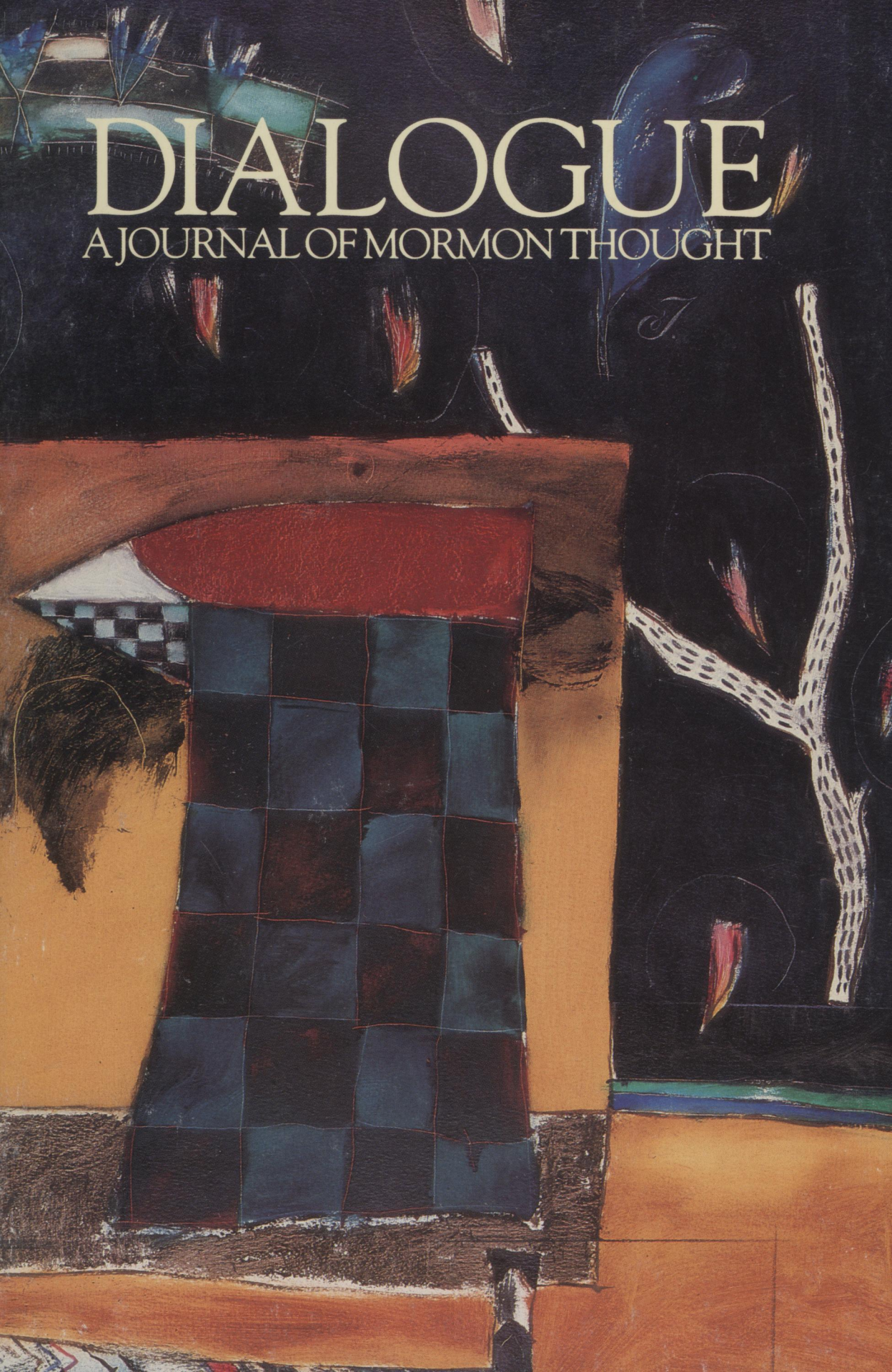
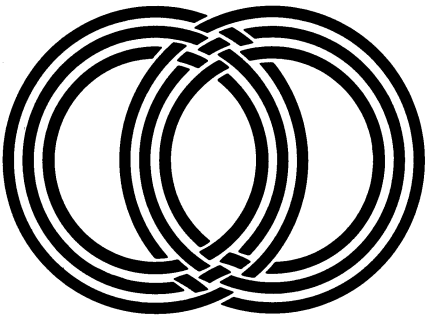
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

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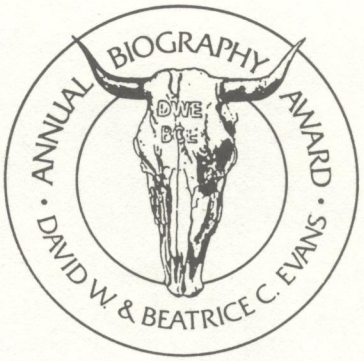
DIALOGUE welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, selections for Notes and Comments, letters to the editor, and art. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style* including double-spacing all block quotations 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, University Station—UMC 7805, Logan, Utah 84322-7805. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Art Editor at the same address.



Mountain West Center for Regional Studies
at Utah State University
announces the
1988 winner of the
David W. and Beatrice C. Evans Biography Award:

Roger D. Launius

for

Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet

Published by University of Illinois Press

IN THIS ISSUE

We introduce *Dialogue's* twenty-third year with a format change. After long and deliberate discussions about rising postal rates and paper costs, our staff has decided to change the size of our journal. We offer two reasons for this change. First, the previous size was an odd cut, wasting considerable paper in each issue. Second, the publisher determined that we could realize significant financial savings by moving to a standard six-by-nine-inch format. Thus, the change helps us avoid both increased subscription rates and wasted paper. Most people we consulted reminded us that the journal is evaluated by its contents and not its size. Nevertheless, we respect the concerns of those who appreciate the aesthetic value of the traditional size. Our goal is to create dialogue because of what we print, and we intend to continue publishing the articles, fiction, essays, and poetry that continue that dialogue.

In that spirit, this issue contains some significant contributions. Jessie L. Embry's essay probes the reality of being black Latter-day Saints in the contemporary Church. Following a similar theme, Mark Grover presents an enticing story of the relationship between black Brazilian Mormons, the opening of the São Paulo Temple, and the 1978 priesthood revelation.

Thomas Stuart Ferguson spent much of his life trying to prove the Book of Mormon through archaeology. Stan Larson describes Ferguson's journey as a frustrating venture that led to eventual disillusionment. Two articles about nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints demonstrate individual responses to the dilemmas of belonging to a persecuted religion. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher analyzes the autobiographical material in Eliza R. Snow's poetry, and Robert McCue discusses a Church member's determined commitment to polygamy, a principle that he did not even practice.

Brian E. Keck asks readers to reappraise the Old Testament scholarship about Ezekiel 37 and the use of writing techniques. Delmont Oswald and Lawrence Young give powerful personal responses to President Ezra Taft Benson's address to single males. Kate Boyes and Mary Ellen MacArthur present personal essays that discuss contemporary issues concerning the homeless and a woman's search to find a sense of belonging in the Mormon community. Our four poems push us to explore at greater depth relationships and even the simplest of life's experiences.

As always, we appreciate you, our subscribers and readers, and want you to know that our main concern is to maintain a quality journal that we may share with pride and love.

LETTERS

Those Good Old Days

I was deeply touched by Claudia Bushman's evocative and nostalgic piece on Sunset Ward (Summer 1989). It brought back warm memories and feelings about my own boyhood in the old Oakland Ward chapel across San Francisco Bay on MacArthur Boulevard, a building of similar vintage, concept, and amenities (though a bit downscale in the latter, since we were more of a working-class ward!). Perhaps modesty led Claudia to avoid mentioning that the persistent, long-suffering, and inventive Bishop Lauper in her piece was, of course, her own father! Thanks so much, Claudia, for taking me back to those good old days of pioneering California Mormons, if only for a while!

Armand L. Mauss
Pullman, Washington

The Stumbling Block

As I sit trying to concentrate on my studies, my mind keeps wandering to the excommunication of George P. Lee and the resulting implications for future Church relations with the Lamanites. Of course I don't know all the details surrounding Elder Lee's excommunication, and perhaps there are things that I shouldn't know. But this much I do know: Elder Lee's denunciation of racism in the Church is desperately needed.

Being blessed with the mark of Laman, I have wrestled firsthand with the racist assumptions of the Latter-day Saints I grew up with. As a child I listened in sacrament meeting to fervent prayers on behalf of my people, then heard on Mondays these same members discourage their children from becoming close friends with me ("doors may be closed to them"). On the walls of my Sunday school class, I saw pictures of a white-looking Jesus holding blond children. My seminary teachers taught that the more righteous my ancestors were, the whiter they became, and that someday I too would become "white and delightsome." During my teenage years girlfriends told me that their parents were strongly encouraging them to date more "acceptable" boys. Today my Mormon friends laugh at ethnic jokes and then tell me: "But we don't think of you like that." If I talk about my heritage or show pride in my family and ethnicity, my Latter-day Saint friends shift uncomfortably. Yet if I ever suggested to these same friends that they were racist, they would be hurt and offended.

The events surrounding Elder Lee's excommunication, in many ways, characterize my personal struggle with Anglo Mormons. On the one hand, I applaud Elder Lee for standing up for his convictions and denouncing hypocrisy no matter where it is found. If this Church is to be the means in which the ancient prophecies made to the children of Lehi will be

realized, why then are so few Lamanites in the upper hierarchy of Church leadership to direct that realization?

Yet while I rejoice at his denunciation of sin, I also mourn for Elder Lee and for all the descendents of father Lehi who hoped that someday he might help remove the walls of discrimination that now line the corridors of Church authority. How courageous Elder Lee was, and yet how unfortunate it was for all of us that he chose to remove himself, however distanced he might have felt, from the seat of power where he could have done the most good. Now his ministry of "long-suffering, gentleness and meekness, and love unfeigned" will not be felt where it is perhaps needed the most. I wonder, had I been in his situation, if I could have followed the patient example of the sons of Mosiah instead of challenging a leadership already sensitive to internal criticism and the influence of "alternate voices."

I mourn most of all for the Church authorities, who through the ignorance of instinct, reacted to preserve a facade of infallibility instead of listening as humble children. We all struggle with racism. We all need to repent. Like the Nephites of old who rejected the harsh message of Samuel, the General Authorities seemed to have grown weary of Elder Lee's cry for repentance and expelled him from their presence for telling them what they did not want to hear. Too many in the Church, I fear, will also dismiss Elder Lee's frustration with Anglo Mormons and simply shake their heads in bewilderment, quoting that oft-repeated phrase that insulates the Church from internal criticism: "Even the very elect will be deceived." The Church—leaders as well as the members— could open so many doors if only it would let go of unconscious racism. Yet as a Church we must first open our eyes to see the stumbling block before us. The controversy surrounding Elder Lee indicates that the Church is content to keep its eyes squeezed shut for a while longer.

Eduardo Pagán
Princeton, New Jersey

The Wrong Dialogue

When I received my Fall 1989 issue of *Dialogue*, I spent almost an hour studying the cover. The images are vivid, but the mood is unsettling. I anticipated a dialogue about combat and a roundtable discussion of "The Mormon and the Military." I hunted for articles on "The Mormon Authoritarian Heritage" and "The Theological Basis for War." I searched for the veterans' equivalent of Ed Firmage's empathetic voice of "Reconciliation."

I finally decided that (1) I had the wrong cover on my *Dialogue* or (2) I had the wrong *Dialogue* in my cover. Either way I was somewhat disappointed. I hope you are planning a future volume that will address the lingering issues that Andrew Whitlock's photography has rekindled in many of us.

Bryce C. Thueson
The Woodlands, Texas

Shame on Mecham

As a black member of the Church, I read with interest Karen Coates's "The Holy War Surrounding Evan Mecham" and Alleen Pace Nilsen's "Evan Mecham: Humor in Arizona Politics" (Fall 1989).

As far as I am concerned, Governor Mecham was a racist and a disgrace to the Church and to the state of Arizona. Much of what he said was crude and ignorant and did a disservice to Mormonism.

The fact that some Latter-day Saints actually supported him shows just how far my brothers and sisters have to go to reach the iron rod.

Perhaps we could dismiss Mecham as merely a joke, but his conduct has damaged the Church and brought shame on the LDS community.

Ehab Abunuwara's "Nothing Holy: A Different Perspective of Israel" is the most moving work that has appeared in *Dialogue* in years, and as an African-American, I can feel the pain of his words.

Joseph A. Walkes, Jr.
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

Silencing Needed Voices

With others I ponder George P. Lee's situation, as I try to assess my own guilt. Perhaps the entire Church membership needs to look inward toward its own culpability.

Several experiences flash into consciousness.

As the granddaughter of Sanpete County pioneers, I knew something about the ambiguity of the Black Hawk War. But we were a book-loving family, so I also grew up with Hiawatha. Moreover, between the sliding doors which separated the parlor from the dining room in our Provo home lay a handsome Navajo rug, its importance set off by its central place in the furnishings.

In 1924, after graduating from BYU, I taught school in Kanab. Periodically, small groups of Indians filtered into town. The men, eyes enigmatic, carried rolls of blankets over their shoulders. The women, often with babies on their backs, walked soberly behind.

Someday, I hoped, I would marry and have a home of my own, also centered with a Navajo rug. Here was my opportunity.

I do not remember whether transactions took place near the town's business block, but I do remember that there was no aggressive sales pitch. The blankets were presented without guile. And I now realize for little money. However, because my salary was one hundred dollars a month, buying the rugs seemed a large investment.

Eventually, I did marry. Our home for thirty years in Delaware had been built in 1820 of Delaware granite. A huge wood-burning fireplace in the living room came complete with crane and a wrought-iron cooking pot. On the random-width, yellow pine floor lay my Navajo rugs, both dignified and exuberant.

It was my habit, periodically, to lay them across the picnic table for a shampoo of dry suds. On one such occasion, a storm was rolling in. The sky darkened. Lightning and thunder heralded a coming rain. Meadow grasses exuded that particular earthy perfume which welcomes wetness.

Suddenly, I knew the woman, hundreds of miles away, who had woven my rugs. In that moment of bonding I assured her that I treasured her handicraft, and I thanked her for sharing with me her understanding in design of great life forces.

Another memory is darker.

After my husband retired, we moved to a small Utah town where many families were participating in the Indian Placement Program. One of the ward "pillars" and his foster son were evening sacrament meeting participants. It may have been for a priesthood advancement ceremony.

At any rate, the boy spoke first, adequately but quietly. Then his foster father rose to commend him. He concluded his remarks with these words: "If he continues to make progress, he may someday be white and delightsome."

Did anyone in the congregation flinch? Is "red" not beautiful? Or did the Saints feel that as custodians of the truth they were entitled to clone?

Recently one remembers the guarded eyes of Indians at the Utah State Prison. Often alcoholics with unfulfilled potential, they were driven *publicly* to plead for a sweat lodge.

Why do we so seldom listen to insights voiced by minorities?

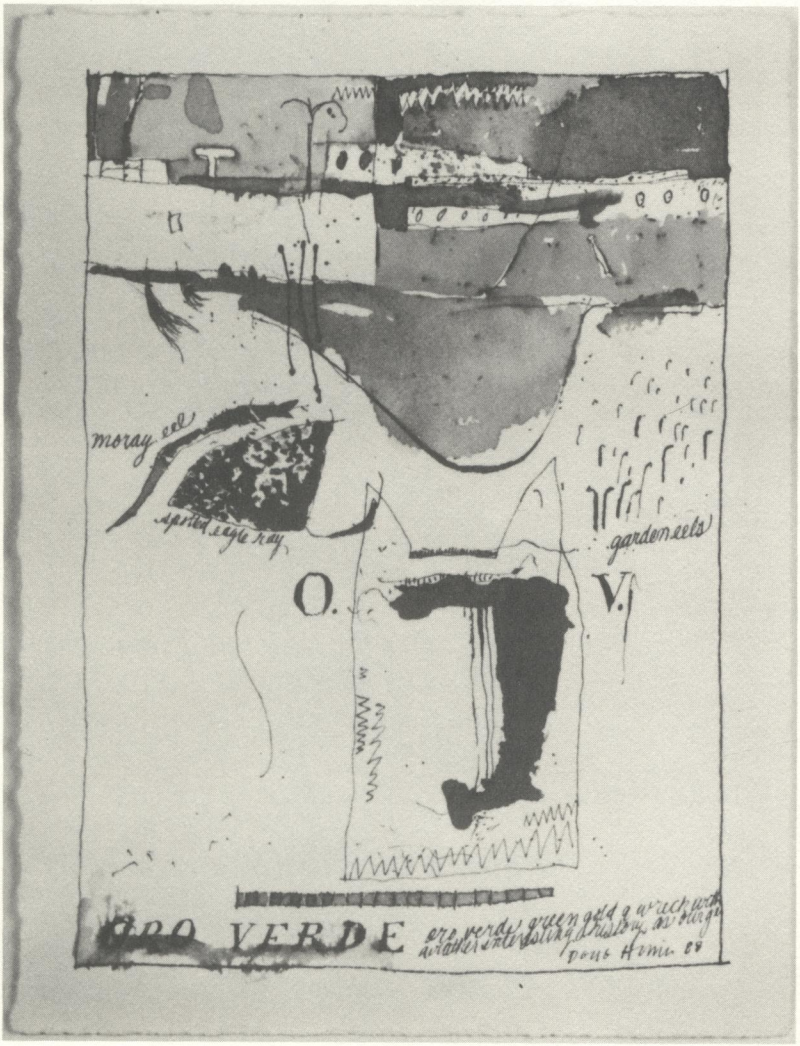
At the very time that the media played up George Lee's story, I received from the Wider Quaker Fellowship one of their periodic mailings of inspirational pamphlets. Among these was Chief Seattle's Lament, *The Land Is Sacred to Us.* He says in part:

> The Great Chief in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. The Great Chief also sends us words of friendship and goodwill. This is kind of him, since we know he has little need for our friendship in return. . . .
>
> Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing, and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. The sap which courses through the trees carries the memories of the red man. . . .
>
> This we know: The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. This we know: All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected.
>
> Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself. . . .

Alas, we silence needed voices.

In our white pride, why does judgment so often tip toward discipline? Why does it so seldom lean toward openness and compassion?

Helen Candland Stark
Provo, Utah


moray eel
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O.
V.
ORO VERDE

Separate but Equal? Black Branches, Genesis Groups, or Integrated Wards?

Jessie L. Embry

ALTHOUGH THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS of the 1960s outlawed segregation in education, employment, housing, and public services, black Americans and white Americans rarely interact socially and especially religiously. Prior to the 1960s some denominations, for instance the Catholic, did not segregate congregations but reserved special pews for Afro-Americans who were required either to take communion last or, in some cases, not at all (Smithson 1984, 25). In other denominations, such as the Baptist and Methodist, all-black congregations arose in the 1800s because Afro-Americans were excluded from white church services (Adams 1985, 1, 7). Although most of these restrictions have now been removed, "the church hour on Sunday mornings," according to Richard T. Schaefer's 1988 study, "still fits Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s description as 'the most segregated hour of the week'" (1988, 147). Afro-Americans who have joined white churches often report that "inclusiveness is a mirage. Inclusiveness is a two way street that is only traveled by Blacks" (Adams 1985, 1, 7). Black churches also persist for the more commendable reason that many blacks regard them as "the major

JESSIE L. EMBRY is the Oral History Program director at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University. *She would like to thank Armand L. Mauss for his comments about an earlier draft of this article and Alan Cherry for his assistance in making corrections.*

vehicle for the preservation and interpretation of the rich heritage of Black Americans" (Baer 1988, 163).

Until 1978 very few blacks belonged to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. However, following the Church's announcement that blacks could hold the priesthood, increased missionary work among Afro-Americans in largely black neighborhoods challenged LDS leaders, especially on the local level, with the same problems confronting other denominations. Should black Americans and white Americans worship separately, a pattern adopted by some LDS ethnic groups in the United States, or should they be integrated into the geographical wards? When a large number of Afro-Americans join in an area, should a ward or branch be set up which will have mostly black members? Do LDS Afro-Americans have cultural needs which are best served by association with other black members? In this article I will use sociological theories to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining exclusive black groups or branches, on the one hand, and integrated wards and branches, on the other, and then offer some alternative approaches to ethnic groups, especially blacks, within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Throughout history, race, ethnicity, and religion have regularly created barriers among citizens of nations. Especially where physical and cultural differences were noticeable, one group has typically dominated, and the subordinate group has often been segregated, that is, separated physically "in residence, workplace, and social functions." Attempts to eliminate segregation have taken several alternative routes, including (1) assimilation, "the process by which a subordinate individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group and is eventually accepted as part of the group"; (2) cultural pluralism, "mutual respect between various groups in a society . . . that allow[s] minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or hostility"; and (3) fusion, "a minority and a majority group combining to form a new group." Fusion has taken place on a small scale in some countries, but, according to Schaefer, in the United States, the so-called melting pot, the dominant group has preferred assimilation and at best only tolerated cultural pluralism. Fusion has been a utopian dream (Schaefer 1988, 20, 36, 40, 48, 38-39).

Now that more blacks have joined the Church, Latter-day Saints must also make choices between segregation, assimilation, cultural pluralism, or fusion. They must answer questions such as: Should blacks be segregated into separate wards? Should they be assimilated into the mainstream Church? Should all groups be encouraged to maintain their culture with mutual respect for all? Should members of the Church

work towards a fusion beyond culture, a "Fourth Nephi" or "City of Enoch" society? A description of black groups and branches as well as integrated wards and branches shows how the Church has dealt with these options thus far.

This article is based mainly on oral histories and personal interviews. Despite limitations of memory and personal biases, oral history remains the only way to approach the study because few, if any, records exist. For example, only one sheet of paper in the LDS Church Archives tells of the black Genesis Group set up in Salt Lake City during the early 1970s. Branch and ward records submitted to the Historical Department do not provide enough details about church meetings to answer questions about organization and how blacks participate, much less how they are accepted. Since Church membership records do not include information on race, even the percentage of blacks in a ward or branch is impossible to determine. All such information must be gathered by personal observation or interview. The only published studies of LDS Afro-Americans to date are a few biographies and autobiographies of black members. The more numerous studies of the Church's priesthood restriction policy did not deal with the individual black's experience.

Recognizing this lack of information about black Latter-day Saints, even though there have been black members since the 1830s, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University decided in 1985 to interview LDS Afro-Americans about their experiences in the Church. The Redd Center hoped to explore their unique role in Church history beyond being simply representatives of a priesthood policy. The Center was fortunate to hire Alan Cherry, a black author and humorist, who joined the Church in 1969. The 226 LDS Afro-Americans he interviewed came from all walks of life throughout the United States. They were men and women, young and old, single, married, and divorced. These interviews, along with the few published sources, demonstrate the marked diversity of experience and opinion among LDS Afro-Americans. The Redd Center also sponsored a symposium on the tenth anniversary of the revelation extending the priesthood to blacks and in 1989 completed a survey aimed more specifically at assessing the needs of LDS Afro-Americans.

Genesis Groups

Salt Lake City

The first group of black members was organized in Salt Lake City during the early 1970s. Lamar Williams, who worked for the Church's

missionary department and had encouraged the Church to send missionaries to Africa, brought some of the Salt Lake LDS Afro-Americans together for socials. When asked if they could have a more formal organization, Williams advised them to contact the General Authorities (Williams and Williams 1981, 30-32). Ruffin Bridgeforth, Darius Gray, and Eugene Orr approached Church leaders to "see if there was some way that our people could meet together, such as the Danish and Norwegian branches" (Olsen 1980, 16). As a result, on 19 October 1971 Ruffin Bridgeforth was set apart by Gordon B. Hinckley as president of Genesis with Gray and Orr as counselors.

Although Genesis had no written objectives, some implied goals were to promote missionary work among blacks and to facilitate reactivation and fellowship among the rumored two hundred active and inactive blacks in the Salt Lake area (Olsen 1980, 14; Cherry 1985b; Mauss 1981, 41). The *Church News* announced that the group would be an auxiliary program of the Liberty Stake. Meetings would be "for the benefit and enjoyment of [the black] members, but [they] will attend their respective Sunday . . . meetings in their home wards, where they will retain their membership" ("Salt Lake" 1971, 13).

Throughout the Genesis group's existence, Bridgeforth served as president; other officers changed as black members moved in and out of the area. Although the group met weekly and sponsored auxiliaries such as Relief Society and Primary (weekday activities during these years), members also attended their local wards. Since the priesthood restriction at that time led to some antagonism from the non-LDS black community and suspicion among the Church membership, Genesis members were encouraged to be "cautiously conservative in their association" and avoid media attention (Cherry 1985b). Helen Kennedy recalls Elder Boyd K. Packer expressing this viewpoint at the first meeting of Genesis: "Things that are young and tender need room to grow, and those who do not belong [should] stand back, give them room. This is not a tourist attraction" (Kennedy 1986, 15).

Ruffin Bridgeforth remembers, "When the group was organized, we didn't know what was ahead, but we did feel that there would be many problems. We had dissension, and we had people who were dissatisfied. . . . Trying to keep them calm was a constant challenge. We had the General Authorities come and speak. But the dissenters would come and try to create problems. . . . We would have some of our people get up and want to do strange things" (in Olsen 1980, 16). Alan Cherry explains one source of friction: "Having an organization that didn't have written purposes everyone could read, didn't have a definite form to follow, didn't have a means for its members to fully redress their

grievances with the way we were managing our affairs, . . . [made it] difficult for people . . . to effect changes" (1985a).

After the announcement of the June 1978 revelation, black members rejoiced as they contemplated being ordained to the priesthood and attending the temple. Many also wondered if there was any longer a need for Genesis (Garwood 1985, 20-21; Bridgeforth 1985, 21). Attendance dropped sharply, and it was often difficult to predict who would be at the meetings. However, the group continued to meet monthly to share testimonies. In 1987 Genesis discontinued its meetings although it was never officially disbanded (Bridgeforth 1988).

Oakland: Genesis II

When Marva Collins joined the Church in Montana shortly after the announcement of the revelation, she wrote President Spencer W. Kimball asking if there were other black Latter-day Saints and was referred to Genesis. She attended after she moved to Salt Lake City. Sometime later she moved to Oakland, California, where she started Genesis II (Collins 1985, 25). As of 1988, Genesis II was still meeting on the third Saturday of each month. In an August sacrament meeting report, Edgar Whittingham, a member of the Oakland Ninth Branch presidency in charge of Genesis, explained that Genesis meetings were usually socials, including an annual picnic open to missionaries, black members, and anyone from the Oakland Stake.

Washington, D.C., Genesis

In January 1986 black members in the Washington, D.C., area asked through Church channels for permission to organize a Genesis group. According to Cleeretta Smiley, its mission "was to unite the black LDS in the eastern region in valiant brotherhood and sisterhood." Smiley described Genesis as her "most significant experience in the Church" until her "calling to [a] public communications job." The D.C. Genesis met for special firesides; Ruffin Bridgeforth and Alan Cherry were among the invited speakers. The group also held missionary workshops and socials. The D.C. Genesis was discontinued in 1987 when a key leader became inactive and, because of other pressing commitments, no one else was willing to assume leadership (Smiley 1988).

Assessment: Genesis Groups

Genesis groups were in many ways similar to other LDS ethnic groups. As Ruffin Bridgeforth pointed out when asking in 1971 for permission to organize, a number of ethnic branches started during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when new converts typically

immigrated to Utah. Many Swiss families, for instance, settled Cache Valley and the Bear Lake area (Mulder 1957). During this period, ethnic subgroups such as the German-speaking branch in Logan provided an opportunity for those with similar language and culture to worship together. These associations "provided an effective instrument of adjustment in the mother tongue while at the same time the immigrant converts were learning to participate in the life and leadership of their respective wards" (Embry 1988, 228).

In the same way, social contact between black Latter-day Saints helped strengthen their Church ties. George Garwood, who joined the Church in Tooele during the 1970s, attended Genesis. He enjoyed knowing there were other LDS Afro-Americans and meeting with them. After the 1978 revelation he felt Genesis still served an important social function: "I think it is good especially for blacks who are new members of the Church. They need that strength and they need that building up and that encouragement that comes from that group" (1985, 20-21). Ruffin Bridgeforth agreed: "We still need the social contact. I have got a black man out here in a ward. He is the only one. . . . If he has got nobody to talk to, sometimes he will just stay away" (1985, 4). In Washington, D.C., Clara McIlwain noted: "Before [Genesis] I only knew the four [black] people that were in my ward" (1986, 13). Natalie Palmer-Taylor adds: "It is just nice to know that people are all going through the same struggle and you are not alone" (1985, 34). Don Harwell felt that what had been valuable in the Genesis experience had not been changed by the revelation; "If there are good things, they are the same good things," he observed (1985, 27-28). And others who did not feel a need to socialize with blacks still expressed concern that "perhaps there are other blacks who do need a social support and maybe I could help them there" (Hale 1985, 39).

Genesis groups have also enabled blacks to retain and enjoy their cultural distinctions and have encouraged cultural pluralism within the Church. Annette Reid enjoyed meeting with other black Latter-day Saints because they shared not only the gospel but also common words and lingos. From different geographic locations, black Genesis members all had roots in the South and East (Reid 1985, 30-31). Genesis meetings included "Baptist music [blacks] were brought up with. . . . It is just something to make you feel that you are with your people" (Bridgeforth 1985, 21). As James Sinquefield explained, Genesis gave "black members an opportunity to worship together in the Church." Its intent "was not to segregate them. I hope that in the future maybe more Genesis groups will be organized within the Church throughout the world so that black members can worship together for culture sake" (1985, 12).

In Washington, D.C., "Negro spirituals" in special programs held by Genesis exposed other LDS members to black music in a Church-sponsored setting (Baltimore 1986).

Another significant benefit of Genesis groups was the plentiful opportunities for blacks to serve as leaders. Before blacks could hold the priesthood, they had few chances to learn organizational expertise. James Sinquefield, for instance, was grateful that Genesis gave him "an opportunity to gain experience in leadership. Brother Bridgeforth needed someone to fill the position of second counselor. I accepted it in faith hoping that I would do the best I could" (1985, 13).

Another reason Ruffin Bridgeforth was interested in starting a black organization was to share the gospel with nonmember blacks in the Salt Lake Valley (Olsen 1980, 14). A number of the interviewees for the LDS Afro-American Oral History Project worried blacks were not interested in the Church because they assumed priesthood restriction meant blacks were not allowed to be members at all. A black organization would clearly refute that notion. The D.C. Genesis, for example, volunteered with the Shiloh Baptist's family center; this not only provided service but also improved the Church's image in the black community and promoted missionary work (Edwards 1986).

Finally, Genesis also helped in the retention of black members, especially new converts. Carol Edwards, from the D.C. area, explains that many new members "get lost in the shuffle. . . . There is not a net to keep them in . . . long enough to realize what they should be concentrating on. That is why this Genesis Group is so important to us now because as they come in we are going to try to hold them and keep them in" (1986).

In this regard, Genesis has functioned for some as a transitional group much as the special language branches in Utah did earlier in the century. In Genesis groups, black members continued to associate with members of other wards, in addition to attending Genesis. In the special language branches "the old language was a way to teach the gospel until he [the immigrant] learned English" (Mulder 1957, 200). The new immigrants in Logan attended the German-speaking branch because they could not speak English; the next generation did not always learn German so they attended the branch less often. The branch was discontinued during World Wars I and II but recommenced after the wars. It was finally disbanded in 1963 when there were no longer any new immigrants and attendance at monthly meetings had dropped dramatically (Embry 1988, 228, 235).

Similarly, members like George Garwood attended Genesis for a short period of time and then, because of distance and increased ward involve-

ment, stopped going (1985, 20). Genesis' weekly meetings decreased to monthly gatherings after the revelation and then stopped altogether during 1987 for lack of attendance. As Garwood explained, "I felt that I needed to not be tied to that group because there are other people and you need to just get used to going around different people" (1985, 20).

In addition to benefits, Genesis groups also had problems that led to diminished attendance. For one thing, the double allegiances were time consuming. Those involved were expected to meet all the regular demands of their families and wards yet also pay special allegiance to Genesis. Mary Lucile Bankhead, a lifetime member who served as the Relief Society president of Salt Lake Genesis, explained to her friend Beverly Perry how frustrating it was to get people involved because they said they did not have the time (Perry 1988).

Genesis also had no defined purpose. Although there were no clearly stated objectives, there were also no opportunities to air grievances. Darrin Davis, who attended in Salt Lake City occasionally, recalls feeling "a little bit distressed when black people feel that there is a need for special treatment." He advocated a less culture-conscious approach to Church membership: "I think if we just take our role as regular Latter-day Saints and let our daily experiences teach one another, then things will go smoothest. . . . I am not sure why and what the Genesis Group is trying to accomplish." As for "special spiritual needs," he felt unconvinced of their existence. "Perhaps just a fellowshipping general need can be met" (1985, 27). Like Davis, Jerri Hale in 1985 saw some value in Genesis but questioned its goals beyond fellowship: "It depends on my needs at the moment as to how I view the Genesis Group. I think it is great. I wouldn't like to see it disbanded, although sometimes I wonder about its purpose now that the priesthood is here" (p. 39).

Establishing lines of authority was another source of confusion and difficulty. Genesis was set up initially because Bridgeforth, Gray, and Orr spoke to the General Authorities. The Salt Lake Genesis was assigned to a stake and a high council representative. In addition, a General Authority was asked to be a liaison, which appeared to give Genesis official Church sanction. According to Helen Kennedy, Elder Thomas S. Monson affirmed at the first meeting of Genesis, "This is a small beginning. It has the hand of approval from the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles" (1986, 15). However, even with Church approval, organization and correlation with local wards and stakes was often troublesome. The Genesis groups in Oakland and Washington, D.C., had even more difficulty because they did not have the same close contact with Church headquarters. They were "initiated by local members seeking ecclesiastical assistance . . . [who often found] it difficult to

correlate . . . with church activities without enthusiastic involvement from local church leaders." These organizations were very much on their own to determine their purpose and activities. Since Genesis in Salt Lake City had no records, groups in other states could not look to Salt Lake to set up a new Genesis organization (Cherry 1985a).

One crucial area open to speculation was who should be in charge. Should leaders be called by a Church official? If so, which leaders should issue the calls? How long should leaders serve? All of these questions had only vague answers. In Salt Lake, Ruffin Bridgeforth was set apart by General Authorities as the head of Genesis. Unlike other wards and branches where bishops and branch presidents are rotated, Bridgeforth held that position for as long as Genesis met and in fact had not been released as of June 1988 (Bridgeforth 1988). Genesis in Washington, D.C., was headed by a woman who later became inactive. No directive outlined who should appoint a successor. Cleeretta Smiley was asked to replace her in this demanding leadership position but preferred not to lose her other local ward positions (Smiley 1988). The Oakland Genesis has fared longer and perhaps better because its leadership has varied. Although it was started by Marva Collins, she left the area, and a core of local black Latter-day Saints has championed its cause.

Black Branches

Southwest Los Angeles

In addition to segregated Genesis groups, black branches have been an option since the revelation on priesthood. With increased missionary work in black neighborhoods, many Church members felt that if Church branches were located in those neighborhoods, more blacks would be interested in joining. For that reason, California Los Angeles Mission President F. Britton McConkie spearheaded one of the first exclusively black branches in the Watts area. The ninety-two people who attended the first meeting 2 December 1979 sustained Robert L. Lang as branch president. During his six years of service, Lang often served with no counselors and only rarely with two, although most of the auxiliaries were completely staffed (Southwest 1979, 1981). Lang and his wife Delores insisted it was not a black branch; it was the Southwest Los Angeles Branch, which was in a predominantly black area (R. Lang 1985, 13; D. Lang 1985, 2). However, a 1981 interview with Lang revealed that at that time the 109 members were nearly all black, except for several families of mixed race and approximately ten white members (Mauss 1981, 42).

Although the branch had assigned boundaries, a scarcity of priesthood holders meant leaders had to be recruited. In 1981, for example, Van Floyd, a black member married to a white, served as a member of the branch presidency (Southwest 1981). His daughter Gayla recalled, "We traveled to the branch to go to church rather than just going three blocks over to the Inglewood Ward" (Floyd 1986). The Joseph C. Smith family, a black family converted while stationed with the U.S. armed forces in Germany, in 1986 traveled from Orange County, where Joe worked after graduating from BYU, to attend the branch.

When Lang was released, Paul Divine from Long Beach was called as president. John Phillips, a white stake high councilor who served two years (1984-86) in the branch presidency under both Lang and Divine, remembered only one white member (and she was married to a black) of the approximately sixty to seventy who attended regularly (Phillips 1988).

The Southwest Los Angeles Branch had inherent problems. Members in the black neighborhoods had no transportation to church, and the branch presidency often spent most of their Sunday time between meetings giving rides. At first President McConkie and missionaries attended the branch regularly, which provided priesthood assistance (Phillips 1988; Perry 1985). Later, whites like Phillips and blacks like Floyd and Divine were imported from outside branch boundaries to fill leadership positions. Despite these difficulties, the Torrance California North Stake and later the Lawndale Stake, to which the branch was assigned, were committed to its success. However, in 1987 the branch was transferred to the Downey Stake.

With all of its problems, the branch was like an unwanted stepchild, and the new stake decided to disband it. At the final gathering, members expressed a desire to continue to hold socials, but there was no time available to schedule the meetinghouse (Phillips 1988). Some black members, such as Andrew and Elizabeth Pulley, became inactive, possibly because they felt uncomfortable in their new ward. Others did not know where to attend or were not accepted. John Phillips remembers being called about a black member who had passed away after the branch was disbanded. When he called the member's new ward, the bishop refused to accept responsibility and gave Phillips a list of other people to contact. After making a series of telephone calls, Phillips again called the bishop, this time pointing out that the deceased was a member of his ward. Fortunately, this bishop was the exception. Many members of the Southwest Los Angeles Branch who remained active were readily accepted into their geographical wards (Perry 1988; Lang and Lang 1988; Phillips 1988).

Charlotte, North Carolina

Mission President Ralph Bradley organized a similar branch in Charlotte, North Carolina, to solve transportation problems for the new inner city black members who had no way to travel to a suburban chapel. An inner city branch also eased the tension white and blacks felt while worshipping together. Apparently, some missionaries pursuing high baptismal numbers used welfare approaches in federal housing projects where nearly all the residents were conveniently home all day. They also stretched the mission rule that converts attend at least one sacrament meeting before joining the Church by hastily arranging a meeting before the baptism. Sister missionaries had especially great success, perhaps because many blacks had never experienced such Christian love from white women. These missionary efforts brought a large number of black converts into the new branch.

At first, missionary couples were in charge of the branch, with the husband serving as branch president. Then Robert Ezell, a black, was called to be branch president. A number of white local church leaders believed Ezell to be a former minister, but he had actually been an itinerant preacher who had felt "a calling" but had no formal training or prior administrative positions. Because of Ezell's inexperience in leadership, a white high councilman, Robert Sigg, was eventually called to head the branch. Alan Cherry visited in 1986 when Ezell was president; Duane Cardall from KSL Television visited in 1988 when Sigg was president. Membership quoted on both occasions varied, ranging from 900 to 1,200.[1] Only one to two hundred attended, many of whom were missionaries and other supportive members called to assist from the neighboring wards. As Cherry examined the congregation from Cardall's films in 1988, he recognized very few members who had been there in 1986 (Cherry 1986; Quick 1986; Chisolm 1986, 15; Cardall 1988).

Greensboro, North Carolina

Facing similar problems with transportation and prejudice, General Authorities in the Southeast Area presidency asked Johnnie McKoy, a local black member who had been instrumental in converting nearly all the black members in Greensboro, North Carolina, to help organize a

[1] While Alan Cherry was doing interviews in Charlotte, he stayed with a missionary couple; the husband had served as branch president before Ezell was called. They guessed about how many black members had joined in the area. When Cardall went to Charlotte, President Sigg could also only guess how many members should have been in the branch. The figures quoted in the paper are from Sigg's estimates. They correlate with the figures Alan Cherry heard from the missionary couple in Charlotte.

black branch. At first McKoy urged finding another solution, but when the area presidency countered that there was no time to come up with another plan, he supported the branch concept. When asked to serve as president, he declined, feeling the branch would need a white president who could enlist more assistance from stake leadership. Instead, he was made a counselor and instructed to be involved in all decisions. From this position he played a strategic role in directing the growth of the branch.

In June 1988 the branch was approximately 90 percent black and averaged about four baptisms a month with a 60 percent retention rate. Although only sixty to seventy people attended each week, there were actually 150 active members since many worked swing shifts and could only attend every other Sunday. About 50 percent of the members who had become inactive before the branch was organized had been reactivated. The branch qualified for a new building. According to McKoy in a 1988 interview, after the building's completion, local wards would be realigned so the branch would be about 60 percent black and 40 percent white. He felt many of the prejudice problems had been resolved and looked forward to the new boundaries. He also noted that his service on the high council, a position he held in June 1988, had given whites a chance to observe a black in a leadership position, which helped ease racial tensions (McKoy 1988a). Later that year McKoy was called as president of the black branch.

Assessment: Segregated Branches

As with Genesis groups, separate branches existed for a variety of important reasons—social, missionary, reactivation, and leadership training—but also were beset with a number of troublesome problems. Donna Chisolm decided to go to the Charlotte Sixth Branch because she "wanted to . . . get the black LDS experience" (1986, 13). Many happily settled into activity. As Mason Anderson admitted, "I had the opportunity to be transferred from the Charlotte Sixth Branch because I had moved. . . . [But] I did not want to change." Blacks in these fledgling branches felt the energy of a new enterprise. "This is really encouraging to me to see people coming in, to be able to start from the beginning, to be able to work themselves up and to be able to take part in the Church. . . . I have liked the fellowship with the Saints that I have met there. I have come to know quite a few of them. . . . We are trying to organize ourselves and to get the Church set up" (Anderson 1986).

Many new black members who had stopped attending integrated wards because of black and white prejudice returned to activity. According to Johnnie McKoy, there were in Greensboro about four hundred blacks in the Church, many of them inactive. When the black

branch was formed, approximately seventy-five came back to the Church immediately. The branch "gave them opportunities to grow, to experience the gospel more deeply, more fully . . . because it was a close knit branch" (McKoy 1988a). Beverly Perry recalls attending the Southwest Los Angeles Branch when it was first organized. She felt a special spirit there because everyone was working hard for a common goal. Some people's attendance represented great sacrifice, and a compelling love for the gospel could be felt in these young, struggling branches (Perry 1985). As McKoy observed in Greensboro, "When everyone is involved, it brings a closeness" (1988a).

Furthermore, a neighborhood branch would encourage more blacks to attend. The question black investigators all over Greensboro asked—"Are there blacks in the Church?"—would be answered when they saw other black members at Church meetings (McKoy 1988a). In California, John Phillips dreamed that the Southwest Los Angeles Branch would establish a physical presence of the Church in Watts, a beginning from which wards and then stakes would grow (1988). As Robert Lang explained, "The [Southwest Los Angeles] branch has done wonders for blacks and whites to come and visit with us to see that there is a group of black people that are heading in the right direction. They belong to the Church" (1985, 18). Lidge Johnson, a stake presidency member in Virginia, wanted to form a branch in Petersburg, traditionally a black community, so that the people living there would not have to attend church in Colonial Heights, a basically white community. Johnson hoped meetings in Petersburg would spur whole congregations of blacks to join the Church (1988).

Black branches also provided valuable opportunities for LDS Afro-Americans to hold a variety of positions new converts might not be called to in large wards. As Robert Lang, president of the Southwest Los Angeles Branch, argued, "A black man gets baptized into a ward with another race of people. What is the chance of this particular black person getting a calling in order to learn leadership? It is kind of slim" (1985, 12). Elizabeth Pulley explained, "I have the opportunity to teach mother education and social relations classes in Relief Society. I have worked in the Primary" (1985, 15). Mason Anderson elected to attend the Charlotte branch because "I felt if I went into a church that was already established, I would not be able to do hardly anything. Rather than being on the fight for the Lord, I might be pushed out and not have the opportunity and might just sit cold over in another church. . . . I might not have the opportunity to be a worker or be active there as I am here. . . . To be able to work is really helping me in my growth in the . . . Church" (1986).

This strength also proved a weakness when new converts fairly frequently misunderstood Church procedure and had problems in leadership positions. Beverly Perry commented in 1985, "Some good has come out of the [Southwest Los Angeles] branch . . . but I think the leadership needs to be reinforced. In the beginning I was telling everyone, 'Go because it is neat.' But now I do not think I would tell anyone to go because they are so disorganized." In North Carolina, members of the Charlotte Sixth Branch soon recognized Robert Ezell's inexperience with Church organization. Melonie Quick recalls that as the new branch president, Ezell commenced speaking every Sunday, but "when he speaks, he is mostly reading out of one of the [Church] books. . . . It's kind of difficult to sit and listen to someone when they really don't understand what they are saying" (1986). Donna Chislom, also from the Charlotte Sixth, "noticed just last Sunday we had some time . . . in between speakers. Right before the last speaker [the leaders] decided all of a sudden that they were going to ask somebody to come up and sing a song right there in the middle of sacrament [meeting]. It hadn't been arranged prior to that time. Nobody volunteered, but still I thought, 'They are not supposed to do that'" (1986, 16).

Having all new members led to some confusion about Church organization as well as procedures. Gladys Brown, a convert from Charlotte, remembers asking once if the leaders could "take fifteen minutes . . . and explain to the people what [Relief Society] is all about." She also had questions about the temple, which no one seemed to have time to answer (1986). Perhaps they simply lacked the information. Knowledge about procedures was also spotty. According to Donna Chisolm, after opening exercises the Relief Society president would announce who was going to give the lesson, but often the person would not be there. The president eventually asked Chisolm, who was there regularly, to take over the job but never had the call issued through the branch presidency (1986, 15-16).

Not knowing exactly how the Church should operate, new black members sometimes turned to former religious experiences as guidelines. Leaders who knew better were often frustrated. "The problem is unlearning all of the things that blacks learned in their Baptist churches" (R. Lang 1985, 15). Complained Benjamin Washington from the Charlotte Sixth Branch, "They just want to get up there and sing. I do not think there is any harm in singing good songs on Sunday, but all of that whooping and hollering . . . that fire and brimstone stuff is their biggest problem" (1986, 17). The wife of the branch president in Charlotte recalled a high council sacrament meeting speaker repeating the familiar Church platitude that the Church was the same wherever

he went. From the back row one of the members responded fervently, "Amen, Brother!" (Cardall 1988)

Before Alan Cherry went to Charlotte to conduct interviews for the Redd Center, he scheduled all interviews in advance. Since this procedure had worked well in other communities and since he was interviewing current and former branch leaders, he was confident all would proceed as planned. However, of fourteen appointments, eleven cancelled and he was forced to reschedule almost all the interviews. Since many branch members came from "backgrounds steeped in poor communication and organizational skills," according to Cherry, they "did not seem to understand the necessity for accurate records, deadlines, accountability, and so many other typical expectations of Latter-day Saint activity." One woman asked him to tell the branch to remove her name from the Church records because she was going back to her former church, where she enjoyed the music. He also learned the Relief Society president had submitted her resignation, rather than counseling with the branch president about her concerns and desire for a release, revealing a regrettable misunderstanding of Church procedure. "With so many new members, many were overwhelmed by what the Church expected and this led to feelings of inferiority, organizational problems, and inactivity" (Cherry 1986).

Another drawback of black branches was that segregation of Afro-Americans from others in some cases prolonged racial tensions. According to Darlene Bowden from Charlotte, "There are not a whole lot of whites going to the black church, and there are not a whole lot of blacks going to the white church. There is still that uncomfortable racial feeling. It is leaning in there like a thick smog" (1986). Myths some blacks had about whites, such as "all white Latter-day Saints are prejudiced," persisted.

The all-black composition also provided an opportunity to express "black woes," including how Afro-Americans were being mistreated in the Church. Other blacks, including Beverly Perry in the Southwest Los Angeles Branch, objected to this attitude: "Being members of the Church we usually are talking about more elevated things, things that enlighten and not things that are dark and gloomy. . . . We don't have time for the negative" (1985). Unfortunately, a number of black Latter-day Saints cried for separation from whites because they felt uncomfortable worshipping with them. After observing the Southwest Los Angeles Branch, Alan Cherry noted, "An unintentional result [of the branch] might be the emergence of weakness as the common denominator. More capable Latter-day Saints will leave it to learn and grow while weaker ones will stay, further institutionalizing their belief they do not fit into the geographical church they might describe as a 'white' church" (Cherry 1985a).

Equally destructive were the conclusions white members drew about blacks from the exclusively black branches. Rather than viewing a branch as a collection of individuals, many erroneously generalized that all blacks have the same easily identifiable problems. They seemed to believe all blacks come "from the land of homogeneity" (Cherry 1988). For example, one couple in Charlotte confidently stated all blacks were unwilling to make commitments. This damaging pronouncement arose from their work with inactive blacks in the inner city. They called members by the wrong names, evidently assuming all blacks looked alike. Because some blacks in Charlotte were regularly late to meetings, this couple joked about "Black Time" being even later than "Mormon Standard Time." The mission president also fostered stereotypes by discussing the "black nation" with missionaries in his charge as if blacks somehow occupied a separate part of the United States (Cardall 1988). In Greensboro, while some white members accepted Johnnie McKoy as a member of the high council and recognized his value as a Church leader, they continued to believe that other blacks had no potential leadership abilities and were noticeably reluctant to accept other blacks as openly as they had learned to accept McKoy (McKoy 1988a).

Like Genesis groups, black branches also experienced leadership problems. With a small pool of priesthood holders to draw from, leaders were either called for an overly long period of time or from outside branch boundaries. For local black leaders, who were frequently used to the black minister model, being released from a calling, especially after a long period of time, was often seen as a kind of reproach rather than a normal Church procedure. Outside white leaders, while very committed to the calling, sometimes continued to promote stereotypes. Even worse, importing leaders sent the message to the black communities that the Church did not feel blacks were capable of running the Church.

Creating black branches also sends mixed messages to the black community. Questioned about the possibility of black branches in Chicago, Catherine Stokes, Relief Society president in an integrated Chicago ward, commented, "As far as Chicago, Illinois, and most of America, that would be a public relations nightmare for the Church. It would tend to confirm what most people think about the Church, that it is racist" (1988a). Black branches and even Genesis groups may falsely communicate a message that blacks really were not wanted in the Church or that they needed to stay in their place. Jerri Hale summarized the dilemma: "There are some blacks who need [them]. They feel that in the cases where they are the only black in their ward or stake [a black organization] would serve as a support to them. . . . [But] then you would have the other side saying that the Church segregates you" (1985, 39-40).

INTEGRATED WARDS

The integrated wards and branches have, of course, also had their share of both successes and failures. In areas with only a few black members they, of course, simply became part of local wards and branches. In other places, larger numbers of blacks were part of integrated geographical wards. Many viewed this as preferable to a temporary special branch or ward for blacks. Don Harwell, for instance, argued, "I think one problem we have as black people is we always feel like we need to be clustered together in numbers. Instead I think we need to do exactly what the Church has got us doing, keep us separated and keep us filling in wards. . . . I think it's nice there is Genesis, and I enjoy Genesis. It is nice to get together with black people once in a while, but I do not think we should look for a special branch. We need to fit into the mainstream" (1985, 26).

Charlotte First Ward

The Charlotte First Ward went out of its way to meet the needs of blacks. With approximately 5 percent black members, the ward exerted itself to make sure home teachers and visiting teachers were assigned who could also provide transportation and fellowshipping to the new members. The bishop's son gave his scriptures to a new young black member, and the deacons' quorum raised funds to buy the convert camping equipment. The bishop urged that special needs be spread through existing wards and branches; seemingly large problems might appear small if they were not all centered in one place (Cardall 1988).

Oakland: Virginia Street Services

The number of blacks joining the Church in the Oakland area made a separate branch for blacks seem logical since there were already a number of special wards for Tongans, Samoans, Chinese, Vietnamese, and even "families . . . with a head of household over 45 years old and no children living at home" (Larsen and Larsen 1987, 38-39). Anyone living in Oakland and not in one of these special groups was a member of the Oakland First Ward, which included the exclusive Piedmont area as well as the inner city. According to several sources, the new black members felt uncomfortable attending the "big" ward with the "rich" people from Piedmont. Investigators and new members were staying away from church. In March 1986, the mission set up the Virginia Street Services, which included sacrament meeting and Sunday school. The Virginia Street chapel, the first LDS chapel in Oakland, had been abandoned because the neighborhood had changed to a largely black

and Latino area, and many whites were afraid to go there. Now the Church decided to remodel it. Until the remodeling was completed, the "Virginia Street Services" were held in the stake center near the Oakland Temple.

At first the Virginia Street Services appeared to be a black branch since those attending were either Afro-American, married to an Afro-American, or missionaries—even though the missionaries and a member of the high council insisted that this was a geographical division. By 1988 the planned division of the Oakland First Ward was clear. Using Interstate 580 as a dividing line separating Piedmont from the inner city, the Virginia Street Services were now called the Oakland Ninth Branch. When I attended a service on 14 August 1988, approximately half of the congregation was black. One white member commented that although she had been reluctant to attend the branch at first, implying concerns about the economic and racial mix, she now did not want to be anywhere else. She felt a special spirit there. Two men from Piedmont have served as branch presidents; the counselors in August 1988 were black members. Other than the imported branch presidents, the leadership seemed to come from within the branch boundaries (Carey 1986; J. Sorensen 1986; N. Sorensen 1986; Missionaries 1986).

Chicago: Hyde Park

Another example of an integrated ward is Chicago's Hyde Park. A decade ago Hyde Park was a white student branch near the University of Chicago. After the 1978 revelation, however, blacks started joining in the area, amounting to a 300 percent increase in ward membership. Since the ward has outgrown its converted building, ward members have been holding fund-raising activities to finance a new chapel. Of the 500,000 people who lived within ward boundaries as of 1988, 97 percent were black. These boundaries included not only the west side of Chicago "known more for its street gangs and basketball players," but also the University of Chicago and an upper class neighborhood ("Blacks" 1989). Ward members consisted of transient University of Chicago graduate students and a more stable population which included professors from the University of Chicago, local residents, a number of whom were black, and deaf members from throughout the Chicago area (Stokes 1988a).

Assessment: Integrated Wards

One major advantage of an integrated ward is the training new members receive simply by watching how other members conduct themselves in church and perform in their church callings. There is a lot to

learn. As Emanuel Reid pointed out in the 1988 LDS Afro-American Symposium:

> When you visit a black Baptist church like I have on many occasions, generally the preacher, his deacons, and those who have various callings take care of everything. All you have to do is come and sit and say amen. When the tray is passed around, put your money in. . . . After the sermon is over, you get up and go home. You don't have the opportunities to conduct a lot of classes, to conduct meetings, and to do things of that nature. As blacks coming into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, there is a great need that they learn those organizational skills. They can only come through someone taking the time [to explain] or through their observation.

Johnnie McKoy recalled that when he first joined the Church, "I was a little reluctant to really get involved. . . . I knew I had a strong testimony of the gospel and eventually got to do something. . . . I finally worked up to where they thought I was qualified to become the ward mission leader" (1988c). Based on his experience watching other new members, he commented that he did not want black leaders in the Greensboro branch unless they had organizational skills. Instead, he suggested, skilled leaders should call new members as counselors to train them about Church operations. By observation and discussion with members, converts will learn about Church organizations and procedures (1988a).

John Phillips, serving in 1988 as a bishop of a multi-cultural ward in the Los Angeles area, recalled how some Tongans in his ward had originally been reluctant to attend. After he visited in their homes and extended love and fellowship, they accepted him as their bishop and attended the ward. While they did not have the knowledge to be called as auxiliary presidents, he encouraged other ward members to accept them as counselors so they could learn Church procedure (1988).

Integrated wards also diminished the sense of difference between blacks and whites as they worked together for a common cause and shared values. A member of the Hyde Park Ward told Cathy Stokes that the Church was the only place where he could sit down with someone from another race and talk about what was important in each of their lives. It was also the only place where "Come, Come Ye Saints" and "Lift Up Your Voice and Sing," the NAACP theme often referred to as the black national anthem, were sung in the same meeting. Hearing them together, he was made acutely aware of the common struggles of all people (Stokes 1988b). Phillip Webb from Chicago said,

> Within the Church, I've had the sense that maybe the whites are more relaxed around the black members because they do see blacks for what they really can be and not as stereotypes. I think that's how the relationships within the Church are developed because they're seeing blacks as human beings rather than as

> some threat out on the public streets. With more and more blacks becoming members of the Church lately, . . . I think [white] people will learn to accept black people as just another human being and not precast them as some kind of a problem. (1988)

As Nathleen Albright urged, "The ward should accept them as individuals, not as black members" (1985, 19).

Catherine Stokes pointed out that the civil rights advocates died for full participation, and the gospel message is also that we should be together (1988b). Contact comes not only at church but also through home teaching and visiting teaching. Susan Walker from Chicago recalled the closeness she felt with her home teacher. He had just moved and she explained, "I really miss him." He came every month to visit and took her to meetings (1988, 12). Linda Williams, pregnant when she joined the Church, was deeply moved when one of her visiting teachers volunteered to be with her through labor. "It was just the time and effort she took on her part to go out of her way and do something for me. I think that was another important reason for me becoming faithful in the Church" (1988, 6). But contact and concern were not restricted to formal Church assignments. Susan Walker recalled young graduate students in her ward who went out of their way to make sure she made it to church and other meetings (1988, 12).

However, not all blacks and whites in their integrated wards and branches rose above the long history of segregation, discrimination, and prejudice in the United States. Johnnie McKoy reports that blacks attending the Greensboro Second Ward were told in private that they were not wanted. He also recalled that one white ward member, whom he home taught, continued to phone him regularly because she was lonely and he was willing to listen. Yet when local leaders were organizing the black branch, she called McKoy to tell him blacks could not have a branch because they have no leadership skills, completely forgetting that she was speaking to a black (1988a).

Prejudice was, of course, not limited to the South. Elizabeth Pulley recalled how the whites in her southern California ward seemed to be very friendly but were rude behind her back. She said one sister kissed her, and then afterwards she saw the same sister in the restroom washing her lips (1985, 10-11). Eva Willis from St. Louis said that while her husband has not felt any discrimination, "I have had some problems. Of course, women are different than men. I have sisters today that won't speak to me as I go down the hall. I have sisters who teach the classes on Sunday in Relief Society that will not call on me if I raise my hand. I have sisters that if I walk up to them and start talking to them they completely ignore me" (1988).

Janis Parker from Chicago said that one sister she was assigned to visit teach would never talk directly to her. "I would be sitting there like a shadow and virtually be ignored. At first I thought maybe it was because she knew my visiting teaching companion better because they live in the same area basically. Then it dawned on me that she comes from a small town in Utah. She doesn't know a thing about black people. Maybe she doesn't know how to talk to me or maybe I don't count in her eyes because I'm black" (1988, 24). Johnnie McKoy recalled a visiting high councilor who walked out of his way when he came to visit the branch so he would not have to shake McKoy's hand (1988a).

While some of these experiences were clearly cases of prejudice, McKoy recognized that others may have been simply individuals not going out of their way to be friendly. He remarked, "I guess the Latter-day Saints that have been in the Church a long time take most everything for granted. Blacks have a special need. Coming into a situation like this, they need to feel that they are wanted. They [white Latter-day Saints] need to place a little more emphasis in letting them [new black converts] know that they recognize they are there and appreciate them coming in. This is not being done" (1986, 13-14).

Janis Parker, for instance, felt very close to a young couple in the ward but learned only through the grapevine that they had had their baby. "I felt hurt that I didn't know when I found out that everybody else in the ward knew. [I thought they were saying], 'You're not a part of our lives. You are black. You don't count.' . . . All of a sudden I *became* black because I don't think of myself as a black person. I only think of myself as a person, and all of a sudden it dawned on me that I'm black." As she thought about the experience more, however, she realized the problems that the young couple with their first child were probably having and understood their neglect was probably not related to her being black (1988, 25).

Susan Walker said when she first went to the Hyde Park Ward, "It was a little bit hard because I knew not a soul, nobody but the missionaries. Nobody spoke to me. It was quite some time before they did" (1988, 11). Sarah Gripper, the only black member in her Springfield, Illinois, ward, viewed the Relief Society sisters as "cliquey" and felt she didn't fit in because she was the only black member. She had difficulties with callings and asked to be released from them. She explained, "I fell into a valley. This is totally honest. I have never ever used being black as an excuse for not fitting in anywhere. I am using that now. . . . Even though I know the word is true and that's why I joined the Church, I just feel like I should go back to my parents' church because I won't have the pressure. I would feel like I fit in." Only a precariously small support system was

keeping her in the Church at that time (1988).

Melvin McCoy from Barberton, Ohio, regarded one Church member who did not speak to him before he joined as prejudiced. Yet once McCoy met him at church, he was quite the opposite. "He's been very open and very friendly" (1988). Arthur Preston in Chicago concluded that being ordained to the priesthood in the bishop's office and the unequal number of blacks and whites in the circles when babies were blessed were signs of prejudice (1988). In nearly every one of these cases, the white Church members probably did not know that the black members were interpreting their behaviors as signs of prejudice. Both blacks and whites did not completely live the Golden Rule: the whites were not friendly; the blacks saw any lack of attention as prejudice.

Along with possible prejudice, even some well-meaning people could not seem to quit stereotyping. Cathy Stokes recalled being asked once, "Tell us how to approach black people." Her response was, naturally, "Which ones?" since "the approach with the black university professor is much different than the person who is marginally making a living. I think we need to recognize that there is not a cookie cutter stamp . . . for black people that you can just apply universally" (1988a). Victor Soil recalls the graduate students in the Hyde Park Ward automatically talked down to him assuming he had little or no education, based on their stereotypes. He felt affronted that he should have to advertise that he had college degrees to be treated as an intellectual equal. He also remembers that when he first joined the Church some members felt that "they were keeping black people as pets. But they're not pets," he emphasizes. "They're people that can be taught and can be of service to other people and the Lord. They're not people just to be kept around to make you feel better" (1988, 10). Those in integrated wards who were unable to shed the old stereotypes may have turned blacks away from the Church just as certainly as those who were openly prejudiced.

Both segregation or assimilation, then, have some substantial benefits as well as some frustrating detriments. Yet there remain at least two other approaches to be attempted, namely: cultural pluralism and fusion. As William E. B. DuBois points out, a black "simply wishes to make it possible to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the door of opportunity closed roughly in his face" (in Schaefer 1988, 247-48). Cultural pluralism would require Church members to accept all cultures as equally valuable, recognizing that we all need to learn to validate and enjoy each other's differences. Hattie Soil recalls a talk she gave in church where she explained, "I wasn't raised around white people either," implying she also needed to learn to accept white people and their cultural style (1988, 12).

Conclusion

In the early days of the Church, even up until World War II, the Church was so small that it was considered a virtue to accept the dominant culture. According to historian Stephen McCracken, LDS immigrants to Utah were encouraged to "adopt the manners and customs of the American people, fit themselves to become good and loyal citizens of this country, and by their good works show that they are true and faithful Latter-day Saints" (1986, 107). However, the Church has grown so rapidly throughout the world since 1951 it is no longer practical, even were it desirable, for all members to become walking replications of Utah/Idaho Mormons. Blacks, as well as Italians, Hispanics, Tongans, and Vietnamese, all have cultural goods to offer the Church. As Annette Reid explained, "I think there should be more of an integral sharing of cultures among all people within the Church. Let somebody sing a hymn that is not in the hymnbook, so to speak, that may be traditionally called a Baptist hymn or a Negro spiritual or let someone sing a Korean song in sacrament meeting. We are a church of many people and many cultures. I think what we do should reflect that" (1985, 29).

The Logan Tenth Ward successfully welcomed the Swiss immigrants in ways Reid might have been suggesting. Swiss culture was not limited to expression in the German-speaking branch. Occasionally choirs sang in German in the Logan Tenth Ward, members often bore their testimonies in German or Swiss, and ward parties included polkas and Swiss food. Non Swiss-German ward members enjoyed the testimonies, music, dancing, and food, and some even learned a few German words (Embry 1988, 222-35). While it might be argued that that approach will not work where a ward is integrating only a few blacks, plenty of luaus are held throughout the Church where there are no Polynesians in the ward. Just after I began working for BYU, I recall that my home teacher, Joke Kokkonen, a convert and graduate student, always prayed in Finnish when he visited me. I could cite other examples of non-American cultures being shared in wards.

However, according to LDS doctrine, respect for all cultures will not be the final answer to the misunderstandings between people. Latter-day Saints believe that there will eventually be a society like that of the city of Enoch or the one described in 4 Nephi:

> And it came to pass that there was no contention in the land, because of the love of God which did dwell in the hearts of the people. And there were no envyings, nor strifes, nor tumults, nor whoredoms, nor lyings, nor murders, nor any manner of lasciviousness; and surely there could not be a happier people among all the people who had been created by the hand of God. There were no robbers, nor

> murderers, neither were there Lamanites, nor any manner of -ites, but they were in one, children of Christ, and heirs to the kingdom of God. (1:15-17)

Although the Church has not reached that ideal by any means, our best chance is to learn to grow side by side, bearing one another's burdens and sharing one another's joys. There may be moments of considerable discomfort if whites and blacks, Tongans and Samoans, Japanese and Koreans, and other cultures with historical conflicts are asked to worship together. But as we approach the last days, we need to strive for a new culture where we will be one. As Jerri Hale Harwell envisioned, she looks forward to the day when she will not be seen as a black Latter-day Saint, but simply as a child of God (1988).

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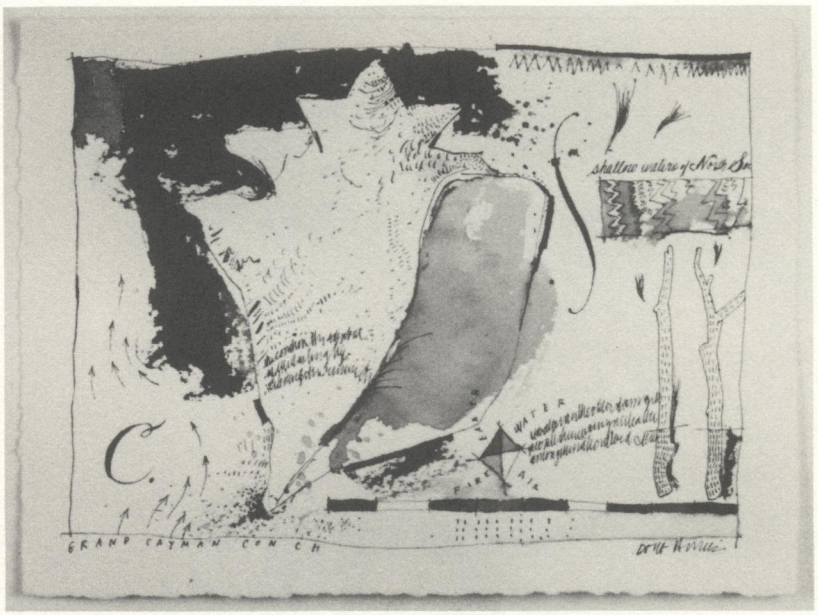

Grandpa

Jill Hemming

you talk of breakaway stallions
with hooves poised to strike teeth,
years on long lean roads past Las Vegas
selling church pews down the valley.
Why couldn't you hold a few of those pews
for your own stiff and holy battering.
You gave them all away and sprawled
through generations weary of bruises
your too-far reaching tires tracked.
Oh, you rolled far and built rest stops
rather than homes, dropping off travelers
on the way.

You were strong then.
Now your ankles swell when you walk
and you carry big, false white teeth.

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The Mormon Priesthood Revelation and the São Paulo, Brazil Temple

Mark L. Grover

FEW BRAZILIAN MEMBERS of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will forget 1978, the year when two events significantly changed the Church in this South American country. The June announcement granting the priesthood to males of African descent eliminated a doctrine and policy that had touched most Brazilian members in a personal way, relieving them of a difficult historical burden and allowing the Church to move into a different and more comfortable future. That same year in November, the São Paulo, Brazil Temple, in construction since 1975, was dedicated, making temple ordinances available locally to South American members for the first time. The opening of the temple culminated years of growth and seemed to indicate that the Church in Brazil had reached a significant level of spiritual and institutional maturity. The year was filled with hard work, excitement, and joy.

To broaden our general understanding of the events surrounding the change in Church policy towards blacks, we must examine the international environment of the Church in 1978. That understanding requires an evaluation of the relationship between the Church in Brazil, the construction of the São Paulo Temple, and the priesthood revelation. In this article, I will explore the possibility that events in Brazil

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were part of a larger context that resulted in the historic June 1978 change. This examination will not attempt to establish relationships where none existed, nor will it try to secularize or diminish in any way the important spiritual experience the revelation was to all involved. It should, however, illuminate the role that Church members outside of the United States play in the evolution of Church policies, programs, and organization.

Both secular and sacred variables have been shown to influence Church policy and practices. The importance of each and their ultimate effect on ecclesiastical decisions are often difficult to determine. Nonbelievers generally rely on only secular, environmental factors to interpret an event, while the faithful often ignore influences not part of the religious experience and deemphasize nonspiritual factors. Believing historians are thus in a dilemma as they examine events such as the priesthood revelation. An individual receiving a revelation often does not recount the very personal details of the experience. If descriptions are given, they are generally brief and without a discussion of the process leading to the revelation. Historians, thus left to work with spotty details and little source material, out of necessity must focus on the secular elements that only partially explain the process. I write this article with those difficulties and limitations in mind.

What was occurring in Brazil in 1978 is, of course, only part of a much larger picture. I will not attempt to determine the influence or the role of the Brazilians in the overall revelation process but will only show that the events occurring in Brazil were unique in the Church and could have influenced the 1978 occurrences.

BLACKS IN BRAZIL

Few non-African countries have been more influenced by Africa than has Brazil. Slavery was legal until 1888, and between 1550 and 1850 over three million African slaves were brought to Brazil to provide a work force for the country's plantations and mines. The scarcity of European women during the colonial period encouraged miscegenation and resulted in a society with a small white minority and a majority that was black, mulatto, and mestizo. Important European and Asian migrations between 1884 and 1957 altered the racial picture in some areas of Brazil but did not diminish the importance of the black and mixed population (Smith 1963, 62-74).

The sheer size of the black population significantly affected Brazilians' attitudes towards race. Estimates suggest that over 40 percent of the population is either black or some combination of black,

white, and/or Indian. The latest Brazilian census that included racial categories (1950) showed 26 percent of the population to be racially mixed. In actuality this figure is much higher since Brazilians classify many as whites who are actually mixed. Interracial marriage is an acceptable and common practice within most classes of Brazilian society. The large, mixed population has engendered a society which considers any form of racial segregation illegal; prejudice, though not eliminated, is less of a social factor than in most other countries of the world (Smith 1963, 68-73, 126; see also Bergmann 1978; Azevedo 1968).

The Church in Brazil

Mormon missionaries came to Brazil in 1928 and proselyted among recent European immigrants. Small German colonies in southern Brazil attracted Mormon missionaries from Argentina who believed they could teach Germans and avoid the surrounding Brazilian population. Once the Church was established in Brazil, however, missionaries did not leave, even though a 1938 governmental policy restricted their work with the German immigrants. Instead they focused on the Portuguese-speaking population, remaining in the south, the region with the largest number of European migrants and the least amount of miscegenation (see Grover 1985; Peterson 1961; Flake 1975).

Once missionaries began teaching Brazilians, two racial issues surfaced. First, it was impossible to avoid contact with persons of African descent in most parts of the country. The illegality of segregated housing meant that there were neither official nor unofficial residential areas for blacks as had occurred in South Africa or parts of the United States. Consequently missionaries could not work in any area without inadvertently contacting blacks or their descendants. This was generally not a problem with contacts who had obvious African physical traits, but many investigators who looked European had distant black ancestors.

Second, American missionaries ran into problems when their identification of blacks differed from that of Brazilian members. Faithful Church members respecting the policy on priesthood restrictions would interest family and friends in the Church only to discover that the missionaries believed the potential investigators had African ancestry. The Church established strict guidelines in an effort to limit, as much as possible, the inevitable conflict. By the 1960s an uneasy but workable system was in place. In general, priesthood leaders considered physical appearance first and then family and genealogical records. If these methods were not successful, spiritual means such as patriarchal bless-

ings and the inspiration of Church leaders were used to make the final determination. Though not always appreciated by the members, this system was acceptable and insured that Church policy was followed (see Grover 1984; Amorim 1986).

Most Brazilian members, however, were uncomfortable with the Church's policy. Their association with an American-based Church that had a policy denying certain spiritual and institutional rights to blacks led friends and relatives to accuse them of racism, a label difficult for a Brazilian to live with. At the same time, they did not feel they had a right or even the possibility to question or work towards a change in the policy (Alcover 1982, 11). The priesthood restriction was a revelation from God and could only be changed when new revelation was received through the proper religious channels (Camargo 1976, 13). Brazil's traditional patrimonial political and social system conditioned Brazilians to accept decisions made by higher authorities, even when they did not agree, and to learn to live with the policy (Roett 1984).

The situation remained essentially unchanged until the Church announced in 1975 that they intended to build a temple in São Paulo. This landmark announcement helped create an environment in which change could be contemplated. To understand the relationship between the Church in Brazil, the São Paulo Temple, and the priesthood revelation, we must examine: (1) experiences of President Kimball and other General Authorities with blacks, (2) the potential expansion of missionary work into northeastern Brazil, and (3) events during the temple construction.

General Authorities in Brazil

Only one General Authority visited Brazil in an official capacity prior to the 1954 world tour visit of President David O. McKay. President McKay's visit signaled an important shift in attitude among the General Authorities toward South America. The area was now seen as a region of potential growth and development. After 1954 members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and other General Authorities visited fairly regularly, especially following the 1966 organization of the first stake in São Paulo. Almost without exception, members of the Church's hierarchy were confronted with questions and problems of race when in Brazil. President McKay was asked by a young priesthood holder whether he should marry a young woman of African descent (Howells 1973, 79). During his tour of the Brazilian Mission in 1961, Joseph Fielding Smith was questioned regularly by missionaries and members about the priesthood restrictions. After meeting an active

Brazilian family of African descent, Gordon B. Hinckley reportedly became concerned about the policy in general (Sá Maia 1982, 17).

Spencer W. Kimball, however, had the greatest number of such experiences. Beginning in 1959, he visited Brazil regularly as its ecclesiastical administrator and/or as a mission and stake conference visitor. He worked to get the São Paulo Stake ready for organization in 1966 and persuaded some hesitant colleagues in the Quorum of the Twelve of the need for its organization. He maintained an interest and concern for the Brazilian members of the Church while serving as president of both the Quorum of the Twelve and of the Church. He was by far the most well known and beloved Church administrator in Brazil.

His experiences with black members of the Church began with his first visit to Brazil in 1959. A young black member approached Elder Kimball asking whether there was any useful way for him to serve in the Church. Kimball wrote in his journal, "My heart wanted to burst for him. I think I helped him with tithing and drink and . . . I think he went away less perturbed, more sure of himself" (in Kimball and Kimball 1977, 317).

Elder Kimball's frequent visits to South America over the next twenty years and his close friendship with Brazilian members made him sensitive to the priesthood problem. He counseled mission presidents and stake leaders concerning the ramifications of the priesthood restrictions. During his visits he would meet with black members and discuss the need for continued faithfulness. His experiences in Brazil were a constant reminder not necessarily of the doctrinal aspects of priesthood denial, but of the administrative, personal, and often tragic ramifications of this policy.

One black Brazilian Church member from Rio de Janeiro, Helvécio Martins, had a particular impact on Elder Kimball. Helvécio and his family were baptized in the early 1970s and quickly became active in the local ward and stake. Unlike many blacks who had joined the Church in Brazil, the Martins family was neither poor nor uneducated. Helvécio had taken advanced studies in economics and worked as an upper management accounting administrator for Petrobras, a publicly owned oil company and the largest corporation in Brazil. He also taught economics at one of Brazil's major universities and maintained a high social status in the financial community. Martins was probably the most prominent Latter-day Saint in Brazil (Martins 1982).

The Martins family presented an interesting dilemma for Church leaders. They completely accepted the Church's doctrines, including the restrictions on their activities. They became a model Latter-day Saint family, attending most Church functions and doing all they were

asked to do, seemingly without reservations. The Church, thus, was restricting participation not of a poor or uneducated black, but of a family whose education, prestige, administrative ability, and financial standing was higher than most other members of the Church in Brazil. The family had in turn reacted to the restrictions with a level of faith and devotion few members could claim. The Martins family soon became well known throughout the Church in Brazil for their dedication to the gospel (Alcover 1982; Vaz, Roselli, and Erbolato 1982).

The Martins also became prominent in the Church for other reasons. Helvécio was given responsibility for public relations of the Church in Rio de Janeiro and became the spokesman for the Church in the second largest population center of the country. Rio de Janeiro had important Brazilian television stations and newspapers, and consequently Helvécio Martins became the Church's most visible spokesperson. In this position, he gave interviews to the press explaining doctrine and activities, brought dignitaries to visit the Church, and worked to familiarize the country with Mormonism.

Church leaders in Brazil made sure that most American General Authorities traveling in the country met and talked with Martins. Helvécio visited several times with President Kimball, who took a special interest in the Martins family, making sure they had a positive understanding of the priesthood restrictions. The Martins became not only the Church's answer to outside critics but unknowingly the Brazilian advocate to Church leaders for the need of a racial policy change (Alcover 1982; Vaz, Roselli, and Erbolato 1982).

The Brazilian Northeast

The Brazilian northeast provided a second pressure point for the Church's racial policies. One of the most prominent doctrines emphasized during the presidency of Spencer W. Kimball was expanding missionary work throughout the world. The Church increased the number of missionaries and moved into new areas and countries. An obvious obstacle to worldwide expansion was the restrictions toward blacks. The Brazilian northeast historically provided one of the first examples of the difficulties the Church would encounter moving into predominately black areas and continually reminded Church authorities how difficult Church expansion would be without a change in the priesthood policy.

The demographic makeup of Brazil was an important variable in Church growth and expansion. Traditionally, Brazilian mission presidents had always been careful to send missionaries only into areas with large populations of recent European immigrants. With the formation of a second mission in 1959, however, an increased number of mission-

aries entered Brazil. William Grant Bangerter, president of the northern mission, sent missionaries into areas that had earlier been rejected primarily for racial reasons. Missionaries first went to the center-west cities of Brasília and Goiánia, and the next logical step was the large population centers of the northeast (Grover 1985, 255).

The demographic differences between the immigrant towns of the south and the traditional cities of the northeast are significant. During much of the colonial period through 1720, sugar plantations made the coastal region of the northeast the economically strongest area of the country. Most African slaves imported into the country went to this section. But as the economy of the northeast declined in the eighteenth century, coffee plantations in the south expanded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and as slavery was gradually eliminated, the bulk of immigrants, Europeans, settled in the south. Consequently, the population of the northeast more than any other area of the country exhibits the characteristics of miscegenation that occurred during the colonial period between the Portuguese, Indian, and black. According to the 1950 census, over 50 percent of the population of the state of Pernambuco was black or mixed, compared to 5 percent in the southern state of Santa Catarina (Smith 1963, 70).

These census figures indicating over 40 percent white in the northeast were based on the Brazilian perception of white, which was essentially physical appearance, not genealogical lineage. Consequently, the population classified as white in the census included a percentage with African lineage but not obvious African physical features. This was not a segment of the population Mormon missionaries would be able to work with. The missionaries became so sensitive that they began to consider anyone without obvious European physical characteristics to have the "lineage." This left only about 10 to 20 percent of the population in the northeast as potential investigators of Mormonism.[1]

Bangerter suggested the possibility of introducing missionaries into the northeast to Henry D. Moyle of the First Presidency when he visited Brazil in 1960. Bangerter informed Moyle that he had recently visited a number of the larger cities and felt that in at least three or four there was the potential for success. Moyle suggested that missionaries be sent into one city for a short time as an "isolated experiment, . . . to learn how well we could work in the northern areas where Negroes predominate and to be better acquainted with this vast country" (Bangerter 1964).

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[1] This figure was most commonly given during oral interviews conducted by the author in 1982 with members, missionaries, and mission presidents.

A few months later, missionaries were sent to Recife, Pernambuco, the largest city of the northeast. They experienced minimal success at first due to the large number of blacks, strong anti-American feelings in the area, and an almost complete lack of local knowledge about Mormonism. Missionary success improved when they taught and baptized the family of Milton Soares, Jr., a local businessman with a young family. His devotion to the Church was strong and contagious, and within a year the missionaries had baptized a small but committed group. Soares was set apart as branch president on 27 October 1961 by A. Theodore Tuttle, who remarked at the time: "There was a feeling of great strength and promise for stability in the future due to such a fine and capable group of leaders. . . . People really look fine although we well know there are some who have a mixture of blood" (Manuscript History 1961).

Encouraged mission presidents sent missionaries into other cities in the north. Branches were opened in João Pessoa in 1960, Maceió in 1966, and Fortaleza and Campina Grande in 1968. Though the degree of proselyting success varied, all these branches were continually plagued with the problems of racial mixture. Bangerter wrote in his diary 26 November 1958: "In some of the branches, particularly in the north where a man or woman of white blood received the gospel[,] it frequently happened that their companion and children were colored and to bring in the whole family gave membership to many who could not hold the priesthood."

Racial restrictions made branches in the northeast different from those in the south. The distances between rich and poor were much more pronounced than in the south, and social classes were loosely structured by color, with the darker population occupying the lower social strata. Racially mixed marriages were more common in the lower classes, and the missionaries found that the white Brazilians they had to work with were of a higher social class than those in the south. Though missionaries in the north had fewer baptisms, those converts they did baptize were generally of a higher economic and educational level than those found elsewhere in Brazil. With a higher percentage of professors, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals in the Church, finding capable lay leaders with administrative experience to fill branch and district positions was less of a problem.

Until 1978 established branches remained small but active, and missionary success remained essentially the same. Proselyting remained limited to the largest cities because of the high percentage of blacks in the area. It was obvious to both Brazilian and American Church leaders that until the priesthood restrictions were removed, Church growth in

areas such as the northeast would not be possible (Amorim 1986).[2]

The São Paulo Temple

The pivotal event in the history of the Church in Brazil was the March 1975 announcement of the forthcoming construction of the São Paulo Temple. Unlike Mormon chapels, entrance to the temple required that male members hold the priesthood and be judged worthy and that female members not have African ancestry. Construction of the temple brought to the forefront the issue of the priesthood restriction. Some observers have suggested that officials became concerned that the difficulty of racial identification to determine who could enter the temple would make it hard for the Church to keep members with African ancestry out of the temple. Though this was a concern to a few, the major issue presented by the construction of the temple does not appear to have been administrative. The Church already had a method in place to determine priesthood eligibility that would only have had to have been extended to determine temple eligibility. The role of the São Paulo Temple in the Church's priesthood policy change probably had more to do with compassion than with administrative problems. President Spencer W. Kimball undoubtedly was most concerned with how to allow blacks into the temple, not how to keep them out.

Several incidents during the last phases of the temple construction indicate that President Kimball and other General Authorities were interested in the priesthood issue. Several black members helped with selected tasks in the temple construction, and the prophet was kept informed of their activities by Brazilian authorities. Elder James E. Faust, the General Authority supervisor for Brazil, stated in 1977 that black members helped "to make blocks for the temple just like anybody else. They have made their monetary contributions for the construction of the temple and they've made their sacrifices just the same as everybody else. And I've advised President Kimball and Brother McConkie of the faithfulness of these people" (1977, 26). Bruce R. McConkie had administrative responsibility for Brazil at this time.

Gordon B. Hinckley, in a talk at the dedication of the temple, indicated that he knew of the sacrifices and contributions of black members and was impressed that they were willing to work on the temple (Sá

[2] The effect of the priesthood restrictions on growth becomes obvious when we examine the number of baptisms before and after 1978. In the area that became the Brazil North Mission, seventy baptisms were recorded in June 1978. One year later, the mission organized in July 1978 baptized over 900 in the month of June. The Brazil North Mission between 1979-82 was one of the highest baptizing missions in the Church. The area that included one mission in 1978 now includes five (Klein 1982).

Maia 1982, 17). Other General Authorities were also aware. According to Elder LeGrand Richards, "All those people with Negro blood in them have been raising the money to build that temple. . . . With this situation that we feel down there in Brazil—Brother Kimball worried a lot about it—how the people are so faithful and devoted" (Richards 1978, 3-4).

Church authorities also noted the activities of Helvécio Martins and his family. Helvécio was asked to serve on the temple dedication public relations committee that coordinated information for media exposure. Consequently he was at the cornerstone-laying ceremony in March 1977, which was attended by several General Authorities, including President Kimball. Before the ceremony began, President Kimball noticed Martins in the audience and asked him to come to the podium. Martins sat with President Kimball briefly and received this counsel: "Brother, what is necessary for you is faithfulness. Remain faithful and you will enjoy all the blessings of the Church." Martins returned to his seat pondering the reason for the counsel and preoccupied with the experience (Martins 1982, 23).

That preoccupation increased significantly when a few months later Elder James E. Faust, in Rio for meetings, asked Martins to accompany him to the airport. Asking Martins if he remembered the words of President Kimball, Faust stated that all members of the Church should heed the counsel, but it was especially important for Martins to remain faithful and keep the commandments. Faust did not indicate any special reason for his advice, and Martins remained concerned over these unusual experiences (Martins 1982, 23).

Martins continued to work with the publicity committee, making several trips to São Paulo to attend meetings with members of the full committee. During one such visit, he and his wife walked on to the partially constructed main floor of the temple. He described what happened.

> I went onto the Temple construction with my wife, walking among the construction metals and wood and stopped at a certain place. We felt an unusually strong spirit at that time. We held each other and cried for some time. We realized later we were standing at the exact spot of the Celestial Room of the Temple. We felt a strong undescribable feeling in that place. Impressive! Extraordinarily strong. It was one of the most spiritual experiences of our lives. (Martins 1982, 16)

They had no idea what the experience meant. Others observing the scene placed their own interpretation on what had happened and spread the word of the incident throughout the Church. This experience was recounted to Church leaders who took it back to Salt Lake City (Alcover 1982, 11; Puerta 1982, 16).

Martins was again surprised in March 1978 to learn of a change in the Home Teaching policy. His stake president received a call from William Grant Bangerter, the General Authority administrator for Brazil, advising him that worthy black males could now act in the formerly restricted priesthood positions of junior companion home teacher. Though this appeared to be a very simple change, it was significant to Martins. He noted:

> Well, this worried us even more. I remember in our family home evening that night we decided something was about to happen. We didn't know what. We did not think it would be anything related to the priesthood. We had conditioned ourselves to believe the granting of the priesthood to Blacks would occur only in the millennium, but we felt something special was about to happen. We didn't know what it was but felt we should get ready. (1982, 24)

These incidents suggest that the General Authorities were actively concerned with the priesthood problem. Martins sensed that something major was about to occur. Just what was happening and who was involved is not yet completely clear. Notice this comment by Elder Bruce R. McConkie: "Obviously, the Brethren have had a great anxiety and concern about this problem for a long period of time, and President Spencer W. Kimball has been exercised and has sought the Lord in faith" (1981, 127). James E. Faust indicated that he knew that the issue of the priesthood was being discussed (1984, 291). Finally, in a talk to missionaries in South Africa in October 1978, President Kimball described the process he was going through:

> I remember very vividly that day after day I walked to the temple and ascended to the fourth floor where we have our solemn assemblies and . . . our meetings of the Twelve and the First Presidency. After everybody had gone out of the temple, I knelt and prayed. I prayed with much fervency. I knew that something was before us that was extremely important to many of the children of God. I knew that we could receive the revelations of the Lord only by being worthy and ready for them and ready to accept them and put them into place. Day after day I went alone and with great solemnity and seriousness in the upper rooms of the temple, and there I offered my soul and offered my efforts to go forward with the program. (in E. Kimball 1982, 450-51)

The Priesthood Revelation

In June the priesthood revelation was announced. In Brazil, as in most of the Church at large, the announcement was met with a joyous shock. Many Brazilians had hoped something would happen to allow faithful black members to participate fully in the temple opening and dedication ceremonies, but few expected such a monumental change.

When the revelation was made public, Bruce R. McConkie called William Grant Bangerter with the news. Bangerter stated, "I was overwhelmed with the implications of what actually happened. How could I imagine that this moment had really come?" (1981, 12). He immediately called a meeting of mission and stake presidents in the area and read the letter from the First Presidency. According to José Puerta, a local stake president who was present, "It was a very emotional day for all of us. Most cried on that occasion. One man I believed could not cry. . . . Even he had tears in his eyes when Elder Bangerter read President Kimball's announcement. It was very emotional" (1981, 72).

Word spread rapidly among Church members. The revelation had its official reading the following Sunday, and Bangerter described the reactions:

> I was present on a few occasions where the announcement was made in priesthood meeting or in public meetings. People didn't respond as they would in the spirit of the Fourth of July or something like that, with excitement and tears, but their emotions were very deep. I think their response would be characterized by heaving great sighs of emotion and raising their eyes to heaven in the spirit of thanksgiving and prayer and tears flowing freely from their eyes and just quietly trying to absorb the meaning of all that had taken place. (1981, 12)

The relationship between the revelation and Brazil became clear when the São Paulo Temple was dedicated five months later. All worthy members of the Church, including blacks, were invited to attend the ceremonies, held in the Celestial Room with an overflow audience in the chapel of a nearby stake center. President Gordon B. Hinckley conducted one of the last of ten dedication ceremonies. During President Kimball's dedicatory prayer, President Hinckley thought of the revelation and noted that throughout the sessions blacks had been in attendance. As President Kimball finished the prayer, Elder Hinckley was in tears and noticed that a black family in attendance was also in tears. He then spoke to the congregation about his feelings and described an experience in Brazil when he had received an understanding of why the priesthood restrictions had occurred. He also described how the First Presidency had been aware of the significant contributions of time and money that black members had made toward the temple construction. He believed that their contributions to a building they would not be allowed to enter was the greatest test those members would ever have to endure.

During a subsequent dedicatory session, President Kimball continued on the same theme. He told how he had gone several times to a special room in the Salt Lake Temple, explaining in prayer to the Lord that this doctrine had been one he had defended and was willing to continue to defend. He stated that he understood it, had supported it,

and that the leaders of the Church were willing to continue to support it if required to do so. He then asked if there was any way at this time that the destiny of this people in the Church could be changed. He explained that it was during these sessions that the revelation came to him (Sá Maia 1982, 16-17; see also Avant 1979; McConkie 1981, 126-37; Faust 1984; and Barton 1985, 176).

Conclusion

We will probably never know the actual role of the events I have described in the priesthood revelation. We can, however, suggest some possibilities.

First, since 1940 the Church in Brazil had presented to the General Authorities the internal, institutional, and personal results of the priesthood restrictions throughout the Church. In other areas of the world, such as the United States, the internal consequences tended to be overshadowed by the external, outside pressures.

Second, President Kimball's several visits allowed him to feel very comfortable in Brazil and with Brazilians, in spite of a language barrier. He was therefore aware of what was happening there and generally sensitive and concerned about the effects of the priesthood restrictions on individual members, both black and white.

Third, Church leaders recognized that the priesthood policy significantly restricted growth in Brazil, particularly in the northeast. This fact conflicted with the emphasis President Kimball was placing on missionary work.

Fourth, the São Paulo Temple presented the Church for the first time with the dilemma of restricting from entrance into a temple large numbers of members who were morally worthy. Many of those who would not be allowed to enter had offered labor and financial contributions to the temple construction.

Fifth, Helvécio Martins became a symbol of a faithful member with significant leadership potential who was unable to participate fully in the blessings of the Church.

In the eleven years since the revelation, much has happened in Brazil. Without the priesthood restrictions, the Church has expanded into all parts of the country. The growth has been the most notable in the northeast, where small branches became stakes within a couple of years. Five missions now administer the northern area where one existed in 1978. Congregations mirror the demographic makeup of their individual regions. Blacks serve in all executive positions in the Church—as bishops, stake presidents, and regional representatives.

Black male and female missionaries are serving in Brazil and Portugal. Helvécio Martins and his wife are presiding over the Brazil Fortaleza Mission. The priesthood restrictions of ten years ago are a fading memory for members of the Church. Since more than half of the Brazilian members were baptized after 1978, many are not even aware that restrictions ever existed. For those who are, 1978 will be remembered as a year of important change.

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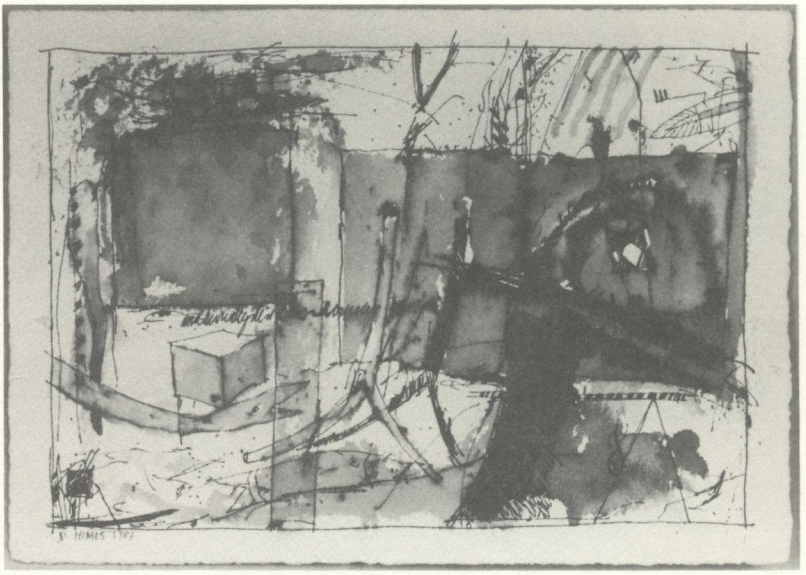

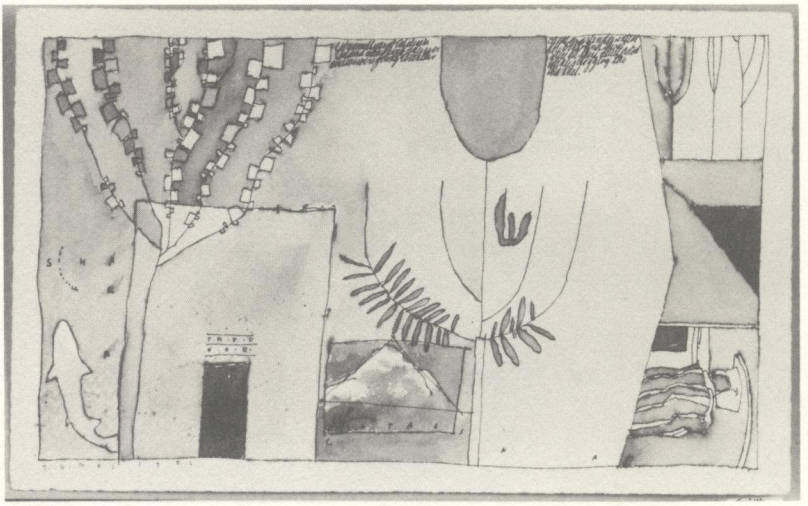

The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson

Stan Larson

WITH A KEEN EYE TO THE LDS BOOK MARKET during the 1987 and 1988 Christmas and conference seasons, various Utah radio stations aired this dramatic radio commercial:

> In 1949 [1946] California lawyer, Tom Ferguson, rolled up his sleeves, threw a shovel over his shoulder, and marched into the remote jungles of southern Mexico. Armed with a quote by Joseph Smith that the Lord had "a hand in proving the Book of Mormon true in the eyes of all the people," Ferguson's goal was: Shut the mouths of the critics who said such evidence did not exist. Ferguson began an odyssey that included twenty-four trips to Central America, eventually resulting in a mountain of evidence supporting Book of Mormon claims. (Johnson 1988; cf. Warren and Ferguson 1987, vi)

The book advertised was *The Messiah in Ancient America*, and the authors were listed as Bruce W. Warren and Thomas Stuart Ferguson. The main point of the commercial, taking into consideration the hyperbole of paid advertising, was that Ferguson had amassed evidence so overwhelming that any fair-minded person would have no alternative but to accept the historical claims of the Book of Mormon.

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Although Warren's preface to the book refers to the late Tom Ferguson's "abiding testimony of the Book of Mormon" (Warren and Ferguson 1987, xiii), a completely different image of Ferguson has been presented recently by Jerald and Sandra Tanner, anti-Mormon publishers in Salt Lake City.

The Tanners first printed a paper on problems in Book of Mormon geography that Ferguson had prepared for a written symposium on the subject. The paper was published as *Ferguson's Manuscript Unveiled*, the title itself alluding to the genre of anti-Mormon exposé (Tanner and Tanner 1988a). The Tanners next published an article sensationally entitled "Ferguson's Two Faces: Mormon Scholar's 'Spoof' Lives on after His Death" in the September 1988 issue of their *Salt Lake City Messenger*. The article briefly reviews Ferguson's early association with the New World Archaeological Foundation, but the Tanners' principal interest is in documenting his disillusionment and loss of faith by recounting his visit to them in December 1970 and by quoting from seven letters Ferguson wrote from 1968 to 1979. The letters record his disappointment at his failure to identify any Book of Mormon cities, his conviction that the Book of Mormon is a work of fiction by Joseph Smith, his loss of faith in Joseph Smith as a prophet, and his conclusion that Joseph Smith had "spoofed" people. Ferguson compliments the Tanners for publishing the truth about the Book of Abraham, and he characterizes the Church as a great myth-fraternity. According to the Tanners, Ferguson had decided that Joseph Smith could not translate Egyptian and that Hugh Nibley's articles on the Book of Abraham are worthless. The Tanners conclude, somewhat overstating their case, that "Ferguson believed that archaeology *disproved* the Book of Mormon" (Tanner and Tanner 1988b, 7, emphasis in original; cf. Cerchione 1976).

Thus, two radically different pictures of Thomas Stuart Ferguson are being promulgated. On the one hand, Warren's version of Ferguson in *The Messiah in Ancient America* entertains only traditional beliefs about the Book of Mormon. On the other hand, the Tanners present a man who has lost his faith and rejected his former convictions. Warren is no more interested in a testimony that didn't abide Ferguson's scrutiny of the evidence than the Tanners are interested in how Ferguson resolved his problems by finding positive values within the framework of Mormon culture. Where then does the truth lie? As is frequently (but not always) the case, somewhere between the extremes. One needs to examine all the available evidence in order to have as well-rounded a picture of Ferguson as possible. Consequently, the documents spanning 1937 to 1983 which come directly from Ferguson must be examined to determine if, when, and how his ideas developed. Then the reader can

better judge which of these opposing views of Tom Ferguson more closely approaches the truth.

The odyssey of Ferguson is a quest for religious certitude through archaeological evidences, an attempt at scholarly verification of theological claims. Early in his career, Thomas Stuart Ferguson was instrumental in reducing our conception of the geography of the Book of Mormon from nearly the whole of both North and South America to the more limited area of southern Mexico and Central America. In the middle years of his career, he organized archaeological reconnaissance and fieldwork in the area of Mesoamerica. But in the last years of his career, he concluded that the archaeological evidence did not substantiate the Book of Mormon, and so he reduced (in his mind) the geography of the book to nothing at all in the real world.

Ferguson's odyssey did not follow a straight course. He had lived his life as a Latter-day Saint expecting to be the instrument of verification, believing that he would find the physical proof that would not only justify his faith in the Book of Mormon but that would convince the world as well. This outlook left him vulnerable to disappointment when the evidences and proofs were not to be found where and when he thought they should be. In the end, he was theologically shipwrecked less by his failure to find persuasive archaeological support for the Book of Mormon than by his encounter with translations of the newly discovered Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri. But though his ship ran aground and floundered, it did not sink, and he managed to salvage what he felt were worthwhile essentials. Ferguson himself used nautical imagery, saying in 1976 that he wanted "to stay aboard the good ship, Mormonism—for various reasons that I think valid" (Ferguson 1976a). Ferguson's odyssey is one of firm conviction, disappointment, change, and peaceful resolution.

Early Book of Mormon Studies

Born in Pocatello, Idaho, on 21 May 1915, Thomas Stuart Ferguson by 1933 was an eighteen-year-old freshman at the University of California at Berkeley. At a time when a university education was still the privilege of the few, Berkeley was a place where an earnest student could be exposed to the passionate political causes and lively intellectual currents of the 1930s. Due to the influence of M. Wells Jakeman, a fellow LDS student at Berkeley, Ferguson developed a keen interest in Mesoamerican history, culture, and archaeology, especially as these studies were believed to be related to the unique historical claims of the Book of Mormon. But in spite of what was to be a lifelong fascination

with the field, he did not pursue a degree in history, archaeology, anthropology, or linguistics. His years of university study culminated in an A.B. degree in political science in 1937 and an LL.B. degree in 1942. Perhaps, considering the uncertainties of the times, he decided he could better finance his avocation as an attorney than if he had chosen to make it his vocation. As a result, he remained an amateur in archaeology, with Mormon studies being a thread woven through his whole life.

After receiving his A.B., Ferguson took a trip to Salt Lake City. While there he was able to meet with Antoine R. Ivins of the First Council of Seventy. "I enjoyed our discussion of the Book of Mormon and the Mayas very much," he wrote in his earliest extant letter, adding a hope that "some good may come as a result of the conversation" (Ferguson 1937a). Ferguson's next letter specified four topics they had discussed: the problem of identifying the Lamanites, the Mayas as direct descendants of the Lamanites, a survey of the Mayan people to consider possible missionary work, and the Book of Mormon research of Ferguson's friend, M. Wells Jakeman. Elder Ivins must have encouraged Ferguson, for less than three months later, he wrote requesting a meeting with President Heber J. Grant. Ferguson promised that he would come to Salt Lake City with specific information from Jakeman's studies, which he described as "wonderful and faith promoting beyond words" (Ferguson 1937b). President Grant's busy schedule did not allow time for the hope-for meeting.

Ferguson's first effort at writing, completed in 1939, was a ninety-seven-page study, "Most Ancient Mexico: (A Comparative Study of the Book of Mormon and the Writings of Ixtlilxochitl)," which M. Wells Jakeman revised (Ferguson and Jakeman 1939). It utilized for the first time the writings of the sixteenth-century historian, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, which Ferguson and Jakeman had had translated from Spanish into English at their own expense. Much of this material would later be incorporated in the book *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon* (Hunter and Ferguson 1950).[1]

Ferguson believed Church members entertained certain misconceptions about the Book of Mormon, and in 1941 he wrote an article, "Some Important Book of Mormon Questions," which was published by *The Improvement Era*. In a letter to Richard L. Evans, Ferguson wrote of his firm convictions concerning the Book of Mormon and proclaimed

[1] Ferguson felt such an emotional attachment to Ixtlilxochitl and the publisher of the first Spanish edition of his words, Lord Kingsborough, that in 1957 he asked President David O. McKay for permission to perform baptisms for the dead in their behalf (Ferguson 1957b).

that "for many years I have been actively interested in the Book of Mormon, and I believe I have an unusually strong testimony of its divinity" (Ferguson 1941a).

In the article, Ferguson tackled the problem of the geographic area encompassed by the events described in the Book of Mormon. As to the question of whether the Book of Mormon peoples occupied most of the western hemisphere or whether they occupied a limited area, Ferguson concluded that since a group including women and children (mentioned in Mosiah 23-24) traveled from one place to the other in only twenty-one days, the distance from Nephi to Zarahemla was most likely only 200 to 300 miles (Ferguson 1941b).

To illustrate his article, Ferguson used a map which had been prepared by Jakeman. Ferguson discussed the estimated boundaries of two general geographical solutions. The South American or Panama theory, which is the traditional view held by most believers in the Book of Mormon, identified North America and South America as the land northward and the land southward and the Isthmus of Panama as the "narrow neck" of land (Alma 22:31-33; 63:5). The Middle American or Tehuantepec theory, a new view held by some students of the Book of Mormon, was based on the conclusion that the peoples of the Book of Mormon occupied a limited area in Mesoamerica and that the "narrow neck of land" was therefore the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Ferguson supported the latter. Although most competent students of the problem would look to Mesoamerica in general, the question of the implied geography of the Book of Mormon is far from settled; the diversity of opinions correlating the internal geographical requirements with the external world extends to the present (Hauck 1988; Priddis 1975; Sorenson 1985; Cheesman 1974, 159-77).

Filled with confidence and fired with enthusiasm, Ferguson embarked on a real-life odyssey in search of the origins of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica, firmly believing that such investigations would bring forth incontrovertible evidence supporting the historical claims of the Book of Mormon (Ferguson 1946a). His mission of discovery began 1 February 1946 with his first trip to Mexico, and he was to make many more trips in pursuit of his goal.

In Mexico City, he was joined by businessman J. Willard Marriott, who accompanied him on this two-week trip to Mexico and Guatemala. At the Museo Nacional de Mexico in Mexico City, Ferguson made an exciting discovery, a small wheeled dog made of pottery, possibly a child's toy. Ferguson went on to write another article for *The Improvement Era*, "The Wheel in Ancient America," which correlated the archaeological discovery of several wheeled toys with the use of a

chariot (and by implication, wheels) in the Book of Mormon. In it, Ferguson discussed the charge raised by critics of the Book of Mormon to the effect that although the Book of Mormon mentioned the use of a chariot, the wheel was unknown in pre-Columbian America. Ferguson proclaimed that "Joseph Smith has been vindicated on this technicality" (Ferguson 1946b, 785). Having leaped to conclusions of vindication on such slender evidence, Ferguson left himself vulnerable. Others have maintained that the existence of wheeled toys is not significant, since, as Ferguson himself conceded almost three decades later, there is still no pre-Columbian evidence of carts, chariots, or utilitarian wheels (Green 1969, 78; Ferguson 1975a, 28).

The party also visited an area which later figured in one of Ferguson's controversial identifications: "We took the unimproved road which leads directly over the high pass between the magnificent mountain, Popocatepetl and Ixtacchihuatl. . . . We were interested in going over this pass and in being near these two great mountains inasmuch as it has been suggested that one or the other may have been the battle area for some of the important Nephite-Lamanite clashes" (Ferguson 1946a, 2).

Ferguson published his first book, *Cumorah—Where?*, late in 1947. In it, he again investigated the internal requirements of Book of Mormon geography and how these related to the real world in the Americas. Although he presented the evidence for both positions, he again favored the limited Mesoamerican setting. However, he was faced with the Hill Cumorah in New York State. Rather than to accommodate this traditional identification in his hypothesis, Ferguson proposed as the Hill Ramah-Cumorah the 17,887-foot Popocatepetl (Ferguson 1947b, 43, 46-48; cf. Palmer 1981, 91). In fact Ferguson prided himself that he had concluded quite independently of Jakeman that the Hill Cumorah was in Mexico.[2] Ferguson was perturbed that Deseret Book Company would not sell *Cumorah—Where?* because his discussion of Book of Mormon geography was considered too controversial (Ferguson 1948c).

In January 1948 Ferguson, along with Jakeman and W. Glenn Harmon, departed on a BYU Archaeological Expedition to explore the Xicalango area of western Campeche in southeastern Mexico. Lying in his jungle hammock at the site of Aguacatal during a heavy tropical rain, Ferguson wrote the following by the light of a small flashlight: "We have discovered a very great city here in the heart of 'Bountiful' land. Hundreds and possibly several thousand people must have lived here anciently. This site has never been explored before. . . . I'm the

[2] According to Ferguson, Jakeman had originally placed Cumorah in its traditional location in the state of New York (Ferguson 1947a).

only white man to have seen one large pyramid here" (Ferguson 1948a).

Having made prior arrangements, on 3 April 1948 Ferguson showed films of both the 1946 trip and the 1948 expedition to Elder Ezra Taft Benson, then of the Quorum of the Twelve. Five days later, he showed the same films to the General Authorities and their wives at their annual party. He explained to them why investigations of Book of Mormon lands were concentrated on Mesoamerica and not the whole hemisphere (Ferguson 1948d).

During 1948-50 Milton R. Hunter, who had become a member of the First Council of Seventy in 1945, joined Ferguson in writing a book, *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon.* Since Jakeman had worked with Ferguson so closely on much of the material during the 1930s and early 1940s, Ferguson expressed to Hunter his concern that if they delayed telling Jakeman about their project until the book was published, Jakeman would "think it a complete breach of faith on my part" (Ferguson 1949). After the book was published Jakeman told Hunter that some people who asked him about the new book were "somewhat puzzled by the sudden appearance of these findings [of Jakeman] in a publication not my own" (Jakeman 1951).

The book, published in November 1950, presented for the first time in English a translation of the sixteenth-century historical account of Ixtlilxochitl and how this material related to the claims of the Book of Mormon (Hunter and Ferguson 1950; cf. Ferguson and Jakeman 1939). Ferguson felt that this account seemed "to sustain the existence of the Book of Mormon in rather direct fashion—a knowledge of the ancient 4th-century sacred compilation was known in 16th-century Mexico" (Ferguson 1952a).

At least one scholar had offered the caution that Ixtlilxochitl was "doubtless strongly influenced by Christian instruction, which would have tinged his stories of Indian creation, the flood, the ark, a Babel-type tower, and a confusion of tongues with subsequent scattering of populations" (Wauchope 1962, 63). J. Reuben Clark, Jr., second counselor in the First Presidency, also warned that one must "be most careful to see that these traditions of the Indians are not the result of the early teachings of the Catholic priests" (Clark 1957).[3]

In the book, Hunter and Ferguson proposed several identifications of Book of Mormon places with Mesoamerican locations. For example, they tentatively advanced either the Usumacinta or the Grijalva rivers as the River Sidon (1950, 168, 171). Hunter feared ecclesiastical oppo-

[3] Of course, the same problem of the influence of Spanish Catholicism exists with respect to the traditions about Quetzalcoatl (Green 1972, 117; Gardner 1986).

sition to their geographical statements and hoped to convert Church leaders to their views (Hunter 1950). Their geographical correlations did not go unchallenged. In 1954 Joseph Fielding Smith, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, attacked in the *Church News* the "modernist theory" that confined Book of Mormon activities to southern Mexico and Central America (Smith 1954, 2). Nevertheless, the book was very popular and went through numerous reprints.

Based on the research published in *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon*, Ferguson prepared a paper, "Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet, and American Archaeology," which he presented at the 1953 annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. While it had little effect on professional archaeologists, Ferguson was pleased with the response to his paper.

THE NEW WORLD ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

Because Ferguson was aware that the documentary support for the Book of Mormon from the sixteenth-century chronicles, primarily those of Ixtlilxochitl, was insufficient without independent confirmation, he wanted to carry out professional archaeological work in Mesoamerica. Impartiality was necessary if the Book of Mormon was to be vindicated. Ferguson remarked in 1951 to the non-Mormon Alfred V. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C.: "Let the evidence from the ground speak for itself and let the chips fall where they may."

In April 1951 Ferguson and Kidder presented a formal plan to the General Authorities of the Church for "proposed explorations and excavations in the Tehuantepec area" and asked that the Church provide financial support in the amount of $150,000 (Ferguson 1951a; Kidder and Ferguson 1951). The plan outlined an ambitious project of archaeological exploration and excavation in Mesoamerica. Elder Benson told Ferguson that he was sympathetic to the archaeological proposal but had reservations about the Church funding it (Benson 1951).

Several months later, in an inquiry to President David O. McKay as to the status of the proposal, Ferguson affirmed that the forthcoming "artifacts will speak eloquently from the dust" in support of the Book of Mormon and bring worldwide publicity to the Church (Ferguson 1951c). But the Church rejected the proposal and offered no financial assistance (Anderson 1951). In spite of his disappointment, Ferguson began to raise funds privately. He had great faith in the Book of Mormon, and it was this deep conviction that gave him the drive to continue on his own. In October 1952, he organized the New World Archaeological Foundation (hereafter NWAF), with himself as president (serving from 1952 to 1961), Kidder as the first vice-president,

Milton R. Hunter as another vice-president, and Elder John A. Widtsoe of the Quorum of the Twelve as a member of the board of directors.

In 1952 Kidder mapped the objectives of the NWAF by delineating the three main views of the origin of the high civilization of Mesoamerica that were to be tested by archaeological investigations:

> The purpose of the Foundation is to carry on explorations and excavations to add to knowledge of Mesoamerican archaeology and to test the several theories as to the origin of the high civilizations of the Americas: 1) That they were autochthonous; 2) That, as set forth in the Book of Mormon, they were derived from ancient Israel; 3) That their rise was due to stimuli from some Asiatic source.
>
> Mr. Ferguson is an advocate of the second of these theories; Dr. Ekholm... views with some favor the third; I feel that, although the problem is *still unsolved*, these civilizations were essentially the product of native American Indian creativeness. So all shades of opinion are represented! (Ferguson 1956d, emphasis in original)

This important NWAF project would acquire archaeological evidence using scientifically controlled procedures and would, they hoped, provide a positive answer to one of the three main theories about the origin of Mesoamerican civilization. While preparing to go to southern Mexico to begin archaeological exploration, Ferguson expressed his own opinion concerning these three theories: "I feel the Mormon theory is the strongest of the three propounded explanations of the origin of the great cultures of Middle America" (Ferguson 1952b).

In December 1952 the first NWAF exploratory team cleared pristine jungle and looked for ruins in Huimanguillo, Tabasco, an area Ferguson described as being "in the very area which we think to be the land of Zarahemla" (Ferguson 1952c). Although Ferguson did not expect to "dig up a dead Nephite with a Book-of-Mormon name carved on a bone," he hoped to discover a striking artifact during this initial archaeological season. Noteworthy finds would also make it much easier to raise funds for the project the next year (Ferguson 1953a).

Ferguson had raised $22,000 for the 1952-53 season on his own. Then on 9 April 1953, through the influence of J. Willard Marriott, he met with the First Presidency and other invited General Authorities. He appealed to them for Church funds to continue the work of NWAF, $15,000 to finish out the current year and $120,000 to cover the next four years (Ferguson 1953g). Near the end of the presentation, Ferguson told the assembled Church leaders that he "had prayed to [the] Lord & asked him to stop me if it weren't his will that we go forward." At this point President David O. McKay replied with a smile, "Brother Ferguson, you're a hard man to stop" (Ferguson 1953c, 1953e).

The next day Ferguson wrote a letter to the First Presidency reminding them that "the priceless artifacts of Book of Mormon people" would

assist in the missionary program and would publicize the Book of Mormon to the world (Ferguson 1953d). A week later, President Clark replied with a partially favorable decision: the Church would contribute $15,000 to Ferguson for the present year only, with the condition that "no publicity whatever in any way or at any time" be given to this private donation (Clark 1953).

In May Ferguson went to Mexico to join the NWAF exploratory group in Tabasco. Since John L. Sorenson, a graduate student working for NWAF, had suggested that Zarahemla was likely in Chiapas, Ferguson took him there on a jeep reconnaissance of the upper Grijalva River area. At Acala they found thousands of potsherds and several figurines dating to the B.C. time period in the preclassic era. Ferguson now enthusiastically accepted Sorenson's notion for the location of Zarahemla and felt that they had "now located the great center of Nephite activity—the Zarahemla area" (Ferguson 1953f). Ferguson was confident that within a few years positive identifications of Nephite cities would be made, for he was convinced that the May 1953 discoveries were "definitely Nephite" (Ferguson 1955a, 1954a, 4).

Due to the lack of funds, no archeological work was done during the 1954 season (Ferguson 1954b). The First Presidency again told Ferguson that no Church financial assistance would be forthcoming (McKay, Richards, and Clark 1954). Providing archaeological support for the historicity of the Book of Mormon, Ferguson wrote, was his own "magnificent obsession" in life (Ferguson 1954c). In January of 1955, Ferguson again pled for support in an emotion-packed letter to the First Presidency:

> I know beyond a shadow of a doubt that certain of the locations discovered [in 1953] were occupied by Nephites during Book of Mormon times. The importance of the work cannot be over-estimated.
>
> After many years of careful study, the real importance of Book of Mormon archaeology has dawned on me. It will take but a moment to explain. The Book of Mormon is the only revelation from God in the history of the world that can possibly be tested by scientific physical evidence. . . . To find the city of Jericho is merely to confirm a point of history. To find the city of Zarahemla is to confirm a point of history but it is also to confirm, through tangible physical evidence, divine revelation to the modern world through Joseph Smith, Moroni, and the Urim and Thummim. Thus, Book of Mormon history is revelation that can be tested by archaeology. (Ferguson 1955b)

Apparently this argument was persuasive, for in March 1955 Ferguson received a commitment for $200,000 from the Church, enough for four seasons of archaeological excavations (Ferguson 1955c; Richards and Clark 1955).

One year later, Ferguson excitedly reported to the First Presidency that an NWAF reconnaissance party had discovered ancient potsherds extending for ten miles along the west bank of the upper Grijalva River. Pleased about how rapidly things were developing, Ferguson felt that soon they would have "vital news for the world concerning the Book of Mormon and the divine calling of Joseph Smith" (Ferguson 1956a). He was "thrilled beyond measure at the wonderful Nephite sites" found on the Grijalva and thought that Santa Rosa was "a wonderful candidate for Zarahemla" (Ferguson 1956c; cf. Ferguson 1956d, 6).

In February 1956 Ferguson published an article in the *Millennial Star*, "The World's Strangest Book," which discussed the unique position of the Book of Mormon as a modern revelation of an ancient historical document. Ferguson reviewed recently developed evidences that seemed to sustain the Book of Mormon, including the English translations of the writings of Ixtlilxochitl and Sahagun, as well as the *Title of the Lords of Totonicapan*. He also cited linguistic parallels to certain proper names in the Book of Mormon, the existence of wheeled toys, stela 5 at Izapa (which Jakeman, in a controversial identification, portrayed as a representation of Lehi's dream in 1 Nephi), and bearded men with aquiline noses. To his credit, Ferguson was always able to accept counter evidence; he also pointed out that evidence of metallurgy and writing in the preclassic period was lacking.

Ferguson considered his work in life to be the providing, by means of archaeological excavations in Mesoamerica, indisputable evidence confirming the reality of Book of Mormon peoples. He most wanted to discover a decipherable inscription that would identify a Book of Mormon person, place, or event. If one could be found, competent scholars and professional archaeologists might be convinced of the book's historicity. Even the discovery of a script fitting the writing system described in 1 Nephi would be very persuasive, since a writing system is a most complex aspect of culture. Ferguson reminded his readers of what he believed would constitute the ultimate confirmation of the Book of Mormon: "The discovery in Mexico or Central America of an ancient writing in one of the early scripts of the Near East and actually mentioning a people, city, person or event of the Book of Mormon, would of course constitute final and complete vindication of the American prophet, Joseph Smith" (Ferguson 1956b, 42-46; cf. Ferguson 1962b, 263).

Similarly, Hugh Nibley, professor of history and religion at Brigham Young University, while not an enthusiast for archaeological apologetics, emphasized the value of documentary confirmation of the Book of Mormon: "Nothing short of an inscription which could be read and roughly dated could bridge the gap between what might be called a pre-

actualistic archaeology and contact with the realities of Nephite civilization" (Nibley 1967, 243).

Ferguson knew that it was impossible to verify miracles and spiritual experiences, but he strongly felt that confirmation of the physical reality of the Book of Mormon civilization would be forthcoming. In March 1958 he expressed to the First Presidency his fervent beliefs and the unique position of the Book of Mormon as a historical document subject to scientific verification:

> One cannot fake over 3000 years . . . of history and have the fake hold water under the scrutiny given the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon is either fake or fact. If fake, the cities described in it are non-existent. If fact—as we know it to be—the cities will be there. If the cities exist, and they do, they constitute tangible, physical, enduring, unimpeachable evidence that Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God and that Jesus Christ lives. (Ferguson 1958a)

That same year, Ferguson published *One Fold and One Shepherd* to present evidence supporting the historicity of the Book of Mormon, such as the sixteenth-century chronicles and the available archaeological data (including that discovered by the NWAF).

An important report in the book was the discovery in October 1957 of a cylinder seal at Chiapa de Corzo. In May 1958, William F. Albright, professor of Semitic languages at Johns Hopkins University, asserted that it contained several Egyptian hieroglyphs (Ferguson 1958b, 22, 25). Others have not agreed with this identification. Matthew Stirling of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., stated that Ferguson had made too much of the fact that "a simple design on a Chiapas stamp" resembled a hieroglyph (Stirling 1960, 229). Since consideration of the entire seal as Egyptian does not produce a plausible translation, David H. Kelley of the University of Nebraska concluded that the simple elements do not constitute "presumptive evidence of Egyptian influences by themselves" (Kelley 1966, 745). Ferguson considered the discovery of this cylinder seal to be the significant find up to that time and wanted an increased effort to discover more inscriptions dating to Book of Mormon times.

In the book, Ferguson listed 298 cultural parallels (the list expanded to 311 in 1962) between the Near East and Mesoamerica. Listing parallels, however, has been called a "shopping list fallacy." Parallels in and of themselves are not significant unless they are either very complex or uniquely found in the two cultures being compared (Raish 1981, 13; Green 1969, 74). Michael D. Coe, professor of anthropology at Yale University, in his review of the book for *American Antiquity*, said that Ferguson relied "on a

vast quantity of archaeological and documentary data, some sound, some poor, and some really unreliable" (Coe 1959, 290).

At the end of his book, Ferguson affirmed that the situation reduced itself into a simple either/or explanation: either the Book of Mormon is a fake in which the various peoples, cities, and towns mentioned in the book "being fictitious under this choice, should never be found," or it is a divinely revealed history in which the same items "being truly historical, can be and will be found—NOW if we look" (Ferguson 1958b, 350-51, emphasis in original).

After the first four years of Church funding ran out in the fall of 1959, Ferguson was assured that NWAF would continue to receive funds through Brigham Young University. In June 1960 a delegation of Church officials went to Mexico to observe the NWAF operations. Ferguson felt they were impressed with what they saw, but he was uncertain about NWAF's future and waited for a final decision from BYU (Ferguson 1960). He wrote Elder LeGrand Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve: "I burn with a desire to see the work expanded and pushed forward with zeal" (Ferguson 1961a).

Elder Howard W. Hunter of the Quorum of the Twelve was designated as chairman of the new Book of Mormon Archaeology Committee (which was essentially taking over NWAF), and Ferguson was demoted to the position of secretary. Despite the blow to his pride, Ferguson kept a brave face and told Hunter that he would be "content to eat whatever piece of pie is thrown my way, however small or humble" (Ferguson 1961b). From this time until his death, Ferguson served in this comparatively minor role of secretary to the reorganized NWAF, which was renamed BYU-NWAF.

In April 1961, Ferguson took a trip to visit important sites in the Near East. As part of the itinerary, Ferguson intended to travel to Oman. He wrote his friend Wendell Phillips that he planned to "climb to the top of the mountain nearest the sea in Oman and look around for any inscriptions that might have been left on the mountain by Nephi, where he talked to the Lord" (Ferguson 1961c; cf. 1 Nephi 17:7). Perhaps this was a naive intention on Ferguson's part, but it illustrates both his conviction that Nephi existed and his determination to discover historical substantiation of that existence.

During the trip Ferguson viewed in Iran two recently discovered gold plates inscribed with cuneiform. This led to an article in the *Improvement Era*, "Gold Plates and the Book of Mormon," in which Ferguson counted them as being as stunning a discovery as the identification of Lehi and the Tree of Life on stela 5 at Izapa. He concluded that "powerful evidences sustaining the book [of Mormon] are accumulating" (Ferguson 1962a, 171).

This article was followed later in 1962 with the second edition of *One Fold and One Shepherd*, which added documentation to his list of trait comparisons, various updates in the intervening four years, and a new color photo of one of the gold plates found in Iran (Ferguson 1962b).

Scattered comments surface in Ferguson's letters of the early 1960s wondering why the expected evidence was not coming forth. By the mid-1960s hope of finding translatable inscriptions still persisted, but it had become more distant. His major goal in life—of proving that Jesus Christ really appeared in ancient Mexico after his crucifixion and resurrection—would never "be achieved," he wrote, "until significant ancient manuscript discoveries are made. I hope it happens during our lifetime. It could" (Ferguson 1966). Though NWAF accumulated mountains of material and information about the important preclassic era and gained the respect of scholars, after years of excavation by NWAF there was still no specific archaeological or inscriptional verification of any of the Book of Mormon peoples or places. Anthropologist Michael D. Coe's view of the situation was that "nothing, absolutely nothing, has ever shown up in any New World excavation which would suggest to a dispassionate observer" that the Book of Mormon was a genuine historical document providing information about early peoples of America (Coe 1973, 46).

THE REDISCOVERY OF THE JOSEPH SMITH EGYPTIAN PAPYRI

It is ironic that Ferguson spent the greater part of his life studying the implied geography and material culture of the Book of Mormon, but what appeared to him as clear and decisive evidence against the Book of Abraham was the catalyst to the abrupt change in his views. On 27 November 1967 the *Deseret News* announced that a portion of the Egyptian papyri once owned by Joseph Smith had been discovered. They had been brought to the attention of Aziz S. Atiya, professor of Middle Eastern studies at the University of Utah, while he was researching at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in May 1966; he arranged for them to be donated to the Church.

The public announcement mentioned eleven papyrus pieces and an 1856 certificate of sale signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, Joseph Smith's widow (Wade 1967, 51-53; Jarrard 1967a). By far the most significant item was the original papyrus of Facsimile No. 1, which Joseph Smith interpreted in the Book of Abraham, now part of the Pearl of Great Price. This discovery would seemingly allow a test of the accuracy of Joseph Smith's interpretation. Ferguson considered this to be the acid test of Joseph Smith's ability to translate ancient documents, and he seized the opportunity to verify the translation of the Book of Abraham.

Three days after the announcement, Ferguson wrote to Milton R. Hunter, asking him to tell him anything he could and inquiring whether the Church would release information about the papyri. He also specifically asked Hunter whether any non-Mormon scholar had translated the papyri, and if so, whether there was "resemblance with the Book of Abraham as found in the P of GP" (Ferguson 1967a). Hunter answered that Hugh Nibley had told him that "the scholars wouldn't touch them [the papyri] with a ten foot pole." As to whether the Church would release information about the papyri, Hunter said that "it seems as if it will when they are translated" (Hunter 1967). Hunter then added that he had told N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in the First Presidency, that at least one page of the papyri seemed to be from the Book of Joseph, a document which Joseph Smith had identified as being among the papyri as well as the Book of Abraham. Hunter explained that an 1835 letter written by Oliver Cowdery affirmed that "the Book of Joseph told the best story of the creation that he had ever seen and that it depicted the serpent walking on its legs before it had to crawl on its belly." However, when Hunter said this, Tanner is reported to have replied that "he didn't want that suggestion made and that information to get out" (Hunter 1967; cf. Cowdery 1835; Todd 1969, 194). Consequently, in 1967 there was an awareness of the purported relationship of both the Book of Abraham and the Book of Joseph to the newly discovered Egyptian papyri.

Because no Egyptologist had yet studied the papyri, Ferguson made his own arrangements to have the papyri examined and translated. The day after Christmas, Ferguson unsuccessfully tried to contact Leonard H. Lesko, an instructor in Egyptology at the University of California at Berkeley (Ferguson 1967b). The next day he met Henry L. F. Lutz, professor of Egyptology at the University of California at Berkeley. Ferguson asked him to examine some Egyptian hieroglyphs he had clipped from the "Church Section" of the 2 December 1967 *Deseret News*. They spent one and a half hours together, and Ferguson, being careful not to influence his opinion in any way, did not indicate where the hieroglyphs "came from or that they had any significance to the LDS people. He gave me a perfectly candid and honest opinion, that all are from the Book of the Dead" (Ferguson 1967c; cf. Jarrard 1967b).

Not content with just one Egyptologist's opinion, Ferguson approached Lesko to translate the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Newspaper photos were unsatisfactory, so Ferguson contacted Hugh B. Brown, first counselor in the First Presidency, and received from him enlarged photos of the papyri (Ferguson 1971b). Ferguson sent these photos to Lesko with instructions to translate them and to estimate the approxi-

mate century when they were written (Ferguson 1968a). After having the material for a month, Lesko sent Ferguson a preliminary report expressing his opinion that "all of these are spells [magical incantations] from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead.*" He also indicated that "the texts date probably from the first millennium B.C. and the forms of hieratic appear more similar to Ptolemaic documents than to any other" (Lesko 1968). Ferguson had expressed a particular interest in the papyrus original of Facsimile No. 1, without indicating "any relationship of the manuscript material to the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith, Book of Abraham—or whatever" (Ferguson 1971b). In response to this, Lesko said that the lion-couch vignette was a very late copy from the *Book of the Dead* and depicted "the deceased on a bier on whom Anubis lays hands." He also noted that the restoration was incorrect since the enbalming god, Anubis, was jackel-headed (Lesko 1968).

In November 1968, Ferguson had ordered a copy of "The Joseph Smith Papyri." He complimented the "gentlemen" at Modern Microfilm Company of Salt Lake City for "doing a great thing—getting out some truth on the Book of Abraham." At this point Ferguson did not seem to know that Modern Microfilm was run by a husband and wife team, Jerald and Sandra Tanner, local anti-Mormon publishers (Ferguson 1968b).

Other than the two Egyptologists whom Ferguson contacted directly, he studied the publications of two others who translated the Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri: Klaus Baer, professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, and Dee Jay Nelson of Billings, Montana, who years later falsely claimed to have a Ph.D. degree (Ferguson 1971b; cf. Baer 1968; D. Nelson 1968a, b, c, and 1969).

In his book, *The Sage of the Book of Abraham*, Jay M. Todd, associate editor of the *Improvement Era*, quoted Baer's conclusion that Facsimile No. 1 and the *Breathing Permit of Hor* were adjoining parts of the same scroll and then remarked that "if this report by Dr. Baer is accurate, it suggests more than ever that either the papyrus 'translated' by the Prophet is still unavailable or that the seer stone provided the actual text of which only a shadow and much corrupted version might have been on the papyri fragments" (Todd 1969, 377; cf. Rhodes 1988, 51-52). A third, unstated possibility was that the actual papyrus had been found, but that Joseph Smith's interpretation had no relationship at all to the Egyptian text. Ferguson, the lawyer, decided that the third possibility was the correct explanation, since four witnesses "all agree that the original manuscript Egyptian text translates into the *Breathing Permit of Hor*" (Ferguson 1971b).

When asked if it was true that most Egyptologists "agree that a correct translation of the ancient papyri owned by Joseph Smith has abso-

lutely no connection or similarity" to the Book of Abraham, Ferguson answered succinctly, "Yes" (Cerchione 1976). Ferguson concluded that Facsimile No. 1 was not Abraham being sacrificed on an altar by the idolatrous priest of Elkenah but rather Osiris being enbalmed by Anubis for the next life. The Joseph Smith papyri were merely various kinds of Egyptian "funeral texts" (Barney 1984). This precipitated Ferguson into the last major period of his life.

Becoming a Closet Doubter

One researcher, the anti-Mormon Wesley P. Walters, obtained Ferguson's permission to describe his disillusionment concerning Joseph Smith and the Book of Abraham but was not allowed to specify his name: "One life-long defender of Joseph Smith made his own independent investigation of Joseph's ability as a translator of Egyptian records, utilizing recognized Egyptologists without telling them a word about the issues that were at stake. Their verdict agreed with the findings of Mr. Nelson and Dr. Baer. Consequently, he came to reject the Book of Abraham and the claims put forth by Joseph Smith as a translator of ancient languages" (Walters 1973, 45; cf. Walters 1971).

Ferguson's excitement about authenticating the Book of Abraham turned into a nightmare. His former belief system could not withstand the shock of this disillusionment. Not only did Ferguson's views of the Book of Abraham radically change, but also, domino-like, his belief in the prophetic status of Joseph Smith and the historicity of the Book of Mormon. Though this kind of chain reaction often occurs, it could be asked if Ferguson was justified in making this jump, that because the Book of Abraham cannot be considered a translation of any of the rediscovered papyri that, therefore, the Book of Mormon also was not an inspired translation of an ancient document.

Church members who privately disbelieve fundamental tenets of the Church, but who remain actively involved have been labeled "closet doubters" (Burton 1982, 35; Burton 1986, 2). Typically this state of skepticism is preceded by an extended period of strong belief in those same tenets. Ferguson's doubts during the last fifteen years of his life have been difficult to document with the evidence at hand. When the Thomas Stuart Ferguson papers arrived at the Lee Library at Brigham Young University after his death, they contained absolutely no letters after 1967 that indicate his views on the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham, or Joseph Smith. Eight innocuous Ferguson letters written after November 1967 were included in his papers because they were intermingled in folders on NWAF matters. As far as the present collection at BYU is concerned, the fifteen-year period before his death

is a blank. In contrast with his publication record in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s, Ferguson published no new articles or books after 1967, nor did he reprint any of his previous work. If it were not for letters he wrote, the last years of his life would remain unknown. Some of these letters have been collected and are available in the H. Michael Marquardt collection in the Marriott Library at the University of Utah.

The years 1969 and 1970 are a documentary blank with no known letters by Ferguson. Perhaps these two years were a period of reflection and soul-searching. His crisis of faith must have been intense, for what emerged was a different Tom Ferguson.

Early in December 1970, near the end of this two-year period, Ferguson visited Salt Lake City. As if to dramatize torn feelings, Ferguson bared his soul to people at opposing ends of the theological spectrum—on the one hand, the liberal apostle, Hugh B. Brown, and on the other hand, the anti-Mormons, Jerald and Sandra Tanner. Precisely what was said between Brown and Ferguson cannot be determined. Ferguson's story is consistent, but it does not correspond exactly with a statement by Brown. According to Ferguson, he visited Brown at Church headquarters and reviewed the translations the Egyptologists had done of the Joseph Smith papyri. In this private conversation, Ferguson offered his conclusion that Joseph Smith did not have "the remotest skill" in translating Egyptian hieroglyphs. Ferguson reported Brown's unexpected response: "To my surprise, one of the highest officials in the Mormon Church agreed with that conclusion when I made that very statement to him" (Ferguson 1971b).

In another account Ferguson reported the following: "After reviewing the evidence with Brother Brown he said that Brother Brown agreed with him that it was not scripture. He did not say or infer [imply] that it was his evidence that convinced Brother Brown of this conclusion. But nevertheless, he did say that Hugh B. Brown did not believe the Book of Abraham was what the church said it was" (Barney 1984).

The Hugh B. Brown papers in the Church archives are restricted, so no light is forthcoming from that source. The following is the only available paragraph of a partial photocopy of a letter purportedly dictated by Brown and sent to Robert Hancock four years after the event: "I do not

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[4] Every available expression from Ferguson himself should be utilized to understand his thinking during this period. At present twenty-three letters and a 1975 study indicate Ferguson's feelings about the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham, or Joseph Smith. His firsthand writings provide the best avenue to determine what Ferguson actually believed, and they elucidate the radical change in his thinking. Limitations of space preclude quoting all of the material, but the whole of each letter is available in the Marquardt collection.

recall ever having said anything to Mr. Ferguson which would have led him to think I do not believe the Book of Abraham to be true. This is certainly not the case, for I know, even as I live that Christ is directing this Church and that Joseph Smith was His prophet chosen to restore His Church in its fullness" (Brown 1974). It should be noted that Brown does not address the central question of whether he and Ferguson discussed Joseph Smith's inability to translate Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Later that same day in December 1970 Ferguson went to the home of Jerald and Sandra Tanner in Salt Lake City (Ferguson 1971a). According to their report, he discussed with them his repudiation of the Book of Abraham and his rejection of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon and stated that he had "spent 25 years trying to prove Mormonism, but now finds his work to have been in vain" (Tanner 1970). The twenty-five years mentioned would encompass the period from his first trip to Mexico in 1946 through 1970. This would indicate that Ferguson continued to struggle during the last three years to prove Mormonism.

Ferguson's skepticism became public a year and eight months later when the Tanners published an account of his visit with them in the revised edition of *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality*:

> At that time [2 December 1970], Thomas Stuart Ferguson told us frankly that he had not only given up the Book of Abraham, but that he had come to the conclusion that Joseph Smith was not a prophet and the [*sic*] Mormonism was not true. He told us that he had spent 25 years trying to prove Mormonism, but had finally come to the conclusion that his work had been in vain. He said that his training in law had taught him how to weigh evidence and that the case against Joseph Smith was absolutely devastating and could not be explained away. (Tanner and Tanner 1972, 103)

Ferguson never issued any kind of retraction or revision to this account. He frankly discussed his new views in answer both to letters sent to him and to direct questions. However, Ferguson did not promulgate his ideas aggressively, and he sometimes remarked that he wanted to keep his views confidential. Tom Ferguson, in a sense, identified himself as a closet doubter—though one who was willing to write letters from his closet.

The Letter-writing Closet Doubter[4]

Direct knowledge of the changed Ferguson dates from a 13 March 1971 letter to James Boyack of Lexington, Massachusetts. In answer to Boyack's questions, Ferguson wrote the following about Hugh Nibley's work on the Book of Abraham: "Nibley's *Era* articles on the Book of Abraham aren't worth a tinker—first, because he is not impartial, being

the commissioned and paid defender of the faith. Second, because he could not, he dared not, he did not, face the true issue: 'Could Joseph Smith translate Egyptian?' I clipped every one of his articles, and have them in a single file—and I have reviewed them—looking in vain for that issue" (Ferguson 1971b; cf. Nibley 1968-70).

Ferguson felt that Nibley's attempt "to explain away and dodge the trap into which Joseph Smith fell" was absurd. He also suggested to Boyack that he read the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*, which was made by Joseph Smith "during his struggle with the Egyptian papyrus" (Ferguson 1971b). He suggested that by study of the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* and the recently discovered papyri "it is perfectly obvious that we now have the original manuscript material used by Jos. Smith in working up the Book of Abraham." Then, summarizing the disparity between Joseph Smith and the four Egyptologists, Ferguson discussed the problem from the standpoint of a lawyer examining the credibility of evidence and witnesses:

> Joseph Smith announced, in print (*History of the Church*, Vol. II, page 236) that "one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt...." Since 4 scholars, who have established that they can read Egyptian, say that the manuscripts deal with neither Abraham nor Joseph—and since the 4 reputable men tell us exactly what the manuscripts do say—I must conclude that Joseph Smith had not the remotest skill in things Egyptian-hieroglyphics. (Ferguson 1971b; cf. Nibley 1975, 2)

To Ferguson another critical issue in Church history was Joseph Smith's first vision and the recent studies of Dean C. Jessee and Paul R. Cheesman. He recommended to Boyack that "if you haven't done so, I suggest you read, analyse, and even chart the very important data" published in Jessee's article on "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision" (Ferguson 1971b; cf. Jessee 1969). Three months earlier Ferguson is reported to have said that, when "the strange accounts" of the first vision were published by Jessee and Cheesman, his faith was devastated, for "they had plucked all the feathers out of the bird and shot it, and there it lies 'dead and naked on the ground'" (Tanner 1970; cf. Cheesman 1965).

Ferguson also told Boyack that he had tried unsuccessfully to locate a photocopy of a recently discovered article published in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, which provided contemporary details of Joseph Smith's March 1826 examination before a justice of the peace. He explained: "In [March] 1826 Joseph Smith was 21 [20] and at this point was midway between the FIRST VISION and 1830. What a strange time to be convicted of fraud—fraudulently getting money after

convincing the victim that he could detect the whereabouts of hidden treasure on the victim's land. Wow. . . . It is as genuine and sound as can be—published right in Joseph Smith's own camp" (Ferguson 1971b, emphasis in original).

Ferguson told Boyack that he also was "maintaining membership because of the many fine things the Church offers. But the facts speak for themselves. I offered the data available to my Stake Pres. [Joseph R. Hilton] recently and he walked away without it—saying he didn't want to read it. They can hardly excommunicate us when they won't look at the evidence" (Ferguson 1971b). Ferguson ended his letter, observing that naturally "the dodge as to the Book of Abraham must be: 'WE DON'T HAVE THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT FROM WHICH THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM WAS TRANSLATED,'" but Ferguson insisted that the original papyri had been found and competent translations were now available (Ferguson 1971b, emphasis in original).

Ferguson also wrote to Jerald and Sandra Tanner the same day, telling them that he enjoyed his previous visit with them and intended to be in Salt Lake City in June, and if so, he would visit them again. He expressed his admiration to the Tanners and continued:

> In writing to Boyack, I want to send him a photo copy of the newspaper article (1830—I think) which was published in the Palmyra area, giving a detailed report on the Josiah Stoal [Stowell] charges and trial of JS [Joseph Smith] in connection with those charges. You provided me with a copy of that news article—which is one of the most damning things turned up yet. I can't find it—someone probably ran off with it. Please send me another. (Ferguson 1971c)

The article, written by Abram W. Benton, was published in 1831. Ferguson's reaction to the Benton article was that it was "one of the most damning things turned up yet." Hugh Nibley's assertion was similar: "*If* this court record is authentic it is the most damning evidence in existence against Joseph Smith" (Nibley 1961, 142, emphasis in original). The original of Justice Albert Neely's bill concerning "Joseph Smith The Glass Looker" and constable Philip M. De Zeng's bill concerning his arrest was discovered in July 1971, and they establish the existence of the examination before Neely and the essentials of the published court record (Walters 1974, 124, 129-30; cf. Hedengren 1985, 195-234).

In answer to a letter from Wesley P. Walters of Marissa, Illinois, Ferguson replied on 6 July 1971 that he had not decided whether the bad in the Church outweighed the good and, consequently, he was not prepared to engage in "open warfare" (Ferguson 1971d; cf. Walters 1971). He explained to Walters his current view about prophets:

> Right now I am inclined to think that all of those who claim to be "prophets," including Moses, were without a means of communicating with deity—I'm inclined to think that when Moses was on top of the mount, he was talking to himself and decided that the only way he could get the motley crowd at the bottom of the slope to come to order and to listen to him and to heed him was to tell them that he had talked to God on the mount. If this view is correct, then prophets are nothing more than mortal men like the rest of us, except they saw a great need for change and had the courage to say they had communicated with God and had received a message for man, and were believed (though false in the basic claim that the message came from God and not from man). (Ferguson 1971d)

After asking if Walters had read Eric Hoffer's *True Believer*, Ferguson continued: "Right now I think Hoffer comes very close to the truth about the prophets and organized religions. Right now I am inclined to think that all who believe in 'prophets' as true agents of God are being spoofed—but perhaps for their own good and welfare. When Joseph Smith crash-landed, a lot came down with him, as I see it" (Ferguson 1971d; cf. Hoffer 1951). The vivid imagery of an airplane's crash landing is not further explained by Ferguson.

Ferguson did not want to be associated with an attack on anyone's religious beliefs. Attacking Mormonism, in his opinion, would very likely produce more harm than good. Harold H. Hougey of Concord, California, wrote to Ferguson in May 1972, reminding Ferguson that he had predicted in a 1961 letter that Book of Mormon cities would be positively identified within ten years. Since ten years had passed, Hougey was inquiring as to the present state of archaeological confirmation of the Book of Mormon (Hougey 1972). Ferguson's answer was succinct: "Time has proved me wrong in my anticipation. No such identification can yet be made" (Ferguson 1972). Hougey later asked Ferguson's permission to quote this statement (Hougey 1975). Denying Hougey's request, Ferguson said:

> All elements of religion that are supernatural (including the endless string of miracles in the New Testament) are fabrications of men like Joseph Smith. . . . Further, I presently believe that Mormonism is as good a brand of supernatural religion (which sells well) as any other—including Protestantism. At the present time I am inclined to believe that supernatural religion, selling as it does, does more good than it does harm (although this is highly debatable).... In my opinion the average Protestant and the average Catholic is as blind to basic truths as is the average Mormon. If I were going to attack Joseph Smith, I would want to attack your beliefs, involving the supernatural, as well as the Mormon beliefs. (Ferguson 1975b)

Ferguson told Hougey that he admired his search for the truth but admonished him to work just as hard in searching for problems in Protestantism as he was in looking for difficulties in Mormonism.

Ferguson felt that if Hougey would do this, he would either reject them both or "come to the point of view to which I have come—even though untrue, they [Protestant Christianity and Mormonism] do more good than harm" (Ferguson 1975b).

Ferguson's 1975 Archaeological Paper

Early in 1975 David A. Palmer organized a symposium on Book of Mormon geography in which selected LDS scholars could discuss and criticize the geographical theories of V. Garth Norman and John L. Sorenson (cf. Sorenson 1985). Ferguson was invited to participate and prepared a twenty-nine-page response dated 12 March 1975. This document reveals Ferguson's perception of "the big weak spots" involved in archaeologically authenticating the Book of Mormon (Ferguson 1967a). To Ferguson the four "most demanding and exacting tests" were the existence of appropriate plant life, animal life, metals, and scripts. Ferguson stated that his major criticism of the Norman and Sorenson papers on Book of Mormon geography was that neither of them applied "any of these more significant and truth-testing factors to their hypotheses" (Ferguson 1975a, 2).

In what he called the "Plant-Life Test," Ferguson presented quotations from the Book of Mormon mentioning barley, figs, grapes, and wheat, then repeated the same list and attached the word "none" to each to indicate that no known evidence supports the existence of these plants in Mesoamerica.

Ferguson then continued:

> This negative score on the plant-life test should not be treated too lightly. An abundance of evidence supporting the existence of these plants has been found in other parts of the world of antiquity. The existence of numerous non-Book-of-Mormon plants (maize, lima beans, tomatoes, squash etc.) has been supported by abundant archaeological findings.... Art portrayals in ceramics, murals and sculptured works—of ancient plant life—are fairly commonplace. (Ferguson 1975a, 6-7)

Ferguson was less than fair to the Book of Mormon, since neither "figs" nor "grapes" are found other than in biblical quotations—Isaiah 5:2-4 at 2 Nephi 15:2-4 and Matthew 7:16 at 3 Nephi 14:16. Ferguson assumed that since the terms were used by Nephi and Jesus, the people must have known the meaning of the terms. The lack of evidence supporting the existence of wheat is still a major difficulty, but there is a single report of barley (Sorenson 1985, 184; cf. Matheny 1984).

In the "Animal-Life Test" Ferguson presented Book of Mormon quotations for the ass, bull, calf, cattle, cow, goat, horse, ox, sheep, sow

(swine), and elephant, then repeated the same list, emphatically adding with each of the items the word "none." He qualified the verdict on elephants because there is no evidence contemporary with the time indicated in the Book of Mormon.

Ferguson then commented:

> Evidence of the foregoing animals has not appeared in any form—ceramic representations, bones or skeletal remains, mural art, sculptured art or any other form. However, in the regions proposed by Norman and Sorenson, evidence has been found in several forms of the presence in Book-of-Mormon times of other animals—deer, jaguars, dogs, turkeys etc. The zero score presents a problem that will not go away with the ignoring of it. Non-LDS scholars of first magnitude, some who want to be our friends, think we have real trouble here. That evidence of the ancient existence of these animals is not elusive is found in the fact that proof of their existence in the ancient old-world is abundant. The absence of such evidence in the area proposed for our consideration in this symposium is distressing and significant, in my view. (Ferguson 1975a, 12-13)

In the "Metallurgy Test" Ferguson quoted passages from the Book of Mormon that refer to bellows, brass, breast-plates, chains, copper, gold, iron, ore, plow-shares, silver, swords, hilts, engraving, and steel, and then repeated each metal, metallurgical skill, or product, and added that there is no evidence for that item.

Ferguson then remarked:

> Metallurgy does not appear in the region under discussion until about the 9th century A.D. None of the foregoing technical demands are met by the archaeology of the region proposed as Book-of-Mormon lands and places. I regard this as a major weakness in the armor of our proponents and friends. (It is just as troublesome to the authors of the other correlations—those [who] have gone before—including Tom Ferguson.)
>
> I doubt that the proponents will be very convincing if they contend that evidence of metallurgy is difficult to find and a rarity in archaeology. Where mining was practiced—as in the Old Testament world, mountains of ore and tailings have been found. Artifacts of metal have been found. Art portrays the existence of metallurgical products. Again, the score is zero. (Ferguson 1975a, 20-21)

The last test—the "Script Test"—is the most important because it involves the identification of the translatable inscriptions of a people. Ferguson suggested that inscriptions ought to be found in cuneiform (for the Jaredites) and Hebrew and Egyptian (for the Nephites). Since no cuneiform inscriptions have ever been discovered, Ferguson discussed the evidence for Hebrew in a letter from George F. Carter, professor of geography at Texas A&M University: "A seal found at Tlatilco (suburb of Mexico City) bears the Hebrew name, *Hiram*, apparently in Egyptian script! . . . A cylinder seal found at Tlatilco,

Mexico, bearing a Hebrew name, *Hiram*! Wow!" (Ferguson 1975a, 24, emphasis in original).

In Carter's letter he quoted the entire translation of the Tlatilco seal as made by the maverick scholar, Barry Fell: "Seal of King Shishak Hiram. Forgers will be decapitated" (Carter 1975). Fell's identification and translation have not passed the scrutiny of other scholars, and so the purported evidence from Tlatilco must be ignored.

Ferguson next discussed Egyptian inscriptions:

> Egyptian: 3 glyphs on a 3-inch cylinder seal, found at Chiapa de Corzo, State of Chiapas, Mexico, by the New World Archaeological Foundation. Identified as Egyptian by only one great scholar, William Foxwell Albright (now deceased). Identification seriously questioned by other great scholars—because of the limited number of glyphs in the find. (Probably the biggest strike so far in support of our proponents—and the *only one* in this technical and demanding testing of their hypotheses). (Ferguson 1975a, 24, emphasis in original)

Ferguson admitted that the identification of Egyptian hieroglyphs is strongly questioned by other scholars, but he uncritically accepted the identification of the Chiapa de Corzo seal and the translation of the Tlatilco seal.

Ferguson concluded with the remark that the meager amount of specific support for the Book of Mormon left him in a dilemma and referred to Dee Green's statement that it is a myth to think that Book of Mormon geography is known, since "*no Book of Mormon location is known with reference to modern topography*" (Green 1969, 77, emphasis in original). A year later Ferguson described his own paper as being a study "pointing up Book-of-Mormon problems raised by archaeology" (Cerchione 1976; cf. Ferguson 1976d). Ferguson explained that "the real implication of the paper is that you can't set Book of Mormon geography down anywhere—because it is fictional and will never meet the requirements of the dirt-archaeology" (Ferguson 1976b). In Ferguson's view the Book of Mormon does not relate to the real world.

Ferguson told LDS Church employee Ronald Barney about the following episode which occurred during an NWAF meeting sometime after 1967, and probably after he had prepared his 1975 study:

> Ferguson felt that he really made a point in telling me about his experience with the New World Archaeological Foundation after rejecting the Book of Mormon. He said that at one of their professional meetings he presented a list of some claims that the Book of Mormon made concerning the material culture that

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[5] Elsewhere he used the terminology "myth-fraternity" and "great fraternity" in referring to the LDS church (Ferguson 1976a; Barney 1984).

> ought to have remained if there really was a Book of Mormon people in Central or South America. . . . He said that the leading men there could offer no explanation as to why these things did not exist in archaeological digs. The lack of these artifacts was a very important evidence to him that the Book of Mormon was a fanciful attempt at creating the divine here on the earth. (Barney 1984)

In 1984 Ray T. Matheny, professor of anthropology at Brigham Young University, summarized the state of the problem in a way very similar to Ferguson by saying that "all these paint a scene that seem[s] to be quite foreign to what I am familiar with in the archaeological record of the new world" and the Book of Mormon exhibits "19th century literary concepts and cultural experiences one would expect Joseph Smith and his colleagues would experience" (Matheny 1984, 25, 31; cf. Sorenson 1985).

MORE LETTERS BY THE CLOSET DOUBTER

Ferguson was sympathetic with the role of religious myth in people's lives. In a 9 February 1976 reply to a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Harold W. Lawrence of Providence, Utah, Ferguson wrote that individuals need to believe in something, for "otherwise we face the abyss of death and extinction. . . . Joseph Smith tried so hard he put himself out on a limb with the Book of Abraham, and also with the Book of Mormon. He can be refuted—but why bother when all religion is based on myth, and when man must have them, and his is one of the very best" (Ferguson 1976a).

Ferguson compared the refuting of religious myths to abolishing medical placebos. He was convinced that overall both placebos and religious myths do much more good than harm. Ferguson then advised the Lawrences: "Why not say the right things and keep your membership in the great fraternity, enjoying the good things you like and discarding the ones you can't swallow (and keeping your mouths shut)? Hypocritical? Maybe. But perhaps a realistic way of dealing with a very difficult problem. There is lots left in the Church to enjoy—and thousands of members have done, and are doing, what I suggest you consider doing" (Ferguson 1976a).

Ferguson pointed out that throughout recorded history political leaders have "used" religion for the good results that it produces—personal peace and orderliness in family and national affairs. He attributed one of the main factors for the high crime rate in modern society to the breakdown of religious mythologies. Ferguson saw no value in fighting religious myths—either the Mormon myths or any others that produce more good than bad. Since he felt he had been deceived by the Church through Joseph Smith, he advocated counter-deception: "Perhaps you

and I have been spoofed by Joseph Smith. Now that we have the inside dope—why not spoof a little back and stay aboard?" (Ferguson 1976a).

Ferguson explained that he wished to stay in Mormonism for reasons valid to him, and he valued his social participation in the Church. The broad-minded Ferguson advised the Lawrences:

> Belonging, with my eyes wide open, is actually fun, less expensive than formerly, and no strain at all. I am now very selective in the meetings I attend, the functions I attend, the amounts I contribute etc. etc. and I have a perfectly happy time. I never get up and bear testimony—but I don't mind listening to others who do. I am much more tolerant of other religions and other thinking and feel fine about things in general. You might give my suggestions a trial run—and if you find you have to burn all the bridges between yourselves and the Church, then go ahead and ask for excommunication. The day will probably come—but it is far off—when the leadership of the Church will change the excommunication rules and delete as grounds non-belief in the 2 books mentioned [the Book of Abraham and the Book of Mormon] and in Joseph Smith as a prophet etc.... but if you wait for that day, you probably will have died. It is a long way off—tithing would drop too much for one thing. (Ferguson 1976a)

Ferguson told them not to worry about the tithing being paid by the members, since he thought the LDS church was as free from monetary corruption as any human organization and almost all the money went back to the members in one form or another. He then recommended a short reading list to the Lawrences: *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality* (Tanner and Tanner 1972), *The True Believer* (Hoffer 1951), *No Man Knows My History* (Brodie 1971), and "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision" (Jessee 1969). Since these items significantly affected Ferguson, he evidently felt that they would be valuable for the Lawrences to read.

In March 1976 Ferguson received a letter from John W. Fitzgerald about Dee Jay Nelson and N. Eldon Tanner's reputed refusal to publish Nelson's translation of the Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri. Ferguson replied: "I wonder what really goes on in the minds of Church leadership who know of the data concerning the Book of Abraham, the new data on the First Vision, etc.... It would tend to devastate the Church if a top leader were to announce the facts" (Ferguson 1976c; cf. Fitzgerald 1976).

On 3 December 1979 Ferguson wrote a letter to James Still of Salem, Oregon, in which he said that he had "lost faith in Joseph Smith as one having a pipeline to deity" and had consequently concluded that no one ever had such a pipeline. Still he perceived that some religions were better than others: "I believe that judaism was an improvement on polytheism; Christianity was an improvement on Judaism (to some

degree and in some departments only); that protestantism is an improvement on Catholicism; that Mormonism is an improvement on protestantism. So I give Joseph Smith credit as an innovator and as a smart fellow" (Ferguson 1979).

He explained that he attended meetings, sang in the ward choir, and very much enjoyed his Church friends. In fact, Ferguson considered Mormonism "the best fraternity"[5] he was aware of—"too good to try to shoot it down—and it is too big and prosperous to shoot down anyway (as [the] Tanners ought to figure out)" (Ferguson 1979).

Ferguson apparently still found some of his former evidence significant. He defended his honest use of the English translation of Ixtlilxochitl, which he had not altered to better fit the Book of Mormon account. Though he could offer no explanation as to how it could have come about, Ferguson speculated that "Joseph Smith may have had Ixtlilxochitl and *View of the Hebrews* from which to work" in the production of the Book of Mormon (Ferguson 1979). Though he wondered "how Joseph Smith got his hands on Ixtlil," he had been able to establish that Oliver Cowdery was a member of Ethan Smith's congregation in Poultney, Vermont, before meeting Joseph Smith (Ferguson 1979).

Still had asked whether there was any possibility of getting back the tithing he had paid to the Church. Ferguson gave him some legal advice and told him that under the law a delivered gift could not be recalled: "Pay your money to a church & take your chances that the church is true or on the right track" (Still 1979b).

Another letter illuminates Ferguson's point of view in the early 1980s. On 15 September 1981 Ferguson wrote to Burt Stride of San Jose, California, agreeing with him in loving the Church while not accepting many of its doctrines. Ferguson had concluded that "Mormonism, although from the mind of a 25-year old frontiersman, is probably the best brand of religion on the market today," and then listed what he liked about the Church:

> It is a bargain—free of fraud (monetary fraud, that is) in that money put in comes back to the people in the form of chapels, temples (modern-day awe-inspiring architecture and furnishings like the castles and cathedrals of old), welfare, great choirs, a great university, etc., etc.... The money is not going into the pockets of an elite. The people probably get a greater return for their money than in any other major organization in the world! Further—the program of the LDS Relief Society is one of the most advanced, most benevolent, most serving, most educational and worthwhile programs in the history of mankind. The LDS priesthood program is excellent, though somewhat dull—lots of room for improvement, but it beats anything found in any other religion. The youth programs of the LDS Church are little short of fantastic. The missionary program puts tens of thousands of young LDS in close and intimate touch with cultures and people all over the

> world. They return home as citizens of the world. The health program of the Church is one of the modern wonders.

Ferguson said the Church had "the best available brand of man-made religion," and that he did not ever plan to leave it. With all these positive aspects of Mormonism, Ferguson still felt that "the evidence against the validity of certain of the basic supernaturals in the Church" had grown to such a degree that it would be unwise for Church leaders to risk a public debate on these issues (Ferguson 1981).

On 4 January 1983, a little more than two months before his death, Ferguson met Ronald Barney at the LDS Historical Department. Barney told Ferguson he knew of his various publications and asked if he knew how Jerald and Sandra Tanner were using his 13 March 1971 letter to James Boyack. This letter contains Ferguson's earliest known denial of the authenticity of the Book of Abraham. Barney recorded in his journal that Ferguson "began to shift in his chair, got pale and acted as if I was a General Authority that had caught him committing adultery. He apologized all over the place, said the Tanners were creeps, etc." After Barney expressed his concern for open discussion, Ferguson disclosed his current beliefs: "After having once been once [*sic*] a defender of the faith he now totally rejects the divine intervention of God in the workings of the affairs of men" (Barney 1983). Also at this time Ferguson said that he "liked the church very much" and saw no reason to leave as others do, since he "didn't see God in any of the churches" (Barney 1984; cf. Ferguson 1980).

A few days later on 10 January 1983, Ferguson wrote to Barney, providing the details of his historical investigations into possible connections between Oliver Cowdery and Ethan Smith, author of *View of the Hebrews*, a suggested possible source of influence on Joseph Smith:

> Since Oliver Cowdery was born in 1806 and was in Poultney from 1809 to 1825, he was resident in Poultney from 3 years of age until he was 19 years of age—16 years in all. And these years encompassed the publication of *View of the Hebrews*, in 1822 [1823] and 1825. His three little half sisters, born in Poultney, were all baptized in Ethan Smith's church. Thus, the family had a close tie with Ethan Smith.

Ferguson was also working on the even less likely connection between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in the late 1820s. He had notified Barney of the whereabouts of letters by a grandson of Sidney Rigdon and hoped to receive copies of them soon. Barney recorded in his journal that Ferguson was diligently "trying to find material on Rigdon to prove his theory that Rigdon was the genius behind the

church and the actual author of the Book of Mormon" (Barney 1983).

Thomas Stuart Ferguson's last known letter was written 1 February 1983 to Ron Barney. Ferguson reminded him of his interest in the material about Rigdon and thanked him for bringing to his attention some recent articles in *Dialogue* and *Sunstone* (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982; Russell 1982). The last known paragraph written by Ferguson illustrates his persisting inquisitiveness: "I am continuing my research. It is fun and stimulating. I will look forward to meeting with you on my next trip to Salt Lake City" (Ferguson 1983b).

These final two letters, together with Barney's journal and reminiscence, confirm Ferguson's critical views just two months before his death. This crucial testimony functions like a kingpin to tie the last fifteen years together and is comparable to the Wesley P. Lloyd diary, which reports the non-historical view of the Book of Mormon held by B. H. Roberts just two months before he died (Roberts 1985, 22-24).

These items have additional importance because *The Messiah in Ancient America* includes, as an appendix, a biographical account of Ferguson mingled with a history of the New World Archaeological Foundation. The author is not identified, but the appendix ends "with his [Ferguson's] testimony of the Book of Mormon. In 1982, the year before he died, he included a photo and testimony in several copies of the Books of Mormon that he distributed to non-Mormons." The tribute then quotes a two-paragraph testimony:

> We have studied the Book of Mormon for 50 years. We can tell you that it follows only the New Testament as a written witness to . . . Jesus Christ. And it seems to us that there is no message that is needed . . . more than the message of Christ. Millions of people have come to accept Jesus as the Messiah because of reading the Book of Mormon in a quest for truth. The book is the cornerstone of the Mormon Church.
>
> The greatest witness to the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon is the book itself. But many are the external evidences that support it. (Warren and Ferguson 1987, 283)

This testimonial is typed, includes a photograph of Ferguson and his wife, and speaks as "we," thus suggesting that it was part of the family-to-family Book of Mormon program (Ferguson and Ferguson 1982). However, Ferguson's last two letters and Barney's journal and reminiscence make it clear that this testimony should not be adopted as Ferguson's final position on the Book of Mormon.[6]

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[6] This is not the place to review *The Messiah in Ancient America*, but since the title page presents Thomas Stuart Ferguson as a coauthor with Bruce W. Warren one must examine this posthumous attribution of authorship (Warren and Ferguson 1987). Paul

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TOM FERGUSON

Ferguson was a man of contrasts. His early enthusiasm for the Book of Mormon, exemplified in his 1957 assessment: "To me, the Book of Mormon is like a sleeping volcano, ready to burst forth with knowledge of greatest import for the whole world" (1957a), changed in the last decade and a half of his life into a skeptical view that placed the source of all Book of Mormon activities in the creative mind of Joseph Smith.

R. Cheesman in the foreword to the book states that due to the additions of Bruce W. Warren the book "should reinstate Thomas Stuart Ferguson as a source of enrichment in the fields of study concerning Mesoamerica and the *Book of Mormon*" (Warren and Ferguson 1987, xi). Why would the "additions" of one author improve one's opinion of the other? Why does Ferguson need to be "reinstated"? Bruce W. Warren in the preface states that Ferguson "had begun to revise his book *One Fold and One Shepherd*" and Warren agreed to finish this revision. What evidence is there that Ferguson revised *One Fold and One Shepherd*, and what direction did this revision take? Warren also states that the new book was intended as "a tribute to Thomas Stuart Ferguson and his abiding testimony of the Book of Mormon and the divinity of the Messiah, Jesus the Christ" (Warren and Ferguson 1987, xiii). Since the clear evidence in his letters indicates that Ferguson denied the historicity of the Book of Mormon and the divinity of Jesus, it is deceptive for Warren to speak of his "abiding" testimony.

Ferguson wrote *One Fold and One Shepherd*, and page after page of verbatim extracts from this book are indeed contained in *The Messiah in Ancient America*. Sometimes meaningless statements in the latter can be explicated by reference to the original statement in the former (e.g., Warren and Ferguson 1987, 33, and Ferguson 1962b, 204). Warren often hints that both authors are writing *The Messiah in Ancient America*. Careful analysis sometimes delimits the reference to only Warren or Ferguson, but not both. In one passage concerning volcanoes, the use of "we" implies their united voice, but Warren wrote the entire section. Inanother instance the "we" is an anachronistic inclusion of Warren in a pre-1958 conversation between Ferguson and Floyd Cornaby, whom Warren has never met (Warren and Ferguson 1987, 44-45, 161; cf. Ferguson 1958b, 95). Warren's total association with Ferguson during the last fifteen years of his life consisted of a five-minute conversation in 1979. At the time of his death Ferguson had not written a single word in a manuscript of revision. His only work on the contemplated revision was about twenty ideas for updating, jotted on small 3M "Post-it" notes. One of these notes suggested including the influence of Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* on the text of the Book of Mormon, but this controversial subject is never mentioned in Warren's revision, *The Messiah in Ancient America*, even though Ferguson's radical view on this point was independently supported by Ron Barney. So, while the new book contains thousands of Thomas Stuart Ferguson's words, they represent his position when *One Fold and One Shepherd* was published in 1958 or 1962, not his ideas in 1983.

If the book were intended to be a tribute to Ferguson, it should have been dedicated to his memory, rather than have his name printed on the title page as a coauthor. Wishful thinking and fond memories do not change the way things had changed in Ferguson's thinking. *The Messiah in Ancient America* attributes fresh authorship to Ferguson, and this kind of an attempted reinstatement of the pre-Book-of-Abraham-papyri Ferguson is a gross misrepresentation of his real views.

After many years of archaeological investigations, Ferguson, disappointed by not finding the long-hoped-for confirmation of the Book of Mormon, concluded that the book was "fictional" and that "what is in the ground will never conform to what is in the book" (Ferguson 1976b). Ferguson decided that he could not suspend judgment and remain forever tentative because the evidence was not all in. His skepticism, however, was not a cold cynicism, since he remained hopeful that convincing evidence might come forth and he wished that the situation were otherwise than what he perceived it to be. At the end of his 1975 study of Book of Mormon geographical problems, he voiced this hope: "I, for one, would be happy if Dee [Green] were wrong" about there being no Book of Mormon geography at all (Ferguson 1975a, 29).

Ferguson was friendly and outgoing. He possessed a dynamic personality and an enthusiasm that was contagious. Though he was an amateur and not an academic, he was an independent thinker who plunged into his cause. Ferguson was the indispensable force behind the founding of NWAF in 1952, and this is perhaps his most lasting contribution. The professional archaeological investigations of the now defunct NWAF into the origins of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica owe much to the initial work of Ferguson. Ferguson's books and articles published from 1941 to 1962 demonstrate his love of the Book of Mormon and his early efforts to corroborate it, for he published only one non-Book-of-Mormon study during his lifetime (Ferguson 1948b; cf. F. Nelson 1987). During the 1950s and early 1960s he was a very popular speaker at firesides, institute gatherings, sacrament meetings, and education weeks. Perhaps, because of his longtime public stand, he found it difficult to publish a reversal during the last years of his life. He had put an immense amount of time, money, and energy into authenticating the Book of Mormon. The disappointment must have been acute; for the resulting changes in his attitude were monumental.

Although Ferguson rejected the historicity of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham, he still advocated Mormon values. There is no evidence that ecclesiastical action was taken to either disfellowship or excommunicate him for his unorthodox beliefs. Perhaps Ferguson's case shows the real danger—and futility—in trying to use archaeological evidence to prove theological dogma, since religious faith ought to be based on an inner conviction not on external evidence.

Given his disillusionment, one must give Ferguson credit for having resolved his dilemma to his personal satisfaction, for he was at peace with himself and often spoke of the need to consider the big picture. It would be grossly unfair to Ferguson to say that he completely lost faith in Mormonism. He continued his activity in the Church and justified

his behavior on various social, cultural, and moral grounds. He saw many things useful in religions, and Mormonism was to him the most useful. Though Ferguson doubted that Joseph Smith could translate Egyptian texts, though he repudiated the Book of Abraham, though he rejected the historicity of the Book of Mormon, though he questioned that Joseph Smith or anyone else had a pipeline to God—still he dearly loved his wife and children, considered the Church to be a wonderful fraternity, valued Church activity and fellowship, sang in his ward choir, appreciated the high moral principles of the Book of Mormon, became much more broad-minded and tolerant of other opinions, felt that religious principles served an important need in human life, found relaxation in working in the garden, and enjoyed life immensely. In fact Thomas Stuart Ferguson was playing tennis when a massive heart attack brought immediate death on 16 March 1983 at the age of sixty-seven. All who knew him were saddened at his passing.

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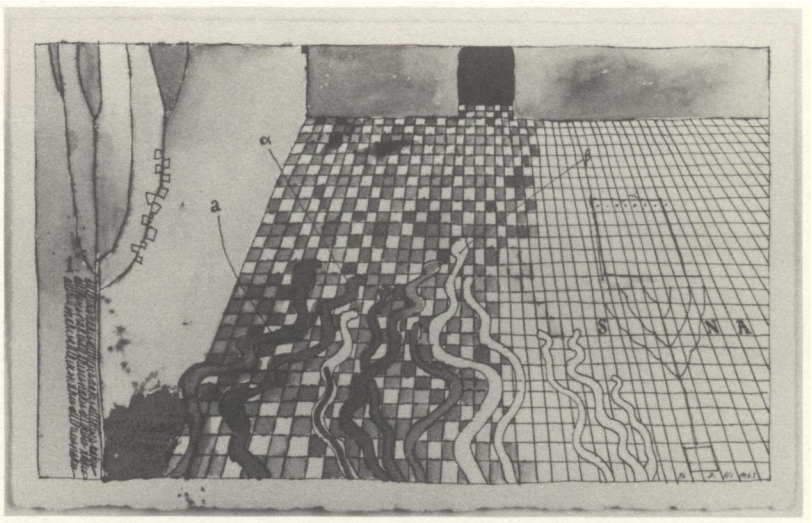

Inadvertent Disclosure: Autobiography in the Poetry of Eliza R. Snow

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

THREE TURNING POINTS MARK THE EARLY LIFE OF ELIZA R. SNOW: the 1826 publication of her first newspaper verse, her 1835 baptism as a convert to Mormonism, and her 1842 sealing as a plural wife of the prophet Joseph Smith. The convergence of these three entities—poetry, religion, and conjugal love—during the turbulent summer and fall of 1842 in Nauvoo created a brief personal literature unique in the corpus of her works.

Eliza Snow in Nauvoo was not the revered "Sister Snow," dynamic leader of Utah Mormon women, prominent as wife of President Brigham Young. In Nauvoo she was next to nobody. Her family, respected citizens in their Ohio home, were undistinguished in Mormon hierarchical circles. Lorenzo, who with his sister would eventually rise to prominence, was then a young bachelor missionary. Leonora, their older sister, separated from the father of her children, would marry Isaac Morley in early and secret polygamy; her obscurity was necessary. The Snow par-

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ents, Oliver and Rosetta, would leave Nauvoo, he because of alienation from the Prophet and the cause, she because it was her duty to follow her husband. The younger children would accompany their parents.

Eliza, then, when she wrote these poems was a lone woman in Nauvoo, distinguished only by her one visible talent, her ability to versify. In a society which assigned a woman status according to her connection with men of note, the thirty-eight-year-old spinster had none. She had few close friends, male or female, and her involvement with the Relief Society, formed in the spring of 1842, reflected her literary skill more than any social or religious prominence. Her marriage to Joseph Smith that summer remained her secret and did not alter her social status. Even her brother Lorenzo's return from a remarkably successful mission provided her little of either status or company. In 1843 she would conclude her school and move to Lima, to live in obscurity in her sister Leonora's household.

In all her displacement, poetry was Eliza Snow's chief occupation, her one claim to the kind of recognition that had been hers during her Ohio upbringing. Among Nauvoo women, she was in this way unique. Other women left us letters and a few diaries; only Eliza published prolifically throughout the five-year period. This article will explore the direction her verses took for that one season of personal turbulence and what they reveal of her inner self.

The poetry for which Eliza Snow had gained reputation both before and after her 1835 conversion to Mormonism had been very public stuff: "high themes—in strains sublimely high, / Poured forth in Zion's praise," a contemporary admirer phrased it (Bard 1841). She had written always with a specific audience in mind, a particular newspaper to reach a known body of readers, and usually to celebrate some momentous occasion, plead some cause, or present some moral lesson.[1] Prior to her conversion, she had written under various pseudonyms—Narcissa, Tullia, Pocahontas among them. She later explained to a similarly hesitant fellow poet, however, that although in her youth she had "*deeply scorned*" any notoriety for her verses, once converted, she was counseled—one presumes by Joseph Smith, who early dubbed her "Zion's poetess"—that her "*duty*, not a love of fame" required her to acknowl-

[1] One rare exception was her 1838 composition, "The Gathering of the Saints and the Commencement of the City of Adam-ondi-Ahman." Having summoned her "slumbering minstrel"—she had not composed since leaving Kirtland and the *Ohio Star*—she explained that "Though *here* no letter'd pinions wait to bear / Thy lisping accents through the distant air; / The heavens, indulgent, may perchance to bend, / And kind angelic spirits condescend / To catch thy notes, and bear thy strains away / To regions where celestial minstrels play." The poem was later given prominence at the beginning of her first volume of collected verse.

edge her work.[2] The Mormon poems, beginning with the 1835 hymn "Praise Ye the Lord," all bore her name, whether they appeared in the gentile *Quincy Whig* (whose editor misread her signature, so she appears there as Eliza K. Snow) or in the LDS periodicals: the *Times and Seasons*, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, the *Wasp*, or, overseas, the *Millennial Star*. In her admonitions to or defense of the beleaguered Saints, she always acknowledged authorship.

While it provided her coreligionists with support in their suffering, Eliza's public poetry gave her a too-easy visibility, a too-facile fame. Before she had matured as a person, she was noted as a versifier of the people's sentiment. She passed as a poet from obscurity to publicity without investigating her inner resources, without exploring, in her writing, at least, the depths of her own soul.

But following her necessarily secret marriage to Joseph Smith, Eliza began to publish, under various guises, personal poems indirectly connected to that event. Often recorded first in her journal, most of them then appeared in one of the Nauvoo papers, their connection to her marriage or its principals sufficiently obscure as to disguise their reference to Joseph in other than his public stance. Considered together, however, they reveal something about Eliza and the secret places of her heart and mind.

Eliza wrote the first statement of her marriage in prose, not poetry, in her journal on 29 June 1842, the day of her wedding. Purposely

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[2] See "Lines Addressed to Mr. Huelett," by Eliza R. Snow (1842-44).

When young in years,—in all a child—
With thought untrain'd, and fancy wild
'Twas my delight to spend an hour
Beneath the Muse's fav'rite bower;
While then I fan'd Parnassus' fire
The letter'd pinions ask'd my lyre;
I *deeply scorn'd* the Poet's fame
And from the world withheld my name.
But when from the eternal throne,
The truth of God around me shone;
Its glories my affections drew
And soon I tun'd my harp anew:
By counsel which I'd fain abide
I laid fictitious names aside:
My *duty*, not a love of fame
Induc'd me to divulge my name.

"Mr. Huelett," who published only one poem under that name in a Nauvoo newspaper, is presumably Sylvester Huelett, an associate of Eliza's during her stay with her sister Leonora Morley in Lima, Illinois.

vague, confessing nothing of what has transpired, she resorts to nature imagery to express her feelings: "While these thoughts were revolving in my mind, the heavens became shadowed with clouds and a heavy shower of rain and hail ensued, and I exclaimed 'O God, is it not enough that we have prepossessions of mankind—their prejudices and their hatred to contend with; but must we also stand amid the rage of elements?'" The pathetic fallacy suggested by the sudden storm had been a frequent metaphor for Eliza, especially in her heroic poems, her public celebrations. Her second published poem reads in part,

> The pathos of that day, big with event
> The storm thick gath'ring, and the threat'ning clouds
> Bursting... (1826)

and references to such squalls as portending evil continue. An 1839 poem sees "Clouds of gloom and nights of sadness" as a response to suffering, another in 1840 (4 Jan.) speaks of "persecution's wave," and yet another in 1841 sees unauthentic humans dashed against fellow humans "like the tremend'ous ocean-wave / When mad'ning storm, the swelling surges lave." But the use of water in its less angry forms increases as the poems progress. In November 1840 "Seas and streams... mutually congealed" bespeak an American paradise where "existence almost seems / With non-existence seal'd." By 1842, the softer use prevails, as in the following, recorded in Eliza's journal on 18 September and published in the *Wasp* on 10 December, an epithalamion honoring the wedding of Eliza's friend Elvira Cowles and widower Jonathan Holmes:

> Like two streams, whose onward courses
> Mingling in one current blend—
> Like two waves, whose gentle forces
> To the ocean's bosom tend.
>
> Like two rays that kiss each other
> In the presence of the sun—
> Like two drops that run together,
> And forever are but one.

While ostensibly directed to her friends, the poem cannot but reflect Eliza Snow's sense of marriage, coming as it does two months after her own sealing. Convergence of man and wife into a benevolent oneness suggests that some peace has come to Eliza in the wake of her

turbulent wedding day. Gentle waters are quieting, life-giving, while warm rays of light converging in the sun connect the couple to the divine source of all blessings.

Even more suggestive of Eliza Snow's feelings about her marriage is the earlier "Bride's Avowal," published on 13 August 1842 and inscribed in print "to Miss L. for her bridal morning." The bride persona, it will be recognized, speaks with Eliza's voice:

My lord, the hour approaches,
  Our destinies to twine
In one eternal wreath of fate;
  As holy beings join.
May God approve our union,
  May angels come to bless;
And may our bridal wreath be gemm'd
  With endless happiness.
My bosom's best affections
  I never could resign,
Until thy goodness drew them forth;
  And now my heart is thine.
Confiding in they guardian care,
  I cheerfully forego
All else of happiness, to share
  With thee, in weal or woe.
The world has smil'd upon me—
  I scorn its flattery;
For naught but thy *approving look*,
  Is happiness to me
I would not sell thy *confidence*,
  For all the pearls that strew
The ocean's bed, or all the gems
  That sparkle in Peru.

"My lord," the bride addresses her husband. The original salutation, "Dearest," was replaced in the poem between the 1842 printing in Nauvoo and its publication in the 1856 collection, possibly reflecting the poet's later awareness of contemporary interpretations of the temple-taught relationship of man and wife. It reiterates the place of Joseph in Eliza's world: he was God on earth to her. But the concept of celestial marriage, as in "eternal wreath" and "endless happiness," were in the original version, composed a year before the revelation on celestial marriage was dictated for publication. The image of a wreath sug-

gests the "eternal round" of Mormon usage, but the notion of God approving the marriage and angels coming to bless are standard wedding rhetoric.

In the second stanza I find strong connections to Eliza's earlier relationship to Joseph, reflected in her 1839 poem "Narcissa to Narcissus."

> Deaf was my ear—my heart was cold:
> My feelings could not move
> For all your vows, so gently told—
> Your sympathies and love.
>
> But when I saw you wipe the tear
> From sorrow's fading eye,
> And stoop the friendless heart to cheer,
> And still the rising sigh:
>
> And when I saw you turn away
> From folly's glittering crown,
> To deck you with the pearls that lay
> On wisdom's fallow ground:
>
> And when I saw your heart refuse
> The flatt'ring baits of vice,
> And with undaunted courage choose
> Fair virtue's golden prize:
>
> And when I saw your towering soul
> Rise on devotion's wings:
> And saw amid your pulses, roll,
> A scorn of trifling things,
>
> I loved you for your goodness sake
> And cheerfully can part
> With home and friends, confiding in
> Your noble, generous heart.

Narcissa, Eliza Snow's first published pseudonym, is given an appropriate consort here. In the counterperson she sees "your goodness" in qualities of character observed from a distance. Considering the date—1839, a period when Joseph was imprisoned and Eliza was with her family—it seemed possible that Narcissus was Eliza's adored younger brother and kindred spirit, Lorenzo. However in the final stanza the

poet connects herself with the admired one, providing evidence of her sacrifice of an earlier life, presumably at his suggestion. That detail does not fit the younger Lorenzo, who followed, not led, her into the Church. "Confiding in thy guardian care" of "The Bride's Avowal" echoes the earlier "confiding in / Your noble, generous heart" and suggests quite firmly that, despite the date—he had then no official link to Eliza—Narcissus is Joseph Smith, with all that implies of her early admiration of and affection for the man as well as the prophet.

"His was an honest face," Eliza later remembered as her first impression of the young prophet. After her conversion and baptism five years later, she lived in Kirtland with the Smiths. Recalling her opinion of Joseph from that time, albeit in a public statement, she wrote in the 1870s of having had

> ample opportunity to mark his "daily walk and conversation," as a prophet of God; and the more I became acquainted with him, the more I appreciated him as such. His lips ever flowed with instruction and kindness; and, although very forgiving, indulgent, and affectionate in his temperament, when his God-like intuition suggested that the welfare of his brethren, or the interests of the kingdom of God demanded it; no fear of censure—no love of approbation could prevent his severe and cutting rebuke. Though his expansive mind grasped the great plan of salvation and solved the mystic problem of man's destiny—though he had in his possession keys that unlocked the past and the future with its succession of eternities; in his devotions he was humble as a little child.

The Narcissa / Narcissus poem echoes these observations.

Poignant from a present point of view, with its valuing of independent womanhood, and in hindsight of Eliza's own more mature years when she espoused "noble independence in her heart," the lines of the 1842 "Bride's Avowal" suggest that the bride "resign" all affections and "cheerfully forego / All else of happiness, to share / With thee, in weal or woe." Eliza had already disavowed her earlier suitors from Ohio times, a reality reflected in the Narcissa poem, and now here devalues the world's flattery, presumably that awarded her for her poetry. Later her understanding of women's privilege and responsibility evolve further. But for now, the prize she claims in return is appropriate: "thy confidence," implicit trust, the ultimate bond between wife and husband, the common essential of intimate relationship. This is the bride's pearl of great price, as Joseph himself was "the crown of my life."

The timing of Eliza's marriage to Joseph Smith could not have been more inopportune—almost a year before Emma Smith had acknowledged plural marriage, but not before its counterfeit, John C. Bennett's "spiritual wifery," was noised abroad. Whisperings spread malice about the Prophet, and Eliza saw enemies where once had been friends. The

following lines, published 10 September 1842, suggest her black-and-white view of her associates, according to their loyalty to Joseph:

O can a gen'rous spirit brook
With feelings of content:
To see an age, distrustful look
Oh *thee*, with *dark intent*!

I feel thy woes—my bosom shares,
Thy spirit's agony:—
How can I love a heart that dares
Suspect *thy* purity?

I'll smile on all that smile on *thee*
As angels do above—
All who in pure sincerity
Will love *thee*, I will love.

Believe me, thou hast noble friends
Who feel and share thy grief;
And many a fervent prayer ascends
To heav'n, for thy relief.[3]

The sympathy of many "noble friends / Who feel and share thy grief" pales beside the more intimate empathy of the poet herself: "I feel thy woes—my bosom shares, / Thy spirit's agony," as her "pure sympathy" contrasts with the "dark intent" of the evil-wishers.[4]

But the problem is more complex than the simple division of the local citizens into "for" and "against" camps as reflected here. The following poem, published 20 August 1842 and addressed though it be to both Joseph and Emma, is demonstrably written only to him and responds in its first two lines to the phrenological reading, Joseph's second, which had recently been published (Crane 1842).

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[3] On 23 June 1843 Eliza recorded the poem in her Nauvoo journal with the following explanation: "Yesterday I was presented with the following lines, which had been sent to press without my knowledge, & of which I had retained no copy." Since William Smith was editor of the *Wasp*, it is possible he had received the verse from his brother Joseph, to whom Eliza had given it. As printed it is signed simply "E."

[4] Authors Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery place this poem so that it implicates Emma Smith as the soul "who dares suspect thy purity," implying her distrust of her husband (1984, 137). While that interpretation is possible, it limits the poem, whose reference could as easily fit the Law brothers, and Sidney Rigdon, the whispering and disgruntled Saints, and the whole gentile community.

Since by *chance*, the "key bump" has been added to you
With its proper *enlargement* of brain,
Let me hope all the thunderbolts malice may strew,
Will excite in your bosom no pain.

But I think if an angel were station'd in air,
For a season, just over our heads,
With a view of things passing; his optics would stare
To behold the vague scenery that spreads.

He'd be apt to conclude from the medley of things;
We've got into a jumble of late—
A deep intricate puzzle, a tangle of strings,
That no possible scheme can make straight.

Tell me, what will it be, and O, where will it end?
Say, if you have permission to tell:
Is there any fixed point unto which prospects tend?
Does a focus belong to pell mell?

From the midst of confusion can harmony flow?
Or can peace from distraction come forth?
From out of corruption, integrity grow?
Or can vice unto virtue give birth?

Will the righteous come forth with their garments unstained?
With their hearts unpolluted with sin?
O yes; Zion, thy honor will still be sustained.
And the glory of God usher'd in.

The term "key bump" did not occur in the phrenological report of Joseph's skull, however the highest rating in the category given most weight, and the first listed, was "amativeness," described by the phrenologist as the tendency to be "passionately fond of the company of the other sex." It is hard to imagine Eliza Snow publicly noting Joseph's sexual propensities—certainly there is nothing from her extant about anyone's libido, let alone the Prophet's. However, another interpretation of the term is hard to discover, since this rating is borne out in an earlier reading as well (Bitton and Bunker 1974). Phrenology was the current fad in Nauvoo—Brigham Young and Willard Richards both had readings, both published (Young rated seven in amativeness, Richards eight, compared with Smith's eleven). Eliza herself, however, never submitted

to a phrenological reading either in Nauvoo or later in Salt Lake City (though one was done posthumously, from a photograph), suggesting her disdain for the pseudo science. Possibly, then, she meant the reference humorously. Certainly the poem can be read so at the beginning, though it seems to move with increasing seriousness as it progresses.

What Eliza Snow is addressing in this poem is not sexuality, nor even, directly, polygamy, but the confusion that results when "malice" strews its "thunderbolts." High among her values are harmony, peace, integrity, and virtue; instead she finds around her confusion, distraction, corruption, and vice. And there seems no relief ahead, no exit. There is not even a temporary footing, a place to dig in the heels—no "fixed point" in this moving world. Not even a time frame; no assurance that this, too, shall pass. The ironic twist, probably not intended in the poem, is that it was, by Joseph's assertion and in Eliza's belief, Jove himself who hurled the thunderbolt—plural marriage was divinely instituted, the Prophet maintained.[5] The final stanza calls into question the ability of the obedient to maintain their purity, of even the righteous to remain sinless. No answer follows; only a typically Elizian affirmation, in the passive voice, that Zion will be somehow sustained and "the glory of God usher'd in." One can hardly believe that even the angel watching could have made such an assertion in the face of such overwhelming evidence of godless disarray.

In similar vein, reflecting the internal response to the external "pell mell," Eliza poured out the following in a 23 September 1842 journal entry, which was never published (and from the tenuousness of its last two quatrains, I suspect never finished):

> To stand still and see the salvation of God seems to be the only alternative for the present. While reflecting on the present, and its connexion with the future; my thoughts mov'd in the following strain:...
>
> O, how shall I compose a thought
> When nothing is compos'd?
> How form ideas as I ought
> On subjects not disclos'd?
>
> If we are wise enough to know
> To whom we should give heed—
> Thro' whom intelligence must flow
> The church of God to lead,

[5] This is not to ignore other references in Eliza Snow's poetry to "Satan's thunderbolts." The double meaning serves more to enrich the meaning than to alter it.

We have *one* grand position gain'd—
One point, if well possess'd—
If well established—well maintain'd,
On which the mind may rest.
This principle will bear us up—
It should our faith sustain,
E'en when from "trouble"'s reckless cup
The dregs we have to drain.

What boots it then, tho' tempests howl
In thunders, round our feet—
Tho' human rage, and nature's scowl
By turns, we have to meet.

What though tradition's haughty mood
Deals out corroding wrongs;
And superstition's jealous brood
Stirs up the strife of tongues.

There is no resolution to this attempt; not even the usual assuring affirmation of faith. "What though?" is not answered with Eliza's typical "God will provide" response at the end. And yet the second stanza seems to assure that "*this principle* will bear us up." However tempting it may be to presume the later use of "the principle" as euphemism for polygamy, the context does not permit. The times demonstrate the destructive, not the supportive properties of that "principle," and the grammar of this use indicate another interpretation: "To whom we must give heed— / Thro' whom intelligence must flow / The church of God to lead" is the guiding principle of restored religion. "My heart is fix'd. I know in whom I trust," Eliza wrote in her Nauvoo journal 16 November 1842, reflecting her thoughts at conversion. Joseph had been then, and still is, she affirms again, the proper connection to God, the "whom" in whose control lay her future.

This present poem, however, sows a seed of doubt in the system: that the principle *should* "our faith sustain" suggests that, at this writing, faith is wavering. Things are no better. The tempest that greeted Eliza's wedding is again howling and thundering round her feet; nature scowls, and neighbors are gossiping, still bound by superstition and tradition. No, she would not finish these ideas, nor publish them. In Eliza's catechism, it is wrong to doubt, especially in public. There are no entries in her journal for the next three weeks.

The next cluster of poems, entered 16 November 1842, contains one that seems to belie the tumult of its predecessors. Its date of composition is uncertain, however its message brings peace after the internal struggle of the last two poems.

In an 18 May 1846 diary entry Eliza would state, "Surely happiness is not altogether the product of circumstances"; in her journal now she makes some strides towards that conclusion. The triteness of the next title, "True Happiness," appearing in her journal on 16 November 1842, and the clichéd rhymes and stanza forms are deceptive. The implication here of the supremacy of private revelation over public pronouncement is a foreshadowing for Eliza; at this point it suggests at least a refocusing of faith.

The noblest, proudest joys that this
  World's favor can dispense,
Are far inferior to the bliss
  Of conscious innocence.
The joy that in the bosom flows,
  No circumstance can bind;
It is a happiness that knows
  No province but the mind.

It makes the upright soul rejoice,
  With weight of ills opprest,
To hear the soothing, still small voice
  Low whispering in the breast.
The favor of the mighty God,
  The favor of His Son,
The Holy Spirit shed abroad,
  The hope of life to come,
Are higher honors, richer worth,
  Surpassing all reward—
Than kings and princes of the earth
  Have taken or conferr'd.
And when, in Christ, the spirit finds
  That sweet, that promis'd rest,
In spite of every power that binds,
  We feel that we are blest.

Though vile reproach its volumes swell,
  And friends withdraw their love;
If conscience whispers, "*All is well,*"
  And God and heaven approve;

We'll triumph over every ill,
And hold our treasure fast;
And stand at length on Zion's hill,
Secure from every blast.

Until the end of the third stanza Eliza scrupulously avoids the "we" voice more typical of her poetic sermons. Not referencing herself directly, she still owns the sentiments personally. And certainly they apply: her secret marriage has placed her in jeopardy of condemnation, both her own and others'. "Conscious innocence" affirmed by the "still small voice / Low whispering in the breast" is not what her associates expect and not even the absolute obedience to the prophetic utterance that has heretofore guided her. "Innocence" itself, unaware as Blake's lamb, has matured through such turmoil as Eliza has experienced since her baptism into the "conscious" or self-determined innocence capable of the splendor of his "tyger." Aware of the favor of God, indeed of the entire Godhead, "the upright soul" rejoices. Within itself the spirit finds release from the "jumble," the "puzzle," the "tangle," and "pell mell" of the earlier poems. The too-facile conclusion which then so unsatisfactorily silenced that outcry is here confirmed with reason and personal conviction. "*All is well,*" the poet writes, and Eliza underlines. Triumph is as yet in the future, but we will, she assures, stand "at length," secure on Zion's hill. There, and then, "in Christ, the spirit finds / That sweet, that promis'd rest."

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Anthony Maitland Stenhouse, Bachelor "Polygamist"

Robert J. McCue

> *I have no intention of practicing polygamy, but I accept and will firmly maintain it as a doctrine, and am in no way ashamed of it.*
> —Anthony Maitland Stenhouse

SO WROTE ANTHONY MAITLAND STENHOUSE (no relation to T. B. H. Stenhouse), a Scot transplanted temporarily to the western Canadian wilderness and an ardent nineteenth-century proponent of polygamy.[1]

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[1] *Colonist*, 20 Oct. 1887. This newspaper began publication in 1858 as the *British Colonist*, became the *Daily British Colonist* in 1860, the *Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle* in 1866, and the *Daily Colonist* from 1886. It will be cited hereafter as *Colonist*.

Unless otherwise noted, the biographical details of Stenhouse's life up to 1890 will be drawn from the *Colonist* and will not be cited specifically in the text. His letters to the editor, the editor's replies, and reports of his activities appeared frequently in that newspaper. His letters were published on the following dates: 28 March, 15 Aug., 15 Sept. 1886; 17, 31 July, 20, 21 Oct., 1887; 18 June, 1889. Editorial replies to his letters and other comments concerning him appeared on: 7 March 1886; 22 Jan., 16, 18, 20 Oct., 4, 6, 27 Nov., 15, 20, Dec. 1887; 18 Jan., 3, 20 May, 10 Aug. 1888; 27 Jan., 10 Oct., 13 Nov. 1889; 18, 19 Feb. 1890. Other helpful information is found in references

Ironically, he was a lifelong bachelor. Although Stenhouse vigorously defended polygamy both vocally and in the press after becoming convinced of the truthfulness of Mormonism in 1887, he failed to enter into Utah Mormonism's "peculiar institution" before it was outlawed by both state and church.[2]

Stenhouse, born 21 February 1849 at Edinburgh, Scotland, was the youngest son of a Scottish gentleman, Robert Talbot Stenhouse. He was educated "privately" and then attended the University of Edinburgh, where he apparently failed to qualify for medical school, which he intended to enter (D. Stenhouse 1984). However, twice in his early political career in British Columbia, the *Colonist* refers to him as if he had a medical degree.

It is not known why Stenhouse decided to emigrate to Canada. He sailed from Liverpool to New York City on 1 March 1884, then traveled overland to Puget Sound, probably on the recently opened Northern Pacific Railway, arriving in Victoria aboard the S.S. *North Pacific* on 22 March 1884.[3] Once there, he discovered that the best places to settle were elsewhere and so went on to the Comox Valley, 130 miles to the north, arriving on 16 October (A. Stenhouse 30 Sept. 1887). Although political foes later claimed that he knew nothing about farming, he acquired land that he planned to cultivate. He visited Victoria frequently, associating with the elite of the city, and near the end of January, the *Colonist* reported that he attended the opening of the provincial legislature.

Stenhouse was soon campaigning to take the place of the Comox representative in the Legislative Assembly. When an election was called, he secured a nomination. Although he was accused of being unable to write a decent speech without help, and according to the *Colonist* on 29 July 1886 of failing to give a scheduled address because

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to Stenhouse in the issues of: 23 March 1884; 29 Aug., 8, 30 Oct. 1885; 26 Jan., 12March, 1, 27 June, 10, 29 July, 10, 11, 16 Sep., 20 Oct. 1886; 9 Jan., 1, 10, 17, 18, 22, 25 Feb., 1, 3, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29 March, 5, 7, 8, April, 9, 10, 24, July, 7 Aug., 25 Sept., 20, 25 Oct., 8, 9, 12, 15, 23, 27, 29, 30 Nov., 4, 6, 21 Dec. 1887; 26 Feb., 12, 21 April, 27 Oct., 5, 8, 19, 29 Dec. 1888; 22 March, 20 June, 4 Aug., 27 Sept. 1889.

[2] Although in U.S. history the term "peculiar institution" is commonly understood to mean slavery, it was applied on at least one occasion in Canada to Mormon polygamy. The *Colonist* on 21 November 1888 stated: "Now they [Charles Ora Card's settlers] are not so strong in their repudiation of their peculiar institution."

[3] The Northern Pacific Railway was opened from Ashland, Wisconsin, to Portland, Oregon, in 1883.

[4] Stenhouse responded by accusing his accuser of being "quite unable to compose a few sentences of decent English" and hence using a ghost writer (*Colonist* 15 Aug. 1886).

"he had forgotten his manuscript and the time since it was written *for him* was too short to have committed it to memory," he was elected on 10 July 1886.[4]

No party designations other than "Government" and "Opposition" were in use in British Columbia at this time. Stenhouse sat with the Opposition, which according to the *Colonist* consisted of seven men in a twenty-six member house. His actions in the legislature were generally unexceptional, although he did publicly thank the government for providing very satisfactory appropriations for his district, a most unusual action for a member of the opposition. He worked hard for his constituents, pushing for adequate lighthouses and bridges as well as the extension of postal services ("Journals, B.C." 5 April 1887). He voted against "hoisting" (indefinitely postponing consideration of) the women's suffrage bill. When the session closed early in April 1887, Stenhouse returned to Comox, where on 5 July he was accorded a vote of confidence by a group of his constituents. He subsequently refused to accede to demands for his resignation which were published anonymously, probably by government supporters who felt that he had failed as their representative since he had not got for them the roads, bridges, and streets they desired.

The word "Mormon" was first associated with his name in June 1886; he must have made enough private comments about the Mormons for his interest in them to be known locally, for one of his critics wrote in the *Colonist* on 27 June 1886, "He is no more a farmer than he is a Mormon saint." Sometime earlier, Stenhouse entered into correspondence with leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Utah. His first extant letter to a Church leader is dated 30 September 1887 and addressed to Wilford Woodruff, acting president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[5] In the letter, Stenhouse announced his conversion, which suggests previous contact with, and fairly extensive knowledge of, Mormonism.

> Dear Mr. Woodruff
>
> Your letter of the 8th instant on behalf of the Council of the Apostles was one of glad tidings and its message of love and sympathy has confirmed my resolution to forsake all and follow Christ. In seeking communion with His Saints my desire is

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[5] John Taylor died 25 July 1887. Wilford Woodruff acted as president of the Church in his capacity as president of the Twelve until 7 April 1889 when he was sustained as president of the Church.

[6] What prompted Stenhouse to enter into correspondence with the president of the Church is not known. It is unlikely that he had contact with Latter-day Saints in Britain or he

not to bear office among them but rather to follow some secular occupation such as farming. In matters of faith and doctrine I feel myself altogether more competent to follow than to lead and will gladly embrace every opportunity for instruction. . . .

I have taken time to study the books you so kindly sent. Penrose's "Mormon Doctrine" and the "Hand Book of Reference" agree substantially with what I had already learned from other sources. After much prayerful consideration I have decided to make an open profession of the Faith immediately on resigning my seat in the legislature. . . . It is one way in which I may be enabled to serve the Church of Jesus Christ. I have counted the cost. My sole desire is to be a fellow sufferer with His Saints and I have long been aware of the shameful persecution they have now to endure. . . .

Sunday the 16th of October next, which happens to be the third anniversary of my first arrival in Comox, is the day I have appointed for the announcement of my conversion. In that day I hope to be remembered in your prayers that I may receive the Spirit of adoption.[6]

Stenhouse followed through as planned, and the Victoria Sunday *Colonist* of 16 October 1887 carried the headlines: "*MR STENHOUSE RESIGNS* / The Member for Comox Will Join the Mormons / He Has Become Converted to the Doctrine of a Plurality of Wives and Will Go to Utah to Formally Join the Church." The editor was not critical, but rather slightly incredulous: "It will be a. . . surprise to know that Mr. Stenhouse has resigned his seat simply and solely for the purpose of becoming a. . . Mormon." Although attention immediately focused on the election, which the resignation made necessary, the editor could not resist mild sarcasm:

Vancouver Island is proud to know that she has given a bright and shining light to the Mormon cause; she will follow his fortunes with an anxious eye, and when he has at last wedded many wives and is blessed with bright young faces around his hearthstone, . . . into his "dungeon cell" will gleam a ray of sunlight when it is known that Comox and Victoria maidens would fain gild his cell with bouquets of the choicest flowers. . . . [He] has resigned a proud position to accept martyrdom if necessary; . . . given up all to embrace any number of females. (*Colonist* 20 Oct. 1887)

Nevertheless, the new convert could write to Wilford Woodruff on 23 October:

Your prayers in my behalf have been abundantly answered. The crisis [of announcing my resignation and conversion] is past. God's blessing has followed me and his Spirit has sustained me. There has indeed been some deprecation of my apparent haste in resigning my political charge, but little or no remonstrance on

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[7] The editor was apparently not familiar with the geographic relationship of Lee's Creek and Lethbridge, as he more than once identified Lethbridge as the site of the Mormon settlement.

> my conversion has been heard from any quarter except the alien pulpits. . . .
>
> . . . At first there was a feeble attempt to make [political] party capital of my change of faith. Now there seems a settled conviction that my successor in Parliament will be the candidate who may receive my support and that any attempt to work the religious prejudice against me will give an apparent victory to *our* Church. . . . In any case I feel assured that if I had attempted as a convert to retain my seat in the legislature a violent outcry would have arisen against me. . . . Still I think my own case will make it a lot easier in future for others to join us.

Stenhouse spent the next few weeks campaigning on behalf of Thomas Basil Humphreys. He gained considerable notoriety as a result of the publicity surrounding his conversion to Mormonism. While on the campaign trail, the new convert wrote again to President Woodruff on 29 November 1887, making it apparent that he had cast himself in the roles of both defender of the Church and advisor to President Woodruff on Canadian political affairs. He explained that he had written to two prominent political figures who could prevent opposition members in the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa from "carp[ing] at the 'Mormon' Colony" to embarrass the government: "I also represented to these hon[ora]ble gentlemen . . . the unwisdom, inconsistency and impolicy of opposing the Settlement of a body of law-abiding Christians of our own and kindred nationalities at a time when swarms of Chinese were allowed an almost unrestricted entry from the West and were propagating their unnatural vices amongst us."

In the same letter, Stenhouse mentions his intention, following the election, of visiting Charles Ora Card's settlement in the Canadian Northwest Territories on his way to Utah. His neighbors seem to have misunderstood his intent, for the Victoria newspapers on 27 November reported that Stenhouse was not going to Utah after all, and in fact was not going to leave British Columbia but had concocted the story of his conversion to Mormonism as an excuse for resigning from the legislature. His next letter to President Woodruff reveals that he had given some consideration not only to visiting, but to remaining in the new Mormon settlement on Lee's Creek: "If I thought I could be of any use to their Settlement I would join it but I must consider my powers and my general circumstances and how they may best fulfill their mission. In such deliberation I hope to have the aid of wisdom from on high" (9 Dec. 1887). By January he had made his decision, and the *Colonist* announced on 18 January 1888 that "Stenhouse . . . will not go to Utah, but will join the Mormon colony at Lethbridge, N.W.T."[7]

There was at least one Victoria resident who was unwilling to lose Stenhouse to the Mormons without a fight. Captain Arthur Edward

McCallum, described by the *Victoria Daily Times* as being "late of the 42nd regiment, and Liberal candidate for Victoria B.C., at the last [federal] general election," on 30 January 1888 wrote the Mormon convert a long letter in which he expressed "sincere regard for an earnest and true nature, which I know yours to be." He disavowed any prejudice against Mormonism, in which, he said, "there is much, very much, socially to admire," and to which "the world owes . . . a debt for having solved the problem of banishing poverty and wretchedness by cooperation and industrial effort." However, Captain McCallum wrote,

> It is altogether another thing if you should ask me to believe in the truth of any so-called divine revelation to Joseph Smith! . . . All religions alike rest upon the truth or falsity of supernatural or divine revelation. . . . Which of these several revelations are you to accept? . . . I am not prepared to admit the Revelation of Mr. Joseph Smith. . . . The social anarchy existing, . . . both in religious and in secular life, is not to be cured by any modern or ancient "supernatural revelation," but by the evolution of the people hastened by thoughtful and reflecting leaders at whose lights they may light their torches to see their way. (*Victoria Daily Times* 18 April 1888, cited hereafter as *Times*)

In reply Stenhouse thanked the captain for his interest, then made it very clear that the gentleman's arguments were not persuasive:

> For myself I will at once avow my settled belief in spiritual manifestations . . . Revelation. . . . will prove in the fulness of time to be the most natural thing in the world. . . . I find no difficulty whatever in accepting the divine (i.e. spiritual) origin of the early Christian church. . . . I am not of those who believe that revelation ceased with the perversion of the primitive church. Revelation has languished, . . . and it is only in recent generations that this will-power has revived among us and has begun to seek its final consummation [i.e., among the Latter-day Saints]. . . .
>
> The conclusion I have reached after a very full consideration of the questions raised in your letter is very nearly your own. Almost in your own words I will say that "the social anarchy existing... both in religious and in secular life, can only be cured by the spiritual evolution of the people, hastened by thoughtful and reflecting leaders, at whose lights they may light their torches to see their way. (*Times* 18 April 1888)

On 21 April 1888, British Columbia's first Mormon convert left Vancouver Island on the S.S. *Louise*. On reaching the mainland, he boarded a Canadian Pacific Railway train, transferring at Dunmore, Alberta, to a coach attached to the Alberta Railroad and Irrigation Company narrow-gauge coal train. He reported in a 7 August 1887 letter to President Woodruff that he arrived in Lethbridge on 28 April, where he was met by Charles Ora Card who took him, by horse and buggy, to his home at Lee's Creek. The reception in the Mormon

settlement was no doubt cordial, as Card's wife Zina, expecting a visit from Stenhouse, explained to her mother that she was "trying to fix with 'the best leg foremost'" (Z. Card 1887). The visitor was suitably impressed: "Despite the somewhat primitive conditions under which we have to live . . . I have been extremely happy. The distinguished and yet winning manners of Mrs. Card have made her quite a favorite with the neighboring Gentiles" (A. Stenhouse 7 Aug. 1888).

In the following weeks, Stenhouse undoubtedly had long discussions with the elders of the little community about the details of Mormon beliefs. Questions were asked and answered apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned, for Anthony Maitland Stenhouse was baptized a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on 10 June 1888 by Charles Ora Card ("Record of Members" 1887-90, 39). His written salutations to President Woodruff changed from "Dear Mr. Woodruff," or "Dear Sir," to "Dear Sir and Brother." Back in Victoria the *Colonist* commented on 10 August that "it is said that Maitland has thoroughly convinced himself that the step he has taken is the right one, and will endeavor to become a shining light among the polygamists of the Northwest." A prophetic statement indeed! He was soon to become the best known defender of polygamy in the Latter-day Saint settlement.

The *Colonist* reported on 27 October that the new member had been ordained a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood.[8] The paper soon labeled him "a staunch upholder of the tenets of the body he has joined [and] a zealous and fearless advocate of polygamy" (27 Jan. 1889). He put down roots in the community by purchasing two parcels of land and building a house. The first marriage ceremony in the settlement was performed in that house on 2 April 1889. However, it was not the marriage of the proprietor, but rather that of Heber S. Allen and Amy Louise Leonard ("History of the Alberta Stake" 1889, 156).

To keep in touch with his former home, Stenhouse continued to subscribe to the *Victoria Daily Times*. On 1 October 1888 that paper published a story claiming that a pair of Australian whales had been successfully transported to the Great Salt Lake and were copiously propagating their kind there, thus making possible a whaling industry with much easier access than that of the Arctic. At the same time it printed a sarcastic comment by the little Scot, who could not resist turning to the defense of his co-religionists:

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[8] The exact date is not known, but if one can assume a consistent interval between an event happening at Lee's Creek and being reported in Victoria, the date is approximately the end of August.

> This plausible and highly circumstantial narrative has gone unchallenged almost the entire round of the American newspapers, whose editors with all their Yankee cuteness are the very greenest of mortals in their knowledge of Utah. When it is known that one barrel of common salt can be obtained from three barrels of the water of the Great Salt Lake, the absurdity of the whole yarn becomes at once apparent. None but the very lowest forms of animal life, if even these, can exist in the body of the Great Salt Lake. "Intelligent newspaper readers" have here a fine sample of human credulity, and until they have actually seen the now famous whales of Utah, I hope they will accept with many grains of the chief product of the Salt Lake the still fishier and fowler stories which villify the character of an honest and industrious people.[9]

In 1888 the residents of the Lee's Creek district still had to pick up their mail at Lethbridge, some forty miles distant. A request to the Canadian government "that a weekly mail be established between Lethbridge and our colony, that the name of our Post Office be 'Card' and that Mr. A. Maitland Stenhouse be appointed Postmaster" was not granted (Tagg 1963, 140). But the fact that he was nominated for the position indicates the respect with which he was regarded.

Further evidence of his position in the community came in the fall of 1889 when the governor-general of Canada paid a visit to nearby Macleod. The Mormon settlers decided to present a formal address when they were presented to the Queen's representative. Stenhouse was asked to compose the speech. As he was quite recently removed from Britain, he was expected to know the proper form. Also, he was probably in possession of the most extensive formal education of any man in the settlement. Unfortunately, because their watches were not synchronized with the local Macleod time, and because the governor-general left the official reception earlier than scheduled when Macleod residents did not turn out in large numbers to greet him, the Mormons arrived to see the vice-regal party departing. According to Charles Ora Card:

> Some of our party felt much crestfallen, especially Bro. A. M. Stenhouse who had written & rewritten 2 or 3 times at my request [an address to the governor-general]....
>
> On the morn[ing] of the 14th inst. Dr. Allen called early and told us that His Excellency would call at our tent and receive our address at 8 O.C[lock]. a.m. We all got ready and formed a Semi-circle in front of our tent. The Gov., his Sec'y. and Sir James Grant, Dr. Allen and his son Edwin, came in front of our Semi-Circle and . . . I . . . read as follows:
>
> To His Excellency The Lord Stanley of Preston, K. G., Her Majesty's Viceroy of the Dominion of Canada, etc.

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[9] Stenhouse was off on his estimate of the salt content of the lake. In normal times it takes closer to four barrels of brine to produce one barrel of salt.

May it Please your Excellency.

We, the Latterday S[ain]ts resident in the North West Territories of Canada, do most cordially unite with our Fellow Settlers of Alberta, in welcoming to the District the representative of that Sovereign power which . . . "has dotted the surface of the Globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum beat following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of martial airs of England."

To the Imperial Majesty of Queen Victoria, of whom not a few of us rejoice to be the native subjects,—to Her who, as we fondly hope, is soon to be the Queen of all of us, We desire on this early occasion to make the public profession of our unswerving Loyalty: and anticipate our steadfast allegiance to the Dynasty under which the country of our adoption has prospered and grown great. Our Prophet Joseph Smith discerned that of all the Kingdoms of this world, The British Principalities, by reason of their high integrity and their judicial purity, will be the last to fall; and it is for this reason, as well as from an affectionate admiration of her own womanly virtues, that we invoke the blessings of heaven upon the Sovereign of these vast realms.

Receive also the assurance of our cordial good wishes for the personal welfare of Your Excellency and of the Lady Stanley, and for the success of your unwearied efforts for the more effectual consolidation of the Dominion and the Empire.

Signed by request of the Latter-Day Saints in the Canadian North West.

Charles Ora Card.
Macleod, N.W.T., 14 October 1889

Stenhouse's pride in being British is apparent (Card 14 Oct. 1889).

For reasons unknown, Stenhouse made a trip back to Vancouver Island in the summer of 1889. This seems to have been his only visit to British Columbia after joining the Card settlement. Two weeks after his return to Cardston, the *Colonist* (10 Oct.) carried an Ottawa dispatch that he was "actively canvassing Alberta with a view to securing a seat in the next Dominion parliament, where, he says, he will endeavor to effect marriage reform and the legalization of Mormonism." Nothing further was heard of this alleged plan.

Stenhouse visited Utah in the spring of 1890 (*Deseret Evening News* 2 April 1890). He had long harbored the ambition of speaking in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, and he was evidently prepared should the occasion arise. According to Heber S. Allen, a long-time Cardston resident whose wedding took place in Stenhouse's home, "He could often be found in the rear of his house practicing a speech he had written and hoped to deliver there. However, in this ambition he was disappointed in getting an opportunity to address the general assembly of a conference of the church although he was invited to speak at a Women's Relief Society session" (Steele n.d., 2:1).

He returned to Canada sometime after mid-July of 1890 and the following spring cast "the first political vote ever polled at Cardston" (*Lethbridge News* 27 March 1891, cited hereafter as *News*). He remained at the Mormon colony until June of 1891 when he apparently returned to Britain (*News* 12 June 1891). His destination as he left southern Alberta was not entirely clear. He indicated to the *Lethbridge News* reporter that he was headed for Edinburgh but had earlier informed a friend in Victoria that he intended to go to London, England, "to follow letters as a profession, 'and not without a view to the representation of some enlightened constituency in the Imperial House of Commons'" (*News* 16 July 1890). He does not appear to have had any further association with the Church after leaving Card's settlement, and in fact there is no mention of any association with the Mormons in a biographical sketch appearing some twenty years later in which he is identified only as an Anglican (Morgan 1912, 1058).

Until he declared his intention to become a Mormon, Stenhouse had attracted very little attention. But after moving to Card's settlement, he became notorious, mainly because of letters he wrote to editors of newspapers as far afield as his native Edinburgh. Shortly after arriving in the new Mormon colony, he took up his pen to champion the cause of the Saints because he felt that they were being unfairly treated in the editorial columns of the *Lethbridge News*. The Mormon settlers had sent a delegation to Ottawa in the fall of 1888 to ask for concessions from the Canadian government: (1) the privilege of forming hamlets under the Lands Act rather than living on scattered homesteads, (2) water rights on Lee's Creek so that they could build a sawmill, (3) postal service, (4) relief from payment of timber dues, (5) permission to sell surplus livestock which had been imported free of customs duty as settler's effects, and (6) the privilege of bringing from Utah plural wives to whom they were already married (*News* 14 Nov., 12 Dec. 1888). The *News* took the position that so long as the Mormons agreed to obey the law, there was no reason to prevent them from entering Canada, but that they should not be given any special concessions (*News* 14 Nov. 1886). Stenhouse made an issue of the hamlet question while ignoring the other requests. The Mormons, he wrote, "are simply availing themselves of the privileges accorded to other settlers under the Hamlet clause of said Act. . . . Until a Mormon breaks a law, I presume he is entitled to equal privileges with other Canadians?" (*News* 5 Dec. 1888).

The editor's response was that the hamlet clause of the Dominion Lands Act notwithstanding, the Mormons were asking for privileges not normally granted to settlers, such as importing their farm machinery

duty free, but particularly, the right to bring in plural wives whom they had married before coming to Canada. He was particularly adamant in his view that allowing groups such as the Mormons the right to form their own communities retarded assimilation and was bad for the country (*News* 14 Nov., 12 Dec. 1888). This was a commonly held opinion.

Stenhouse countered that if the editor of the *News* disliked the law he ought to campaign to have it changed "instead of expending his ire on a few innocent strangers who were quite unaware of the terrible inequity of the Canadian law." In making their wants known, he argued, the Mormons had only responded to an invitation to do so, knowing full well that they would not be granted everything that they asked for (*News* 26 Dec. 1888).

At that point, the focus of controversy shifted to polygamy as one of the privileges requested but not expected to be granted, and Anthony Maitland Stenhouse began a resourceful and ingenious defense of Utah Mormonism's distinctive institution (*News* 26 Dec. 1888). A year earlier, he had stated to a newspaper reporter (as quoted initially) that although he did not intend to enter into the practice he would "firmly maintain it as a doctrine" (*News* 3 May 1888). And maintain it he did!

Maitland's first line of defense of plural marriage was the practicality of the institution, a defense which must have developed from hearsay rather than practical experience, for Stenhouse was unmarried, and his fellow Mormons at Lee's Creek had brought but one wife each to Canada. He claimed that polygamy had proved to be "a triumphant success," for

> It secures a husband for every woman that wants one. . . . Under a well ordered system of plural families, marriage would no longer be a lottery where ladies draw a blank, a fool or a husband, according to luck. They would no longer be daily insulted with the alternatives of a fool or none—and thus the law of natural selection, now so grossly outraged, would find its due accomplishment in the survival and perpetuation of the fittest family and the fittest race. It is true that some men would be wifeless, but these would mostly be men whose marriage and multiplication are a curse to the race. (*News* 26 Dec. 1888)

Two years later he was arguing, in the face of anti-polygamy opinion, that polygamy was actually a solution to the problem of women's rights, that it would give women greater freedom than they enjoyed under monogamy:

> Among the ancient barbarians the right of the strongest was alone recognized, and accordingly, marriage was invented for the oppression of women. Some thought polygamy the likeliest instrument of oppression. The more knowing ones, and

among them our ancestors, discovered that monogamy was best adapted to their brutal purpose. . . .

If then, monogamy trammels a woman, . . . how are we to enlarge her scope? . . . In allowing the option of plural marriage under a modern covenant. (*News* 19 Nov. 1890)

His second line of defense was founded on the biblical justification of polygamy.

Celibacy of the clergy and monogamy of the laity are twin superstitions and have a common origin . . . in the time when self-torture, penance and flagellations . . . [were thought] to pave the way to paradise. The great reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Zwingli, etc., . . . decided unanimously that polygamy was not contrary to the divine law. . . . Milton also . . . and many others, not less distinguished for their piety than for their genius, have amply proved from the books of the Old and New Testaments the lawfulness of polygamy. (*News* 26 Dec. 1888)

His third defense was based on the civil legality of plural marriage. He asserted that "there is actually no law on the Canadian statute book . . . that could touch Mormon, any more than Mohammedan, polygamy" (*News* 20 Nov. 1889).

But there was a law forbidding bigamy. Stenhouse was well aware of this, and he had no quarrel with the immorality and illegality of this relationship. However, he had his own idea about what made bigamy wrong:

The only criminal element in bigamy is the deception which is practised. . . . Natural rights, both of person and property, demand that any such deception should be severely punished. . . . Absolute freedom of contract in marriage exists at this moment. . . . The monogamous contract is the usual form, and involves in its very essence a prohibition of bigamy. . . . Bigamy, then, is prohibited and punishable in order to enforce the terms of a voluntary contract, and for no other reason.

. . . Indeed, an[y] instrument properly executed defining the rights and obligations of the contracting parties, would be enforced in any British court having jurisdiction . . . [even in a case of] polygamy, where the previous wife is a consenting party. (*News* 20 Nov. 1889)

. . . The sin of polygamy lies in the deceit which usually attends maintaining several wives among civilized nations, while according to the Mormon faith polygamy can be practised only by the formal consent of the women interested and is therefore sinless. . . . (*Buffalo Express* 23 Jan. 1889)

I hold that the existing provisions for the punishment of bigamists are founded on a wrong principle, and that such deceivers on emerging from prison should not be licensed to desert wives whom they have married by fraud. The marriage

> contract, whether single, dual or plural, should be held sacred, and should be rigorously enforced in every case. (*Colonist* 20 Oct. 1887)

Stenhouse emphasized his strong belief in "freedom of contract, with due regard to the rights of the weaker parties, [which] is now an accepted maxim of enlightened politics, and only requires time for its complete development" (*News* 5 March 1890, *Vancouver Daily World*, 4 March 1890). He consistently maintained that interested parties agreeable to a polygamous relationship are legally free to enter into it.

The capstone of Stenhouse's arguments was a proposal to test the law:

> There is one case of polygamy . . . whose bearing on the law . . . has [not] yet been ascertained. The case of the bridegroom with two brides is not an impossibility. Nor is it inconceivable that he might, as a bachelor, be duly wedded to both ladies at the same moment, neither of the wives preceding the other. In view of such a case the question arises, . . . would the parties be liable to criminal prosecution?
>
> . . . As an undergraduate in matrimony, I propose to test the law as soon as I have found the ladies. (*News* 20 Nov. 1889)

This letter was immediately widely interpreted as confirming the opinion that the Mormons at Lee's Creek had no intention of abandoning polygamy (*News* 20 Nov. 1889). The editor of the *Vancouver Daily World* suggested that Stenhouse should familiarize himself with the law, which was correctly cited as stating that "everyone who being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage takes place in Canada, or elsewhere, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to seven years' imprisonment" (13 Nov. 1889).[10]

This, of course, did not exactly cover Stenhouse's proposed course of action, for if he married two women "at the same moment" he would not be already married and would therefore not be marrying another "person during the life of the *former* . . . wife." Apparently many readers thought that this proposal could not possibly be seriously intended, but the editor of the *Colonist* cautioned on 13 November 1889 that "A. Maitland does not intend this for a joke. He is the kind of man who seldom indulges in pleasantries on solemn subjects."

Nor were the legislators in Ottawa prepared to take chances by treating his proposal as a joke. On 4 February 1890 Senator Macdonald, from Victoria, British Columbia, presented in the Canadian Senate a bill designed to remove any doubt as to whether bigamy laws applied to

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[10] See also *Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada Relating to Criminal Law* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1887), pp. 62.

polygamy, and it specifically mentioned the "spiritual or plural marriages" of the Mormons (*Journals, Senate* 1890, 24:22. See also *News* 19 Feb. 1890). It was dropped from the agenda of the Senate on 4 March in favor of similar legislation introduced in the House of Commons on 7 February by Sir John Thompson, minister of justice (*Journals, Senate* 1890, 24:22, 55, 67, 96). His bill covered a wider scope of offenses than the Macdonald proposal, which was largely adopted as section 8 of the proposed legislation (*Debates* 1890, 3173). In explaining his intent, Thompson said:

> Section 8 is intended to extend the prohibition of bigamy. It is to make a second marriage punishable . . . whether the marriage took place in Canada or elsewhere, or whether the marriages takes [*sic*] place simultaneously or on the same day. In [the latter case] . . . the parties were not punishable under the present law. Section 9 deals with the practice of polygamy, . . . which we are threatened with; and I think it will be much more prudent that legislation should be adopted at once in anticipation of the offence, . . . rather than we should wait until it has become established in Canada. (*Debates* 1890, 3162)

This bill was passed by the Commons on 16 April 1890 and became law one month later on 16 May while Stenhouse was still in Utah (*Debates* 1890, 3460; *Journals, H.C.* 1890, 505; *Canada Gazette* 1890, 23:60, 61). It left no doubt that polygamy was illegal in Canada and specifically prohibited the simultaneous multiple marriage scheme proposed by Mr. Stenhouse: "4. . . . every male person who, in Canada, simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, is guilty of felony, and liable to seven years' imprisonment" (see the appendix for the remainder of the act).

It is apparent that Stenhouse can be credited with inspiring the very specific provisions of this act. He had waited too long to take advantage of what he recognized as, and the government admitted to be, a loophole in the law. After 16 May 1890 his proposed simultaneous dual marriage was clearly illegal in Canada.

But perhaps it was just as well that he did not get around to testing the law. Stenhouse's advocacy of polygamy was not welcome among Latter-day Saint leaders. When news of his intended conversion first reached Card's settlement, local Saints hoped that he could "do us much good with his influence amongst the officials of this nation" (Z. Card 1887). But his ardor for the cause attracted unwanted attention, and one can only imagine what would have happened had he actually attempted to arrange a simultaneous dual marriage. Less than two years after Zina Card had written so optimistically about his hoped-for influence, and even before his novel proposal attracted attention, the

Salt Lake City *Deseret News* was disassociating the Church in general, and the Mormons in Canada in particular, from Stenhouse's ideas:

> Mr. Stenhouse has the right to entertain what opinions he pleases and to publish them if he can get them into print. But he does not speak for the Church to which he belongs, nor for the colony where he resides. They are simply his views and nothing more.
>
> It does not follow that because the gentleman advocates plural marriage that the "Mormons" in Canada practice polygamy. (*Deseret Weekly News* 7 Sept. 1889)

In October 1890 the whole question of Mormons and polygamy in Canada became academic as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints announced that no further plural marriages would be solemnized (D&C: Official Declaration—1). This must have come as a blow to Stenhouse. He had made defense of polygamy his hobby, the focus of his religious life, and now, within a six-month period, he had seen the practice become illegal in both state and church. To continue to defend it must have seemed futile. His quiet departure for Britain the following spring, his failure to make himself known to the Church in Britain, and his omission of his "Mormon" connection in later biographical sketches indicate loss of interest in, and perhaps a feeling of rejection by and quiet disaffection with, Mormonism.

Nevertheless this hard-of-hearing and diminutive middle-aged Scotsman left a mark in both Mormon and Canadian history. His proclivity for writing letters defending the Latter-day Saints did not influence people in the direction he intended. As the editor of the *Lethbridge News* pointed out in a 26 December 1888 editorial, "Mr. A. M. Stenhouse is once again taking us to task. . . . We regret exceedingly that the errors and enthusiasm of this gentleman should have forced us into a controversy in which we are apparently opposing the Mormons." There is, in fact, no evidence that his ingenious arguments convinced even one person who was not already converted that polygamy was a proper and acceptable marital relationship for Christians.

However, his creative defense of the "peculiar institution" did have national repercussions. He was directly responsible for an amendment to the Canadian criminal law, which is still on the books and which added to the bigamist category anyone who, "on the same day or simultaneously, goes through a form of marriage with more than one person" (Greenspan 1986, 294). There is no doubt that "what among the . . . Mormons is known as spiritual or plural marriage" would sooner or later have been outlawed anyway, but Stenhouse's arguments added urgency to the situation and stimulated earlier legislation than might otherwise have been the case (*Criminal* 1892, 55-56).

It seems ironic that a man who never married, a bachelor "polygamist," should become the catalyst for the enactment of such specific anti-polygamy laws. But perhaps the proposal of a simultaneous dual marriage was, after all, just a threat, and his real intention was that stated in October 1887: "I have no intention of practising polygamy, but I accept it and will firmly maintain it as a doctrine." From October 1887 to October 1890 he did just that with significant effect.

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APPENDIX

53 Vict. Chapter 37. An Act further to amend the Criminal Law.

Offences in Relation to Marriage.

10. Sub-section one of section four of chapter one hundred and sixty-one of the Revised Statutes, intituled "An Act respecting Offences relating to the Law of Marriage," is hereby repealed and the following substituted therefore:—

"4. Everyone who, being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage takes place in Canada or elsewhere, and *every male person who, in Canada, simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, is guilty of felony*, and liable to seven year's imprisonment."

11. The following sections are hereby added to the last cited act:—

"5. Everyone who practices, or, by the rites, ceremonies, forms, rules or customs of any denomination, sect or society, religious or secular, or by any form of contract, or by mere mutual consent, or by any other method whatsoever, and whether in a manner recognized by law as a binding form of marriage or not agrees or consents to practice or enter into —

"(a) Any form of Polygamy; or—

"(b) Any kind of conjugal union with more than one person at the same time; or—

"(c) What among persons commonly called Mormons is known as spiritual or plural marriage; or—

"(d) Who lives, cohabits, or agrees or consents to live or cohabit, in any kind of conjugal union with a person who is married to another, or with a person who lives or cohabits with another or others in any kind of conjugal union; and—

"2. Every one who,—

"(a) Celebrates, is a party to, or assists in any such rite or ceremony which purports to make binding or to sanction any of the sexual relationships mentioned in sub-section one of this section; or—

"(b) Procures, enforces, enables, is a party to, or assists in the compliance with, or carrying out of, any such form, rule or custom which so purports; or—

"(c) Procures, enforces, enables, is a party to, or assists in the execution of any such form of contract which so purports, or the giving of any such consent which so purports,—

"Is guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable to imprisonment for five years and to a fine of five hundred dollars.

"3. In any charge or indictment for any offence mentioned in sub-section two of this section it shall be sufficient to describe the offence in the language of the sub-section applicable thereto; and no averment or proof of the method in which the sexual relationship charged was entered into, agreed to, or consented to, shall be necessary in any such indictment, or upon the trial of the person thereby charged; *nor shall it be necessary upon such trial to prove carnal connection had or intended to be had between the parties implicated.*"

"6. In every case arising under section four, or under sub-section one of section five of this Act, the lawful husband or wife of the defendant shall be a competent, but not a compellable witness for or against the defendant."

—*Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada Relating to Criminal Law, 1891*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891, emphasis added.

Ezekiel 37, Sticks, and Babylonian Writing Boards: A Critical Reappraisal

Brian E. Keck

DURING ITS FIRST 158 YEARS, Mormonism, like any other religious system, has developed its own theological and ritual structure with its own built-in defensive mechanisms. A fundamental part of this defensive infrastructure is a series of Old Testament texts, passages used to justify and validate various unique and unusual theological dogma found within the faith.[1] These passages have played a positive and important role both in underpinning members' faith and in proselyting. Unfortunately, interpretations of the passages have gradually attained a pseudo-canonical status within the community, allowing for little tampering with their traditional understandings. This is unfortunate since such rigorous attention to one narrow avenue of interpretation ignores and obscures literary and structural aspects of the Hebrew Bible, aspects essential for understanding many theological and historical elements of

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[1] These texts are too numerous to mention here. They can be found with commentary in most books dealing with the fundamentals of Mormonism written by Mormon authors. Examples would include LeGrand Richards (1979) and Joseph Fielding Smith (1956). These are commonly referred to as "proof-texts," a rather unpopular designation in Mormonism, discussed by Heber Snell (1967, 61-63).

Israelite religion and culture. Furthermore, detailed studies of these passages could provide valuable insights into the history and evolution of Mormon exegesis.

One text that has captured the attention of many Mormon scholars, Ezekiel 37:15-28, has traditionally been used to support the divine status of the Book of Mormon. The text reads as follows:[2]

> The word of Yahweh came to me as follows: "Son of Man, take a stick and inscribe on it: 'Judah and the descendants of Israel, his associates'; then take another stick and inscribe on it: 'Joseph (It is the stick of Ephraim), and all of the house of Israel, his associates.' Hold them together as if they were one stick, and they will be as one in your hand. When your people say: 'Will you not tell us what this means?' say to them: Thus says Lord Yahweh: I will take the stick of Joseph (which was in the hand of Ephraim) and the tribes of Israel, his associates, and place it together with the other, i.e., the stick of Judah, and I will make them as one stick, and they will be as one in my hand. The sticks on which you have inscribed will be in your hand before their eyes; (then) say to them: Thus says Lord Yahweh: I will take the descendants of Israel from among the nations, wherever they went, and gather them from all around and bring them to their land. I will make of them one nation in the land, upon the hills of Israel, and one king will rule all of them. They will not be two nations anymore and they will not be divided any more into two kingdoms. They will not defile themselves again with their idols and their despicable things and all their rebellions, and I will rescue them from all of their backsliding by which they sinned. I will then cleanse them and they will be my people and I will be their god. My servant David will be king over them and they will have one shepherd. They will live according to my precepts and they will keep my statutes and will do them. Then they will dwell upon the land where your fathers dwelt which I gave to my servant Jacob. They and their children and their grandchildren will dwell there forever and David, my servant, will be a prince to them for eternity. I will then make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an eternal covenant with them. I will establish them and multiply them, and I will place my sanctuary among them forever. My dwelling place will be among them and I will be their god and they will be my people. Then the foreign nations will know that I am Yahweh, the one who sanctifies Israel when my sanctuary is forever in their midst.

Most Mormon scholars, especially Hugh Nibley and Sidney Sperry, have wanted to see these sticks of Joseph and of Judah as the Book of Mormon and the Bible respectively. For them the passage prophesies the appearance of the Book of Mormon in modern times (Nibley 1957, 271-87; Sperry 1963, 226-28; 1967, 74-85). However, some LDS scholars, most notably Heber Snell, have argued that Ezekiel's sticks cannot refer to scripture and, following many biblical scholars, interpret the passage in the more general

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[2] All of the biblical passages quoted in this essay have been translated by the author.

sense as foretelling only the future gathering of Israel (Snell 1967, 55-74).

The most recent additions to the debate are two articles by Keith Meservy, published in the September 1977 and the February 1987 issues of the *Ensign*. He provides evidence that the "sticks" referred to by Ezekiel were actually wooden writing boards—thin leaves of wood coated on one side with wax attached together with metal or leather hinges. These writing boards were fairly common in Babylonia in the first millennium B.C. The appearance of his arguments in the official Church magazine has given prestige to his ideas, which have subsequently appeared in modified form in both Sunday School and Institute manuals (*The Old Testament: Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Supplement* 1985:157; *The Old Testament: 1 Kings—Malachi* 1981, 283-84). Even in the 1979 LDS edition of the Bible the word "stick" in the Ezekiel passage is identified in a marginal note as: "Wooden writing tablet," an interpretation most likely derived from Meservy's writings. In light of the widespread acceptance of Meservy's theory in the LDS community, it is time to seriously reevaluate the issue of Ezekiel's sticks and the Babylonian writing boards to see how sound that identification really is.

The basic problem for Mormon exegesis and the crux of the passage for Mormon and non-Mormon scholars alike is the meaning of the Hebrew word *ẹs*, rendered by the King James translators as "stick." The word *ẹs* spans the whole range of Semitic languages (Bergsträsser 1983, 217), yet its various meanings reveal extraordinary continuity between the different languages. The term generally refers to a tree, wood in general, firewood, and specific items made of wood. In Hebrew the traditional semantic range is correspondingly broad, but again the word basically means tree, wood, sticks, branches, firewood, and timber for building. Occasionally it can refer to objects made of wood, such as a pole, the handle of an axe, gallows, idols, and vessels (Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1980, 781-82). Moreover, in post-biblical Hebrew the term *ẹs* again refers to trees, different types of wood, a pole, the gallows, and a wooden pot ladle (Jastrow 1971, 1101). Therefore, as far as our current lexical knowledge goes, the Hebrew *ẹs* does not refer to a writing board or document. The lexical evidence does not support either the traditional rendering by most biblical scholars of *ẹs* as a scepter.

The semantic field of *ẹs*, or any other Hebrew word for that matter, is certainly not sacred and can be modified as evidence warrants. Nevertheless, any attempt to work outside the currently established semantic field without justification is simple speculation. Thus any scholar must provide evidence to support a claim that *ẹs* can mean a written document. Before investigating Meservy's evidence, however, a

brief summary of the exegetical history of the Ezekiel pericope will give a better diachronic understanding of the problem.

Two exegetical traditions have developed concerning this Ezekiel passage. The first tradition originates from the Septuagint, the Greek rendering of the Hebrew Old Testament, completed in the second century B.C., possibly in Egypt. This version translates the Hebrew *ēṣ* as *rabdos*, Greek for staff or scepter (Rahlfs 1979, 839-40). Although *ēṣ* does not, as previously noted, mean specifically a scepter or a staff, this translation seems reasonable when we consider that the passage refers to the reuniting of the tribes of Israel into their old political entities, the North and South Kingdoms. In this tradition, the staff or scepter obviously became a metaphor for kingship, just as the crown came to symbolize kingship later in medieval Europe.

The second interpretation is based on the Aramaic Targums. The Targums are Aramaic translations or loose paraphrases of the Hebrew Old Testament used in the synagogues after the Babylonian exile when Aramaic had replaced Hebrew as the vernacular and the common people had difficulty understanding Hebrew. The Targums were written during the first few centuries A.D. (Würthwein 1979, 75). The Targum of Ezekiel translates the original Hebrew *ēṣ* with the Aramaic word *lûḥa'*, meaning a tablet and occasionally a writing board (*Biblia Rabbinica* 1972, 3:306). The reasoning behind this "translation" is unknown. In light of the lexical evidence already presented, the correlation between *ēṣ* and *lûḥa'*, seems arbitrary, but perhaps the translators were influenced by the use of the Hebrew verb *kātab*, "to write."

I must emphasize, however, that neither translation reflects a solid lexicographical base; both translations are simply interpretations of their respective authors or traditions. Nevertheless, these two traditions have become the main avenues for modern interpretations of this passage. Most biblical scholars accept either one or the other (in one form or another) when studying Ezekiel 37, generally favoring the Septuagint tradition because it can be reconciled to the reuniting of the two kingdoms easier than the Targumic rendering. However, occasionally more literal-minded scholars seriously consider the Targumic tradition, believing the image of combining books together is more plausible than a literal attempt to join scepters[3] (Zimmerli 1983, 273-74).

Mormon scholars have approached the Ezekiel problem from different angles, but in general their arguments have been unconvincing or

[3] This is certainly the reasoning behind the New English Bible translation of this passage, which obviously follows the Targumic tradition and was perhaps stimulated by the discovery of the writing boards in the well at Nimrud.

incomprehensible.[4] The most interesting and sophisticated studies are the articles by Keith Meservy. In both essays he uses fairly recent archaeological discoveries to broach the central problem of the meaning of *eṣ*. His argument in the earlier work can be outlined as follows: (1) Ezekiel's context was sixth-century Mesopotamia where he would have become familiar with Babylonian customs and lifestyle (1977, 25). (2) In Southern Mesopotamia the scribes wrote cuneiform, not only on the well-known and traditional clay tablets, but also on boards filled with a mixture of beeswax and other substances. These boards were referred to in Akkadian[5] as *iṣ lē'u* (Meservy 1977, 25-26). (3) The Akkadian word *iṣu* is cognate to Hebrew *eṣ*, therefore, when Ezekiel speaks of an *eṣ* he is using an abbreviated form of *iṣ lē'u*, which his listeners and readers would have understood, being familiar with Ezekiel's cultural environment (Meservy 1977, 26).

Meservy's argument is clever, but unfortunately it is based on erroneous linguistic data. The *iṣ* component of *iṣ lē'u*, the part that would be cognate to the Hebrew *eṣ*, is only found in the written Akkadian language and is read as *gish*. It functioned as a semantic indicator, a grapheme present in the writing system but not pronounced. These indicators or determinatives, as they are usually called, are word-signs taken from the Sumerian language, a non-Semitic, logographic language that coexisted with Akkadian as a literary vehicle throughout much of the cuneiform period. The cuneiform writing system was actually developed for Sumerian and was borrowed and adapted to write Akkadian. During this adaptive period, certain Summerian word-signs, such as the determinatives, were adopted into the writing system for use with the Semitic language. Grammarian Richard Caplice explained: "The determinative is a logogram preceding or following a word and identifying the class (man, god, city, plant, etc.) to which it belongs, but which is not intended to be pronounced in reading the text aloud. Thus a writing AN Assur refers to the god Assur, whereas URU (city) Aššur refers to the homonymous city" (1980, 8). *Gish* indicates that the object in question was, at least at one time, made of wood. The reading of the *iṣ* sign when used as a determinative as *gish* is certain because these deter-

[4] For example, see Hugh Nibley (1957, 271-87) and Sidney Sperry (1963, 226-28, 1967, 82-83). For more traditional interpretations of the passage see Orson Pratt (1855, 290, 91), James Talmage (1890, 276), and Joseph Fielding Smith (1956, 3:210).

[5] Akkadian is the Semitic language found as a literary medium throughout Mesopotamia from about 2500 B.C. to approximately 50 A.D. This language is revealed mainly by its dialects, Assyrian and Babylonian, and was written with the cuneiform script.

minatives were occasionally retained and pronounced as part of the word in scholarly loan-words from Sumerian to Akkadian. For example, note the Akkadian word *gishtû*, "wooden writing board," which is a loan-word from Sumerian, written as *gish-da* and the Akkadian *gishrinnu*, which reflects the Sumerian word *gish-erín*, "balance."[6]

From these and other occurrences of the semantic indicator being spoken, we know that the determinative for wooden objects was considered to be *gish*, not *iṣ*. It is certain, moreover, that the Akkadian word in question here was pronounced *lē'u* and not **iṣ lē'u* or even **gish lē'u* because it was often written without the determinative. In fact, at least in Assyria, the word never used the *gish* determinative, even when referring to a wooden writing board (Postgate 1986, 23; *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* 9:156-59). Furthermore, *lē'u* is cognate to Hebrew *lûah* and Aramaic *lûha'*, a fact that confirms the reading of the word as *lē'u*.

This technical discussion becomes relevant to our Ezekiel passage because in his social position as a Hebrew-speaking deportee, Ezekiel would have had no knowledge of Babylonian or its complex writing system, and therefore would have known nothing of the *gish* determinative, which as a grapheme existed solely in the written form of the language. He would have been familiar only with the spoken word, either the Babylonian *lē'u* or most likely, the Aramaic *lûha'*.[7] Thus, the critical connection between *eṣ* and *lē'u* that Meservy needs for his theory is severed, and the foundation for his interpretation crumbles.

In his most recent article Meservy simply builds on his previous conclusions, suggesting that the terminology of the Ezekiel passage itself points to a wooden writing board and emphasizing the common nature and widespread use of that medium in the Aramaic and cuneiform world. He takes his argument from: (1) the use of the Hebrew verb *kātab*, "to write," found in the Ezekiel passage (Meservy 1987, 6); (2) the mental image of combining the sticks or "leaves of a writing board" as an action of a scribe who was working with a writing board (p. 6); and (3) the writing of names on the *eṣ* as comparable to the signing of a document, just as the writing boards found at Nimrud had the name of the king written on the cover leaf (p. 7). These arguments are probably not new. In fact, it is probable that they explain the Targumic render-

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[6] Also note kiskibirru, "kindling wood," from gish.kibir; kishkanû, a type of tree, from gish.kin2; and kishkattû, "kiln," from gish.kin.ti. All of these examples are found in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, vol. 8.

[7] It could be debated whether Ezekiel would have come into contact with the Babylonian language at all since Aramaic was quickly becoming the vernacular of the area. See Franz Rosenthal (1983, 6).

ing of *ēṣ* as *lûḥa'*, although the possible antiquity of these arguments in no way increases their validity.[8]

The argument using the verb *kātab* to impose meaning on the writing material is circular, since *kātab* frequently takes its nuances of meaning from the material being inscribed. For example, note Exodus 39:30, "They made the flower-shaped ornament of the holy crown of pure gold, and they engraved [*kātab*] on it an inscription, just like the engraving of a seal: 'holiness is to Yahweh.'" Also there is the well-known passage, Numbers 17:2, "Yahweh spoke to Moses: 'Speak to the children of Israel and take from them a staff of each father's household, from among all their leaders according to the household of their fathers: twelve staffs. You will carve [*kātab*] each man's name upon his staff.'" The same circularity is found in Meservy's other two criteria, bringing together the *ēṣ* and the act of inscribing the objects with names. These two actions only suggest writing boards because Meservy is already assuming that they are writing boards.[9]

The use and distribution of these writing boards is certainly more complex than Meservy would have us believe (1987, 7-9). The evidence is basically iconographic and textual except for the two fragments found in the well at Nimrud, the uninscribed piece from Aššur, and the one recently found in the shipwreck off the coast of Turkey (Bass 1987, 731). The preserved writing boards, iconography, and the textual material strongly suggest that the wooden writing board was a prestige item and not a common writing medium. Preserved writing boards are made of walnut and ivory (Wiseman 1955, 3), two rare and expensive materials in Mesopotamia, not to mention the cost of the beeswax mixture, a technician to mix the wax, and a craftsman to fashion the document. Simo Parpola, a well-known authority on this period, has also concluded that writing boards must certainly "have been more expensive and difficult to make than clay tablets" (1983, 8).

Furthermore, Parpola, while studying some documents that listed clay tablets and writing boards acquired by the archive of the last Assyrian king, found that the writing boards were used mostly to record omen series and recipe texts, reference material for the palace diviners

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[8] It is interesting to note that Meservy did not include the Targumic interpretation in his argument because *lûḥa'* means, among other things, a wooden tablet or writing board. (After all it is a cognate of the Akkadian *lē'u*.) See Ronald Williams (1982, 917).

[9] See a parallel Akkadian phrase, iṣṣa anāku artakassunûti, "I joined the 'woods,'" which independently is ambiguous, but when placed in its context refers to the yoke of a plow (*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* 7:218).

and magicians (1983, 5-6). Thus it comes as no surprise that the label on the one we possess inscribed *lē'u* indicates that it was a copy of *Enuma Anu Enlil*, a rather esoteric astrological omen series that belonged to the library of one of the kings of Assyria (Wiseman 1955, 6-8).

The textual evidence for the writing boards is even more ambiguous. The term *lē'u*, besides meaning a writing board like those found in Nimrud or Turkey, can also mean a document in general, with no allusion to its nature or material (*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* 9:156-61). Thus when the term is used in the economic documents of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, it is unclear whether it is a generic term for a clay tablet or refers to a writing board. J. N. Postgate stated in his study: "Without the *gish* in front, we cannot be certain that *Lē'um* does not refer to a particularly large type of clay tablet" (1986, 23). In any case, in those later periods the term *Lē'u* is mentioned predominantly in palace and priestly documents (*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* 9:156-61).

The evidence for writing boards in the Aramaic speaking lands, including pre-exilic Palestine, is minimal. There is iconographic evidence of Aramaic scribes using *lē'us*, but we cannot ascertain how widely they were used since the iconography is almost exclusively from royal contexts. However, the materials and the technology involved in constructing the writing boards indicate that they were luxury items in the Syria-Palestine area. Papyrus was most likely more popular as a writing medium, and potsherds, a ubiquitous and inexpensive writing material, were readily available in that area (Williams 1962, 917). Therefore, it seems unlikely that Ezekiel, a deported Hebrew living in a community on the Chebar Canal outside of the urban center of Nippur in southern Babylonia (Oded 1977, 482), would have had access to the materials and the technology to construct a writing board for his public demonstration. If he had wanted to convey the notion of writing, he would probably have used a more common medium. The people who hearb or read Ezekiel would have been more familiar with, and just as likely to identify, writing with sherds, papyrus, or even the Babylonian clay tablets.

Even more problematic than the arguments over the physical nature of the *ẹs* is the supposed conceptual leap from a written document to scripture. In the pericope in question, Ezekiel's actions are divinely interpreted as an eventual reuniting of the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah, requiring a conceptual link between the *ẹs* and the two nations in the minds of the listeners or readers. Meservy and the others who argue that the *ẹs* refers to scripture require the audience to first connect the *ẹs* with a written document, then jump to the idea of scripture, and from there make the metaphoric

identification with the gathering of Israel. As I have previously demonstrated, the connection between the *es* and a written document is tenuous. We should also carefully consider the alleged connection between a written document and scripture before accepting it. The ubiquity of writing in Palestine at that time and the multiplicity of genre make the leap from a written document to scripture as questionable as the present-day assumption that a written piece must be canon.

Meservy supports his contentions that the Jews would have immediately identified the inscribed objects with scripture by referring to the Jews as the "People of the Book." This designation is appropriate later, but in Ezekiel's time the complex canonization process that culminated in "the Book" was just beginning.[10] The monarchy, the land, and the temple were the unifying concepts for the Hebrews. During the exile, when all these were stripped away, scripture became a necessary instrument to preserve "Judaism." Ezekiel stood at the crossroads between the old order and the new Jewish religion, a transitional figure during a transitional period. It is unlikely that during his life the Jews held any congruent notion of scripture.

It is not necessary, however, to impose this series of conceptual and semantic acrobatics on the Jews of that time if we do not assume *es* in this passage to be a scepter or a book but rather a literal stick or a piece of wood. Such an interpretation fits into a literary pattern found throughout the book of Ezekiel and referred to by Walther Zimmerli as a "sign-action" (1983, 272). Variations of the sign-action are found in numerous Ezekiel passages.[11] Although the details and character of each passage differ, we can synthesize three main characteristics of the sign-action: (1) instructions from God to the prophet to manipulate an object in some manner, always in public; (2) the request for an explanation of the symbolism by Ezekiel's audience (an optional element); and (3) the divine explanation of the object and Ezekiel's corresponding actions.

The symbolism of the objects and their manipulations in these passages can be classified as either arbitrary or metaphoric. When the symbolism is functioning arbitrarily, we can only ascertain the meaning of the sign-action by using the interpretation provided by God through the prophet (Ez. 5:1-14, 21:19-27, 24:1-14). Most often, however, the symbolism is metaphoric, and the physical object resembles the object or

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[10] Some scholars suggest that the process actually began in 621 B.C., when the "law" (most likely parts of the book of Deuteronomy) was found during the renovation of the temple under King Josiah (see Eissfeldt 1965, 559-71; Pfeiffer 1962, 498-520).

[11] 4:1-13, 5:11-14, 12:3-16, 12:17-26, 21:19-27, 24:1-14, 24:16-25, 37:15-18.

concept it represents.[12] For example, in 4:1-13 the brick represents the city of Jerusalem (in lower Mesopotamia all buildings were made of mud bricks), and the piece of iron represents an iron siege wall. In 24:16-24 Ezekiel himself symbolizes the nation of Israel as a whole, and in a similar way the sticks of Ezekiel 37:15-28 must represent the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, a representation strengthened by a metaphoric connection of sticks with scepters. Thus I argue that the *esîm* (plural of *es*), were in fact pieces of wood, not scepters or books. In Ezekiel's symbolic demonstration, they metaphorically represented ruling scepters and thus, using the extremely common principle of synecdoche (a part designating a whole), the two nations as a whole. This interpretation does not violate the parameters of the semantic field of *es* and meets the needs of the context.

Let us, therefore, analyze the passage as follows. Verses 15 to 17 of chapter 37 relate God's divine instructions to Ezekiel:

> The word of Yahweh came to me as follows: "Son of Man, take a stick and inscribe on it 'Judah and the children of Israel, his associates,' then take another stick and inscribe on it 'Joseph (it is the stick of Ephraim), and all of the house of Israel, his associates.' Hold them together as if they were one stick and they will be as one in your hand."

Ezekiel was required to identify each stick as symbolizing Judah and Joseph. Judah is clearly the Southern Kingdom, while Joseph is a rare designation for the Northern Kingdom.[13] However, note the phrase, "It is the stick of Ephraim," which is certainly a gloss by the writer or a later editor intended to explain this rare usage of Joseph. Ephraim is the most common designation for the Northern Kingdom in the writings of the later prophets, especially in the book of Ezekiel's contemporary, Jeremiah (Reed 1962, 120; Zimmerli 1983, 274). Close scrutiny of the book of Ezekiel reveals that the term "Israel" (probably the most common term for the Northern Kingdom in the Old Testament) is used in Ezekiel exclusively to designate the covenant nation as a whole (*i.e*, the northern tribes and Judah together), thus the need for alternate terminology (Zimmerli 1983, 274).

After the sticks were properly identified,[14] Ezekiel brought them together and held them in one hand before the people. This is the

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[12] See Ezekiel 4:1-13, 12:3-16, 12:17-20, 24:17-24, 24:16-25, 37:15-28.

[13] This term occurs as a name for the Northern Kingdom in Amos 5:5-6, 15 and 6:6.

[14] Whether this was accomplished by simple verbal association or by actually writing the names on the sticks is impossible to ascertain. For Ezekiel's purposes either way would have sufficed.

extent of the action in this particular performance. The audience then asked for an explanation (v. 18), thus creating a transition to the divine definition of the act which occurred in two parts. Part one is verse 19: "Say to them: 'Thus says Lord Yahweh: I will take the stick of Joseph (which was in the hand of Ephraim) and the tribes of Israel, his associates, and place it together with the other, *i.e.*, the stick of Judah, and I will make them as one stick, and they will be as one in my hand.'"

The important point in this virtual reiteration of the original instructions is the change from second person to first person pronouns. Ezekiel's performance with the sticks becomes an act which God himself is about to do; Ezekiel becomes a metaphor for God.

After the divine status of the act is established, an editorial comment focuses the reader's attention back to the sticks, which had been brought together in Ezekiel's hand before the people (v. 20), explicitly revealing the symbolism of the uniting of the sticks: "(Then) say to them: 'Thus says Lord Yahweh: I will take the descendants of Israel from among the nations, wherever they went, and gather them from all around and bring them to their land. I will make of them one nation in the land, upon the hills of Israel, and one king will rule all of them. They will not be two nations anymore and they will not be divided any more into two kingdoms.'"

Therefore, the point of the whole passage is that just as Ezekiel brought two sticks together into one hand, so God will bring back the North and South Kingdoms into their homeland, to be ruled over by one leader, a Davidic descendant. A grammatical error in verse 19 makes it clear that the writer of this passage had the metaphoric connection between the sticks and the two kingdoms in mind when writing this text. The object of the verb "to place" is the stick of Joseph, therefore a singular pronoun is called for and the passage should read: "I will certainly take the stick of Joseph (which was in the hand of Ephraim) and the tribes of Israel which were connected with him and place *it* together with the other." However, the text actually reads: "and place *them* together with the other." The writer, obviously thinking of the plural tribes that made up the North Kingdom, which the stick inscribed with Joseph represented, apparently used the plural pronoun instead of the proper singular pronoun. We would not expect such an error if the writer was thinking of a book or a written document.

By placing the Ezekiel passage into the context of the sign-form, it becomes clear that Ezekiel's performance with the sticks was intended for the public and symbolized what God was planning to do—reunify the two kingdoms of Israel. In fact, Ezekiel could have used any two objects inscribed or otherwise associated with the names of Joseph and

Judah—bricks, lumps of clay, potsherds, or rocks—and the audience, on the basis of his actions and words, would have connected the objects with the nations of Judah and Israel. That identification was simply underscored by the metaphoric use of the two sticks. Introducing scripture here complicates the sign-form and confuses the progression of Ezekiel's message.

In conclusion, therefore, identifying the sticks of Ezekiel with Babylonian writing boards was a clever exegetical idea, but it does not hold up to a close inspection. On the other hand, this passage is lucid when interpreted within the framework of Ezekiel's own literary style. This interpretation does, however, cast doubts on the Targumic tradition of exegesis which, as a result, casts doubt on the validity of the traditional Mormon interpretation of the passage as referring to written documents in general and the Bible and the Book of Mormon in particular. However, we must realize that most of the traditional Mormon expositions of scripture have their roots in the nineteenth century, a textually naive, yet conceptually more imaginative period of Mormonism. Unfortunately, many of these interesting and unusual interpretations have been promulgated and transmitted with a reverence and vigor befitting scripture itself. In spite of this, Mormon interpretations of scripture such as the one discussed in this essay are not canonical and certainly should be subject to review and revision as textual, linguistic, and historical knowledge increases. I do not intend the interpretation of Ezekiel 37:15-28 presented in this essay to cast doubts upon the Book of Mormon. I question only the validity of the traditional Mormon interpretation of scripture in general and of Ezekiel 37 in particular and attempts by Mormon scholars to build a protective "hedge" around these interpretations instead of seriously and critically evaluating them to further our knowledge and understanding of the canonical literature and of Mormonism.

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"Arise from the Dust and Be Men": Responses to President Benson's Address to Single Men

A Lone Man in the Garden

Delmont R. Oswald

I AM A DIVORCED FATHER WITH TWO BEAUTIFUL CHILDREN. Married for eleven years, I have been divorced for ten. I continue to experience the joys and responsibilities of fatherhood, I consider myself a member in good standing, and I remain sealed to my children. But because I have not remarried and because I have received a cancellation of sealing to my ex-wife, I am technically in the same category as the never-married. I am not eligible to obtain "a fullness of glory and exaltation in the celestial kingdom" unless and until I remarry. I am devoted to my religion, however, and I want to see the Church lovingly include and encourage all members to become active participants, so I accepted this chance to share some of my observations and experiences.

In the 1988 April general conference priesthood session, President Ezra Taft Benson addressed the single adult brethren of our Church concerning the need to take on the responsibilities of marriage. Although his speech focused on the never-married male, the implications apply equally to all unmarried adult male members, including the divorced and perhaps the widowed. (I qualify the category "widowed," because although widowed men are often encouraged to remarry and provide the means for another sister to enter "the fullness of celestial

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glory," they themselves, if they have been married in the temple and are members in good standing, are viewed as having fulfilled their covenants honorably.)

When I heard President Benson's speech, I must admit my emotions were mixed. On one hand I was very pleased to hear President Benson address the issue of the single male in the Church. For too long the singles issue has been seen only as a woman's problem. Also, the fact that the highest rate of inactivity in the Church lies among divorced males and the second highest among never-married males marks this issue as urgent.

On the other hand, the speech was painful to me, not just because it was reminding me of obligations and calling me to change, but because of its tone and approach. And this was disconcerting because I have been raised to accept unquestioningly the authority of Church leaders.

I do not take issue with the doctrine expressed in the speech or with the right of the prophet to call members to change their ways. This is, after all, his right and calling. As for marriage, I believe that two people in a good relationship, loving and supporting one another equally through the trials of life and, if possible, creating children, is wonderful and good. And I know that happily married couples can experience a higher level of joy than a single person. I know this because the times I feel the most like "a lone man in the Garden of Eden" are those times when something especially positive or pleasurable happens and I have no one to share it with. Sharing happiness is truly a higher experience than feeling happy by yourself. We singles often repeat the adage, "There are a lot worse things than being single." And we are right, but we must likewise admit that there are also better things.

The tone of President Benson's speech also troubled me. I heard his words as those of an adult lecturing a child. Singles are perhaps overly sensitive to this approach because they often find themselves treated as eternal teenagers both in their wards and in their immediate families. Too often adulthood comes to be defined by marital status rather than by age and maturity.

To be fair, I realize the limitations of any speech given in a conference setting. It must be directed at an audience with a wide and diverse spectrum of emotional, intellectual, and cultural backgrounds; it is restricted by time; it must quickly develop an ideal goal based on doctrine; it must be translated into teaching examples; and it must end with a call for behavioral change. This is not an easy achievement for any speaker. I also recognize that the prophet is often viewed as a father figure representing our Father in Heaven and that he frequently speaks to the membership in that capacity. However, in a speech that called

me at age forty-eight to radically change my lifestyle, I would have felt more comfortable being addressed as a brother and a fellow adult.

But this father-to-errant-child approach by itself would not have evoked such a strong reaction to the speech. It was President Benson's concluding quote from 2 Nephi 1:21 that troubled me most: "Arise from the dust, my sons, and be men." Not only did I feel that this placed me in company with Laman and Lemuel, but that my very masculinity and adulthood were being questioned as well—simply because I was not married. My first highly emotional response to this quote preempted the logical and intellectual responses upon which I usually pride myself. I also felt that an issue I find complex was being treated simplistically. The message this quote sends to an often already sensitive audience is, "O.K. children, quit playing childish games and grow up. It's time to change your ways." To an adult male who has never married and who has spent a lifetime developing his particular personality and life patterns, this implies that profound change is simply a matter of saying, "I will." Yet very seldom is willpower alone successful. And to divorced males it implies that there are no complexities involved in their situations. It is just the inevitable complexities involved in any divorce, however, that so frequently lead these men to inactivity.

One of the major complications that all single males in the Church must deal with is guilt. The assumption is often made that single males are committing sin by choosing to remain in that state. According to this reasoning, they are not only keeping themselves from obtaining the celestial kingdom, but they are responsible for not helping some worthy sister to achieve her exaltation as well. In effect, then, they are not living up to their priesthood obligations. They often feel this guilt toward their parents and their Church leaders, because they sense that they have disappointed the very authority figures whose approval they most desire. It is also frequently difficult for them to seek counsel and aid from their bishops or other Church authorities, who are generally neither single, divorced, nor professional counselors, and who frequently have a difficult time relating to the pain and problems of their single brethren. We can assume, perhaps, that as the number of divorces in the Church continues to increase, so will the number of divorced authorities; but if the sensitivity of our leaders is left to evolve through slow experience unaided by education, many good members will be lost meanwhile.

Guilt is also inculcated into divorced males by priesthood lessons that define the husband/father as the steward responsible for the happiness and success of the family unit. These lessons facilely reassure the Mormon husband that as long as he is living the commandments and

doing everything the Lord would have him do, his family will be blessed and problems will be alleviated. When divorce occurs, then, the implication is that it must be the husband's fault. The ensuing sense of guilt is often reinforced during interviews; not many men can look their bishop in the eye and say, "But Bishop, I was living the gospel perfectly."

The Church needs to emphasize that during a divorce the pain and the free agency of all parties must be considered. One person cannot be held totally responsible for every idea and action of other family members. Traditional stories and generalized statistics usually indicate that the male's actions are at least the immediate causes for a divorce. But the Church must look beyond statistics and treat each divorce as a unique situation. We should strive to salvage all the souls involved with the least amount of self-imposed guilt.

Frequently, to lessen guilt feelings over divorce, a man will seek a second marriage for all the wrong reasons: to repent, to grasp at a second chance, to avoid being alone, etc. Another divorce often follows, and his sense of guilt is multiplied; this second failure convinces him that he must be at fault. This guilt, if not relieved by wise counseling, can become so unbearable that the only solution he sees is to remove himself from the sources. So he separates himself from God, parents, family, and church—all the authority he respects but feels he has disappointed.

Even in the best of circumstances the easiest path through life is to avoid obligations and commitments. A good marriage, however, usually provides each of its constituents with a partner who encourages the more difficult path. For unmarried people the Church itself becomes the partner from which we expect strength and support. So often, however, the Church unwittingly sends negative messages to its single partners. I mentioned earlier that single women in the Church are usually seen as victims of their situation and single men as perpetrators. We must recognize, though, that there are some women who, for whatever reasons, do not intend to marry. We must see that many men are as threatened by fears of rejection as their female counterparts and that men can also be misled and treated poorly. Neither sex holds an exclusive claim to victimization or exploitation; but because judgment is more frequently directed at males, many retreat into inactivity.

Another negative message too frequently received by single males is that they are second-class Church members. They see that the only single General Authorities are widowers. Occasionally a single male is placed on a general board or in a bishopric, but certainly not to serve as a role model. Yet single women frequently serve on general boards and in Relief Society presidencies for that purpose. For years policy at

Brigham Young University has restricted the hiring of single males but not single females. I recognize the Church's need to stress the ideal of the united family, but what about the ideal of individual worth? Single males are simply not respected in the same way as married males.

Another unfortunate message frequently sent to singles is the "marry at any cost" philosophy. Too often people marry because their biological clocks, their worthiness clocks, and their guilt clocks are all sounding alarms, amplified by Church teachings. The attitude that life begins at temple marriage is commonly taught in fairy tale marriage stories told to young Latter-day Saints as they grow and develop into adults. And adult single members often find themselves behind Church-ordained fences. In an attempt to meet their "special" needs, they are shuttled into single ward ghettos or single ward activities that separate them from "regular" members. Friends also usually try to introduce them to other singles rather than people with common interests, and more and more they find themselves pushed away from the mainstream membership of the Church.

Even in the priesthood, where all men share the same calling, mixed messages are sent. Married men are not taught how to be sensitive to their single brethren. There are no lessons that deal with divorce or singleness except for chastising statements such as President Benson's talk. The lack of such teaching and sensitivity does nothing to create a bonded brotherhood or a support system for single males. Men are notoriously harsh in their judgment of one another. And priesthood holders are taught to revere women and motherhood.

Sex roles established by tradition in the Church only reemphasize this: Men are seen as stewards, women as nurturers and comforters. So it is no wonder that, regardless of the actual circumstances, priesthood holders tend to see the man of the family as the guilty party in a divorce.

The single male must also face the constant problems of homophobia. Close male friendships from the age of twenty-five on are viewed with a jaundiced eye, especially between singles. Now that homosexuality is much more open, and much more frightening due to the threat of AIDS, Church members are even more suspicious and judgmental. It is probably for this reason more than any other that single men in the Church do not form more support groups and do not show physical recognition or acceptance by hugging or even placing an arm on the shoulder of another man. They don't touch. This fragile public image of the heterosexual single affects fellowshipping and social activity. It also causes economic problems for the single male because he is reticent about finding a roommate to share living costs.

There are other problems specific to divorced males that put stress on their active membership. In most divorce situations it is the husband who is cast out of the home, the family, the quorum, the ward, and the neighborhood. All of his immediate support systems are stripped away and he must establish new ones at a time of great emotional stress. Moving to a new apartment and ward, adjusting to a new lifestyle, separation from loved ones, and building new relationships are difficult activities in the best of circumstances; added to the pain of a divorce, the difficulty is multiplied a hundredfold. And on top of all this, the divorced father must now also support two households. Sometimes he may find himself reduced to a choice between paying either tithing or child support. If he reneges on either, he forgoes a temple recommend, which curtails his activity in the Church at the very time he needs it the most.

Those who have divorced know there is no way of receiving absolute fairness under the law. Children cannot be equally shared, household goods and material property can never be divided to the complete satisfaction of both parties involved. Almost inevitably, each divorced person sees his or her circumstances under divorce law as unfair. When the Church stands behind the law, it is frequently seen as equally unfair. Of course the Church upholds the law to maintain order in society; but it must carefully explain this position to divorced members, or it may be perceived as an adversary.

Another common problem among singles is health. Usually singles—especially men—have poorer health than their married counterparts because they don't have partners encouraging visits to doctors or good eating habits. They are often overtired and overworked. Busy married people sometimes joke that they wish they had the freedom and leisure of a single male, but generally, the image of the free and easy lifestyle is a false one. Most singles have to do everything for and by themselves—work, care for children, shop, cook, clean, juggle church assignments, etc. There is no one with whom to share the work load. If there are children in the household they must play the roles of both mother and father. All these demands tax their stamina and their mental as well as physical health. Usually these people are too tired for dating and social engagements. To stay active in the Church they also must suppress their natural sexuality. The resulting loss of self-esteem is often demonstrated by a lack of interest in personal appearance.

The Church also needs to be aware of the pain that church attendance can cause the divorced male. Every time he enters the ward he is reminded of everything he has been taught his whole life to strive for and doesn't have—the family unit, loving children, participation in

scouting programs for his sons, daddy-daughter dates. If his family moves away because of his former wife's new marriage or for other reasons, the reminder of what he doesn't have becomes almost unbearable. When this pain is coupled with mixed messages from the Church, the excuse for inactivity looks better and better.

There is also a growing fear throughout society of child molesters, and singles are always more suspect than married men. Thus they are often overlooked as potential scoutmasters or youth leaders, which further separates them from the love and comfort of being near children. They themselves are so sensitive to these images that they sometimes become afraid to even pick up or offer to hold a friend's child, even when they literally ache for a child's touch.

Singles are also seen as threats to friends' marriages, which means that long-time friendships frequently are dissolved after a divorce. Many married couples become uncomfortable with single friends because the common ground has changed between them. To fill the gap they usually try to line the single up with another single acquaintance. They mean well, but this often places great pressures on a friendship just when friendship is needed most. Marrieds often do not recognize the single's fear of another failed marriage, nor do they understand that dating expectations are much different as people get older. Usually the single has learned from his experiences to see more clearly what characteristics he should look for in a mate. Not wanting to date just to date, he becomes much more selective. But he also recognizes he might get caught in the trap of defining an ideal that is impossible to find.

What then would I recommend to help alleviate the growing alienation and inactivity of the single male in the Church? I would ask first that the Church address the question: "Should all people be married?" What about those members who feel, for whatever reasons, that it would be unwise for them to marry? Some people do have personality abnormalities, low or homosexual sex drives, or a strong preference for the solitary life. Some simply suffer from an acute fear of marriage. Should these members be encouraged to marry and make two people unhappy? If they are wise enough to recognize characteristics that would be a problem in marriage, we should encourage them to seek help. But we should not encourage them to marry unless and until they are ready.

Church leaders at all levels should be taught more sensitivity to single issues and problems. Every attempt should be made to show singles they are loved equally in the eyes of God. Support groups should be organized. There should be less judging by peers and more equal treatment in callings. Singles should not be segregated from other members,

and many Church activities should include both marrieds and singles.

A final note: These things can best be accomplished if priesthood lessons are developed that teach the necessary sensitivity to the issues mentioned.

To the single male in the Church not anticipating marriage, I can only say, "Endure to the end." Make the commitment to take the difficult path of activity rather than the easy path of inactivity. You and your families and associates will all be better for such a decision. Pray for strength and the Holy Spirit to help you understand the insensitivity you meet and to get you through the difficult times. Remember that for all the difficulties you face as a single in this life, should you die in that state, all is forgiven. Your eulogies will undoubtedly mention your opportunities in the second life; and perhaps there we will have the wisdom of more perfected beings, and none of us will make the same mistakes we make here.

Being Single, Mormon, and Male

Lawrence A. Young

SINGLE MALE MEMBERS of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints face a number of difficult issues. With my impressions of President Ezra Taft Benson's address at the April 1988 priesthood session of general conference as a backdrop, I would like to address those issues, using both sociological observation and personal experience.

As I reread President Benson's address, I found that the first half focused on general priorities, which could apply to virtually any group within the Church, and the second half really focused on a group much narrower than single adult men. Although the address is entitled, "To the Single Adult Brethren of the Church," it is really directed to never-married men twenty-seven years old or older. Furthermore, embedded in the talk is an implied profile of these men: they are returned missionaries who are active, well-educated Church members and who have delayed marriage either because they lack sufficient faith to overcome

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genuine fears, because they are overly materialistic, or because they are looking for a perfect mate.

Few Church members could fault a prophetic call to well-educated, active never-married LDS men to confront their fears and values concerning marriage. I for one believe that President Benson spoke the truth when he said that "honorable marriage is more important than wealth, position, and status" (1988, 53). I respect those who have committed themselves to loving, caring marriages as well as to quality parenting.

With that backdrop, let me now raise some issues concerning the never-married males in the Church.

First, Kris Goodman and Tim Heaton, who co-directed an international demographic study of the Church, have collected detailed information about the composition of LDS households. According to their study, although 19 percent of U.S. and Canadian Church members age eighteen and over have never married, 97 percent of LDS males will marry at some point before the age of sixty—only 3 percent will remain in the never-married category for life (1986, 92-93). The same is true of the female never-married category. While many Church members may have to struggle with their social and spiritual identity as never-marrieds, most will marry some time in their lives. However, approximately one-third of U.S. and Canadian Latter-day Saints over the age of thirty will experience singleness through divorce before the age of sixty (Goodman and Heaton 1986, 93).

At any given time, only one in five LDS households will be temple married with children at home (Goodman and Heaton 1986, 96). This means that Church programs and activities must be very broad to incorporate the diversity of membership. It also suggests that meeting the needs of the never-marrieds is related to meeting the needs of the thirty-year-old wife in a part-member family, the forty-year-old divorcee, the fifty-year-old widower, and the sixty-year-old couple with no children at home. As Goodman and Heaton point out, "Overemphasis on a particular stage of the [life]course is bound to leave some group feeling more isolated or unattached" (1986, 97).

Meeting the needs of a diverse population is, of course, a challenge facing virtually all religious groups in the Western world. However, in some ways the emphasis on marriage and the family heightens that challenge within the LDS tradition. There is strong evidence that as a Church we are not meeting the needs of LDS single members, and particularly single men. A 1983 *Church News* article reported on a study of religious involvement among Church members:

> The people surveyed were asked to answer questions on the strength of their personal religious beliefs, the frequency of personal prayers, Church attendance, whether they had a Church calling and tithing status. The survey concluded that women do better than men in each category. [While singles scored lower than married individuals,] [w]idowed individuals rank higher in religious involvement than the never-married, and the divorced scored lowest of all. (Van Leer 1983, 4)

It becomes clear that the institutional church must share responsibility for these lower rates among singles; the survey also notes that "singles score higher on the forms of religious involvement that are private, such as prayer and tithing, than on public involvement such as having a calling" (Van Leer 1983, 4). In other words, when Church leaders consider two equally devout individuals for a Church calling—one single, one married—they are more likely to extend the calling to the married individual. It is also likely that if we take into account the relative status of the calling, the difference between institutional opportunities would be even more dramatic—especially among men, since single men are traditionally excluded from leadership positions within wards and stakes.

The activity rates of single LDS men reflect the impact of this discrimination. For every five single women in church on any given Sunday, we can expect to see only one single man (Goodman and Heaton 1986, 91). We ought to reflect on the dramatic differences in those activity rates.

President Benson's talk will probably make more sense to us if we acknowledge this dramatic imbalance. If a goal of the Church hierarchy is to maximize member participation in the LDS marriage market, and if active single men are dramatically underrepresented in that market, then it is rational to try to induce the relatively few available active LDS men to participate more fully.

However, perhaps the key issue to be addressed here is the reason behind the low activity rate of single Mormon men. It seems significant that their institutional involvement is lower than their personal religious involvement would seem to predict. By increasing their public participation to a level at least equal with their private devotion and commitment, the Church could both increase the activity rate of single men and improve opportunities for temple marriages for single women.

However, the issue of single men and the LDS marriage market presents another challenge—the demographic mismatch between single men and single women. Remember that President Benson addressed a group of active and highly educated never-married men. Now note Goodman and Heaton's description of the demographic characteristics of U.S. and Canadian Latter-day Saints:

> Single women over 30 have higher levels of education, occupation, and Church activity than single men. For example, never-married women over 30 are more likely to have four years of college (42% compared to 18% for never-married men) and professional occupations (70% compared to 38%). For all singles over 30 there are 19 active men (who attend Church weekly) for every 100 women.
>
> Clearly, marriage to an active male is demographically impossible for many active single females over 30. And even when there are available males, they may possess other personal characteristics that rule them out as potential mates. Marriage is not a universal solution to singleness if the only acceptable marital option is marriage to an active LDS partner. (1986, 90-91)

Personal observation and discussions with students of Mormon demographics also lead me to expect never-married males to have more health problems and higher unemployment rates than never-married females. Clearly, these two populations—overachieving women and underachieving men—are not well matched. Furthermore, the typical never-married male looks quite different from the never-married male addressed in President Benson's sermon. If never-married men were to arise en masse from the dust and seek marriage, we can only wonder who they would go out to marry. Based on available studies of marital success, we would have to be very concerned about the quality and long-term stability of a marriage between the typical never-married LDS male over thirty and the typical never-married LDS female over thirty.

Let me move now to a few personal observations about my experience as an active, educated thirty-four-year-old who has never married.

First, the quality of my experience has varied widely from ward to ward. During my years in Madison, Wisconsin, where I was a graduate student during most of the 1980s, I participated fully in the Church community. My callings included Blazer Scout leader, scoutmaster, Young Men's president, and Sunday school teacher to the sixteen to eighteen-year-olds. Working with these young men and women has greatly enriched the quality of my life. And the continuing contact I maintain with many of these young men and women—as they share moments of transition such as college, mission, and marriage with me—also enriches my life. I would not be as happy nor would my sense of connectedness to the Latter-day Saint tradition be as strong if I had been denied those experiences. Furthermore, I believe I made a real contribution to the religious community in Madison; I think that community would have lost something if I had been excluded from the opportunity to serve.

When I moved to Provo to teach at Brigham Young University I encountered one of the most serious spiritual crises of my life. During my year in Provo I never received a calling—not even as a home

teacher. Home teachers never visited me either, and the only time the bishop talked with me was at tithing settlement. I clearly felt that my ward had no idea what to do with a professional, single adult male. I fled the ward because I feared for my spiritual well-being. But I wonder if it is really fair to expect all single men to be willing to do the same if they find themselves in a bad situation.

Today I am a member of a Salt Lake City residential ward where the bishop has called never-married ward members to be Relief Society president and first counselor in the bishopric. These callings act as a powerful symbol to me that I, as a single, belong. In addition, the bishop visited me shortly after I moved in and asked what kind of experience I wanted to have in the ward. He was genuinely interested in knowing me and understanding my needs. He did not presume to know all about me simply because I belonged to the category of single adult.

A second autobiographical note concerns my personal reaction to President Benson's address. While I honestly believe that President Benson has a clear sense of God's message for single men in the Church, I also have to acknowledge, if I am being completely candid, that I was wounded by his address. Recently I took a psychological profile exam. It indicated that I scored in the ninety-ninth percentile on guilt. I'm good at guilt. It's one of the things I do best. In fact, I'm so good at guilt that it occasionally gets in the way. For example, usually when I spend time with a single adult LDS woman, I feel personally responsible for her singleness. This happens within the first ten minutes of our first date. It has been pointed out to me that this sense of guilt and responsibility for single Mormon women is fundamentally sexist. It encourages an insulting and incorrect image of Mormon women as passive individuals who need to be saved by Mormon men. The guilt, as well as the underlying false image of Mormon male-female relationships, get in the way of establishing an authentic relationship, and I am sure our time spent together is not rewarding for either of us. I do not have the same experience with women who are not LDS. In my case, the last thing I need is more guilt.

I can find at least two other dimensions to the hurt I felt. First, in the past decade, I have given up two loving, caring relationships with non-LDS women. In both instances, the only reason I did not pursue a deeper level of intimacy and companionship was my commitment to the Church and its value system. I sometimes wonder if I made the correct decisions, and I genuinely feel my commitment to the Church has led me to make significant sacrifices. In addition, as I previously mentioned, when I found myself in a ward that had difficulty dealing with my singleness, I was willing to accept the costs of moving in

order to maintain my spiritual link to the Church. And yet, when I heard President Benson's talk, I felt that my life experience—the sacrifices I had made to hold myself to the tradition—were being discounted. I felt invalidated.

The second dimension of hurt grew out of being told why I wasn't married. None of the reasons given in the address seemed to conform to my own experiences. I suppose I felt something like blacks might feel being told that they are great dancers and like to eat watermelon. Some blacks are great dancers and like watermelon—but others are lousy dancers and hate watermelon. It is offensive to be treated as a category rather than as an individual. I suppose that when I heard the call to arise from the dust, I felt like a category. Most of us turn to our religious communities for a sense of acceptance and belonging. But on 2 April 1988, I felt neither understood nor that I belonged.

I really have no sense of the way other single men felt about President Benson's address—I haven't talked with any of them about it. All of my close friends are either non-LDS or married. I do know that I am just as committed to the importance of marriage and family today as I was before the address. I also see the demographic makeup of our church creating serious challenges to that institutional commitment to marriage and family. I hope that we have the inspiration and compassion to deal with those challenges in as positive a way as possible. At the same time, I hope that we will have the inspiration and compassion to establish in our local congregations a sense of understanding and belonging for all members of the community—regardless of race, social class, age, gender, or marital status.

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Tracks in the Field

Kate Boyes

HIDDEN IN DRAINAGE DITCHES ALONGSIDE THE TRACKS, men wait for the train. I know the men are there. I've seen the damp green nesting places they trample out in the thickest stands of rushes, cattails, and teasel. For the past few hours, I've watched their covert return from St. Vincent de Paul's soup kitchen, the Salvation Army, and the liquor store. Even now, so close to train time, men emerge from the darkness of the viaduct under Interstate 15, skitter across the open field, and dissolve into the weeds. Workers driving home on that highway pass over these men without knowing, seeing only the tracks running through overgrown acreage.

But this is no wasteland. Magpies flap brilliantly overhead. Gulls sometimes gust up from a neighboring truckstop parking lot and settle into this field for refuge. Quail live here, their hollow in the weeds not far from the men's, their invisibility just as profound. Once I saw a duck and five ducklings march out of the cattails and cross the tracks. They never broke cadence, even though the last one reached the other side a cat whisker ahead of an inbound coal train.

The field is bordered on the east by the junction of Interstates 80 and 15, on the west by the Rio Grande railyard, on the north by a road to Nevada, and on the south by the water treatment plant. The noise from these directions drowns out sound in the field. Men and birds

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open mouths and beaks but are not heard. I watch a silent film about peripheral life forms, fluctuations in the plot marked by the music of cars, trucks, and turbines.

Some men claimed their spots in the ditch this morning. They left their packs and walked into Salt Lake with nothing, knowing the lumpy collections of everything they own would be seen by many other train riders but would still be safe. This astounds me. Imagine leaving all your belongings in a field for a whole day and coming back to find them untouched. Marginal living creates a heightened sensitivity to personal property and space, an aura of life on the edge that affects even the uninitiated. I've stumbled into these caches and felt each time like I've walked uninvited into someone's house. The space may be only three feet across, the walls nothing but decomposing vegetation, the roof nonexistent, but this is, for one day, home.

The most timid of men hole up here. Many won't respond when greeted; most won't meet your eyes. Once, walking around a bend in the tracks, I surprised one at close range. I felt an ancient fear—deserted area; stranger nearly twice my size. There was nothing to do but face him, so I stared directly into his eyes.

He was looking in my direction with terror, and I instinctively looked over my shoulder to see what frightened him. Nothing was there. He was scared of me. Even though my clothes were old, they were clean and they fit—I was not, like him, wearing every shirt I owned. I was the enemy, from that section of society with the rules on its side. He was there for a second, his eyes like those of a deer caught in headlights, and then he plunged into the brush.

The ones who wear denim and army jackets sometimes talk. They're regulars, men who began riding trains for one reason but continue because it suits them. They ask me which way I'm heading and recommend trains with good connections. They warn me about the yards. Stay clear of the Union Pacific, one says. Those guards are mean, just pure mean. Another swears he's never been treated so badly as by the guards at the Rio Grande. They show me how to grab on to hop a train, extending to me those secret hand grips that get them into heaven—the warmth of a car. When I practice on a sidetracked empty, they laugh. Tried hitchhiking? one asks. Just be careful, another says and disappears.

A dangerous way to travel, train riding. On the average two people are injured by trains each month around this city. Most take it in the lower limbs, slipping under the wheels from a poor grip. If they're lucky, they just lose a foot. Generally, though, it's all or nothing; either they break free and roll off the tracks, or their legs are pulled under and lost.

Transients. Tramps. Drifters. They belong to a group defined by movement, and officials encourage them to keep going. But some tire of the constant travel. Sometimes the men try to stay for a while, leaving their reed nests and making dens, caves, and burrows with whatever can be found.

There was a good place in the sluice pipe running under a nearby street. Pilfered hay bales made adequate beds. When the shelter was discovered, the city carted off the hay and put up a fence. But the men dug under it to sleep again in their den. A city work crew then welded close-set metal grating to each end of the pipe.

At the south end of the railyard, there used to be a patch of radioactive vitro tailings. This land was condemned; better yet, someone had dumped pieces of conduit eight feet in diameter in one section of the area. Men dragged mattresses from trash piles to make beds in these caves. They left trails of stuffing, clearly visible, but no one followed the trails for years. No one paid attention until the federal government forced the state to clean up the radioactive mess. Then health officials surveying the area found the shelters. They issued a warning to the men, via the press, that staying in the area increased the risk of cancer. Chances are, none of the men read the warning. No matter; most will die from other causes—pneumonia, cirrhosis, homicide, suicide—long before the radiation takes effect.

When that area was closed, some moved into the city proper. There is a middle ground between Union Pacific and Rio Grande territory where railroad guards have no jurisdiction and police surveillance is lax. The men burrowed into the stacks of fifty-five-gallon drums on the back lot of a scrap metal yard. Eventually they lost this place, too. City gangs responded to their burrowing with a new sport—knocking barrel stacks down in the middle of the night, burying men in the fallen piles.

There is a transient shelter now. It serves the city by keeping undesirables in one spot. But some of these men refuse to press themselves into the crowd. These are often the older ones, so long on the move, so long on their own, they will not be confined. They move north, past city and railyards, where cracks in the earth leak steam from sulphur springs. They build huts and spend their time sitting close to the steam vent.

It's a vulnerable position in an open spot; not long ago the body of one was found here with a spike through the skull. Police placed a generalized blame on "local youths" and dropped the case. The city responded with a program to stop up the remaining vents.

I saw one of these men sitting in his hut in January. He was facing the sunset, and the snow around him glowed orange with the last light.

His hair was hidden by a navy watch cap, but his beard was full and white and reached to the center of his chest. He would be "grandfather" in any country. The scene was a surrealist's version of a Norman Rockwell painting; the fireplace, the family, the house that should have surrounded this man had all vanished.

Just at dusk, the train signals departure from the yard. A slight rustling of cattails in the ditches tells me men are shouldering their packs. Then, like quail hunted by dogs, the men lie motionless. The train's wheels circle faster, creating a vortex of dust and grit. Men draw forward, hovering on the brink of movement. Suddenly, they can stand the hounding of the train no longer and are flushed. The flock breaks cover, rising from the ditches. One by one, they are sucked into the black holes of open doors. A flight into oblivion. The train moves on, its wheels rumbling—gotta go, gotta go, gotta go—down the tracks.

A Member of the Tribe

Mary Ellen Mac Arthur

WHEN I WAS A RESTLESS TEENAGER growing up Mormon in a small southern California ward, it seemed that the only topic to which our unruly Sunday school class responded was the fate of the lost ten tribes of Israel. The old gardener who was our teacher had some radical theories about where they might be hiding and, along with warning us about cataclysmic events even now foretelling "the last days," he enjoyed speculating about how the lost tribes would then reappear. The enthusiasm my classmates showed for the topic was one of many differences rising between me and the members of my home ward. I found the whole subject weird and irrelevant, another peculiar facet of my inherited religion.

It's ironic that I have since found in the concept of "tribe" a way to come to terms with my feelings about the Church. A sense of being inextricably linked to tribal membership has been steadily growing in me, chipping away at the barriers of alienation erected in my youth. A sense of belonging, which I lacked as a miserable adolescent and as a lonely young housewife, has finally come to me in middle age. It's a feeling not just of belonging to the Church, but also of belonging in society, in this world, as a human being relating to other humans. I

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know now that I *am* a Mormon: it is not only my religion, but also my tribal culture, giving me both an individual and a group identity. Although I still occasionally chafe against my culture's stereotypes, I know now that membership in my tribe is not the horrible fate I imagined when I was twenty.

My attitudes have changed very gradually and are partly the result of mellowing as I grow older. But the wide-angle perspective I needed to truly value my inheritance began to come into focus after I saw two quite different films. The first was a public television documentary about an isolated Stone Age tribe native to the rain forests of the Amazon headwaters. A small, quiet people, they are monogamous, semi-nomadic, and extraordinarily skilled at hunting with bows and arrows and poisoned darts. Two sequences from the film particularly affected me: the first showed an older woman weaving while humming or chanting to a small child seated beside her, and the second followed an accomplished hunter as he patiently demonstrated his prowess to a half-grown boy who traveled with him for days through dense forest as an apprentice. Although these primitive people lacked every object we associate with civilization, they seemed complete and content in one of the original meanings of the word *civil*: observing accepted social usages; proper; polite.

A similar tribal culture was portrayed in a more simplistic way in John Boorman's 1985 theatrical film *The Emerald Forest*, based on an actual incident. A small Anglo boy, the son of an engineer working in the Brazilian interior, wanders into the rain forest and is kidnapped by a tribe of the "invisible people" who raise him as their own. After years of desperate search, the boy's natural father finds his son, now a young man, and tries to convince him to return to the "civilized" world. The son, however, chooses to stay with his adopted people. The film depicts tribal rituals for coming of age, courtship, marriage, healing, and death—glamorized by Hollywood, no doubt, but thought-provoking nonetheless.

These two films began a train of thought that has permanently affected my attitudes. Observing values and traditions at work in other cultures helped me step back and view my own cultural setting with new eyes. Like the boy in *The Emerald Forest*, I, as well as many other Latter-day Saints—for reasons ranging from conversion to geography to rebellion to intellectual skepticism—are pulled between two cultures, attracted and connected to both. Unlike the boy, most of us are not required to sever completely our connections with one or the other, although many of our ancestors who joined the Church and left all that was familiar in the Old World did precisely that.

For those of us born in the Church, however, the time comes when we as adults must face the reality that active membership in the Church demands a full social as well as spiritual commitment. Our tribal culture touches and defines nearly every aspect of our lives, from what we eat and wear to how we spend our free time. It determines who and how we marry and raise our children, occupies much of our social life, and heavily affects how we spend our money. While our neighbors may sleep in and then go out to cycle and eat brunch on Sunday, we spend our day of rest getting up early to prepare programs, lessons, or music, donning uncomfortable dress clothes, and then planning, participating in, and attending a series of church meetings—sometimes eating no food at all. One wonders why any of us choose this lifestyle! But, perhaps for related reasons, the boy who chose to stay with his Stone Age tribe gave up window screening for mosquitoes, central heating for a leaky leaf hut, McDonalds for roots and monkey meat, and modern medicine for a harder, shorter life span. Obviously comfort factors do not tell the whole story.

Why, then, choose membership in a tribe? Perhaps the boy of the emerald forest sensed that he would always feel an outsider in the modern world, conscious as he was of a more coherent way of life that he had left behind. In my case, tribal membership came with birth, and though I later wished to ignore that part of myself, I found that I could not. Those who are raised in the Church and immersed in its heritage may choose to turn away from the religion, but they can never completely lose their Mormonness. Few of us go on to become good Catholics or active Protestants. My extended family, typical of so many large Latter-day Saint clans, has its share of "jack Mormons"—not "ex" or "former," just inactive. They are often highly critical of the Church in ways that betray their continuing identification with it. In this we resemble the Jews: orthodox, reform, or nonreligious, they still consider themselves Jews. I eventually saw that my personal choice was whether to be a "good Mormon" (active) or a "bad Mormon" (inactive), but in either case being a Mormon seemed to be as much a part of me as my Romney blue-gray eyes.

Recognizing my inextricable link to my uncomfortable religion led me next to look at others who find themselves in limbo between cultures. Some members of my family, long separated from their small-town western roots and scattered far from extended family and Church association, struggle with the same problems of loneliness and family disintegration that afflict so many other victims of urban alienation. Their plight is not unlike that of some rural southern black families who have migrated North to find economic opportunity, only to see their cultural support system of family, neighborhood, and church

replaced by welfare, gangs, and drugs. In both cases, the tribal society that provided values and support was left behind, but not replaced with a viable alternative culture. Many of these people's choices were forced upon them by economic necessity, however; was I making a similar choice voluntarily?

With new understanding, I looked honestly at my wishy-washy attitude about my own Mormon culture. If I was going to identify myself with the tribe at all—and be identified as a part of it by others—then I wanted to do it wholeheartedly, without reservation. Although I had once interpreted my semi-active status as intellectual independence, I now realized that I was instead a weak fringe member of my own tribe. Good tribe members do not apologize for their customs and traditions; they are loyal and closely bound to one another. I found that I deeply desired to be a good member of my tribe.

I can't label the insight that came to me as "revelation"; perhaps "rationalization" would be closer to the truth. In any case, it was enough to pull me closer to the center of the Church, and as the Book of Mormon prophet Alma predicted, the more I acted as though I believed, the more I believed. I felt as though recognizing my tribal affiliation had somehow given me permission to participate in the full life of the tribe without feeling hypocritical or apologetic for my less-than-perfect faith. I had always feared that full Church participation would mean a loss of the individuality and intellectual freedom so dear to me, but while tribes all seem to require conformity in some clearly defined areas of behavior, they also need and value individual strengths and differences. Even as a feminist in a patriarchal system, I found my contributions accepted and encouraged when I made a sincere effort to participate in the life of the group.

With the iconoclast's typical intolerance for ritual, coming to grips with the rites of my tribe has taken me many years. I still haven't completely overcome my inclination to wisecrack at solemn moments, but my tribal analogy has given me some understanding of the significance and universality of rituals. When a Hopi tribesman dons a mask and chants the familiar phrases of a rain dance, he neither feels foolish nor loses faith in his traditions if clouds do not immediately appear. Indeed, he might pay even closer attention to the nightly weather report. However, invoking the blessing of the gods through the rain dance follows the custom of his tribe and gives him a satisfaction that is part of his self-identity—something outsiders may not understand. Responding to drought in this time-honored way is undoubtedly reassuring and psychologically more sound than just worrying.

We Latter-day Saints also have ritualized responses to many of life's stressful, as well as festive, occasions. By the time I was introduced to the temple ceremony, I had become more comfortable with ritual and was able to accept it as a significant symbolic interpretation of our culture. We may not always find in the temple the closeness to God we seek, but just as ritual dances provide solace to the Hopi, going to the order and peace of the temple is intrinsically valuable to Church members. Other Latter-day Saint blessings and ordinances also help us find inner peace and make us more receptive to guidance. Myths, rites, and symbolic behavior help us accept and explain our world and are as old as humankind. Did not the same Greek culture that examined the entrails of birds for omens also produce the Aristotelian theory of tragedy? The coexistence of ritual and intellectual analysis seems to be a unique and consistent trait of Homo sapiens.

Recognizing human need to imbue life's events with significance and ceremony adds to my appreciation of my tribal culture. As an urban high school teacher, I work with many troubled young people, adrift between childhood and adult life with few role models or societal guides to help them. Many are the product of fragmented families, or of no family. Some, born to mothers who were children themselves when they gave birth, give more care than they receive. Other immigrant youngsters are caught between cultures, expected to make the best of the new world while their parents, resisting the process of assimilation, want them to cling to old-country ways. Many rise above their problems, but others respond to stress with premature sex, drug abuse, violence, failing grades, abortion, or teenage parenthood. The milestones of life slip by in a haze of apathy and hangover, and instead of excitement there is anticlimax. Where are their great celebrations, their cultural taboos and guidelines, the rites of passage for these lost children?

How society would benefit if all babies experienced a naming ritual like the African infant described in Alex Haley's *Roots*. Such a babe is valued, is wanted, is *somebody*—like a Mormon infant who receives a name and a priesthood blessing and is then shown off to the admiring congregation and extended family. Once I resented the time-consuming, endless baby and bridal showers, wedding receptions, and especially funerals that ward members are expected to attend; but those very events have now become most precious to me as ways to celebrate our common humanity and individual significance. I feel fortunate to *have* a tribe that gives me and my family a defined place in society.

Because I care a great deal about the culture we transmit to our young people, I lobby quietly from within for modifications in the ways we raise our young women. Like so many other cultures, we celebrate

more rites of passage for our males than for our females—Scout courts of honor and priesthood ordinations, for example—with their hidden message of higher expectations for males. Changes do come, albeit slowly: my daughter and many of her young women friends have had the same experiences of missionary farewells, plaques on chapel walls, letters read in meetings, and homecoming speeches that their brothers had. By serving missions, young women voluntarily participate in one of the world's most rigorous and transforming coming-of-age rituals. Increased access to the temple for single women and those with nonmember or inactive husbands is another significant change. While we may protest the very real discrimination against women within the Church, we too easily forget how many of our sisters in the world, left by circumstances or choice outside any tribal structure, go through all life's significant events with virtually no celebration or assistance. The fellowship we share within the tribe is powerful and nurturing—and even an occasional home teaching visit is better than *no* societal support.

As I work to become a better member of the tribe, I see two more important reasons for the effort: the tribe needs me, and I need it. Although I sometimes describe myself as being antisocial, I am convinced that the only way for me to grow toward God is to serve him by serving his children. Like the elders of the Stone Age tribe, I am moving into the role of mentor and skill-imparter and teller-of-tales to the young in my culture. My beginning efforts as a teacher and leader inside the tribe gave me the confidence to reach beyond it into the wider community. My "natural woman" would probably retreat into a small safe cave with a lot of books for company; instead, my tribal responsibilities push me into continual interaction with humanity, as I both serve and am served.

I hope that the boy who chose to stay in the forest with his tribe never regretted his choice. I know that returning to my tribe has been right, if not restful, for me. It has given me a continuing impetus to grow, both as an individual and as a group member. Now, when speculations begin about the "lost ten tribes" emerging one of these days from Siberia or Mars, I am amused and interested in new bits of folk legend. The lost tribes still appear to be lost, but I have found mine.

The Deseret Milk Company

Scott Samuelson

Mary B. ran
the Deseret
Milk Company,

dispatching her
squadron of
stainless steel

carriers between
farm and
plant like a queen.

When four
fat drivers
droned on

about overwork
and low pay,
she simply

turned them
out, started
driving herself.

SCOTT SAMUELSON is chairman of the English Department at Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho.

A gray government
semi ran the
stop sign

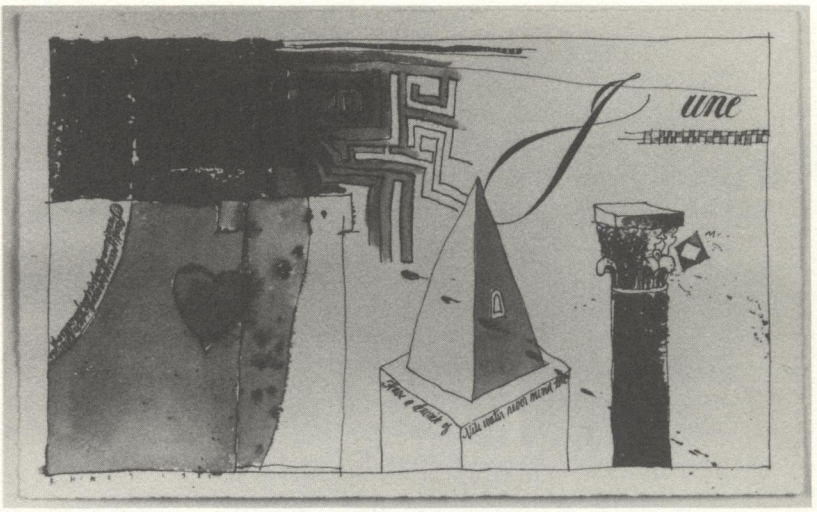
at Ute and
Van Buren, plowed
her broadside,

rupturing the
tank, spilling
Mary as well.

A sea of
pure white
lapped around

her lifeless
form
as though

it could
float her to
some promised land.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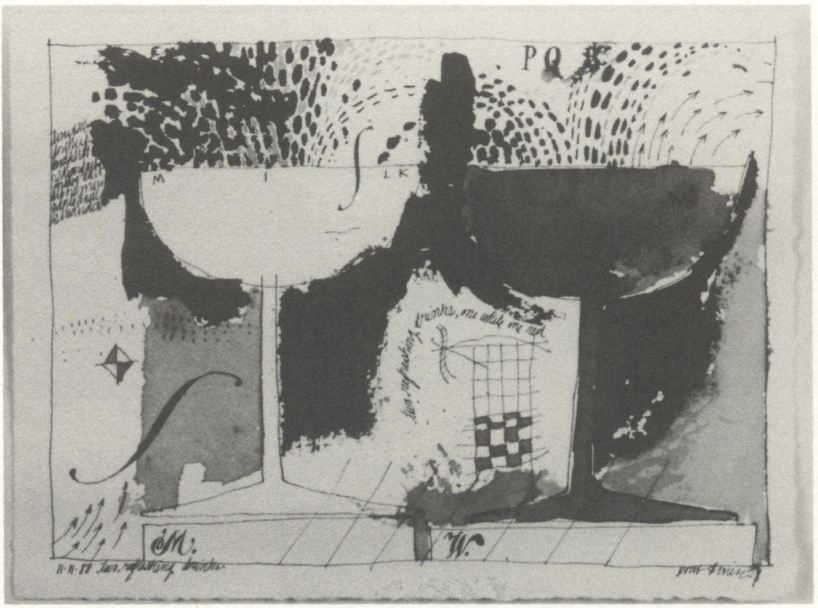
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REVIEWS

Three Generations of Mormon Poetry

A zipper of haze by Timothy Liu, 32 pp.; *Tinder* by Dennis Marden Clark, 31 pp.; and *Christmas voices* by Marden J. Clark, 31 pp. (United Order Books, 137 East 1st North, Orem, Utah, 84057, 1988), $4.95 ea.

Reviewed by R. A. Christmas, a poet living in Hesperia, California.

DENNIS CLARK loves poetry and poets, and he also loves to write poetry. I don't think this can be said of everybody in the poetry business. These three chapbooks are evidence of Dennis's development as an artist, his concern for his fellow LDS poets, and his commitment to bring LDS poetry to a wider audience.

Without Dennis's encouragement, my own work would have probably all but disappeared in the eighties, so I might as well confess right off that I feel I owe him a little puffery. Fortunately, with only a few exceptions, he deserves it.

I hope that United Order Books is more than a spasm on the poetic horizon, a few artists frantically waving their arms before sinking back, safely, into the sea of inattention. As Dennis puts it in a letter to *Dialogue*, "We are beginning publication of a series of chapbooks of Mormon poetry. These books represent the work of three generations of Mormon poets. We intend to continue publishing at least one chapbook a year from each of these generations of poets, Lord willing."

This "three generation" concept, while no guarantee of excellence, at least counters the tendency to publish and promote only one's contemporaries; and it acknowledges that age and experience have a lot to do with the kind of poetry we write. We can forgive Dennis for choosing first off to publish himself and his father, Marden Clark; after years as poetry editor for *Sunstone*, he has put others first long enough.

Each chapbook is attractively bound, illustrated, and printed on high-quality paper. Those of us who are the beneficiaries of Dennis's determination, and anyone interested in furthering the cause of Mormon poetry, should write checks for $14.85 and send them to United Order Books forthwith.

Now for the poems. BYU senior Timothy Liu's *A zipper of haze* is by turns hip and sentimental, personal and political. In "Convertible" Liu describes a Sunday drive in a girlfriend's Jag, during which they happen to pass a church.

> As we watched cars pull in
> And out between services
> Mocking the Country Squire
> Stuffed with greasy kids,
> She recited some catechisms.
> Behind my Vaurnets, I
> Saw the chapel shrink
> In a rearview mirror
> Reminding me that objects can
> Appear closer than they are.

The title and the word play in the last

line particularly suggest a susceptibility to worldliness that is one of the major themes of the book, although I wonder if the inversion ("appear closer than they are," rather than "may be closer than they appear") is intentional, or as fitting—but perhaps I have spent too many years on the freeways.

For the most part, Liu's short-lined, colloquial style is well-suited to the ironies he finds in his subjects. There are times, however, when his observations seem just a little too slick. For example, in "So Cal," describing his friend's camera pointed at downtown L.A., the phallicism seems forced.

> You say it gives you focus
> zooming in, your 100 mm
>
> angled at the exhausted
> crotch of civilization,
> skyscrapers peeping out
> of the zipper of haze.

Much better is his poem "In the Closet," where homosexuality, AIDS, and Mormonism are dramatized with subtle symbolism and deep feeling. Most of Liu's best poems are in Part II, where he considers his Chinese/American heritage from several viewpoints. In poems like "Nanking," "Rita Considers Banana Fritters," "Paper Flowers," and "The Lord's Table," Liu finds a voice that transcends generational concerns.

Dennis Clark's poems are exuberant and unashamedly sentimental. Dennis celebrates his subjects, particularly his parents, wife, daughter, and relatives, in a wide variety of forms and styles—all borrowed, really, but what does it matter? The poems in *Tinder* are not "Dry Poems" (the subtitle) except as fuel for the strong emotional/intellectual responses Dennis hopes to ignite in us.

At his best, in a poem like "Rock Canyon," Dennis creates powerful images through effective word choice and traditional accentual prosody. In the final line, sound is virtually wedded to sense.

> See where the mountain gapes like a shattered bone.
> The trail looks like the trees have shed pebbles for years.
> Over your head stone walls unweathered jut—
> set to clap shut in the next quake.

In "Early Good Friday," Dennis reflects on the funeral of his uncle Harlan, who as a child miraculously survived a sled ride under a moving Model T. The last lines have a masterful off-hand quality, created by effective enjambment (thoughts spilling over from one line to the next), subtle variations of the caesuras (the pauses within the lines), and conversational diction.

> I pray a winter resurrection
> for you: Harlan, that lid would make
> a dandy sled, and let you scare
> some hearse's driver half to death.

Good stuff—and there's more: "On the Stranding of Great Whales"; "Stealing Roses"; "Knifing a Piggy Bank." Dennis gives us sonnets, terza rima, free verse, accentual verse—a tour-de-force, really, except for his colloquial blank verse (derived from Frost, I believe), which sometimes flattens out into mere rumination, as in "Corn Grows in Rows":

> We always watched the corn to see it grow
> two feet apart, we always planted more—
> until it wouldn't ripen if we did.

Nevertheless, there are rewards in virtually every poem for those who will take the time to read Dennis as attentively as he reads the rest of us.

The poems in Marden Clark's *Christmas voices* are all devotional, and except for the last ("*In Proprio Voce*") all are dramatic monologues. Each of the major figures in the Christian drama is represented, from Joseph to Judas, including God the Father, in poems written "over the past ten years as Christmas greetings and testimony" (author's note).

I'd better confess right off that most devotional poetry—outside of the LDS Hymnbook—leaves me cool, mainly because the style of such poetry seldom measures up to its subject. I mean, how could it? Our confused tongues are of the earth, earthy; his thoughts are not our thoughts, etc. Even Milton clings for dear life to this precipitous terrain, and at the moment I can think of only a couple of short devotional poems that strike me as wholly successful—Ben Jonson's "To Heaven," and Rilke's "The Raising of Lazarus"—and neither is a dramatic monologue.

So I have mixed feelings about *Christmas voices*. On one hand, I can't help but admire Brother Clark's pluck and his unflagging "testimony," which shine through in every line. On the other hand, I am uneasy about the poems as poems. For example, in the following lines from "The Father," Clark attempts to represent God's feelings as he witnesses the crucifixion of his Son:

> One eyelash twitch—and all
> Would change, the pain evaporate in floods of light,
> That soldier with the spear forevermore
> Transfixed. How can my eyelash stand the strain?
> But no. That they be free my eye stays bare.

All this about God's eyelash so trivializes the theme of the poem (the withdrawal of the Father's spirit from the Son during the crucifixion) that I am simply put off. This is the risk we run when we speak of heavenly things in earthly terms.

As might be expected, "Iscariot" is one of Clark's more successful efforts. The style is plain, the rhetoric restrained. The last stanza is stark and effective.

> I followed Him, and cannot follow.
> Yet even here I knew the tree,
> The tomb, the stone rolled clear; I know
> The empty tomb. I am the empty tomb.

This is powerful. So is the final stanza of "Simon/Peter":

> I go with the others to Galilee
> Back to my fishing, forward to His.
> For I have known the tide lifting,
> Pulling up toward Pentecost
> The living water inside this rock.

In his own voice, Clark writes:

> Giving words to them
> Has made them living words for me . . .

Exactly. These seem very personal poems, and I wonder how much life they can have outside of the poet and his immediate friends and family.

But Marden and I covered this same ground over twenty years ago, and we are still as far apart as ever. I should be thankful that I have lived long enough to have my own work treated so generously by Marden's son. And I wish United Order Books good luck and bon voyage.

Walking the Dark Side

Doc: The Rape of the Town of Lovell by Jack Olsen (New York: Atheneum, 1989), 479 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by Linda Sillitoe, co-author of *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* and author of a novel, *Sideways to the Sun*, and *Windows on the Sea*, a collection of short fiction.

AT FIRST THE PREMISE of this true crime book sounds downright impossible as well as distasteful: a small-town doctor in Lovell, Wyoming, rapes scores, perhaps hundreds, of women (mostly Mormons) in his examining room, usually without their knowledge. And if that isn't preposterous enough, when his crimes finally come to light and to court, the town (mainly Mormon) defends him vociferously. The investigators and prosecutors have difficulty finding witnesses and sufficient evidence to build a court case. Even after trial and conviction, half the sundered town continues its defense of Dr. John Story (not a Mormon).

One might open such a book curiously to see how a rapist could perform such a violent, contemptuous crime so deceitfully for more than two decades. Also, one wonders if the women involved were so naive, repressed, shamed, or scorned that the doctor's secret was secure, how his exposure and conviction took place. Who listened to his victims? Who believed them? How did they find the courage to take a popular and powerful townsman to court? And at that point, did Dr. Story's defenders become another kind of victim? What part did religion play in the community, the crimes, and their unmasking? Those questions intrigued me at the outset, but so did two others: primarily I read *Doc* for the profile of the perpetrator and the profile of the community that defended him. Both were familiar and enlightening and, I believe, recommend this book to *Dialogue* readers.

Jack Olsen, the author of twenty-four books including *Son* (depicting the Son of Sam murders) set himself a formidable task with *Doc*. Not only is Olsen an outsider to Lovell, but also to Mormonism; what's more, he is a man writing about a crime so intimate that the victims' interviews consisted of painful secrets. One can only imagine the necessary rapport.

Few experiences are so demoralizing as realizing that one has been the victim of deliberate manipulation, fraud, or violation. Olsen constructs this exposé not so much as a handbook for would-be medical rapists as a trail guide along the path of the victims' traumas and triumphs. Girls and women offended in the most vulnerable of circumstances certainly make easy prey for the cynical or voyeuristic writer or reader; yet Olsen elicits not only our sympathy but our admiration for the victims, transforming our initial skepticism or condescension to understanding.

Primarily, Olsen achieves this through shifting points of view, titling each chapter by viewpoint. We see Dr. Story and Lovell first through the eyes of Arden McArthur, a chief victim and defender of the doctor's. Along with two of her daughters, also victims, McArthur initiates and perpetuates the legal process. Because we see from within characters, we sense their individuality and suffer less confusion despite the multiple victims experiencing a similar offense.

Additionally, Olsen draws us into the challenges of investigators and prosecutors as they pursue Story through a difficult

court case. Understandably less successful are the chapters from the viewpoint of John Story and Marilyn Story, his wife; his pathology and guilt and her defensiveness limit the depth of our perceptions. Fortunately, the views of a state psychologist illuminate John Story to a degree, though the source of his deformed personality remains obscure.

Lovell's trauma takes place not only in the examining room but when the victims attempt to report their violation and meet with denial and suspicion. One low point is struck when a bishop patronizingly informs a mortified victim that he's heard such rumors about Dr. Story for five years and (apparently believing the accounts) advises her to keep quiet and get another doctor. Only because the women persist and learn to support and protect one another do they find a measure of success—and that at the cost of civil war within the town and even within families.

The Mormon/religious angle is handled well, overall. To his credit, Olsen takes religion as seriously as Lovell does, not only among Mormons but also Baptists, including the fundamentalist congregation John Story leads. Olsen assumes all Mormons are as provincial as Lovell residents and may overplay the presence of Heavenly Father and the celestial kingdom in his Mormon characters' consciousnesses, occasionally confusing terms, i.e. "Celestial Father." More important, he handles delicately and seriously his characters' sexual experiences and their troubles with Church discipline without judging either the Church or the individual.

The only justifiable reason I know for walking (or reading) the dark side is to find light; and light has its practical as well as its aesthetic uses. One is the realization that the unthinkable does happen. Not only can a doctor who makes house calls and nurtures premature infants, heart patients, and injured children also deflower teenagers and rape postpartum mothers. We recall the LDS convert and charming University of Utah law student who was arrested on a flimsy suspicion of burglary charge; he had, in fact, raped and murdered dozens of women. First arrested and convicted in Salt Lake City, Ted Bundy became a nationally notorious criminal. And the soft-spoken young man who joined Big Brothers, befriended boys, bought them gifts and took them on trips did, in fact, molest many boys and kill at least five without compunction. Then there's another Eagle Scout and returned Mormon missionary who had a "special relationship with President Hinckley" and a gift for finding rare manuscripts—a master forger and manipulator who became a cold-blooded killer.

Like Dr. John Story, Ted Bundy, Art Bishop, and Mark Hofmann said and did things before they were exposed as criminals that struck people oddly and led some to take precautions. That's the reason hindsight is so good in cases that involve multiple victims—there *are* clues and hints that even the most successful antisocial criminals are not as credible as they seem. But unexpectedness in words or deeds benefits the perpetrator. Victims and their first confidantes dismiss clues because they are often intuitive and easily rationalized. Self-interest, self-doubt, and popular opinion also persuade victims to believe their violators.

Few sociopaths have created a more credible cover than did Story. Not only was he a doctor, but a religious leader as well. Although he abused his office staff in some ways—or perhaps because he did—he insured their turning a blind eye to his lengthy procedures with some patients, his fancy examining table, and even occasional bits of suggestive if not

damning evidence. In addition, Story was protected by the armor the medical community affords its members and by the ecumenical brotherhood of the clergy. Because Story was not Mormon, LDS leaders told Mormon victims they could do nothing to halt or hinder him. Perhaps not. Nevertheless, as one reads their conversations with victims, one seriously doubts that these men would have endangered Story's position or membership if he had been LDS. The McArthur family, for instance, reported a relative who abused all their children, often in the presence of siblings, but who remained in the good graces of the Church and the priesthood. (Similarly, Hofmann remained on Church rolls for months after he pleaded guilty to two murders.)

All of us are susceptible to victimization by the deliberate criminal because the sociopathic personality preys on human nature and creates the very mask a culture, group, or individual wants to see. When the sociopathic person is confronted, he or she responds in ways that justify the moment and divert the questioner either by placing blame or imparting some new knowledge. Unlike most of us, the sociopath need not contend with a coherent sense of overreaching truth and thus lies easily and convincingly. After a confrontation, often the questioner is left adjusting his or her perceptions to fit the new answers. One interesting aspect, in fact, is how, when finally cornered, the sociopath suggests bizarre solutions: "What if I agree not to examine any patient under 50?" (Story). "If sex with children were legal, I wouldn't have had to kill them" (Bishop). "I'll pay you $174,000 by Tuesday and, if I don't, I'll pay $4,000 penalty for each day I'm late" (Hofmann).

Our desire to be Christian also works against spotting such people. Not every neighbor who hangs out at the skating rink and befriends boys will molest; not every manuscript dealer who conducts business wearing thong sandals and complaining about his "bugged" telephone will defraud or bomb; and not every doctor who suggests a pelvic examination when a patient complains of a sore throat is a rapist. Nevertheless, our only defense is to pay attention and wonder, especially since minor sociopathic personalities leave havoc in their personal or professional wakes without ever becoming criminal.

Even the sociopath, this book reminds us, occasionally needs a kind of complicity from other human beings, whether or not there is true comprehension. Risk is a thrill. Story invites discovery on several occasions, even suggesting at times that his victim knows what he is doing and possibly approves. Hofmann flourished Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and George Washington signatures across a tablecloth in a New York City restaurant, showing off for several associates as his eyes eagerly measured their reactions. And Bishop calmly carried the boxed body of his first murder victim past the boy's searching mother.

Finally, *Doc* demonstrates that sexuality is central to human experience whether openly acknowledged or sternly suppressed. Story inherited his abused practice, Olsen emphasizes, from an earlier much-loved doctor who abused boys and young men in his office after he was finally barred from the hospital (but not from medicine). When sex is repressed, when sexual ignorance reigns, when discussion of sexual concerns is difficult to impossible, the most vulnerable members of a community are likely to suffer at the hands of predators, who likely were once victims themselves. And their complaints will often be unheard, if expressed at all.

A Great Heart and a Fine Mind

One Man's Search, Addresses by Obert C. Tanner (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989) forward, 317 pp., $25.00

Reviewed by F. Ross Peterson, a professor of history at Utah State University, the director of the Mountain West Center for Regional Studies, and the co-editor of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.*

FEW MEN HAVE HAD a greater impact on the cultural life of contemporary Utah than has Obert C. Tanner. Through countless philanthropic endeavors, he and his wife, Grace, have guaranteed a quality of life otherwise unobtainable for residents of their native state. From symphonies and choruses to amphitheaters, parks, fountains, and lectures, the Tanners have endowed the region with genuine cultural opportunity. Most late twentieth-century Utahns readily associate the Tanners with this legacy of sharing. This book, however, offers a genuine insight into another side of Obert C. Tanner.

Above everything else, Tanner is an activist philosopher and philanthropist. His lifelong dual career as businessman and teacher provides a role model for associates and students. Obert C. Tanner's life and speeches document one man's continuing quest to better the world.

One Man's Search contains thirty speeches delivered by Tanner at a variety of business, professional, and academic gatherings. The book is divided into five sections: "World Peace," "Truth and Education," "Religion," "Freedom and Democracy," and "Values." Each section deliberates the multi-faceted Tanner philosophy and is introduced with a brief essay by one of Tanner's distinguished colleagues. From Sterling McMurrin's concise and illuminating introduction to the end of the book, this volume captures the breadth of O. C. Tanner.

The basic theme of independence and freedom permeates each speech. Tanner is a genuine champion of those who need to be heard and those whose ideas run contrary to popularly held opinion. In the section on "World Peace," he carefully and brilliantly outlines how the world must move away from and beyond the hatred and fear that characterized the Cold War world. It took the U.S. government more than ten years to implement a policy that Tanner understood in 1959 and 1960. Tanner fiercely believed that Russians would be free to speak and write only when Americans could shed their fear of the Soviets.

Teachers can be heartened by his common-sense approach to education. Tanner was the son of a polygamist, college president and businessman who lived in Canada, and a hard-working, caring mother who lived in Utah. Though his childhood was often difficult, he believed fervently that education was the key to many doors, both intellectual and material. His life demonstrates a never-ending pursuit of truth and an abiding commitment to the value of education.

Tanner's speeches on religion and democracy pursue a similar course. He is concerned about individuals working together to improve humankind. That makes both religion and government valuable. However, the soul of his philosophy is found in the section on "Values." Tracking humanity's eternal quests for harmony and balance, Tanner the philosopher describes what is reasonable and probable and good. Readers will be

moved by the depth of his understanding and by his obvious continual search for clear insight. Naturalistic beauty and individual freedom are once again prevalent values as the search continues.

These speeches are almost overwhelmingly straightforward, clear, and accessible. They are designed not to confound but to create, to teach. They succeed admirably and with distinction. Tanner is a gem of genuine quality in an age of confused compromise. His courage and consistency admirably document a life devoted to both creativity and preservation.

This handsome volume deserves to be read and reread. It is a sensible approach to life's complexities and opens a window on one of Mormondom's great hearts and minds. We can now look forward to O. C. Tanner's autobiography, *One Man's Journey*, which should be published within the next year.

BRIEF NOTICES

David Matthew Kennedy: Banker, Statesman, Churchman by Martin Berkeley Hichman (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987), 383 pp. & index, $15.95.

There may be nothing more difficult than writing a biography with the living subject over your shoulder. Martin Hichman's ten interviews with David Kennedy, conducted over a four-year period, were doubtless illuminating, but a threat of censorship would create problems for any journalist. We are treated here to interesting bits of information about Kennedy's early years: that in 1919 he was the "youngest hotel clerk in the United States" (p. 24); that as a fourteen-year-old he procured a fifty dollar loan to pay back-tithing; that, under his bishop's advice, two months into wedded bliss he left for a mission. But in each instance, the author shies away from interpretation, leaving us too many facts and not enough motives.

Sections on church and home life are similarly sketchy. Reknowned for his oratorical skills while a missionary, Kennedy once delivered sixty sermons in sixty days, one lasting one and a half hours. Yet we find here no excerpts of his legendary public speeches, even though this ability was a significant factor in his career success. Neither do we learn how he attained his corporate status and wealth.

The mystery of greatness defies chiché. Some say a childhood bent is essential, yet Kennedy, C.E.O. of Chicago's Continental Bank, initially considered tellering only a way to pay for his college education. He graduated sixty-sixth in a class of 117. A fourth son, he was not even the stereotypical over-achieving first-born.

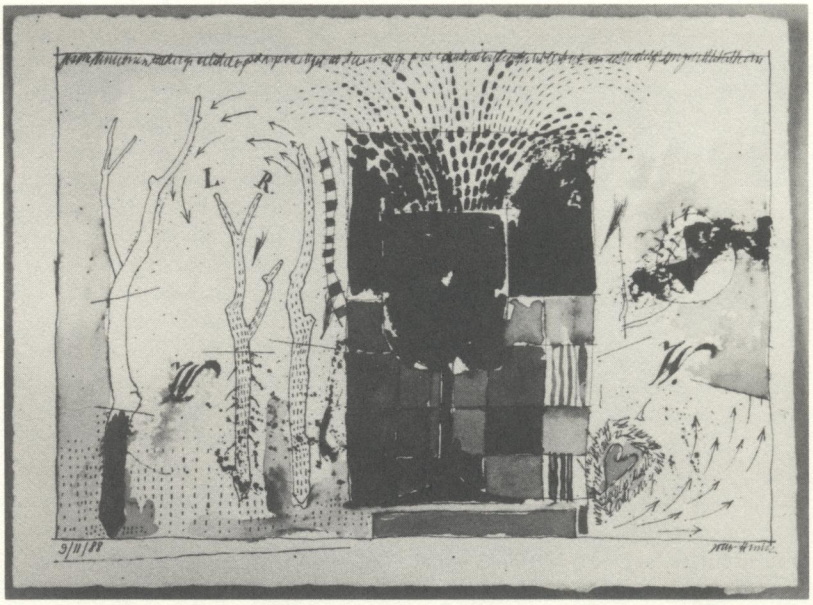
Although he modestly referred to himself as "a boy from a ranch in Randolph, Utah" (p. 208), he mingled with the famous and the notorious: James Talmage, John Glenn, Richard Nixon, Marriner Eccles, John Kennedy, John Daley, Eisaku Sato, the Rockefellers, J. Willard Marriott, King Hassan, and many others. But even these celebrity encounters offer little insight into the charm and intensity of David Kennedy.

One on the Seesaw: The Ups and Downs of a Single Parent Family by Carol Lynn Pearson (New York: Random House, 1988), xv, 205 pp., $15.95.

Readers from all kinds of families will enjoy this warm, witty, and honest look at a single parent family. As Carol Lynn Pearson says in her introduction, "I don't think of [our family] as broken, and I don't think [the children] do either. The family stretched and cracked and, like the glass I watched take shape in Venice, had to be sent back to the fire and reblown. It's in a different shape now than the one I originally planned. But it's in good shape and it works" (p. xii).

Pearson's lively descriptions of the escapades, experiences, and traumas of one mother and four "average" children convince us that she is right. What she has learned is what we all need to learn: life is a process of adjusting our expectations, learning to accept and love the people closest to us for what they are, not what we hope they will be. Says Pearson: "I just kept finding it difficult to believe that anyone, especially a child of mine, would not rather read than just about anything else. Though it's hard, I'm trying not to judge that" (p. 15) and "I no longer believe my children have been sent as clay for me to mold. Maybe they have been sent as clay for me to warm so that they can better mold themselves" (pp. 14-15).

Being a single parent brings privacy and freedom, loneliness and embarrassment. Through pinewood derbies, broken teenaged hearts, obscene phone calls, pet boas in the bedroom, and a son accused of vandalism, Pearson hangs on. "You're not the person you want to be when you're alone and going on empty and you know the next shift is never coming in" (p. 105), she says, but "being a parent—especially a single parent—means you *can't* do it all alone. And if you're lucky, you don't have to" (p. 113).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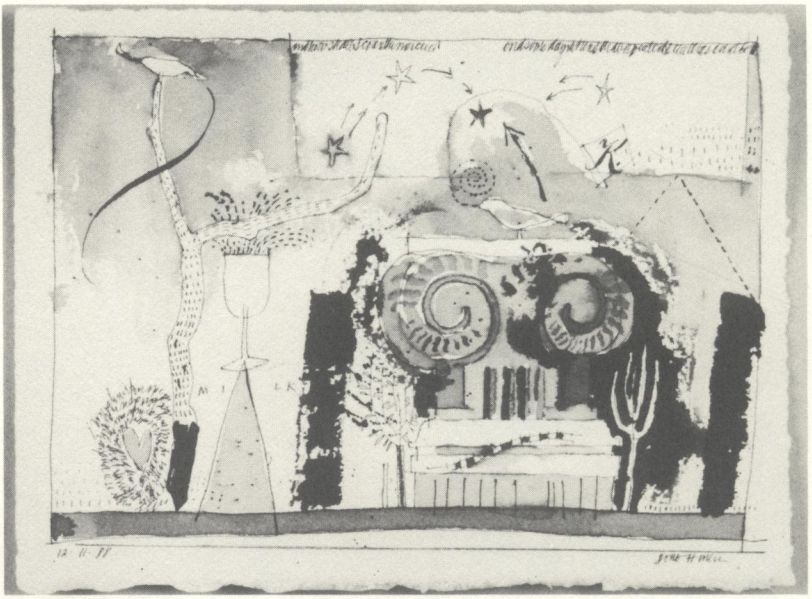
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Winnowing

Keith Flower

A white-dusted woman looks up from sifting circles of
Yellow grain, and husks, and leaves.
In the clicking speech of her people she calls, Ah hello.
Dear God! Your two faces shine before me.

The tallest wipes the sweat from his eyes and says, We are
Elders, come to talk of you, of your belief,
And our own. You see, we are much alike—
Winnowing, wielding a sieve.

The old woman grins up, and sorts into woven baskets
Yellow grain, and stalks, and leaves.
She steps through the white heat to hoe burdens of chaff under
The rich, unfailing black earth.

KEITH FLOWER works in emergency medicine with a Provo ambulance company and is a psychiatric technician for Utah Valley Regional Medical Center's Behavioral Medicine Department. He has written about environmental issues for local newspapers.

Chokecherries

Anita Tanner

". . . though your sins be as scarlet,
they shall be white as snow . . ."

Isaiah 1:18

Dark berries abound
like full moons;
the sight of ripeness
in sunstruck orbs
puckers your mouth.
Tiny stones blackened
like clotted blood.

Round wonders borne in spikes,
what is sacramental
turned blanch-white with blossom.
Although the syrup,
tart for tasting,
holds a bitterness,
coloring your lips a deep purple,

all the losses
laughed and cried about
from buckets of impulsive berries
will come back—
the bits of hate in every love affair,
the wonder of paradox
in the anxious throat of spring.

ANITA TANNER grew up on a farm in Star Valley, Wyoming, attended BYU where she was awakened to poetry, an interest that she says never wanes. Her poetry has appeared in various periodicals, magazines, and anthologies. She and her husband, Leonard, are the parents of six children and reside in Cortez, Colorado.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

This issue features the work of Utah artist Hal Douglas Himes. A native of Utah, Himes received both his B.A. and his M.F.A. from Brigham Young University and has shown his work widely during the last five years. "We live in a world that is fragmented," says Himes. "We have lost the power of dream and myth. And we are destitute without it." Hime's paintings are filled with symbolic images whose meaning is illusive. He likens his collection of images to the dream bundles Indians carried. This assortment of small objects had deep meaning to an Indian; if the dream bundle was stolen, the Indian would be vulnerable to the enemy.

In his own art, Himes reaches into his "dream bundle" and pulls out images—birds, snakes, goblets, checkerboards, grids, and calligraphy—that most effectively convey his message. He is intrigued with the bird image, because birds can fly above it all, and with grids, made up of black and white rods, which he uses in his work to establish a standard. "You don't ever know where you are on the earth without a standard," he says. "Even to find your position on the earth, you have to look at a very distant object—a star."

The calligraphy in Himes's paintings is meant only as a design device, letters or words that occur to him while he is painting. Once the painting is worked out, they are not important.

When asked what artists have had the greatest influence on his work, Himes said, "It's hard to identify what artists have influenced my work. Probably Paul Klee and Tamayo. But the most influential have been several instructors at BYU—Barsch, Bigney, and Darais."

ART CREDITS

Cover: "Walpurgis," 22" x 30", oil on paper, 1988

p. 10: "Oro Verde," 6" x 4.5", watercolor, 1988

p. 37: "Grand Canyon Conch," 4.5" x 6", watercolor, 1988

p. 54: (top) "The Two Ways," 4.5" x 6", watercolor, 1987
(bottom) "Sharks in a Shallow Channel," 4.5" x 6", watercolor, 1987

p. 93: "Pharoah's Serpents," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1986

p. 107: "Yellow Stingray," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1988

p. 125: "Seashore," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1988

p. 164: (top) "Have a Drink of Nile Water," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1987
(bottom) "Two Refreshing Drinks," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1988

p. 174: (top) "Counter Culture," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1988
(bottom) "High Seriousness," 4.25" x 6.75", watercolor, 1988

Artwork provided courtesy of Dolores Chase Gallery, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Walnut Creek, California