Church, it was refreshing to receive the warm fellowship of the Latter-day Saints in my Whittier, California stake. They hailed my courage in forsaking the church I had loved all my life, the church of my heritage, the Roman Catholic Church — especially in view of my parents' opposition and deep, uncomprehending grief. They complimented me on my ability to discern the truth, something they were not sure they themselves could have done had it not been for careful Mormon upbringings. They envied me the strength of my testimony. And they were kind — anxious to pick me up on the way to church or to a dance. The returned missionary I met while he was cleaning the goat cage in the children's zoo where I worked that summer, and whom I had asked to baptize me, became my private tutor, carefully, enthusiastically explaining Church doctrine after hosing down the picnic tables on his evening shifts. Repeatedly, and prophetically, he warned me to be sure to separate the gospel from the Latter-day Saints. His friendly willingness — and ability — to answer any question I asked him, coupled with my own research prior to baptism, resulted in my understanding within months what might otherwise have taken years.

By the time I transferred six months later from Pomona College to BYU, I looked and acted like a lifelong Mormon. My new classmates, many of whom in my small honors classes were the offspring of prominent Church leaders, invariably figured I was from Salt Lake. I had even dropped my skirt hems a full four inches to just above the knee, a length at the time conspicuously absent from the pages of my much-loved *Seventeen* magazine. I did so, not because I wanted to fit in among my new peers, though unquestionably my longer skirts helped me to do that, but because I was on fire to be righteous, to be the best Latter-day Saint I could be, to live the lifestyle of my new religion as fervently as possible — and a General Authority had denounced short skirts at stake conference. I had been aware while investigating the Church that joining it would be an all-or-nothing proposition. I was now prepared to give it my all.

My hazing began shortly after I arrived in Provo. I wonder now whether my blending in was a key factor in what followed. If I had stood out, for example, would people have trusted me, revealed their thoughts to me? Could I have gotten close enough to learn what they really felt? My sister-in-law, who joined the Church in the East, scorned the lack of vision in lifelong members and resisted assimilating. When she did arrive in Utah a few years later, she brought her confidence with her. As a direct result, I feel, no one said to her the things they said to me. Perhaps my viewpoint is privileged like that of the black who can pass for white in a dominantly white society; and information gleaned by an outsider who passes for an insider can be vital to anyone trying to get the whole picture.

One of my earliest glimpses into my outsider status came from a roommate's father, a convert from the South. He explained to me humbly one day that he knew he had not been valiant enough to have been born under the covenant — but that he didn't mind; he was simply grateful to be a member at all. About the same time, I picked up the idea, from a religion course as I recall, that Abraham 3:19 ("These two facts exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they") referred to an explicit hierarchy of spiritual talent in premortal life, one which carried over neatly into the mortal sphere. Full recognition and the highest responsibilities fell to those born under the covenant; trailing these elect first families clambered up converts to the Church; in last place straggled the non-Mormon hosts.

Undoubtedly our class discussed the idea of movement among the three categories, but what I remember is the implication that I had gotten into the kingdom on a second chance — maybe even as a favor. The suggestion that I was a mini-spirit set off a crisis of worry for me. Was I endowed with celestial fiber, or would my terrestrial nature win out in the end? Was it worth trying for exaltation? Did I have a bona fide chance of making it? The dilemma strikes me as preposterous now, but I was very young and too willing to take seriously the words of members I felt were in a position to teach me. I even listened to the hiking companion who explained to me one day that, true, Hartman Rector *was* both a convert and a General Authority — but he didn't radiate the wisdom and spiritual depth that the other Brethren did. So what

hope was there for me? If I weren't to give up altogether, and that was not an option for one as commited as I was, then the only available path appeared to be further assimilation.

I have compassion for the young convert that I was during those next years. I recall the religion classes and the sacrament meeting talks, the hymns and the testimonies, in which so much was made of bloodline and/or pioneer heritage. Unfortunately, I was the child of monogamous unions, I came from a small family, and my parents, who could have demonstrated their spiritual mettle by being baptized, refused to cooperate. It was, of course, further occasion to question *my* spiritual mettle. What kind of Latter-day Saint was I if my own parents wouldn't join me in striving for a celestial family? And what kind of mother would I make, weighed down as I undoubtedly was with all the sins of my unenlightened forebears? To make matters worse, I didn't even play the piano very well.

I have admiration, though, for the young convert who learned to use the scriptures in her defense. When one friend — whose Arizona lineage included Smith blood — explained his father's teaching that converts were all right, but they should marry only fellow converts, I referred him to Ezekiel 18, a chapter my high school Bible subtitles "Personal Responsibility." There my friend read a rousing, unambiguous sermon, the theme of which is epitomized in its twentieth verse: "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son." And, logically extending this idea, neither shall the son bear the virtue of the father. I followed up with Matthew 20, in which the laborers hired at the eleventh hour to work in the Lord's vineyard received the same wages as those hired at the beginning of the day, despite the first group's grumbling. Incredibly, the chapters actually demonstrated to him that his father had been wrong.

But I recoil again when I recall a boyfriend's expression of concern that I did not share with him his deeply rooted gospel, southern Utah background. He was serious about me, but anxious regarding my convert status. He hastened to assure me, however, that he had been making his uneasiness a matter of prayer.

If I had not heard similar stories from other women, perhaps I could dismiss such an incident as an aberration. I'm afraid, though, that isn't the case. The following anecdote is especially revealing. Some years ago when a male friend of mine considered dating a non-Mormon, his roommate, whose particular zeal was missionary work, advised him not to. After all, even if she did later join the Church, she would still always be a convert.

I'd like to think that experiences like these no longer occur, that perhaps they represent the lingering influence, now spent, of pronouncements similar to those contained in a once much-circulated talk by Elder Alvin R. Dyer entitled "For What Purpose?" [1] The 1961 sermon, addressed to missionaries who were instructed not to share its insights with investigators, "connected race, nation, time, and place to premortal valiancy" (Copeland 1988, 91) and

[1] See Lee Copeland, "From Calcutta to Kaysville: Is Righteousness Color-Coded?" (DIALOGUE 21 [Fall 1988]: 89–99), for an excellent discussion of the evolution of Church leaders' views on the link between premortal behavior and mortal conditions.

designated those who join the Church as the second level of talent in the premortal life. Unfortunately, however, a conversation I had two years ago reveals the sustained hardiness of the caste system model. After listening to the panel where I first read this essay, Jessie Embry of BYU's Charles Redd Center for Western Studies told me that the center's typist, a BYU English major, had recently arrived at work very upset. She had joined the Church at age ten with her entire family, yet her roommate had just informed her, in all seriousness, that she had not been valiant enough in her premortal existence to have been born under the covenant. Still with us, still damaging — the stigma of lesser status among converts. Sadly, this story counters the hope that a certain world view legitimized by various Church leaders and surviving somehow into the early seventies had, by the late eighties, been vaccinated out of existence.

I would also like to think that perhaps the problem was limited to a small geographical area, perhaps even to portions of Utah. But then I'd have to include Arizona to account for my friend's father who advised converts to marry converts. And then, because a friend from Pacific Palisades recently described to me her southern California upbringing, complete with the teaching that converts were not among the Lord's choicest servants, southern California would have to be added to the list. Now these examples hardly constitute a reliable random sample, but my best intuition tells me that the list could easily grow longer. On the positive side, though, I would like to point out that my friend from Pacific Palisades never believed the message that converts were inferior. Further, she actively opposed the idea whenever it was brought up. She typifies the many Latter-day Saints I know who have long refused to draw demarcation lines on the basis of birth in the covenant.

In contrast, I am embarrassed that, in my own hurry to assimilate, I internalized the very prejudice that had been directed against me. I wanted to marry into a strong Mormon family. I did not want to marry a convert. After all, a convert couldn't be trusted. One day he might present a paper like this one at a Sunstone symposium — and then maybe even compound his crime by publishing his speculations in DIALOGUE. Clearly I had lost any sense of the redeeming value of my own heritage, any awareness of distinction in my difference. One Catholic friend still perceives my conversion to Mormonism (and this essay, as a matter of fact) as callous betrayal of my rich religious heritage. I hope that he is mistaken. It is true that, for reasons I cannot fully articulate, I feel pervading discomfort, not appreciative deference, when attending Mass. Still, in my twenty years as an ex-Catholic, I have learned not to discount the legacy of faith preserved for me through countless sacrifices. It has been many years since I have cared to pass for anything but what I am — a convert.

Paula Gunn Allen, Native American feminist critic, wisely notes that "the root of oppression is loss of memory" (in Allen 1986, 213). To the Native American, "rejection of one's culture — one's traditions, language, people" represents a loss "always accompanied by a loss of a positive sense of self" (p. 210). Allen writes:

> Failure to know your mother, that is, your position and its attendant traditions, history, and place in the scheme of things, is failure to remember your significance, your

> reality, your right relationship to earth and society. It is the same thing as being lost — isolated, abandoned, self-estranged, and alienated from your own life (pp. 209–10).

In addition, Allen stresses that a sense of the importance of continuity with one's origins

> runs counter to contemporary American ideas: in many instances the immigrants to America have been eager to cast off cultural ties, often seeing their antecedents as backward, restrictive, even shameful. Rejection of tradition constitutes one of the major features of American life (p. 210).

About 1917, in the furor of anti-German sentiment engendered by World War I, residents of Osmond, Nebraska, the environs of which had been settled largely by German immigrants, publicly burned an effigy of the Kaiser. The sight of those flames is one of my mother's earliest memories. How did *her* mother, who had emigrated from Germany seventeen years earlier, feel about the incident? If there is a clue in Grandma's anxiety that her children be American, even to the point of not allowing them to attend Lutheran (and therefore German) church or school, then Grandma probably felt acutely uncomfortable standing there with the other onlookers that day. At that moment, it is likely indeed that Grandma's German antecedents appeared to her to be "backward, restrictive, even shameful."

In a sense, in moving from my Catholic upbringing in a southern California suburb to a Mormon university in Utah, I also emigrated from one continent to another. Admittedly, it may be difficult for a German immigrant to America to value the Old World heritage she left behind, especially after watching her neighbors burn the Kaiser in effigy. It may also be difficult for a Catholic convert to Mormonism to resist anti-Catholic views after reading the book by an ex-priest supplied by the friend who baptized her — or even after reading Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* (and I'm referring here to the current edition). But I believe with Paula Gunn Allen that regarding one's antecedents as shameful in any way is to experience the kind of self-estrangement that leads one to adopt the prejudices of the dominant paradigm. On the other hand, "to remember your position and its attendant traditions, history, and place in the scheme of things" is to nourish confidence and self-esteem.

For me, then, the questions "Where do I belong?" and "What's wrong with me?", questions which dogged my early experiences in the Church, were answered in my quest to learn enough about my ancestors to have vicarious temple work performed for them. Their names are not recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants, and their china doesn't glitter from the walls of the Kirtland Temple. They didn't pull handcarts across the plains; they didn't dodge federal marshals in their determination to live "the principle"; they weren't related even distantly to — nor did they lobby to be adopted into the families of — Joseph Smith or Brigham Young; they didn't colonize remote areas of Utah, Arizona, or Idaho; and they didn't try and fail to establish the United Order. Neither, I might add, were they implicated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Irish Catholics on my father's side endured centuries of humiliation in Ireland — Penal Law, wholesale evictions, avoidable famine — clung to their faith, and survived. And then, with fierce resolve to shake loose the oppression of British rule, some of my cousins even defied church edicts to lend support to the 1916 uprising. They spied while on their jobs in the London General Post Office, hid rebels on the run, and — in an effort to promote Irish nationalism — edited a Dublin newspaper written in Irish. They paid for their involvement by being excommunicated from the church they loved. The German Lutherans on my mother's side fought back both the flooding North Sea and Danish invasions, adopting the motto "Lewer duad üs Slav!" ("Rather dead than a slave!"). In addition, they farmed, taught school, made shoes, butchered, homesteaded Nebraska, and raised large families. But *what* my forebears did is not the issue here. The issue rather is my *knowing* what they did, where and how they lived, and something of both their privations and their dreams. Learning my heritage eliminated my sense of deprivation on July 24th.

So, when a member of my master's committee commented that my poem "Recollections from an Ex" (later published in DIALOGUE but originally part of the thesis he was reviewing) had hit him in his guts because he shared the outlook of the poem's male persona, I catalogued his response, but I felt no hurt. I no longer believed that the problem lay in me. Besides, his response was much healthier than that of the singles home evening group to which I read some poetry not long ago. A few of the group were puzzled by the poem. Others engaged in denial, declaring that everybody is prejudiced to some degree, but otherwise disclaimed any connection to the speaker. The monologue itself is spoken by a fictionalized composite of some of the real life people I have already described in this essay, and if I am to believe the readership survey that indicates the small percentage of DIALOGUE readers who welcome the poetry it publishes, very few of you will be running into my poem for the second time if I include it here.

RECOLLECTIONS FROM AN EX

mused in several voices
to the tune of tinkling cymbals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, Elaine Showalter "uncovers three major phases of historical development claimed to be common to all literary subcultures" (in Moi 1985, 55). I refer to them here because I believe their relevance is not limited to literary subcultures. In Showalter's view there is, first,

> a prolonged phase of *imitation* of the prevailing modes of the dominant tradition, and internalization of its standards of art and its views on social roles. Second, there is a phase of *protest* against these standards and values, and *advocacy* of minority rights and values, including a demand for autonomy. Finally, there is a phase of *self-discovery*, a turning inward freed from some of the dependency of opposition, a search for identity (in Moi 1985, 55).

My early experiences as a convert to the Church evince, I believe, a strong desire to imitate and internalize prevailing norms. My poem and this essay represent, perhaps, a "protest," an "advocacy of minority rights." And signs do exist that I have begun to turn inward in my search for identity. But lest I depart too early from my stance of protest, let me note that exclusiveness (both the virulent "back-of-the-bus" strain as well as the relatively harmless "glad-I'm-not-a-convert" type) stems from prejudice — unjust, uncharitable, un-Christlike. But prejudice doesn't result simply from ignorance, insecurity, and fear of difference. Prejudice is also engendered by beliefs.

If we believe that birth under the covenant to a bloodline of proven disposition visibly endorses valor in a pre-earth life, we need to exercise care not to assume therefore that birth outside the covenant betokens inferiority. In the words of Spencer W. Kimball, "Are we any better than those who have been deprived? And who are we to differentiate? (in E. Kimball 1982, 237). In addition, if we believe that a particular factor in our present circumstances — bloodline, church calling, relative's church calling, family stability, material prosperity, health, or even membership in the Church — functions as a sure sign of excelling in a premortal life, then it would be helpful to recall, too, that a wiser God than we pours out blessings on — and withholds them from — both the just and the unjust. Besides, as James Talmage pointed out, "The things of the earth may not be, after all, the greatest blessings of God" (1908, 992). Ultimately, we need to be careful not to numb ourselves to the possibility that our salvation is *not* secure, and that we may in actual fact have no more clout than the next guy — and, horror of horrors, maybe even less. After all, it is easier to claim special status than to face the implications of loving our neighbor as ourselves. At a minimum, we should remember that even if premortal valor does result in cushy mortality, resting on one's laurels is not a wise way to prepare for final judgment.

What, then, about Abraham 3:19? *Could* it refer to a hierarchy of spiritual talent in which the group at the top includes descendants of the Church's earliest converts? I don't think so. Spirits, it would seem, can differ in intelligence without creating jobs for out-of-work taxonomers. Besides, if Abraham 3:19 does justify self-congratulations for some Latter-day Saints, then two New Testament parables carry an unsettling message to any whose footing feels sure. The first is the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, to which I've already referred, a parable which suggests that even those on the bottom rung of the spiritual ladder may one day stand beside those now at the top to receive the same spiritual reward. The second is the parable of the prodigal son, in which the older, consistently diligent son has such trouble making room in his heart for his younger, less diligent brother. In both parables, those who feel they have the special "in" are made sharply aware that God's definition of privilege derives from more than a tally sheet of who has been around the longest. Greater focus on such messages might quicken the time when converts to Mormonism will indeed be "no more strangers."

After her mild experience with discrimination at DePauw, Margaret Mead might have limited her view of the source of the problem to the pettiness of

sororities and fraternities and let it go at that. Instead, eloquently summarizing what the experience taught her, she wrote: "Whatever advantages may have arisen, in the past, out of the existence of a specially favored and highly privileged aristocracy, it is clear to me that today no argument can stand that supports unequal opportunity or any intrinsic disqualification for sharing in the whole of life" (1971, 668).

It would be one thing to focus attention on "gaining rights for Mormon converts." But to do so, I believe, would be to miss the real opportunity. Mead points that out when she explains how an "experience of hardship in some petty caricature of the real world" can "by its very pettiness, [engage] one's emotions and [enlarge] one's consciousness of the destructive effects of every kind of social injustice" (1971, 663).

I wish I could say with Margaret Mead that my encounter with the prejudices of some Church members, like her scuffle with sorority selectiveness, led me directly to strong conclusions about how society should not be organized. My own path to such conclusions has been more circuitous. Actually, teaching writing linked to a social science course on U.S. racial minorities deserves more credit for developing my viewpoints on a number of social issues. My own experiences, compared to the intolerable injustice of South African apartheid, seem more like being the last child chosen for the playground jump rope team. Only the imaginative (and insensitive) could see in my few years of vulnerability as a Mormon convert any real resemblance to subsisting on a bantustan (the South African version of our reservations), waiting for your husband's yearly week off from his Johannesburg job, knowing that you will likely bury as an infant the child conceived on that visit. But if I have been effective in teaching about racism, if, after having their consciousness raised, my black, Latino, and Asian students have continued to listen to a white instructor (and not all of them have), it is due partially to my knowing, even in a small way, what it is like to be discounted for factors that have nothing to do with my value as a human being.

In addition, by not allowing me to become comfortable with my own life circumstances, my experience as a new Mormon convert prepared me to favor preferential treatment for minorities, equal rights for women, comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa,[2] total nuclear freeze to include abandonment of the Strategic Defense Initiative, Navajo self-determination despite the presence of coal upon their land — and public accounting of the Church's use of our tithing. Given the gravity of injustice on this planet, it is not enough for us to give full-time missionary service in our youth, concentrat-

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[2] I use the word *sanctions* here, as do Joseph Hanlon and Roger Omond in *The Sanctions Handbook* (1987) "in the widest possible sense to cover *all* possible [nonmilitary] actions against the Pretoria government. This includes all [corporate] withdrawals and breaking of links, economic sanctions and embargoes, diplomatic actions, and cultural and other boycotts. It also includes campaigns and secondary actions such as disinventment intended to pressure others to take action against South Africa. And it includes positive measures such as codes of conduct, aid to South Africans fighting apartheid, and support for the Frontline states" (1987, 194).

ing thereafter on church service and raising happy families. Donating a larger than average fast offering does indicate a larger than average sensitivity, but fast offerings, too, are not enough. As individuals and as a people, with or without institutional backing, Mormons can do *so much more.*

My recent stake president commented once in my Sunday school class that Mormons respond to injustice, poverty, and other non-salvation-related problems by teaching correct principles, while "the world" attempts directly to right the wrongs. I do not see the need to dichotomize so sharply. The world, as defined by my former stake president, includes many deeply committed Christians and other dedicated individuals who deserve our profound respect. Why can't Mormons aid these individuals — in addition to teaching principles? Can't we do both?

Most of us are probably not ready today to cross the line at the Nevada Test Site or withdraw investments which work to prolong apartheid. Even those of us committed in principle to such actions may be lacking in courage; those of us ignorant of the issues may continue to avoid them; some who do research them may (heaven forbid) recommend different solutions. But for those of us who, in addition to contributing fast offerings and teaching gospel principles, would like to do more, a good place to begin is by reading the Winter/Holiday 1988 issue of *This People*, an issue that profiles the diverse "ways many LDS men and women have found to serve . . . [and] suggests something of the scope of possibilities" (Smart 1988, 6). Another excellent starting point is Kathleen and James McGinnis's challenging book, *Parenting for Peace and Justice* (1981). The compelling wisdom of this dedicated couple, issuing from hands-on experience, includes numerous concrete suggestions about how to implement the principles of social justice in our lives — how to teach our children (and ourselves) to be nonviolent and nonsexist; how to multiculturalize our family lives; how to be wise economic stewards. You don't have to subscribe to the entire "liberal agenda" to get up and clean out your closets, but so simple a step as donating clothing you haven't worn in the last year can make a dramatic difference in someone else's life. Similarly, it takes little effort and expense to mount a world map, but doing so can dramatize for children the panoply of different countries — peopled by so many different kinds of human beings — that share the same earth. In addition, using that map to point out such locations as Nicaragua, South Africa, and Ethiopia can help to convey the message that problems relayed by newscasters are very real indeed — and might even deserve precedence, sometimes, over our everyday cares.

For example, on 27 January 1985, the entire Church set aside immediate concerns to join together in a fast for the starving peoples of Ethiopia. One month later, Peggy Fletcher reflected on the significance of that fast in her essay "People of God." She contrasted our "day of fasting for starving people we don't know, who have probably never heard the word *Mormon* and may never be 'golden contacts' " with our response to the "collective pain" of the 1960s — Biafra, the Viet Nam War, the civil rights movement — when we reacted "as good Saints had from the earliest times: teach the gospel as best

we can, take care of our own, and trust in the Lord" (1985, 4–5). Speculating about what had changed, she wrote:

> Perhaps we are feeling a little more secure as a church. Perhaps we are beginning to recognize the goodness of other people and groups and are willing to join them in acts of global charity. Perhaps our international growth has made us aware of the enormous differences in living standards between American Saints and all others. Perhaps we have come to sense our responsibilities to other peoples as well as other Mormons. Perhaps we are realizing what other Christians have known much longer: gospel truths cannot take hold in dying bodies (p. 5).

I would like to think that Fletcher is right, that "our ward boundaries are expanding to include the world" (p. 5), but four years have passed since we united in a fast for the starving peoples of Ethiopia, four years in which only one similar fast (in November 1985) has been called, four years in which we have spent most of "our tears and energies on our own" (p. 5).[3] If Fletcher is right when she speculates that the Ethiopian fast may have been prompted by the flooding of the Church Office Building with "letters from anxious members encouraging the Church to action" (p. 5), then perhaps more of us need to remind ourselves that we, as a people, have access to great power, and only slothful servants need be commanded in all things.

We could certainly choose to focus on the tendency of some Church members to assume they are better than others, but to do so would only amplify what I see as the larger problem — lack of sufficient Mormon involvement with genuine social injustice. Focusing so much on ourselves can leave little energy for acting on behalf of the victims of oppression. It can even keep us from knowing that injustice exists. In relating my own mild encounters with prejudice as a Mormon convert, I hope I have pointed out a nearsightedness among us which can result in acts of omission potentially far more serious than some acts of commission. Clannishness may have had survival value among unfriendly neighbors, but a church which proposes to teach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the poor and the oppressed must strive always to eradicate its ethnocentrism — and qualify in the fires of tribulation for that task. Mormons like those featured in the Winter/Holiday 1988 issue of *This People* and humanitarian projects like those reported on in the August 1988 *Ensign* have ignited fires we must choose to fan. As Paul exhorts in his epistle to the Philippians:

> If our life in Christ means anything to you, if love can persuade at all, or the Spirit that we have in common, or any tenderness and sympathy, then be united in your convictions and united in your love, with a common purpose and a common mind. . . . There must be no competition among you, no conceit; but everybody is to be self-

[3] Isaac C. Ferguson's 1988 *Ensign* article "Freely Given" reports on the many and varied humanitarian efforts funded by the nearly eleven million dollars we contributed in 1985. Clearly, our money was extremely well-spent. But if several more fasts had been called in intervening years, and a significantly larger sum of money had been raised, we might have done even more to forestall the second great Ethiopian drought of 1987–88, which saw "thousands of peasants . . . again on the move, trekking across the parched landscape in search of that bag of flour or handful of beans that [would] keep them going for a few more days or weeks" (Serrill 1987, 35). Eleven million dollars is, after all, a pittance compared to the annual tithing we allot to "our own." I fail to see why "the Church's contributions to [humanitarian projects must be] of necessity limited" (Ferguson 1988, 15).

> effacing. Always consider the other person to be better than yourself, so that nobody thinks of his own interests first but everybody thinks of other people's interests instead. In your minds you must be the same as Christ Jesus (Philip. 2:1–5, The Jerusalem Bible).

Paul's vision is revolutionary. He suggests that we pattern ourselves after a mind that prefers neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, bond nor free, male nor female, black nor white, lifetime member nor convert, American nor Ethiopian, us nor them; he recommends that we model our lives on a life in which principle and practice meshed inseparably; he asks us, above all else, to be *Christian*. The challenge is comprehensive. It should enlist more of us — and waken us all.

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A Mormon Out of Misunderstanding?

John Sillito

MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO I WAS BAPTIZED A MEMBER of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I can't speak for the Church, but I suspect it is safe to say that neither of us has been the same since. It was not a spiritual

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witness that brought me to the waters of baptism. I still haven't finished reading the Book of Mormon and doubt I ever will. I joined the Church instead primarily for intellectual and rational reasons. Additionally, I was drawn to Mormonism's emphasis on family life and influenced by the example of many Latter-day Saints close to me.

LDS theology did not figure prominently in my decision to be baptized. To the extent that it was important, LDS theology, at least as I understood it then, centered on free agency, personal autonomy, and above all a belief that the "glory of God is intelligence," an adage that I interpreted as meaning unfettered intellectual inquiry. Interestingly, those elements of Mormonism that appealed most to me then remain the most attractive to me two decades later.

For several years after I was baptized, I attended meetings, paid tithing, wore garments, and considered myself an active Latter-day Saint. Today I am less active. Getting from there to here was a gradual process, one that concerned secular issues more than spiritual questions. Some time ago, as Karen Moloney and I discussed the similarities and differences of our mutual experiences as converts, we arrived at two questions: Were we hailed or hazed as converts? and, Is there life after conversion? This paper is my response to those questions.

From the beginning, I was influenced greatly by several Mormon writers and thinkers who stressed free agency and personal autonomy. One was Benjamin F. Cummings III, a former BYU professor, philosopher, and linguist. Cummings, my Sunday School teacher in the Liberty Ward, gave me as a young investigator a heavy dose of the free agency and open-mindedness that he later condensed in his book *The Eternal Individual Self* (1968).

Other important influences came through the lives and writings of David O. McKay and Hugh B. Brown. For me, these kind and gentle men exemplified tolerance, respect for diversity, and an open-minded approach to Church life. Much later I encountered the classic article by Richard D. Poll, whose characterization of "Iron Rods and Liahonas" struck a resonant chord, because it extolled these same ideals.

Only some time after my baptism did I realize that what I had not seen in the Church — perhaps purposely — was the conservatism, orthodoxy, and conformity that coexists with those aspects that appeal to me. Had I seen them earlier I might not have been baptized. In many ways, I have spent the last twenty years avoiding one while clinging to the other.

As I recall my early days in the Church, I am reminded of Leon Trotsky's derisive comment that the American socialist leader Norman Thomas called himself a socialist "as a result of a misunderstanding." There must have been some in the early days of my Church tenure who endured my sacrament meeting talks (which were decidedly Protestant but included a healthy dose of Hugh B. Brown quotations) and wondered if I too called myself a Mormon as a result of a misunderstanding.

I was lucky to begin my life as a Latter-day Saint in a ward where the members tolerated me as I tried to figure out my new religious home. There I was hailed and not hazed, for the good people of Liberty Ward welcomed

me. Still, I must admit that converts were a bit of a rarity in that ward — and I suppose it didn't hurt that I had married their former bishop's daughter. But they welcomed me, encouraged me, promoted me, and in many ways overlooked my inexperience. I still think fondly of my days in that ward.

By the time my newness as a convert had worn off and people started expecting more orthodoxy from me, I had discovered DIALOGUE. Then *Sunstone* arrived on the scene, and I found, more or less, a community of like-minded individuals.

I also found myself gradually moving away from Church activity. My disenchantment began when I was on active duty in the army. It wasn't that I ran amok once outside the shadows of the temple; I just realized that, while the Church played a part in my life, it was not the only important influence on my thinking. I went to the local ward at Fort Leonard Wood once or twice, but, frankly, I didn't feel that I fit in or that as a part-time basic trainee in a resident ward I was particularly welcomed. Upon returning to Salt Lake, I resumed my church activity but knew that I had turned an important corner. I realized while away that many of the ideas that had attracted me to Mormonism were generally Christian or even Protestant, and not specifically Mormon.

My gradual distancing from the institutional Church increased as I experienced conflict between my political views and those of my adopted faith. Politics has always been an important part of my life, so, for me, that clash has frequently been very difficult and at times painful. A crucial time came when what I see as the Church's improper involvement played a major part in defeating the Equal Rights Amendment. It's hard to imagine now, but initially the ERA was not an issue of faith. By the mid 1970s, when the ERA began to raise questions within the LDS community, I attended a stake conference where the visiting General Authority was Apostle Delbert L. Stapley. I asked him directly: "Is there any reason why I, as a Mormon, cannot support and work for the ERA without being considered as opposing Church policy?" His answer was equally direct: "No, the two are not contradictory."

Despite later Church pronouncements suggesting that Mormons could be both pro-ERA and members in good standing, I don't know of any pro-ERA active Church members who didn't feel that they were continually swimming upstream. Indeed, I know many pro-ERA Mormons who chose to "switch rather than fight" when Church opposition intensified. They had not necessarily changed their minds about the ERA — the cost of opposing Church policy was simply too high.

I also was repelled from the center of Mormonism by the apparent doubt among many Church leaders that Latter-day Saints are smart enough to educate themselves about political and religious questions. Once, when outlining for a friend my frustration with Church leaders who propagated free-agency limiting policies on political issues such as the ERA, civil rights, and Vietnam, I received this response: "But that isn't *the Church.*" When such messages come from General Authorities at general conference, or through Church magazines, I replied, then if it isn't the Church's policy, whose is it? And if

such views are simply the personal views of certain Church members, albeit those in the hierarchy, then why do they have the opportunity to express their personal political views when others, like me, encounter suspicion and hostility when we express ours?

More than once I have seen a member stand up in sacrament meeting and give an outrageous right-wing diatribe with no repercussions. Yet a sacrament meeting talk on current issues from a more liberal political perspective results in deafening silence — or worse. I think this unfortunate, for there are important secular issues that need to be discussed and debated openly within an LDS context. The Church would be better off if the concept of dialogue (with a small *and* a capital d) flourished within the institution.

I also believe that people and institutions should conduct their activities honestly and openly, without rancor or fear of reprisal, on the principle that reasonable individuals can reach different conclusions while respecting each other's differences. And I believe people and institutions ought to tell the truth. I have been chagrined at the more than occasional lack of commitment from the Church to such an approach. Once, when I was the elders quorum instructor (for years my eternal church calling), a stake high councilman visited our quorum to mobilize us to picket a local x-rated movie theater. After giving us the details about time, place, and the location where we could pick up premade picket signs, he cautioned us to tell anyone who asked that we were part of some grassroots citizens group whose name I cannot now remember.

"Why not be honest," I asked, "and tell anyone interested that we are from this ward?"

"Because it might not be as effective politically if the press or someone realized we had been mobilized through the Church instead of out of personal concern," he answered.

"So we should lie about our motivation and organization in what you have described as an important cause; *one with which the Church completely agrees and sanctions?*"

"No, not lie; just act strategically."

A few years later, when I learned that the Church was busing Relief Society sisters to state legislatures to oppose the ERA, instructing them to deny they were being mobilized by the Church and telling the press that the Church was not in fact undertaking such an effort, it required little effort on my part to believe the Church was acting strategically — and duplicitously.

My disenchantment increased during the years I worked at the Church Historical Department, where I came into frequent contact with a bureaucracy that formulated rules without concern for their implications and was unwilling to consider options. And again many of the attitudes seemed to center on whether people could run their own lives. There seemed to be a feeling that Church employees would take advantage of Church employment by taking too long for lunch or breaks, or leaving work early, and that their actions needed to be closely monitored and regimented.

The first summer I worked at the Historical Department, I had a personally memorable encounter with Church bureaucracy when I tried to file

for military leave to attend National Guard summer camp. I was informed that the Church did not have a military leave policy and that I would have to take my annual leave. I demurred, suggesting that I intended to spend my two weeks' vacation with my family, not with the Guard. In effect I was told my cause was just but there was little they could do for me.

After thinking this over, I wrote a memo outlining my views to L. Tom Perry, who was then chairman of the personnel committee. About two weeks later, the assistant managing director called me into his office and gave me hell for my audacity. How dare I write a letter to a General Authority. How dare I try to tell the Church how to run its military leave policy. After he calmed down, he told me I was lucky; coincidentally, the Church had decided to adopt a military leave policy. "But don't think your memo had anything to do with it," he told me. "The two matters are totally unrelated." Perhaps, but the new policy was almost identical to the suggestions I had offered Elder Perry.

As I think about my experiences as a member of the Church, it seems that perhaps I did join as the result of misunderstanding, though misunderstanding is not necessarily a mistake. While I have never been as active and zealous as some people might expect a convert to be, I have, nevertheless, maintained a commitment to the Church. I remain an interested, albeit less active, participant in the life of the kingdom, and, in my own way, a believer. I feel a part of the recent important currents in LDS history, literature, and thought. I hope that if at time my attitudes toward the Church have been critical, they have not been carping but have stemmed from a desire to ask tough questions that might make Mormonism more responsive and satisfying, both for me and for others. And I believe I have given the Church credit for taking positive actions when that credit was due. In that context, I would suggest a reading of my 1981 essay "Give and Take: The First Presidency Statement on MX."

In his book *Believing*, Eugene Kennedy considers the question of doubt and belief in a religious context and shows how the two are linked. He notes that doubt "cannot help but come into an individual's life when institutional Churches continue to offer interpretations of life that no longer match his [or her] own experience or knowledge" and suggests that doubt is "the cutting edge of belief itself, a profound aspect of human growth" (1974, 69).

> Believing becomes more difficult as authority insists on precise requirements about the language, content, or conditions under which believing must be carried out. . . . When these requirements . . . fail to match an individual's unique vision of the world and his own experience, conflict begins to build immediately (p. 16).

Kennedy goes on to suggest that the "searching believer" very often seems to be in conflict with his community and is "pitted against tradition which seems to resist his inquiries as improper" (p. 16). I have often felt pitted against tradition and contemporary policies. But I hope I am a "searching believer" who is, if not comfortably orthodox, at least constructively heterodox. Certainly I realize that I have much to learn from and about Mormonism that will help me become a better person and a more committed Christian. Indeed, my life has been enriched by many devout Saints who have not shared my

doubts and have made religious contributions both individually and collectively that far exceed my own.

Every day as I commute from Salt Lake City to my job in Ogden, I pass a road sign that warns: "Frequent Crosswinds." I like that phrase, and if I ever get around to writing my personal history, I think I will use it as the title. Throughout my life, I have been confronted with frequent crosswinds that have made me rethink my views and even change my course. These crosswinds have also strengthened me by forcing me to look hard at what I believe and why I believe it. I find comfort in believing, as Eugene Kennedy has said, that

> Life does not just happen to us, and as we become aware of our freedom, we grapple with the vexation of an endless series of increasingly difficult choices. I believe the life of the Spirit is something we break into as we break out of ourselves through trying to love more deeply and truly. That is the creative choice that developing faith offers to us each day — to get better at throwing ourselves away — and to know that, finally, this is the way that, gloriously and in each other's company, we find out who we are (1974, 216).

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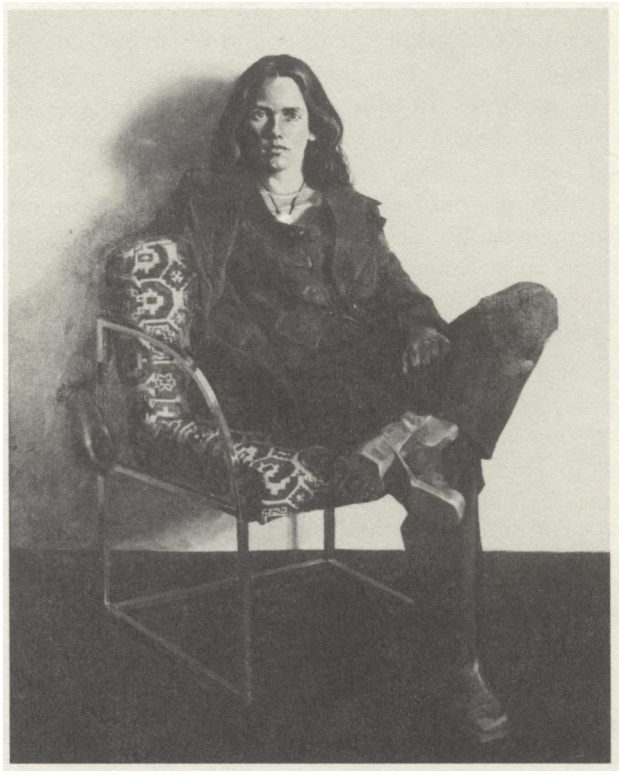

Sunset Ward

Claudia L. Bushman

I SPENT MANY HOURS IN THE SUNSET WARD CHAPEL in San Francisco when I was growing up. It was a handsome building, unlike any other ever built in the Church. Firmly planted on a hillside corner in San Francisco's Sunset district, the three-story white stucco building with Spanish accents was the largest building in a neighborhood of high, narrow townhouses. The red tile roof made a striking contrast to the smooth, white walls. Dominating the whole structure, a square bell tower (with no bell) rose over the entrance. The round arch above the front door was echoed in the tower and in fan lights above the tall chapel windows. The white building seemed to glitter in the damp sunlight just as the walls of the Kirtland Temple must have sparkled from the ground-up china used to construct them.

To me the building had that same kind of mystique; like the Kirtland Temple, it was a terribly ambitious structure built with the pennies of poor Saints, the dreams of visionaries, and the blood of my father who was then the bishop. The church was just three blocks from my girlhood home, and I can still recall memorable childhood moments in those sacred rooms and secret places.

The large chapel with tall windows on both side walls was bright and elegant. Our congregation was attractive and always dressed up for church. I remember Easter Sundays particularly, when the chapel was full of flowers and beautiful women with pretty hats. My three sisters and I joined in this fully and for Easter always dressed in something new, from top to toe and from the skin out.

On the pulpit, the four standard works were set in special inlaid boxes. When giving two-and-a-half-minute talks, my sisters and I loved to impress the congregation by referring to a scripture, pulling out one of these volumes, and

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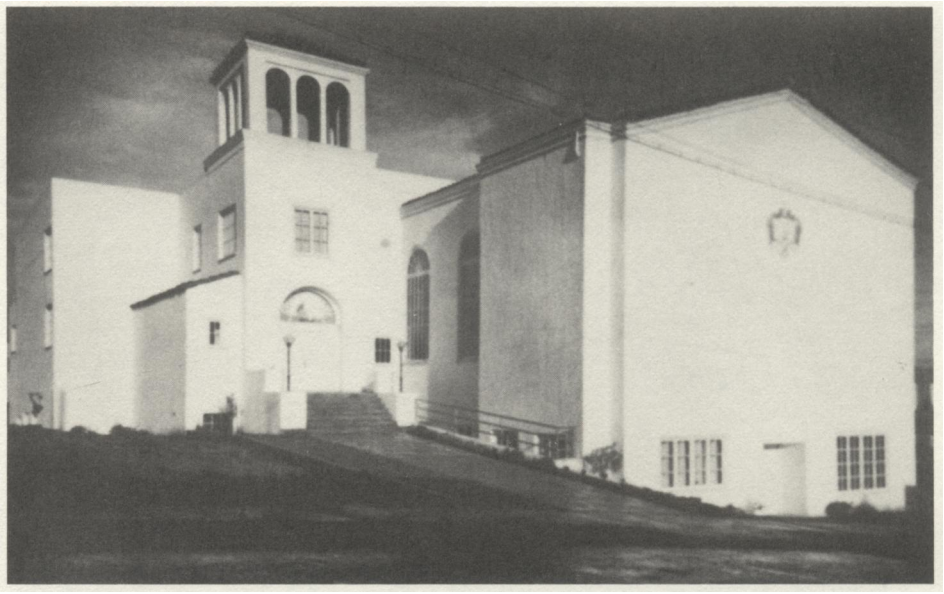


Sunset Ward Chapel at Time of Dedication in 1941.

leafing through to places we had marked in advance. Behind the pulpit was a large picture of Christ in Gethsemane on which we could focus our attention during the sacrament while the organ played contemplative reveries. For the many conferences we had, we needed more chapel seating space. The back wall separating the chapel from the recreation hall would rise mechanically, groaning out a "Lost Chord" — or a reasonable facsimile thereof.

The cultural hall, or recreation room, with its beautiful hardwood floor, was the site of many formal dances. Unsullied by basketball hoops, which were forbidden during my father's tenure, the room had a large, velvet-curtained stage, where we enjoyed many plays and my mother's annual summer musicals, "In Gay Havana," "Meet Arizona," "H. M. S. Pinafore," "The Gondoliers," and others. Wonder of wonders, our cultural hall even boasted a projection booth so we could watch films on a screen set up on the stage. I remember seeing dozens of films on how to deal with incendiary bombs during those tense years of World War II. (West coast residents were always expecting to be bombed by the Japanese.) The projection booth was an enclosed room set high above the varnished floor and reachable only by a steel ladder attached to the wall. Going up there was like climbing to the high diving board and was absolutely forbidden. Still, we did it from time to time.

The building was tall. The chapel and recreation hall were on the second level and stood two stories high themselves. The offices of the mighty were even higher. The bishop's office was on a landing above the chapel; the stake

president's was up another narrow staircase beyond that, just below the bell-less belfry. That spacious office with its plush carpeting and imposing desk seemed near the angels indeed. But the real wonder of the uppermost office, in the early forties when TV was still in the distant future, was the console radio with remote tuning.

As impressive as anything was the ladies' room, which, besides the requisite plumbing fixtures, had a dressing room right out of an art deco nightclub. Little stools allowed twenty ladies to sit before a wrap-around counter to see to their makeup in mirrors that stretched around the room. An immense full-length mirror, maybe six by eight feet, dominated one side wall. No excuse for a showing slip coming out of that room. I can recall dozens of scenes of pretty young girls in taffeta and net ball gowns, pinning on fragrant corsages from the florist boxes with their waxy green paper strewn around.

Another wonder was the Relief Society room. The clever ladies of the ward had somehow procured fifty or so wooden and upholstered armchairs of different styles. These had been redone in various harmonious new fabrics. Cast-off wooden tables had been refinished. Handsome standing lamps made the room look like a large, genteel living room or even the celestial room of an old-fashioned temple. The Relief Society had other treasures as well: a room with a big loom to make rag carpets; quilts on frames; barrels of dried apples and pears. In those days the Relief Society seemed scarcely distinguishable from the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, who held their sacred rituals and planted trees and bronze plaques. One of the plaques remaining on the building grounds is in memory of Louise Yates Robinson, a member of our ward who had served as the seventh president of the Relief Society General Board.

The baptismal font was in a dark room with no windows. An electric light shining through a stained glass window brought the room to life and revealed the image of a crowned nymph with streaming hair standing on a sphere, her arms outstretched and yearning, her gown falling from one shoulder. This figure prompted strange mystical longings in my heart. Unfortunately, this exotic font was seldom used.

What good times we had! Every Tuesday evening after MIA we danced to records like "Take the A Train" and "String of Pearls." "Let's Take the Long Way Home" was always the last dance. Lots of young servicemen and working people lived near, and my constant hope that someone new and exciting would turn up was often realized. Everyone danced, stirred up occasionally with mixers. On Sundays my mother would often say, "Now girls, we have a particularly good dinner today. You may each invite home a guest." We always brought boys home, and after dinner and dishes, spent the afternoon in Golden Gate Park or at some cultural event.

In the early days, our family often spent Saturday afternoons cleaning up the chapel because ward money was still too tight to pay someone to clean. My sisters and I grimly vacuumed and swept as required. We sometimes counted pennies for deposits, and stuffing tithing envelopes with slips was another one of our regular chores. And quite strangely, we prepared the sacrament both morning and evening. Our ward was short of teachers, and we were

available. We filled the fetching glass cups and put them in the trays, and afterwards, we cleaned and polished them again. We saved the leftover sacrament bread to feed to the birds. It seems to me that we tended to those duties for some time before a missionary returned and called the ward to repentance for this flagrant violation of custom. Now my sons won't even allow me to help fold a sacrament cloth.

At the back of the little room where we prepared the sacrament, a little staircase, added after the original construction, led down to the office below. This was my father's inspiration so that important visitors could be spirited up to the stand and whisked away again wtihout mixing with the crowd. This was nice for visiting General Authorities and for people appearing as guest artists on the various musical concerts presented in the chapel. My mother also kept the choir music in the little room at the head of the stairs. She exulted and agonized over the ward choir for many years, a tradition I keep up now in my own ward many years later and many miles away.

Everyone considered Sunset a transient ward because of the many medical and dental students and military people who came and soon left. Housing was too expensive to encourage long stays for young families. Growing families moved across the bay to the north or down the peninsula in search of sunshine and room to play. Still, a steady core of faithful San Franciscans stayed on and attended meetings there. They served as extended family to the children of the ward, congratulating us on talks and new dresses, interested in all our activities, proud of our accomplishments. Now adults, we become children again when we return and are enveloped in all that warmth. I wish every child could feel that encouragement and concern.

II

They don't build chapels like that anymore. There was no Church Building Committee then, and the Presiding Bishopric ran the building program. A ward would apply for permission to build a new chapel, and a representative of the Presiding Bishopric's Office would come out, look around, and approve the construction. The local bishop was put in charge of the entire operation and wrote checks personally for every item and service.

The Sunset Branch had been organized on 30 January 1927, joining the already existing San Francisco and Mission branches in the city. The Sunset Branch originally met at the Parnassus Masonic Hall at Ninth and Judah Street. The branch boundaries were Oak Street, Golden Gate Park, Market-Diamond, and Alemany streets. Sunset Branch became a ward on 27 July 1927 when the San Francisco Stake was organized. San Francisco Stake encompassed an area from Santa Rosa south to San Jose and had four city wards and three wards "down the peninsula." At that time, the only Church-owned building was a remodeled structure for the San Francisco Ward. Carl Kjar was sustained in 1927 as the first bishop of the 282-member Sunset Ward. Three other bishops served while the ward met at the Masonic hall: Stephen H. Winter, Charles White, and Serge Lauper.

Local leaders, headed by Stake President Stephen H. Winter and Sister Jacquetta Quealey, a generous member, envisioned a landmark chapel that would be suitable headquarters for the Church on the West Coast. They called in a nonmember architect, Walter Clifford, outlined their ideas, and asked for a plan for the extravagant building they had in mind. The first two plans cost too much and had to be abandoned. They liked the third plan, still an extremely ambitious project. But the land at 22nd Avenue and Lawton Street had been purchased with just such a lofty goal in mind.

Jacquetta Quealey was a Salt Lake McCune. Her mother was an ardent church worker, her father a successful mining engineer. Married to Jay Quealey who had coal mining interests in Wyoming, she was devoted to the Church and was prominent in San Francisco society. Sister Quealey considered a beautiful Latter-day Saint chapel essential for San Francisco.

On 8 November 1937, Serge J. Lauper was called to be bishop of the Sunset Ward by President Winter. Lauper was fairly new in town and recently released as bishop of the Dimond Ward in Oakland, across the bay. When the stake presidency called him as bishop, they told him that his first important assignment would be to build a new chapel. He agreed on the condition that Claude T. Lindsay, a young man who was a former missionary acquaintance and already a prominent builder in the area, be called as his first counselor. Lindsay took the assignment and served as a no-fee contractor for the building.

Construction began in 1938. The original plan was for members to work on the building at night and on Saturdays. Some were in the construction business and very capable. Lindsay met with various skilled labor unions and obtained their permission to use nonunion, volunteer labor. But the second night of work, members of the labor council representing various unskilled labor unions appeared and picketed, demanding that the work be shut down. It was one of the ward members, a strong member of the railroad union, who objected to the use of nonunion labor to build the chapel and reported the situation to the union. After that, in work-hungry, Depression-poor San Francisco, the job was done almost entirely by union labor.

At that time, the Church paid 60 percent of the cost of a stake building. The remaining 40 percent was shared by the wards of the stake with the home ward paying 40 percent of the 40 percent. Even this percentage was very hard to raise. People were contributing fifty cents or so at a time when they could spare it. The Great Depression was still not over, and no one had very much money. For long stretches, there was only enough money to have one union worker at the building site. Sister Quealey told the bishop to come to her whenever he really needed money. She bailed out the building a number of times and eventually contributed more than all the rest of the stake put together. The building cost about $100,000.

When the work was underway, Bishop Lauper sent his first request for funds to Salt Lake City and received the shocking word that the building had never been approved. Somewhat after the fact, the paper work was done, the calls were made, and the Presiding Bishopric's Office accepted the Sunset Ward building plan as a *fait accompli.*

Modifications continued even during construction. Claude Lindsay pointed out that the plans did not provide for a scout room and that the large sandy rise on the lot could be excavated less expensively than contouring the footings to the hillside. When that part of the lot was leveled, there was space to add a scout room. Then he donated hundreds of board feet of knotty pine, which he was going to burn in his mill, and used it to panel the scout room walls. It was a perfect setting for small social gatherings and scouting activities of all kinds. The room, which was like a great big family room, never existed on any plans.

Local members contributed their artistic talents to the building. Anna Musser Stevenson was commissioned to design a bas-relief to be placed over the front door. She suggested several themes, and the committee chose Joseph Smith in prayer. Her design of the kneeling figure was adapted to a cast-stone semi-sphere about four feet high. The contours were tinted in pastels, and the scripture, "If any of ye lack wisdom, let him ask of God" was added beneath the figure. She also designed a deseret beehive and a seagull that became part of an outside wall.

J. Cyril Johnson procured some valuable tile from the William Randolph Hearst estate in San Simeon and used it in the baptismal font. The baptistry also contained the already-mentioned stained, leaded glass window, a gift of Sister Quealey in honor of her mother. The window was commissioned in Italy and had been installed in the McCune house in Salt Lake City. Sister Quealey particularly requested that one of her mother's possessions be placed in the building. Bishop Lauper looked over her many works of art and chose the stained glass window. He suggested that it be hung in the baptistry, the most sacred room in the building. Sister Quealey also contributed the grand piano in the chapel, the remote control radio, and many of the beautiful chairs in the Relief Society room.

Ernest Semereau, a German immigrant convert, offered to do a charcoal drawing in lieu of a contribution. To repay kindnesses extended to him, he offered a picture crafted in a process he had learned as a child — filling the surface of a canvas with charcoal and selectively erasing small areas. After much consideration, he decided to copy Kaufman's picture of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. He completed the work, about six by seven feet, in 1943, and it was then framed and hung in the front of the chapel, behind the pulpit.

Brother Semereau's picture has come up against considerable opposition during its history, perhaps because of the "graven images" prohibition. Many Church officials urged that this picture be taken down. Bishop Lauper fought hard to keep it. He once asked President McKay his opinion of the picture. President McKay said he loved it, and Bishop Lauper considered this special permission to keep the picture in the chapel.

Many years later the picture was taken down and moved to the Lauper home. Then it was taken to the Oakland Temple to be hung there, but temple authorities put it in storage and planned to throw it out. Leon Collet, a former member of the Sunset Ward, rescued it and took it to his home. When Robert Larson became bishop in 1978, he retrieved the picture and hung it once again

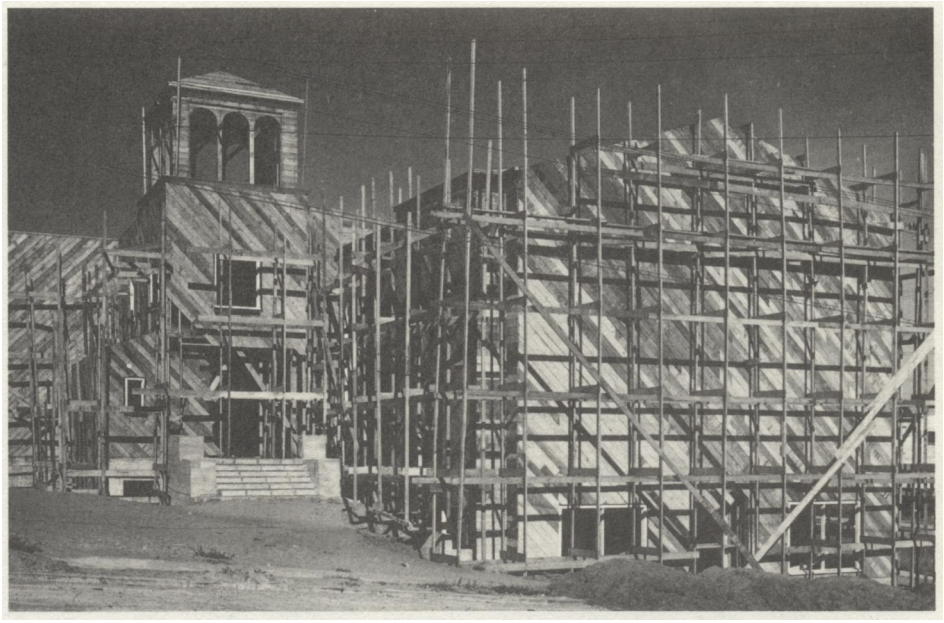
in Sunset Ward. It can now be found in the front lobby, exiled from the chapel, but still very much part of the building.

While the chapel plans were being made, President Winter went to the three Thatcher sisters, Josephine Danford, Harriet Poland, and Luna Hansen, and suggested that they donate a pipe organ as a memorial to their mother, Hannah Morrison Thatcher. Porter Danford, a nonmember businessman, managed their fund-raising campaign. The sisters wrote and phoned friends worldwide to collect enough money to purchase the organ. A small bronze plaque still testifies to their contribution.

The organ was delivered long before the building was ready, and while it was waiting for installation, some vandals broke into the case and smashed some of the pipes. Bishop Lauper was devastated. Construction had slowed to a crawl because members had so little money. The bishop needed $5,000 to continue work, and when the organ was damaged he was very discouraged.

One morning Bishop Lauper called his office and said he would be gone for a few days on a personal matter. He hopped aboard a train, arrived in Salt Lake City at 6 A.M. the next morning, and went immediately to the Presiding Bishoprics' Office, then located in a small building just north of the Hotel Utah. He had no appointment, but when the office opened, he went in and demanded to see Bishop LeGrand Richards.

The secretary discouraged Bishop Lauper, saying that Richards had several other appointments, but Lauper's voice was loud enough that the Presiding



Sunset Ward Chapel under Construction in 1939.

Bishop soon came into the hall to see what was going on. He ushered Lauper into his office and listened patiently as the visitor complained about the building system. Lauper listed his many miseries in trying to erect the chapel with no money and precious little help. Any corporate business enterprise would have provided engineers, architects, and services of every kind, rather than dumping the project on the local manager. The construction had dragged on because there was no money. Lauper thought there should be some centralized committee overseeing the program to make sure work continued and was done properly. (He had had a previous experience in Oakland, California, where faulty portions of a chapel had to be redone entirely.)

After this tirade, Bishop Richards, in a kindly manner and with great patience, suggested that the two take a walk. They crossed over to Temple Square and stopped on the east side of the temple. Bishop Richards pointed to the Salt Lake Temple and to the little log house nearby. He asked whether his visitor knew how long it had taken to build the temple. He then asked where the Saints had lived while they were building it. Lauper impatiently admitted that he knew the building took forty years and that the people had lived in shacks during the early years of construction.

"Everything you have said about the building is true," Richards said. "We could build chapels faster, and we could build them better. But we're not building chapels, we're building men. You go back and work with your people. If it takes longer, that's all right. We won't complain. Your people will love the building, and you will love it." These words proved to be prophetic, and Bishop Lauper regretted that he never had occasion to remind Bishop Richards of the exchange and how much his words had come to mean to the bishop and the congregation.

Back in the office, Richards called for the plans and looked them over. He said the Church would continue to cooperate in every way, but he volunteered no additional funds. Lauper feared he would have to go back home empty-handed.

Before leaving Salt Lake City, Lauper approached Brother Price, the head Church architect, and asked his advice for securing additional funds. Brother Price asked Lauper to come back the next day, after Price had had time to review the original building plans. The next day, Price suggested that Lauper request funds for landscaping and for another entrance and stairway. The additional requests added up to almost $5,000. When Bishop Richards considered the request, he approved the additions and a check to pay for them. Bishop Lauper returned to San Francisco a hero.

By November 1940, the building had progressed far enough that meetings could be held there, although the walls were unfinished. The congregation moved in early to save the rent paid to the Masonic hall and the taxes charged on an unfinished building. Once a church building was occupied, it was no longer taxed. The cultural hall was not completed at all — work on that was scheduled far in the future.

One evening at a bishopric meeting, the MIA leaders, who organized social events for the young people, told the bishopric that they needed the cultural

hall finished for a New Year's dance three weeks hence. This would be the biggest ward social event of the year. The MIA had already hired an orchestra.

Bishop Lauper rose in wrath against this impossible request. Not only was there very little time, but the ward had no money for the flooring. The MIA leaders went on their way somewhat chastened. Claude Lindsay quietly came forward after the meeting and said that perhaps he could do something. He arranged for hundreds of square feet of hardwood and brought in thirty-one men from several jobs to lay the flooring, which was completed in a day and a half. No bill for this labor was ever forwarded. The first dance, on a beautiful hardwood floor that is still used today, took place as scheduled.

The chapel originally had plush theatre seats that folded up when not in use. These seats had never been used before in an LDS church, although they are used in the temples. Maynard Peterson, a ward member, heard that a theatre at the World's Fair at Treasure Island had gone bankrupt after thirty days in operation and that they would sell their seats for twenty-five cents on the dollar. The Church Building Committee never approved these seats, but they gave faithful and comfortable service for over forty years.

Stake President Stephen H. Winter, who had been trained as a cabinet-maker, built the unique pulpit. The top surface had four recessed wells for the standard works and one for an electric clock to keep speakers on time. All visiting speakers remarked on the unusual arrangement of the clock and scriptures. Many years later, when those scriptures wore out and could not be replaced with any of the same size, Bishop Robert Larsen built a new pulpit top with recessed spaces for the current-sized scriptures.

Some ambitious aspects of the plans were never realized. The bells for the tower were never installed, and an elevator was sacrificed to keep costs down. However, many imaginative features were completed, and even some extras, such as the scout room.

The building was dedicated on 15 June 1941 during stake conference. When the building was completed, Sister Quealey and the new stake president, Howard McDonald, were anxious for an event suitable in every way to this grand building. McDonald wrote to Salt Lake City requesting the best speaker among the Brethren. Rudger Clawson, the president of the Quorum of the Twelve and a very sweet, mild-mannered man, saw this request and said that since the ward had asked for the best man available, he would go himself.

The building has seen a lot of use since that day. Forty-three General Authorities have spoken from the pulpit, among them the last six presidents of the Church: George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Spencer W. Kimball, and Ezra Taft Benson. Seven members of the Council of the Twelve and many assistants, seventies, and members of the Presiding Bishopric have also stood there. Brother Clawson, in his dedicatory talk, prayed that faith would be renewed and saddened hearts would be blessed. He hoped that the building would be a haven for those who were discouraged.

Not everyone loves Sunset Ward. One General Authority said it looked like a big white barn to him.

On 14 June 1981, all former members of the Sunset Ward were invited to come to a fortieth anniversary commemorative service. Elder David B. Haight, a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles and a one-time member of the stake, came to preside over the reunion services.

The commemoration was held just in time. Soon after that, the Sunset Ward began to feel the influence of the Church Building Committee, which had been created in response to the frustrations of inexperienced bishops left to construct chapels on their own. Bishop Lauper's wish had been granted, and the Church Building Committee took responsibility for bringing the building up to date. The Church had decided to build buildings and let other operations build men and women.

An architect surveyed the existing building, compared available space with mandated changes, and drew up new plans. For one year the ward met elsewhere, while at a cost of approximately $1,330,000 a new Sunset Ward was created within the existing shell. On 26 March 1988, the renovated Sunset Ward was rededicated by Stake President Jeremiah I. Alip.

III

The building still looks the same on the outside. Zoning restrictions forbid extensive exterior modifications on buildings with no parking space. For the fortieth anniversary of the ward, the police had closed off the street for two blocks, which were solidly packed with cars.

Handsome new windows with black frames have been installed, but the openings are just the same size. The old overgrown landscaping has been pulled out and fresh new shrubs and lawn put in. The stucco has been painted a warm beige color.

Although the beehive and the seagull still grace the wall, Joseph Smith has been removed from the building because "that sort of thing is not done anymore," according to the building superintendent. Instead, the semi-sphere has been replaced with glass, which brings light to the interior. The Joseph Smith sculpture is now in the collection of the Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City.

The chapel itself used to be white with red-trimmed seats. Now the colors are California golds and greens, the colors of sunburnt hills and sand and pines. The first impression is heavy and quiet because of the beautiful dark oak paneling. The pulpit area is separated from the congregation by a short wall of this oak. Twelve people can sit on the stand with the organ on one side and the grand piano on the other and at least fifty choir seats in two rows behind them. The wall behind the stand curves both vertically and horizontally to accommodate the organ pipes and the air ducts. This wall is formed by narrow vertical oak laths, visually unifying the wall and giving a tambour effect. The theatre seats are gone, and the dark oak pews are upholstered in pine-green; a lighter green carpet covers the floor. The five tall windows and their arched fanlights above brighten the room through billowing, gauzy curtains. Six heavy octagonal chandeliers, about four feet high, hang over the congregation, and three hang over the pulpit area. Four brass wall fixtures add light to the room.

The congregation reflects the rich cultural and racial makeup of the area. A Chinese-speaking ward meets downstairs at the same time as the English-speaking ward above. Each ward has its own staff, but the two share Primary classes.

Basketball standards have been added to the cultural hall, and the stage and projection booth have disappeared. Only a flimsy, folding platform, which can be locked up in a closet, remains for programs. Green composition panels protect the plaster walls from errant basketballs. The kitchen is completely new, but city ordinances forbid anything more than simply warming things up there.

Three items remain of the original building: the hardwood floor in the recreation hall, the chandelier in the foyer, and the pipe organ. (There was talk about replacing this handsome organ with a new electronic model, but the older voices prevailed.) Semereau's charcoal drawing of Christ hangs in the lobby. The elevator that was too expensive during the original construction now allows the many senior citizens of the ward to ascend to the chapel without climbing steps.

The long hallways are lined with dark, oak door frames set in walls of caramel-colored textured plaster. There are enough classrooms for two full wards to meet at once. The scout room and other large spaces have been sacrificed to make space for more classrooms. One small classroom is used for storage.

The baptismal font has disappeared entirely, replaced by the library. The bathrooms, made accessible to the handicapped, are clean and new but have no dressing room for primping. A partial bathroom is located near the Relief Society room, which is now just a double classroom with the divider open. The room has attractive plastic stacking chairs upholstered in dark green.

The general effect is lovely. It is as if we were seeing an old building when it was new and fresh, but more luxurious than it ever was originally. The interior smells like a new building. The Church Building Committee has taken this veteran and given it a new life.

The benefits of change, of course, do not come without costs. Once a local ward was completely responsible for creating a building. Now the ward has very little to say about it. Once the Saints had to sacrifice to have a place to worship, and their building reflected their local abilities and interests. Now we have beautiful buildings, managed through a general program, which rise and are reborn with little effort and sacrifice from us. Once we had to learn everything on the job. Now we have experts who know better than we do. Both stages have been played out in this one building.

The history of the Sunset Ward illustrates a significant development in Church procedure. The decisions made reveal further changes. What does it say about the Church that this chapel has basketball standards but no stage? The cultural life of the ward with its three-act plays, musicals, and variety shows is no more. I hate to see that go. And what about this rich, conservative chapel interior, devoid of Christian symbols? This could be the auditorium of a prosperous business: it says nothing about Christianity and nothing about

Mormonism. Have we moved from our tumultuous beginnings, past conventional Christian standards, to a new barren elegance? Why was Joseph Smith banished from the building despite local protest? I wish we could develop acceptable visual symbols that represent our faith and our history. Our temples are topped with angels sounding trumpets, but our chapels have no such imagery. Many have stylized steeples, but these are borrowed from other traditions and seem to be shrinking into half-hearted gestures. Something unique should identify the buildings we use most often.

We must congratulate the architect and the Church Building Committee for their loving restoration of the Sunset Ward and for fitting all the necessary components into the space provided. I was more impressed by the resurrection than I intended to be, even though I remain nostalgic for the old building and the accomplishment that it represents.

President David O. and Sister Emma R. McKay and the Sunset Ward Congregation in 1956.

Grandma's Dying

Margaret Blair Young

MY EX-GRANDMOTHER-IN-LAW IS DYING UPSTAIRS. Her being with me was my ex-husband's idea. He said I could have the house if she stayed in it.

I reminded him that Gran hated me.

He said, "She hardly remembers you now. Besides, she should be with family when she dies."

"I'm not family." I displayed my de-ringed left hand.

"You're the closest thing."

"I'm ex-family."

"Look at it this way, dear. Why here's a chance to show your religion in action. You Mormons believe in love and kindness, remember?"

"Not like your apostates."

"Hell, maybe after your example, the whole family will come back. We'll have a mass re-baptism in the Pacific Ocean. You can stand on a rock and get your feet kissed when we're done."

"You know how I feel about Gran."

"Feelings don't count, remember? It's the truth that counts. Familiar? So. The truth is this: I'm going to be living in a one-room apartment. Gran won't fit."

"Can't she go with your mother?"

"My mother would end up killing her. You want my mother to go to prison?"

"Is that where you want me?"

"Give yourself credit, my dear ex — my ex-dear. Have a little faith, for Crissake."

I tell my friends I got the house, the Chevy, and the old lady. They say, "What's she doing with you?"

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I say, "She's wearing out her angst."

They think I'm brave and noble. Their good thoughts are an aggravation, since I know the truth. I am not brave. I hate the old woman. My ex relishes that fact. He's laughing at us all.

I do not mention this to my friends. I do not tell them how unfair this deception is. I do not tell them how often I think of unfairness. Preparing oatmeal, I rehash my divorce. Microwaving milk for cocoa, I wait for the buzzer and envy my inanimate appliances. I say to the stove, "Life's a bitch." I go to get dressed and tell my closet, "There's no justice here." I tell the john as I flush, "Things are not fair."

Gran is the best example of unfairness I know. It is not fair, for instance, that she should have this time to come to grips with mortality. It is not fair she should have this special dispensation to contemplate the eternal, to imitate Hamlet, to have her brain lobotomized, tenderized by her lazy heart. It is not fair she should have become so pitiable.

Her husband — who deserved some time to ponder and make sweet, long goodbyes — died instantly, on the highway. He was discussing which case a pronoun should take after a preposition, and sideswiped a chicken truck. Gran loved to tell about his death when she was coherent. She loved to talk about that chicken truck and all the bloody feathers. She loved to tell how everybody had eventually left her lonely, or ripped her off, or trailed dirt through her kitchen, or scuffed up her kids. She had loved to talk about me too, when she was herself. I once overheard her say to my ex, "Why couldn't you have married a real woman? Patti Toledo would have been all right. You wouldn't have had a pigsty if you had married Patti Toledo. You're too good to live in a pigsty, did you ever think of that? Did you ever think you just might have got a bad deal?"

"I've thought about it," said Mr. Ex.

I was sitting on the bed where she's dying now, putting photo albums together. Listening. Not believing in her strength.

When she needs me, she rings a bell. I come. She asks me to help her to the bathroom or feed her some broth. Lately she's been asking me to pray. She is deaf without her hearing aid, which is broken. Yesterday I prayed: "Dear Lord, wouldst Thou believe it — the old woman is still here. Take her fast, Jesus. Amen."

Her chin trembled up. She whimpered, "Amen. Amen. Prayer over?"

"Yes, Gran," I shouted.

"Over?"

"YES!"

"Amen," she said.

She didn't believe in God until her heart got tired. Her father, the honorable Judge Jesperson, was one of the first atheists in Utah. After the Mormon Church usurped the family mill, Judge J. decided Brigham Young was not a prophet of God but a son-of-a-bitch. And since Mormonism was the best reli-

gion he'd found, there was nothing left for him but nothing. His unbelief was a tradition his daughter, Gran, passed on to her children. Atheism and anger and Ajax cleanser in the kitchen corners. When my ex went to church with me during our courtship, Gran said, "It's the churches and banks control the world, you know." As though she were waxing profound. Then she compared Albertson's tomato prices to Alpha Beta's and listed which meat cuts were on sale.

Gran always memorized the specials. It took her five hours to buy her groceries and another day to evaluate them. "I don't think this grapefruit is worth half what they're asking. It's a rotten deal, and I'm taking it back," she'd say. She usually returned at least one item from any grocery load for a refund. Occasionally, she'd type a list of complaints to substantiate her returns and head into the store with a bag full of bad stuff. Mealy apples. Mold on one green pepper. Soggy sprouts. "If the merchandise is bad, you return it. You take it or send it back." She believed in good deals.

Grandpa, now he had a more conventional religion. He liked to sing the "Hallelujah Chorus" in the bathtub, slapping the faucet to make the kettle drum beats.

"I need to go," she whispers when I answer her bell. She reaches up to me with both hands. I let her use my neck for a brace and put my arm around her ribs. We limp to the john.

"I don't want to be alone," she says.

"Most people don't." I lower her to the seat.

She says, "I'm stronger today than I was yesterday." She is waiting for her water.

I nod and smile. I say to her deafness, "No you're not."

Grandpa liked me. Said I was the best thing ever happened to his kooky family. "Teach that husband of yours to communicate," he said. "Teach him that right now. He's a good boy and a fine musician, but he's had a hard life." He looked at the old lady. "He'll need a lot of love."

"That I've got," I said.

Grandpa never knew about the divorce, having been killed between a preposition and a pronoun.

Gran saw the marriage end, and she was proud. Getting rid of me had become her favorite battle. She didn't make my ex hate me, just made him angry at the world. The earth wasn't good enough for her seed, and everyone wanted her money.

The marriage ended when I sold my sewing machine to pay tithing.

"What is this? You making a down payment on heaven?" said my ex.

"My family pays tithing," I said.

"My family already gave," he said.

"What do you mean?"

"The mill."

"Oh yes. The famous mill."

"You want to give up mending, don't you, my dear. Give up mending and win a few points with the bishop. Bishop's a stud, isn't he."

"I pay tithing because it's right."

"Right. If you don't give enough money to Bish and his fellow bastards in Salt Lake, why they just might kick your ass," he said. He even looked like her when he spoke this way. He said, "What a rotten deal I got."

"It won't come." Gran looks at me with wide, gray eyes. A child's eyes. Her hair is matted and dirty orange. The roots are white. She reaches for me.

After she is in bed, she looks out the window. There are white spots on the glass, from the last storm.

"Open," she says.

I unfasten the window latch. She sniffles.

"My husband," she says. Her eyes water on cue. "One minute — here." A breath. "The next — gone."

"Did you like the orange juice this morning?" I say. She can't hear. I have to write it down on her little chalkboard. She squints at the words and at me, on the verge of recognition. She nods.

I BOUGHT IT ON SALE, I write. FIFTY-NINE CENTS A CAN. AT ALPHA BETA.

She closes her eyes. "Sleep," she moans.

Her medical problems are apparent; her legs are twice their normal size. When you press her knee, your thumbprint stays.

"Music," she says.

She wants Mozart in the room with her, despite her deafness. The vibration of the stereo is what she likes. I could give her David Bowie and she'd never know the difference. She'd let the drumbeats soothe her, thinking they were magic flutes.

My ex played Mozart. He made his money rebuilding pianos, spent his sensitivity playing them. He could give the old masters life but was otherwise a jerk. He had a keyboard laid out in the front room the night before Grandpa's funeral. Gran was at our place, talking about how hard widowhood would be but how maybe she could put her finances in order at last, since "HE" wouldn't be around. The funeral, she said, was costing a mint, even with the cheapest, unvarnished coffin. It was hard enough losing "HIM" without losing all that money.

She muttered like that all day. When it was night and she was alone in the front room, she walked across the keyboard and snapped seven dowels. My ex said he would have killed her if she weren't so tragic already.

"She's not tragic," I answered. "Only the great are tragic."

"My grandma," he said, "kept her house spotless. That's more than you can say." He picked up the broken dowels and swore. "She could have broken her neck in the fall," he said, cursing her soul under his breath.

"You wish it had been me, don't you," I said.

"Been you what?"

"You wish I had broken the dowels and my neck."

He glared at me, but it was the truth. He wished I were dead. He had told me that many times. He had a dream once that the government had assigned him to exterminate Khadaffi, so he tied a missile between my breasts and launched me to Libya. He laughed. "It wasn't exactly a nightmare," he said. "I was a hero. And you were worth your price. It was like getting a refund with interest." More laughter.

He was getting his refund now. And Gran was the interest.

The bed in this room has been here since we bought the house. This is where I had slept when I wanted to be alone. It was my bed. My books are still in the filing cabinet. I used to sit on my bed, holding some Victorian novel, and look out the window.

The apple tree is directly below. In blossom now and full of bees and yellow butterflies. With the window open, you can smell spring. Grandma told me yesterday that she had an apple tree when she was a child. She asked me to bring her some fresh blossoms and some buttermilk. I said I would. But she didn't ask again.

There are still flowers in the room. Three shades of wilting lilacs — white, lavender, purple. Tomorrow I will replace them with plastic daffodils.

She sleeps for only a few moments at a time, then awakes with a start. Sometimes she asks for food, sometimes rings the bell, sometimes clutches my hand.

Her body is small, a childish mound under the sheets. She is shivering.

"Are you all right?" I say.

The eyes flutter open. The mouth gapes lopsidedly, as though the lower lip were caught on a fishhook. She stares at me.

I write: ARE YOU OKAY?

"Scared," she says like a hoarse cat. She lapses in and out of consciousness, in and out of sanity. This morning she was singing a Mozart lullaby:

> Birds have all gone to their nest
> Even the bees are at rest . . .
> Sleep little dream prince of mine.

My ex used to play it on the piano. Mozart could make him weep. Mozart touched that whole family, actually, the same way Wagner moved Hitler. Mozart was our go-between, our intermediary, like Cyrano was to Christian. There were times it seemed Mozart had possessed my ex, was coming through his fingers. Sometimes he *was* Mozart, and I was the humble, weary, ephemeral Constanza, loving him there at the piano, knowing the end from the beginning, hearing the dead ivory respond to his touch, witnessing the miracle of music. So basically, I got screwed by Mozart. Then the Marriage of Figaro turned into divorce; the Magic Flute got warped; the Queen of Night got her fondest wish: Zorastro was murdered by a truckload of chickens. Sometimes when I looked at the piano, it grinned back with those dead teeth like it knew me, inside and out.

Gran, singing the lyrics this morning — about long rests, sleep, the birds and the bees — was childlike, pathetic, mawkish. In my Mormonest of hearts, I wanted to love her. I wanted her to be tragic and fearful and me to be full of benevolent pity. What a journal headline it would be: "Consummate Bitch recognizes the folly of her ways and begs forgiveness. Victim (Yours Truly) embraces her and has a catharsis." Hell, it could be a Church film! Norman Mailer could even write it up to sell on the national market: rich people in filmy nightgowns saying Forgive and Forgive and Forgive and No Cause, No Cause.

No use. No use. The banal do not die tragically. I tried to tell that to my ex. I said, read Aristotle's *Poetics*. Only kings can put out their eyes and get anything for them: self-knowledge, forgiveness, a free trip to Colonus.

"Take care of her, dear," said my ex. "I love her very much."

Mozart on the phone, fibbing his pants off. The truth is, he hates Gran worse than I do. He's hated her for years. Since she unpacked his bags to iron his shirts and made him miss the plane to Europe. He's hated her worse since she holed up in the rest home and insisted that he and the others of my ex-family pay her bill. He wants something for his money, now, this god of dead ivory. And he's getting it. He knows how common we are. We have given up on being kings and queens, priests and priestesses. We are not great enough to bring about catharsis. Not one of us is great enough for that.

Once when Gran visited, she sat for hours looking at our *Time* magazine. She read no articles, but she thought Casper Weinberger was very handsome. "He looks like Gregory Peck," she said. "Doesn't he look like Gregory Peck? But what a strange name. Do you suppose he's Jewish?"

"Secretary of Defense," I said.

"He's better looking than the last one."

She twists her head towards the window and smiles. Her teeth are gold-framed and gray. "Mama loved apple blossoms," she says in the same little-girl voice that parodied Mozart this morning. "Beside the apple tree was — a brook. We cooled milk and buttermilk in — the brook." She breathes hard between phrases. "Mama. All gone."

I write: ARE YOU THIRSTY?

"No." She is still watching the blossoms. Her mouth moves. I can't hear her.

I write: CAN I HELP YOU?

"Pray," she says.

"Our Father which art in heaven," I say, and some unidentifiable memory moves inside me. It is a poignant memory, one that would make me cry if I could see it clearly. But I can't.

"Hallowed be thy name," I say. She is staring at me with those pathetic eyes. God, she wants me to save her. She wants to rip off the last vestige of my faith and ride it to heaven.

"Hallowed be thy name," I say. "And so on. Lord," I say, "Lord, she should have had a heart attack at a checkstand. Over the high price of yogurt. Amen. AMEN."

Then she is looking at me hard, reaching for me. She pulls my ear to her mouth.

"Do you need to go?" I say. I can smell her tinny breath.

"I'm sorry," she says.

"Did you wet the bed?"

"Sorry." Her legs move under her covers. The dot of wetness spreads.

I scrawl: DID YOU WET THE BED?

"No control," she says.

SHALL I CHANGE YOUR SHEETS?

"Please." Again she reaches. Again I give my neck and set her on the chair. She twists around it, clutching its back, and watches the bees on the apple blossoms outside. As I fluff the pillow, I hear her slide to the floor. She is on her knees, her cheek pressed to the seat.

"Jesus," she says.

I lift off her wet nightdress. She is naked underneath it. I get her one of my nightgowns, one I kept in this room during my marriage for nights when I wanted to sleep alone. She puts her arms out to accommodate the sleeves. And when her face is covered and my gown is half on her, I shudder deep and beg God to finish his work. I tell him I will not last the night. Some things, I say, are too hard to be borne.

Two Fishermen in Hong Kong

Timothy Liu

We couldn't find anyone
in that inner-city maze.
Between thick buildings

we asked God for directions
in our own tongue, our hope
unravelling like heavy nets

let out to drag the ocean floor,
our eyes instinctively closing
on the smell of squid and fish

steaming from a hawker's cart.
We watched him dip two sticks,
each skewered with pieces

of orange legs and tentacles.
We were warned not to feed
off strangers. For hours

we worked that succulence
in our mouths, our aching
jaws beginning to testify.

TIMOTHY LIU has a degree in English from Brigham Young University. His chapbook, A Zipper of Haze, *was published by Winepress in 1988.*

The Lord's Table

Timothy Liu

The banquet table was spread,
But I could no longer smell
Satisfaction in the room.

I couldn't swallow the smiles
Nor could I decipher
The language I once knew.

But still I joined them,
Nibbling crusts of dry bread
And sipping tepid water.

The elders' faces grew old
Like the legends
That seasoned my youth.

I sat in silent pews
Staring past the chancel,
Wanting more.

I hungered to be
Consumed, and left
Emaciated.

Mormon Woman Historian

Juanita Brooks: Mormon Woman Historian by Levi S. Peterson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), xi, 528 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by Gary Topping, curator of manuscripts at the Utah State Historical Society.

STUDENTS OF UTAH and Mormon historiography ought to be rejoicing at the flowering of literature in that field over recent years. Beginning perhaps in the last decade with Wallace Stegner's biography of Bernard DeVoto and his edited collection of DeVoto's letters, we have seen a succession of historiographical studies, including John Phillip Walker's collection of Dale Morgan's letters and Morgan's fragmentary history of the early Mormon Church, the recent brief survey of Mormon historiography by Davis Bitton and Leonard Arrington, and the happy news that Newell Bringhurst is preparing a biography of Fawn Brodie. It is now abundantly apparent that Levi S. Peterson has made a superb contribution to that growing literature with this exhaustive biography of Juanita Brooks.

In singing the praises of this fine book, it is difficult to overemphasize the almost unique appropriateness of Peterson as the biographer of Juanita Brooks. The profound interest, not to say obsession, that Peterson has exhibited for many years with her life and works grows, it seems, from two fundamental common elements in their lives. One is that both grew up in small rural communities on the very frontier of Mormondom where paradoxical mixtures of zealotry and liberalism, earthiness and piety, created tensions in the way they view life, tensions they have attempted to resolve through extraordinary literary and public careers. The other is their common identification with "liberal Mormonism," whose modern focal points have been such publications as DIALOGUE and *Sunstone* and informal study groups such as those led by Will and Juanita Brooks in Salt Lake City and St. George.

The first half of the biography is inevitably the best, for it deals with the period of Juanita's life when those tensions were created and resolved most strongly. Peterson's empathy for rural Mormon folkways and the general tenor of life in such communities, his energy in seeking out fresh sources for largely unknown episodes in his subject's girlhood, and the fortunate existence of elaborate documentation in the form of *Quicksand and Cactus* and other early autobiographical writings give an extraordinary richness to the narrative. He appropriately gives major attention to the awakening of her intellectual life primarily through her close study of the pioneer diaries she collected under government programs during the 1930s and through her correspondence with Dale Morgan. The fruit of that intellectual maturation was the great literary monuments of her middle years: her study of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the biography of John D. Lee, and her editions of the Lee and Hosea Stout diaries.

The later chapters become increasingly tedious as her physical and intellectual powers diminished, as she turned her attentions to literary projects of secondary or even dubious value, and as humdrum family and professional concerns came to dominate her life. In dramatic terms, there is surely nothing less engrossing than the details of the daily life of a Mormon housewife, even a Mormon housewife with a

200 I.Q., particularly in contrast with the salad days when she strode into the office of David O. McKay to make an eloquent case for access to affidavits relating to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, or crossed swords with the ferocious Kate B. Carter over the objective presentation of Mormon history. But Juanita Brooks was, as Sterling McMurrin observed, "a most uncommon woman draped in a very common exterior," and such humdrum details remind us how very common that exterior, and indeed much of her interior, really was.

Peterson's objectivity, in the best spirit of Juanita Brooks herself, will not let even her squeak by with a courteous "A" when she deserves a "C minus," and he is gently but firmly critical of the perfunctory projects of her later years. One happy circumstance in Peterson's sharp-eyed coverage of those years, however, is that the friends and editors who helped pick up the slack in her personal and professional life as her powers began to diminish receive their due at last.

The last two or three pages of the book, where Peterson describes Brooks's current unfortunate physical and mental circumstances and, in the third person, his own recent visit to her home and bedside, are extremely touching and unforgettable. As he concludes the book with an overall appraisal of her historical and cultural importance, though, one wonders if he does not slip into wishful thinking. "Because of her," he writes, "the collective mind of Mormondom is more liberal and more at peace with itself than it might be otherwise" (p. 422). One has to wonder where the locus of that collective mind exists: at 50 East North Temple? At the offices of DIALOGUE, *Sunstone*, or Signature Books? Some Mormons certainly regarded her *Mountain Meadows Massacre* as a welcome dose of honesty in the otherwise almost exclusively faith-promoting historiography of the Church. Others, perhaps even most Latter-day Saints, clearly did not: how widely utilized are any of her books, for example, in the Church educational system? Mormon historians have gradually found it possible to express themselves more freely since 1950, partly, no doubt because of the appearance of her book in that year, but the "collective mind of Mormondom," statistically at least, still seems overwhelmingly to prefer the torrent of defensive and faith-promoting literature that floods the shelves of Deseret Book outlets.

A Prophet's Progress

The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), v, 736 pp., $18.95.

An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith edited by Scott R. Faulring (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), vii, 504 pp., $50.00.

Reviewed by Roger D. Launius, command historian, Military Airlift Command, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois.

NO ONE TODAY KNOWS MORE about the handwriting, letters, and other documents produced by Joseph Smith, Jr., than Dean C. Jessee. Long a careful student of these primary resources, his comprehensive editing of the Prophet's writings demonstrates his expertise on virtually every page. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, therefore, is a landmark publication. Scott R. Faulring's editing of the diaries and journals of Joseph Smith also makes a significant contribution to the field. These two fine publications clearly contain the best work of this type, and both deserve a place on the bookshelf of any serious student of early Mormon history and its founding prophet.

Dean Jessee originally planned to publish all significant holographs, those documents produced wholly by Joseph Smith,

Jr., with the exception of a few mundane business and administrative writings and his sacred writings. As his work progressed, however, Jessee expanded his scope to include dictated or copied documents that revealed the inner man, even though they were in the handwriting of others. The documents published in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* have been arranged in two major sections, both presented chronologically: the first contains diaries and autobiographical accounts that Smith was intimately involved in preparing, and the second makes available Smith's letters.

Jessee's work is a model of historical scholarship; all documents have been transcribed with original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization and annotated to provide additional background information. Jessee includes facsimile reproductions of many of the most important documents as well. Unfortunately, with the increasingly restrictive policies of the LDS Historical Department Archives, where most of Smith's papers are housed, this work may be as close as most historians can now come to working with the original documentary evidence of the life of the founding prophet.

One caution is in order in using this edition of Jessee's book. No one realized when the book was published that no fewer than five of the letters included are in reality the personal writings of Mark Hofmann. These include the earliest document, the Anthon Transcript of 1928; the latest letter, a harried plea for help to Jonathan Dunham dated the day of the Prophet's death; an 1838 money-digging letter to Hyrum Smith; a June 1844 letter to Maria and Sarah Lawrence revealing a Smith desperately seeking a way for these two plural wives to meet him in hiding; and the 1844 Joseph Smith III blessing. A revised edition of Jessee's book entitled the *Papers of Joseph Smith* will be available from Deseret Book Company in August 1989.

Faulring's edition of Smith's diaries and journals reflects the recent restrictions on the use of materials in the LDS depository. Published in 1987, three years after Jessee's work, the editor noted in his preface that he "was not allowed access to the originals of any of the documents, all of which are currently housed in the archives of the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (p. xv). Accordingly, Faulring was forced to work from photomechanical copies held in other depositories. The rationale for this restrictive policy eludes all but the most myopic of Church bureaucrats and, with copies available elsewhere, is essentially "locking the barn door after horse has escaped."

Faulring's work contains eleven major documents relating to the life of Joseph Smith. The first is an 1832 autobiographical sketch. Following are ten diaries and journals: (1) the "Joseph Smith, Jr., Record Book" covering the years 1832–34; (2) the "Sketch Book for the use of Joseph Smith, Jr.," 1835–36; (3) the "Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith, Jr.," for March–September 1838; (4) the "Joseph Smith Journal" for 1838–39; (5) the "Minute Book, 1839. J. Smith Journal"; (6) the biographical materials in "The Book of the Law of the Lord," 1841–43; and (7–10) four untitled journals from 1843–44 kept by Willard Richards. Faulring presents an honest representation of these documents, but he assumes enough editorial license to modernize spellings and word usage.

There is some overlap between the autobiographical writings in Jessee's work and the diaries and journals in Faulring's publication. The 1832 autobiographical sketch and the 1832–34 and 1835–36 diaries appear in both works; Jessee exactly duplicates the original, and Faulring standardizes some punctuation and spelling.

In spite of inherent difficulties, both Dean Jessee and Scott Faulring have produced fine books, which make readily available critical documentary evidence. Both are important additions to the literature of early Mormonism and will be standard works for years to come.

Drowning in Excess

Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference, 3 vols., 2d ed., by Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (Provo, Utah: F.A.R.M.S., 1987), 1331 pp., $55.00.

Reviewed by Melodie Moench Charles, who helped prepare a translator's guide to the Book of Mormon while working at the LDS Church Translation Division and has a masters degree in Old Testament.

PRAISE TO THE MOSTLY ANONYMOUS TEAM from F.A.R.M.S. who produced this massive work. They deserve praise first for dedicating so much time and effort to careful research through manuscripts, computer indexes, and printed material. Second, they deserve praise for their reasonable, nonfundamentalist assumptions about the Book of Mormon. Their introduction asserts, "Naturally, Joseph Smith employed the scriptural idiom of his day . . . i.e., the Elizabethan and Jacobean usage of the KJV translators. His own very strong rural New England/New York grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, and spelling is also evident" (1:viii). They agree with earlier scholars who determined that Joseph Smith "certainly utilized a copy of the King James Version of the Bible whenever he came to lengthy portions of the text of the Book of Mormon obviously paralleling biblical passages" (1:ix).

Third, they deserve praise for acknowledging their limitations. They note that textual criticism is highly subjective, depending more on common sense than on abstract rules (1:ix), implying that other people's common sense could lead them to choose different readings as being most correct. Fourth, they deserve praise for largely resisting the attempt to defend Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon. They are not overtly apologetic. For example, they note that "Some parallels would seem to lead to conclusions which other parallels contradict. . . . The Critical Text raises questions, but does not provide easy answers to them, opening up instead directions for further exploration. It is a foundation for future research rather than a source of proofs or final answers to questions" (3:vi).

The major failing of this work is that the team did not determine their goal and pursue it single-mindedly, ruthlessly rejecting everything that was not directly relevant to the creation of a critical text. They should have saved their additional information, some of it far more interesting than the critical text and some of it deadly dull, for the one-volume commentary they intend to produce (1:ix). While it is extremely hard not to tell all you know, not to share all your wonderful information and insight, restraint is more effective. This group needed a mean editor to make them pare their volume down to what it was intended to be.

A critical text is a text as close to the original intent of the author as is possible. These volumes present a continuous critical text, and catalogue in footnotes the manuscripts and printed editions that agree and disagree with their text. Footnotes also present biblical parallels. Appendices tell the location of all known Book of Mormon manuscripts and list headings and captions added to manuscripts as well as errors and corrections. All this is relevant and appropriate to a critical text.

But with thousands of notes citing biblical translations, manuscripts, versions, and texts, I found no mention of Joseph Smith's inspired translation of the Bible. Surely this would have provided useful information for arriving at the intent of Joseph Smith. A history of Book of Mormon texts would also have been appropriate to help the reader see why this team chose one reading over others. Without this information (the kind that Stan Larson provides so well) the reader is left with no criteria but personal taste to evaluate the F.A.R.M.S. team's choices.

Their much-needed, nonexistent, mean editor should have axed the ever-present

John Sorenson-inspired chronology based on a Mayan year of 360 days, as well as footnotes giving the exact date of the crucifixion (3:1019, n. 167), the date of Moroni's birth (3:1147, n. 27), and the age of Mormon when he resigns his post (3:1153, n. 54). None of this is appropriate to a critical edition. The editor should have fought the mistaken notion that every biblical and extra-biblical parallel is relevant and worth pointing out. The flood of parallels in these volumes numb the mind to the parallels which could be significant. The editor should have saved for the next commentary the references to articles explaining "the Red Sea," ancient Near Eastern metals, and "bind" in journals of biblical scholarship (1:225, n. 784; 2:420, n. 523; 2:560, n. 390).

Discussions of Nephi and Mormon being simultaneously young and large (1:12, n. 105) don't belong here. Empedocles, Alcmaeon, Heraclitus, and Plato's contrasting views to "opposition in all things," and "all things must needs be a compound in one" in 2 Nephi 2:11 (1:149, n. 102) do not belong here. Pointing out the ritual uncleanness of asses does not belong here, nor does it relate to a Book of Mormon text about returning a neighbor's ass (2:397, n. 348). And the comparison between the different types of sons in the Jewish Passover *Hagaddah* and Alma's sons is not only a bad comparison, but it doesn't belong here either (2:743, n. 815).

Volume two is full of attempts to tie acts in the Book of Mormon to specific Old Testament observances of holy days and ritual. This kind of hopeful suggestion is even attached to acts that give no hint of ritual observance. For example, in Alma 20:9 when the father of King Lamoni asks his son, "Why did ye not come to the feast on that great day when I made a feast unto my sons and unto my people?" the footnote suggests which ritual feast this might have been (2:650, n. 139). Mosiah 6:7 says that King Mosiah caused his people to farm, and he farmed too so that they would not have to support him. Footnote 373 suggests he did this "at close of Sabbatical or Jubilee Year in which the land has lain fallow" (2:400). This effort to validate the Book of Mormon by making it seem to fit an ancient Near Eastern context strips away the F.A.R.M.S. team's veneer of objectivity. It has no place in a critical text.

The F.A.R.M.S. team also needed an editor to insist on a uniform, understandable style of presentation. They too often forgot that their purpose was to present a critical text and buried the information on variations in Book of Mormon texts in the extensive cataloguing of variant readings in New Testament manuscripts. The team gave routine information in a variety of ways. Serving no purpose that I could discern, some biblical and extra-biblical parallels were presented all in English except for one word in Hebrew, Greek, or occasionally Egyptian or Syriac transliteration. This transliterated word was not necessarily the key word and sometimes was not in the Book of Mormon text. Only readers of Hebrew would understand their explanation of differences between Old Testament and Book of Mormon passages such as "Heb. *waw*, 'and,' elided from between *beth* and *mem*" (1:182, n. 399). I found many references so cryptic that I could not figure out their meaning.

The team mistakenly assumes that if there is precedent for unusual spelling in the Oxford English Dictionary, then that spelling is what Joseph Smith intended. Sometimes the results of this are merely ridiculous. For example, they decide that since "Egipt" is in the OED Joseph Smith must have meant "Egipt" in 1 Nephi 5:14, even though the next line in the same manuscript refers to "Egypt" (1:27). Similarly, they chose "harts" in 1 Nephi 7:8 when the same manuscript reads "hearts" later in the same verse (1:31). They presume that because the OED lists "adutry" as a variant of "adultry," "adutry" is not just a misspelling but is what Joseph Smith intended (1:624).

At other times confusion results when the variant spelling is also a different word.

The note for 1 Nephi 10:3 indicates that "yea" is meant, but the contributors choose "ye" for the text because the OED lists it as an archaic variant of "yea" (1:43, n. 356). Notes for Mosiah 29:33 and Alma 18:37 indicate that "travails" is meant, but they choose "travels" for the text because the OED lists it as a variant of "travails" (2:513, n. 1230; 2:640, n. 57). They let Mormon 5:23 read "the earth shall be rolled together as a scrawl" because the OED lists "scrawl" as a variant of "scroll" (3:1163, n. 121).

The textual apparatus is particularly unhelpful in the portions of 1 and 2 Nephi paralleling Isaiah and 3 Nephi paralleling Matthew. There are many passages that are *almost* verbatim, but that *almost* is important. Rather than writing out the Matthean parallel so the reader can see where the differences are, the notes give the chapter and verse numbers for that parallel, then write out the text of other less similar parallels.

Faults aside, this critical text is a truly valuable "Tool for Scholarly Reference." I used it as the basic text for my most recent Book of Mormon research, and I will probably find that its information can enhance each future Book of Mormon project I do. Scholars who need to be aware of textual changes or scriptural parallels will find it an essential reference. The F.A.R.M.S. team can be proud of their contribution.

The RLDS Conference

The Conferring Church by M. Richard Troeh and Marjorie Troeh (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1987), 232 pp., $10.00.

Reviewed by Gary Shepherd, associate professor of sociology at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, and co-author (with brother, Gordon) of *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1984).

BY THE 1850s, general conferences of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had evolved from internal organizational meetings into inspirational gatherings in which General Authorities taught, exhorted, admonished, and defended the Mormon people. This ideological emphasis has characterized conference proceedings ever since. In contrast, general conferences of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints have retained much of the governance and business essence of original Mormon conferences (which in turn were based on a general Protestant model). While the structure and functioning of modern RLDS conferences have become increasingly complex (and do include some "evening preaching" by General Officers), the major official purposes are to design and approve the church's operating budget, legislate new programs, sustain General Officers, and accept new revelation that may be presented by the president of the church.

In *The Conferring Church*, Richard and Marjorie Troeh present a detailed description of the RLDS conference process. This is not a scholarly analysis; it is a quasi handbook for conference delegates and an explanatory guide for RLDS church members based on a course taught by the authors in their home congregation. The Troehs have organized their clearly written material in a coherent and systematic textbook manner. Given their primary audience and objectives, we might expect the Troehs to present an idealized version of conference proceedings and functioning, which in fact they often do. For instance, they make little mention of contemporary difficulties; most notable is their silence about the controversial 1984 conference which, amid schismatic rumblings from opponents, finally

approved the ordination of women to the priesthood. At the same time, we see a fair amount of candor about certain human shortcomings associated with conferences, especially considering that this book was ultimately reviewed by the First Presidency of the RLDS Church.

A glorified church manual, no matter how well written, would not ordinarily be the subject of a DIALOGUE review. In this case, however, the Troehs' book may be used by both Mormons and interested outsiders to compare several key divergences between the RLDS and LDS churches. Most of these differences revolve around the tendency in RLDS thought and organization toward greater liberalization. After reading this account, it is apparent that Mark Leone's characterization of Mormonism as a "modern religion" — emphasizing individualism, changeability, relativism, and adaptability — might be better applied to the RLDS than the LDS church (see Mark Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979]).

One specific illustration of this difference is the degree to which members are meaningfully involved in establishing churchwide policies. The majority of LDS readers will probably be most struck by the Troehs' portrayal of institutional revelation. The RLDS Church takes quite seriously the notion of "theocratic democracy" and regards its biennial world conference as the prime instrument through which ordinary members actively participate in the "prophetic mission" of the Church. The prophet may not always present a revelation to the conference. But when he does, the approximately 2800 elected delegates are expected, in prayerful but parliamentary fashion, to deliberate upon the merits of the prophet's written revelation and then vote to accept or reject this document as expressing God's will for the church. The prophet may amend his revelatory statement should a majority of delegates be dissatisfied with some portion of it. The conference, as a church body, thus becomes the ultimate community interpreter of divine disclosure — a kind of complementary partner to the prophet in the revelatory process.

The conference also serves another corporate "prophetic" function through its broader legislative activities, especially those involving allocation of funds. Funded programs become priorities and presumably reflect a unified understanding of purpose, at a given time, about the church's "divine mission" in the world. The conference not only shapes and gives its blessings to new programs but also reviews budgetary expenditures of the previous two years to ensure that the directives of the last conference have been appropriately followed.

An unusual amount of both revelational flexibility and hierarchical restraint is evident in these and other conference functions described by the Troehs. As teachers of conference tradition and procedures to prospective delegates and the laity at large, the Troehs advocate these functions within a classic liberal theology of change. According to them, the role of the conference in expressing the "common consent" of members should be achieved by "prayerful involvement in the process of interpreting those truths already given (and even reinterpreting them from time to time) as life situations change" (p. 64). The most obvious situational factor recognized by RLDS conferences in recent decades is the diversity of cultures into which the church has expanded. The Troehs encourage those conference actions which "reflect [the] worldwide nature of the church and an understanding of their possible meanings in different cultures" (p. 141). They link these expressions of cultural relativism with official conference statements that support ecumenical movements "compatible with our vision of the Kingdom" (p. 96).

Important elements of the RLDS "vision of the Kingdom" are revealed in the structure, functioning, and substance of their biennial world conference, at least as much as in the biannual LDS counterpart. This seems reason enough to recom-

mend the kind of straightforward account produced by the Troehs for a good introductory grounding in how the RLDS conference system works.

Not Quite a Complete Meal

An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown edited by Edwin B. Firmage (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), xiii, 152 pp., paperback, $9.95.

Reviewed by Edward L. Kimball, professor of law at J. Reuben Clark Law School, BYU.

LAST NIGHT I HAD PIZZA FOR DINNER. Though I liked the taste, I felt I'd not had quite a complete meal. I also enjoyed *An Abundant Life*, the oral reminiscences of Hugh Brown Brown, a great modern Church leader, but I had the feeling there, too, that something was missing.

At President Brown's suggestion, his grandson Ed Firmage undertook to write his biography and interviewed him during 1969 and 1970. Firmage subsequently became involved in other work, however, and turned the project and the transcripts over to professional historians Eugene E. Campbell and Richard D. Poll, who in 1975 published *Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft), just after President Brown's death.

Since that admirable biography of 320 pages told President Brown's life story in much greater detail, using much of the material from these same transcripts, and since the first and last chapters and all but one of the letters included in the memoirs have recently been published separately (see DIALOGUE 21 [Summer 1988]: 17–50; *Sunstone* 11 [November 1987]: 7–11), I have to ask: What justifies the separate publication of these raw materials?

I can see four reasons. First, the biography was published thirteen years ago and is now out of print. A new life story, even if not so complete, can introduce readers to this remarkable man.

Second, here President Brown tells his story in his own words. What it therefore loses in objectivity, it gains in additional insights about the man.

Third, the book preserves many of the strong personal anecdotes Hugh B. Brown used repeatedly in his career as a great public speaker. Examples include his mother's advice to ask, "Father, are you there?" (p. 13); experiences as the victim of misunderstanding (pp. 58, 85–86); calling a cigar smoker as bishop (p. 71); oppression by an evil spirit before being called as a General Authority (pp. 112–13); prophecies of his call (pp. 114–15); and twenty-odd others. This fund of stories will enrich the public speaking of another generation.

Fourth, this book offers some new materials. Hugh B. Brown had lifelong association with Church leaders, and he mentions some of their human frailties in these memoirs. But he had no trouble believing that God works through imperfect men, even imperfect prophets. As a gauge of his own character, he was able to give great men their due without unfairly discounting for their shortcomings. He mentions that one was "very severe in his judgment and very exacting in his demands upon his family" but "loved deeply . . . [and was] very just and fair" (p. 11). Another was at times "self opinionated" and "rather sharp" in business but also "kindly . . . [and] a great leader" (pp. 14–16). One president of the Church offended his counselor by making decisions without consulting him (p. 131). A counselor in the presidency "was a one-man show and very self-confident . . . but he and I were very fond of each other" (p. 132). Another leader brought "tremendous pressure to bear" upon President Brown to concur in a decision, but they later became reconciled (pp. 142–43). "Although I have had some rather difficult experiences since I became a General Authority by reason of some mis-

understandings and disagreements, it has been a truly wonderful experience" (p. 115), he recorded in summary.

In 1935 Hugh accepted an interim appointment to the Utah Liquor Control Commission at the urging of the Church president and then was released as stake president because the president's counselors insisted the positions were inconsistent, especially when opponents floated false rumors of bribery (pp. 85–86). According to President Brown, "Despite their having, in a sense, forsaken me in the storm, I did not in any way lose faith in the church as such, although I did have some reservations in sustaining some of the members of the First Presidency who had taken such an active part in getting me released from the stake presidency at such a crucial time" (p. 86). He later spoke of the same two men with great respect and affection (pp. 113, 121, cf. p. 114).

He recognized his own frailties, mentioning his "possibly overbearing attitude" (p. 13), and indicating that he had to work hard on humility (p. 123) and curbing his temper and his tongue (p. 133). "I do not mean to intimate that a man would have to be perfect to be a General Authority of the church. But he should always be moving toward perfection, curbing his natural desires, his weaknesses, and tendencies toward self-aggrandizement and to be worthy of the companionship of the Holy Spirit" (p. 126).

The book's most significant new information comes not from the transcripts, but from the editor's Afterword, where we learn of President Brown's failed efforts to bring about a change in the priesthood policy concerning blacks (pp. 141–43). The Afterword, with only slight changes, previously appeared in the November 1987 issue of *Sunstone* (p. 7). This information was not included in the 1975 biography because it would have disclosed serious disagreement among the General Authorities on one of the most delicate of policy questions at a time when apparent agreement was highly important. The biography focused rather on President Brown's insistence that any priesthood restriction be kept clearly separate from the question of political civil rights and respect for individual dignity and worth.

The appearance of the book in paperback is a welcome way to keep price within reason, and the photographs are excellent. But I have two major criticisms. First, the editorial work left something to be desired. Second, in an understandable attempt to attract readers, the publisher has engaged in somewhat sensational advertising.

While the memoirs do not purport to be scholarly, a few things deserved noting. Just as the one editorial interpolation reports the 1978 revelation on priesthood, so the four pages President Brown spent discussing plural marriage after the Manifesto of 1890 should be clarified by reference, if only in the introduction, to articles such as D. Michael Quinn, *LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904* (DIALOGUE 18 [Spring 1985]: 9–105).

A number of irritating typographical, spelling, and factual errors were left in the text. For example, the statement appears that there were no Church members within 120 miles of Cambridge, England (p. 21). The Atlantic Ocean has become the Pacific (p. 90); and the Mayo Clinic is placed in New York (p. 109). Perfection is too much to expect (as anyone who has published knows), but these are not just proofreader problems, they are the editor's responsibility. Since the memoirs were oral, we cannot attribute erroneous homonyms to President Brown.

In addition, there are a number of awkward phrases and sequences that I, as editor, would have smoothed out. I would not fault the editor if these problems resulted from a conscious choice to leave the memoirs as President Brown dictated them, but comparing chapter one with *Hugh B. Brown: The Early Years*, published in the Summer 1988 issue of DIALOGUE and covering the same material, shows that the editor felt free to make changes not only in sequence but also in phrasing.

The errors in the main text are unfortunate, but the four-page index is a disaster, with at least two dozen errors marring its generally helpful listing. I do not wish to make too much of the issue, and the editor assures me that the errors I listed for him will be corrected in the third printing, but I mean to emphasize that careful editing and indexing are very important to many readers.

Though the book offers significant new information, it hardly warrants being merchandised as a book "for those who want all the facts" (ad in *Sunstone*). The publisher's press release stated that the memoirs tell of President Brown's "troubled youth and physically abusive father" and his "liberal views on birth control, marital sexual relations, divorce, political extremism, science, intellectualism, and race relations" and "shed light on the inner workings of the Mormon hierarchy" ([Provo] *Herald*, 30 October 1988, p. 51). Though the memoirs do reflect these topics, the advertising sensationalizes them as major themes rather than items referred to only in passing.

The book tells nothing of a "troubled youth" as we normally use that phrase. Times were hard, and a great deal was asked of young Hugh in working on farm and ranch, but his life was arrow straight. He relates that he decided very early to do nothing to disappoint his beloved mother (p. 2), and he kept to a life of strict rectitude, without dishonesty, smoking or drinking, or sexual involvements (pp. 7, 9).

His father may have been physically abusive by our standards, but though Hugh called him "harsh . . . [with] awful temper . . . [and demanding] immediate obedience," he added that he "loved his family sincerely and did everything he could for us" (pp. 1–2).

Hugh's social views may have been liberal, but hardly extreme. Artificial birth control, he said, "we cannot officially endorse," because it would send wrong signals (pp. 119–20), though he did foresee a day when the policy would be modified. He noted that it is dangerous to try to regulate the private sexual conduct of a married couple (p. 119). The Church has tried that and is now more discreet in its concerns about marital relations, as President Brown advised. As to abortion, Hugh B. Brown would have added to rape, incest, and danger to the mother — grounds now recognized by the Church — "the possibility of a grossly deformed birth" (p. 119).

Nothing in the book suggests a special view of divorce. When Elder Brown advised President McKay on applications for cancellation of sealings ("temple divorce"), he simply implemented President McKay's criteria. The only indication of "liberalism" was his bland statement that "a certain flexibility is required."

As a Democrat, Elder Brown opposed the widespread identification of the Church in recent decades with Republican political positions. He decried political extremism, such as judging people's loyalty by how high they bear "some anti-Communist banners" (p. 130).

His defense of science was rather a defense of the honest search for truth, not a judgment that scientists are always open-minded. His plea was always for inquiry, openness, and humility. Here he made important contributions. In 1969 he told a group of BYU students, for example, "We are not so much concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall have thoughts" (reprinted in DIALOGUE 17 [Spring 1984]: 77). His most-used quotations ring with integrity and inherent authority. Chapter nine contains a marvelous summary of his broad-gauged philosophy of life. This really is "liberal," in the best sense of that word.

Finally, he was indeed liberal with respect to race relations. While other Church leaders were content to await the day of change, President Brown's statements made it clear that any priesthood restriction based on race had no bearing on the entitlement of every person to full civil rights. And his groundwork made the eventual wholehearted acceptance of the extension of temple blessings to all worthy men and women in 1978 much easier than it otherwise might have been.

Though the memoirs contain information about differences between Church leaders and about their personal frailties, they shed little light on the workings of the hierarchy during his tenure, except for the handling of sealing cancellations (pp. 116–17) and the naming of new General Authorities (p. 127).

Obviously I have picked at details, and my criticisms are directed in good part at the publisher's advertising methods, but I am glad the book has been published. Here again we have the story of a man who exemplified the best combination of intellect and faith. Hugh B. Brown was a wonderful maverick, illustrating the value of diversity in the Church and the possibility of being at once independent of thought and unquestionably loyal. The kind of people who read DIALOGUE will read this life of Hugh B. Brown with great satisfaction. If these memoirs are not the well-rounded meal I hoped for, they do leave me with a good taste in my mouth.

Mormonism, Magic, and Masonry: The Damning Similarities

Mormonism's Temple of Doom by William J. Schnoebelen and James R. Spencer (Idaho Falls, Id.: Triple J. Publishers, 1987), 79 pp., $3.50.

Reviewed by Scott Abbott, associate professor of German at Brigham Young University.

THE LURID TITLE NOTWITHSTANDING, this little book is not a sequel to *Indiana Jones*, but rather an exposé of damning parallels between Mormonism, magic, and Masonry. The authors (most of the story is Schnoebelen's, with Spencer contributing an introduction) are moved, they write, by compassion for Mormons who participate in satanic rituals without knowing their true meaning. The book walks its reader through the temple ceremony and its symbols from the perspective of a man who has spent his adult life moving through the ritual hierarchies of witchdom, Freemasonry, and Mormonism, and who ends his chronology (illustrated by reproductions of degrees, recommends, and certifications) with the exclamation "SAVED!!!"

The parallels Schnoebelen points out between Mormonism and Masonry have been documented dozens of times. Joseph Smith and his associates were indeed Masons, and our temples and temple rite indeed owe much to Masonic iconography. Here the author is on firm historical ground. That ground grows swampy, however, as he attempts to identify the symbols of Mormonism and Masonry as satanic.

The author sometimes convinces as he connects the three ritual systems (similar symbols, grips, tokens, phrases, etc.); but more often he sets off on flights of fancy (as when he relates tokens of the Melchizedek Priesthood "to a Great Point on the circulation/sex meridian. Used in magic to alter sexual alchemy to enable magicians to marry demon spirits" or argues that the veil a woman wears in the temple relates her to the "Veiled Isis . . . the Consort of Lucifer . . . the keeper of the mysteries of sex and devil worship" (pp. 45 and 33). These examples of authorial credulity, just two of many which could be cited, illustrate two of the author's beliefs which are interesting beyond the merits of a book that becomes a tirade ("vampiric revulsion," "the ceremonies within are festering cankers of Satanism," etc.). The "demon spirit" example reveals that for the author signs/symbols/tokens have real magical power; the veil discussion shows that for him symbols mean the same in all times and contexts.

Schnoebelen assumes that if you have seen one veil you have seen them all. And the one veil he recognizes is the veil of Isis

he saw as a wizard of a "Druidic Rite" or as a warlock of a "Church of Satan." Interpreting veils from another tradition (Old Testament or Islamic, for instance) he would surely come to a different conclusion. But with a single, exclusive interpretive lens, myopia is unavoidable. Schnoebelen might do well to note the Old Testament peoples who adopted symbols of their pagan neighbors and successfully filled them with content true to their own God Jehovah. This is not to say that there are not offensive symbols. When enough of us share a background against which a symbol conveys something offensive — like the characterization of the devil as a man with a black skin — the symbol itself is changed. If the inverted pentagrams Schnoebelen finds so offensive on the Salt Lake and Logan temples were to indeed become "universally regarded as an evil symbol," we would simply have them chiseled off the walls (unless, as Schnoebelen would believe, we are meant by conspiratorial leaders to be "drawn into an ever tightening web of occult rites and deception" (p. 34).

Schnoebelen may not be wrong to identify our symbols as offensive in the context he has built in his own mind by practicing witchcraft; but to judge our symbols as universally evil is absurd. Contemporary use of the word "gay" is a good example of how a new meaning preempts an old one; and all of us past adolescence are sophisticated enough not to read usages of another time or context as proof of the user's sexual inclination.

Symbols, by their very nature, resist exclusive, never-changing interpretation. Only a committee of lawyers could presume to draft a ritual with a single, static meaning; and the brighter among them could find ambiguities in whatever text the others found conclusive. Schnoebelen has no such insight. For him a veil is a veil; and the green of an apron cannot relate to fig leaves or to the Boston Celtics, but must be "Lucifer's color! . . . Green is his color first because it relates qabalistically (sic) to Venus. Venus, the 'Morning Star,' is sacred to him. Alchemically, Lucifer is related to copper" (p. 22). My freshman literature students would hoot me out of the classroom if I began such free association.

But beyond his insistance that a single symbol have a single meaning in all historical circumstances, it is Schnoebelen's other assumption that really interests me. Although he has ostensibly left magic, Masonry, and Mormonism behind to enjoy his present saved condition, he still believes in a basic tenet of magic: that signs have actual physical and metaphysical power. When he writes, for instance, that he "cannot find any other place where the inverted pentagram is used outside Satanism. It is just too evil a sign — it draws demons!" (p. 49), he reveals what might be called idolatry, an inability or unwillingness to see beyond or through a symbol to what it signifies. This belief in the magical power of signs is interesting not because the author of a compassionately scurrilous pamphlet believes that our temple ceremonies "can cause spiritual — and sometimes *physical* — harm to the participant" (p. 9); but because the issue of magic versus metaphor is one that we as Mormon temple-goers might profitably discuss.

Freemasons of the late eighteenth century debated this issue in terms that shed light on our own ritual practice. The context of their debate was a broader European discussion about the nature of language. In his book *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage, 1973), Michel Foucault points out that prior to the eighteenth century, people had generally assumed that the words with which they communicated were natural, that is, directly related to the things or ideas they signified. (This belief stemmed in part from the account in Genesis in which Adam names the animals in the garden, using an Adamic language in which the name is perfectly adequate to the thing named, in which the name partakes of the nature of the thing.) According to this belief, then, for example, the word "gold" should contain the essence of the metal; and so alchemists sought in the

word itself the secrets of making gold. In the eighteenth century, however, Locke, Condillac, Rousseau, Herder, and others began to argue that language is not natural, but rather arbitrary. The sign is but a convention we agree on to designate some thing. They could point to language after Babel to make this point; for if the word "dog" partakes of the essence of dog-ness, then why do the Germans call the same animal "hund" and the French "chien"? If language is indeed arbitrary, then words no longer have magical power, for they no longer directly relate to the thing over which they are supposed to exert power.

For most of the eighteenth century this sense for language as arbitrary fit Freemasons' sense for their ritual just fine, for they saw their elaborate system of symbols as a rhetorical tool for teaching moral principles, and not as magically efficatious. But the lure of magic remained (as it does in any ritual system); and confidence men like Saint Germain and Cagliostro traveled through Europe revealing an esoteric, magical Masonry which promised wealth and supernatural knowledge untold. Pitched battles were fought between the two sides over the issue of metaphor versus magic. The metaphor camp interpreted their symbols as we do the tropes of a good poem: as revealing knowledge not otherwise accessible, but knowledge still very much limited to the realm of human language. In the magic camp, however, the symbols became esoteric keys to supernatural power and glory: gold could be made from base metals, spirits could be called up from another world. The first group saw the second as fallen from the heights of rational enlightenment, given over to superstition; and the second group found their brothers caught in a sterile, non-transcendent world.

There is plenty of evidence that many of our ancestors saw symbols of the temple ceremony as veritable keys to heaven and as magically potent here on earth. In fact, most of us still harbor some superstition in that regard. But clearly, knowing a secret sign will do us no good now or later unless the sign has helped us know what lies behind it. Unless we have been taught and changed we are left holding worthless currency. (Otherwise any mass-murderer in possession of the often-printed temple ceremony has nothing to fear.) The power is not in the symbols, but in Jesus Christ, whose atonement can be read in any of the symbols if we read well and don't seek salvation in the sign itself.

BRIEF NOTICES

Studies in Scripture: Volume Seven — 1 Nephi to Alma 29 edited by Kent P. Jackson (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 345 pp., index, $15.95.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS twenty-four exegetic essays on the Book of Mormon, coincidentally corresponding to two dozen known scribes of the text. It also offers a general conference talk by President Benson concerning the significance of the Book of Mormon and Oliver Cowdery's description of the restoration. All are replete with examples of prayer and spiritual prompting.

The annotated essays range in length from six-and-a-half to twenty-two pages. The twelve-and-a-half page "Creation, Fall, and Atonement" by LaMar E. Garrard has thirty-six citations, primarily cross references, but is readable without considering the notes. At the other extreme several authors employ only one to three notations. Eighteen articles have been written by faculty members from Brigham Young University, and the editor contributed five chapters.

The series has already examined the Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price, Old Testament (Genesis to 2 Samuel with I Kings-Malachi to be published in 1989), and the Gospels. A date for release of a study guide interpreting Alma to Moroni was not indicated.

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Compiled by Susan B. Taber

Letters in parentheses refer to artwork (a), fiction (f), letters to the editor (l), poetry (p), and reviews/brief notices (r).

This issue features the work of Shauna Cook Clinger, a Utah artist. A native of Salt Lake City, Clinger began her artistic training under Harold Petersen. As a presidential scholar, she studied under Alvin Gittins and Doug Snow at the University of Utah. In 1979 Alvin Gittins wrote that "Shauna Cook [Clinger] is an unusually gifted artist — a 'natural.'" She graduated magna cum laude from the University of Utah in 1976 and did graduate work under William Whitaker at Brigham Young University in 1978–79.

Clinger comments: "For me, all of life is the manifestation of and vehicle for deeper spiritual realities. My passion remains using the human form as an expression of spirit — from a personal interpretation of one specific individual to a symbolic metaphor or personification of broader spiritual concepts, beliefs or experiences. My work mirrors and documents my inner journey. Can my process be captured on and communicated from two dimensional surfaces? For me, that is the quest."

Artwork by Shauna Cook Clinger:

Cover: "Diptych 1: 'That they which see not might see,' John 9:39," 72″×36″ each panel, oil on two linen panels, 1987; collection of the artist.

p. 17: "Lynn and Jill," 40″×30″, oil on linen, 1980; courtesy of Dawna and David Barton.

p. 18: "Pink on Overstuffed," 42″×42″, oil on canvas, 1980; collection of the artist.

p. 43: "Cordell," 38″×25″, Nu-pastel on paper, 1980; collection of the artist.

p. 95: "Stephanie," 38″×25″, Nu-pastel on paper, 1980; collection of the artist.

p. 96: "Jenny," 38″×25″, Nu-pastel on paper, 1980; collection of the artist.

p. 118: "Brooke," 60″×48″, oil on canvas, 1976; courtesy of Brooke and Ray Morrison.

p. 140: "Carla," 74″×36″, oil on canvas, 1975; courtesy of Carla Olavson.

Photograph of Fawn McKay Brodie on page 78 from the 1931 Weber State College yearbook; courtesy of Weber State College Archives.

Photographs of the Sunset Ward chapel on pp. 120, 125, and 130; courtesy of Serge J. Lauper.