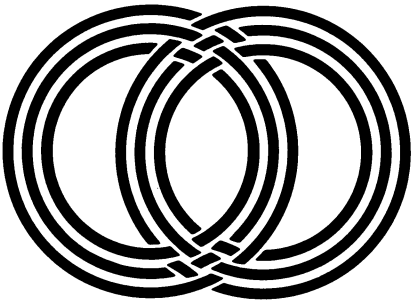
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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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, notes and comments, letters to the editor, and art. Preference is given to submissions from subscribers. Manuscripts must be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* including double-spacing all block quotations and notes. For the reference citation style, please consult issues from volume 26 on. If the submission is accepted for publication, an electronic version on an IBM-PC compatible diskette, using WordPerfect or other ASCII format software, must be submitted with a hard copy of the final manuscript. Send submissions to *Dialogue*, P.O. Box 658, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84110-0658. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Designer or Art Director at the same address. Allow three to six months for review of all submissions.

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Follow Your Bliss?

I am sorry to see that Jack Newell, whose thinking, writing, and speaking I have admired since first I read his wonderful essay "An Echo from the Foothills," has fallen to a Johnny-One-Note reverence for Joseph Campbell's flawed philosophies in the spring 1993 issue of *Dialogue*. Newell should, at least, be reminded that Campbell is not well thought of in the scholarly community.

I first became aware of this at the time of the Bill Moyers "Power of Myth" television series. Being somewhat taken in by the charisma of Campbell myself, I wondered why in my text for my class in "Folklore and Religion" Campbell was not represented, even in a footnote. There were the greats in folklore and religion—Levi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, Victor Turner. Why not Campbell, this presence, I wondered.

Then early in 1992, when a biography of Campbell appeared (*A Fire in the Mind*, by Stephen Larsen and Robin Larsen), I read reviews with interest. Wendy Doniger (*New York Times Book Review*, 2 Feb. 1992), Mircea Eliade Professor at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, assessed Campbell and the biography. She chronicles some of Campbell's bigotry and anti-Semitism and then summarily says, "He was certainly not a scholar." She early observes that "Campbell avoided any profound, difficult, messy contact with people or with ideas." These assertions Doniger fleshes out with what were, for me, sad and shocking answers to my earlier questions about why he was not represented in my text. Then Doniger concludes:

> We must be grateful to him for making so many people aware of the existence of great myths . . . but we must regret that he did it so slickly that no one was ever encouraged to go on to the second stage, to do the serious work done by other comparativists. . . . He cooked up the TV dinner of mythology, so that everything tastes the same. . . . He reduced great books to slogans, he made the myths he retold *his* myths, instead of letting them tell their own story. . . .
>
> The evidence in this book presents the image of a man who inspired many people to love his versions of the great myths of the world . . . but who was neither a scholar nor a gentleman.

More recently I read a memoir by Brendan Gill about Campbell (*A New York Life*, Poseidon Press, 1990). Gill knew Campbell well and concludes by observing sadly that the TV series caused his "friend" to "become, if not my enemy, then at least my adversary." And with good reason. The series glorified a man whose bigotry was transparent. Gill tells of a dinner with Campbell when "Campbell spent much of his time arguing that it was of no use to admit blacks [to Sarah Lawrence] because they were 'unable to retain information.'" Gill also tells of Campbell's habit of

meeting people and saying, "You're a Jew, aren't you? I can always spot a Jew." And when astronauts landed on the moon, Campbell told a member of Gill's family that "the moon would be a good place to put Jews." Gill makes clear that Campbell's despising of Freud (and admiring of Jung) had to do at least in part with the fact that Freud was Jewish (while Jung was not).

It appears that Jack Newell, bright humanitarian, has come to sit with Moyers at Campbell's feet, no longer presenting his own good thoughts for us to read, but serving over Campbell's microwaved TV dinners (to pick up the earlier metaphor). Can it be that Newell has fallen for the feel-good message that popularized Campbell's flawed thinking? Are we as LDS intellectuals to adopt Campbell's advice to simply "Follow [our] bliss"? Brendan Gill deplores this simplistic world view:

> If it is only to do whatever makes one happy, then obviously it sanctions selfishness on a colossal scale. . . . It is a selfishness that is the unspoken . . . rationale of that contemporary army of Wall Street yuppies, of junk-bond dealers, of takeover lawyers who have come to be among the most conspicuous members of our society [and Newell might add, the most conspicuous attitude of contemporary LDS society]. . . . Is it not radically at odds with Judeo-Christian traditions that have served as the centuries-old foundations of our society?

I suggest that Jack Newell study more critically the works of Campbell, his idol, and that he trust, instead, his own voice, his own thinking—a good and true voice that we need to hear.

Helen B. Cannon
Logan, Utah

Newell Responds

I am both complimented and troubled by Professor Cannon's sentiments. I am complimented, of course, by the earnestness of her response to my essay in the spring 1993 issue and by her kind words about my earlier writing.

I am troubled, however, on several accounts. While I agree completely that we are most compelling when we speak in our own voice, I believe it is ridiculous to suppose that every idea in my head is original. As individuals and scholars, we owe enormous debts to one another, both near and far. "Liberal Spirituality" is an account of my religious sojourn—as I am living it and as others are influencing it.

It is no secret that Joseph Campbell's work "is not well thought of in the scholarly community." In making this point, however, and citing other scholars to support and extend her view, isn't Helen falling into the pattern for which she faulted me—using others' voices to reinforce her judgment? Speaking in our own voice, and linking ours with others (supporters and critics alike), is the way ideas are formed and refined.

The trick, I suppose, is to tread gracefully along the path between hiding behind others' voices and ignoring or failing to credit them. Erring in either direction is bad business. In looking back at my article, Professor Cannon may be right that I offered more of Campbell in that section than was appropriate for my purpose.

On the issue of Campbell's credibility, readers may recall that I led into the disputed section of my essay with these words: "Campbell and [Ernest] Becker are important to me not because their logic or evidence is airtight but because they continued to stimulate my thinking and raise questions I like to ponder"

(83). That was my bow to Campbell's able critics and an acknowledgement of my own questions about the foundation of some of his work.

What I like about Joseph Campbell's thought is his willingness to risk thinking big, thinking globally. The absence of this quality is precisely what I find limiting about so much academic thought. We have long engaged chiefly in the earth-shattering examination of minutia. Our implicit faith is that our separate studies will add up to something larger, but when someone is bold enough to suggest a greater whole we are disposed to criticize it. And criticize it we should.

From one perspective at least, understanding human culture (and all of nature) is a never-ending seesaw between getting small things in focus and trying to form larger images from them. But the larger images inevitably blur the precision of the constituent elements. If one of those elements happens to be my own, I'm offended by the blurring. And so it goes.

If we use this set of assumptions about knowledge, then the more elements we bring together, the clearer the picture we form—and the more confident we are that we have smoked out false images among the parts. The irony in all this is that the more our mental picure of the world begins to match the bewildering complexity of the real thing, the more incomprehensible the image becomes—mirroring reality as it does. To deal with our disorientation we seesaw back to broader generalizations and look at more particulars—then grapple once again for organizing principles.

Joseph Campbell's sweeping conclusions about the world's myths and religions were flawed, but I admire his courage and imagination in looking for organizing principles. That's the debt we owe him. His ideas compel us to think on a large scale and to search for increasingly valid insights about human nature and the human condition. His mistake, especially in the bloom of his career, was listening too much and too selectively to others' voices. A keener and more willing ear may have opened his reputedly intolerant heart as well.

I thank Professor Cannon for offering her critique for *Dialogue* readers (including me) to ponder.

L. Jackson Newell
Salt Lake City, Utah

Speaking Out

Those in the highest leadership positions of the church would have us believe that in order to be true disciples of Christ, we must follow them in unquestioning obedience and refrain from criticizing their pronouncements or behavior no matter what the resulting injustice or injury to individual members might be. At the very least, we should overlook falsehoods, secret files, or punishment for disagreement with doctrines or procedures as simple manifestations of the humanity of those directing an otherwise divine church and say nothing in the interest of avoiding contention and remain close to the Lord.

The exact opposite is the case. The Jesus who cleared the court of the gentiles in the temple of the money changers and sellers of sacrificial animals would never remain silent in the face of the latter-day desecration of his church by those in positions of power who engage in spiritual oppression. If we are to

be true followers of Christ, we must speak out against this oppression whatever the personal risk involved.

The brethren would have us believe that opposition to them is opposition to the Savior, but it is utterly impossible to see the refusal to disclose the financial dealings of the church, the management of history in order to present the organization in the best possible light, the lying about political activities, or the concealment of documents as behavior that would be sanctioned by one who said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

And how are the compilation of secret files on members, confiscation of temple recommends, and imposition of other sanctions for the sin of disagreement with church leaders manifestations of the love which Jesus said would be the identifying characteristics of his disciples?

It is interesting that after Jesus cleared the temple, "the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them" (Matt. 21:14)—the very people who needed him and who would have found it most difficult to make their way through the crowds surrounding the hagglers and money changers. Jesus stated emphatically that his temple was meant to be a house of prayer for all nations, and surely the commerce in the court of the gentiles would have rendered it virtually impossible for non-Jews, who could not go further into the temple, to commune with God. There are no throngs of buyers and sellers in the lobby of the Salt Lake temple, but how many, both in and out of the church, have found their approach to the Lord impeded by the fearful and self-protective actions of those in positions of authority?

If the leaders of the church do not alter their behavior in the direction of greater openness, humility, and love, as suggested by Paul Toscano in the spring 1993 issue of *Dialogue*, they will move ever farther from Jesus, in whose name they claim to speak and act, and the day will surely come, if it has not already arrived, when the tabernacle, the temples, the highrise office building, and the Corporation of the President will remain but the Lord will say unto those in authority, "Behold, your church is left unto you, desolate."

Eileen Davies
Salt Lake City, Utah

Uncannily Accurate

I want to compliment D. Michael Quinn for his heady, revealing examination of the events and personalities found in his article, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," in the summer 1993 issue. With a minor exception, his account is uncannily accurate with what I recall.

Since the publication of Quinn's article I have been inundated with questions from friends, colleagues, and acquaintances asking me about my involvement with the infamous BYU Spy Scandal. The events took place in 1966, some twenty-five-plus years ago. I was completely ignorant of much of the controversy between Ezra Taft Benson and his fellows of the Quorum of the Twelve. Had I been aware, I am confident I would have not been involved with either the John Birch Society, the Young Americans for Freedom, or the spying incident.

What Quinn writes of the incident is essentially correct. I recall being asked to attend Ray Hillam's "Current Affairs" class, Political Science 105 I be-

lieve it was, right after the Wilkinson address. We were told not to bring up the topic, but to simply report what Hillam said about Wilkinson's remarks. As I recall, Hillam was asked about it by a student and his reply was something like, "No comment, I don't want to get fired." I remember feeling very uncomfortable in what I was doing, and distinctly recall burying my head in my hands during the class period and saying over and over to myself, "This is wrong, this is wrong." There were at least three or four other "spies" in the classroom. I did not even bother to report. I ceased active involvement with both the John Birch Society and the Young Americans for Freedom shortly after, and left to serve a mission in southern Austrailia a few months later. After I returned to BYU from my mission, I attended a few JBS meetings for a time, but it was more a sop to my landlord than from any conviction. By 1972 I was completely disenchanted by them.

Quinn used my letter of 29 January 1965 (sic 1966) to David O. McKay as evidence of a continuing effort to "extract 'pro-communist views'" from certain professors (n212). I do not dispute that there may have been continued efforts of surveillance or that some Birchers and YAFers attempted to "extract" such statements, but I was not involved. Thus, Quinn is mistaken in his use of my letter to President McKay as evidence of a conspiracy to do so. The letter was written of my own volition, without any consulting or acknowledgement to anyone. It was in reply to a statement made to me privately by my freshman English instructor, to the effect that the reason why Ezra Taft Benson was sent to Europe was because he would not keep quiet about political issues.

This shocked me, and ate away at my own convictions until, in my own naivete, I wrote and asked President McKay if it were true. In retrospect, I doubt if President McKay even saw the letter. His secretary, Clare Middlemiss, forwarded it to President Wilkinson, who demanded to know the teacher's name. During a personal appointment in Wilkinson's office, he was most persistent, and I was made to feel my status as a student was threatened unless I revealed her name, which was Washburn. It is my understanding that she did not return as a teacher, whether because she was a graduate student and completed her program or was dismissed, to this day I do not know.

To say I feel badly about my participation in the Spy Scandal and the probable dismissal of an English instructor is an understatement, especially in light of the fact that what Ms. Washburn told me privately is true. From this whole experience I have learned that our leaders are men, and as such, they can get carried away, and that when they do, they are capable of making some horrendous mistakes in judgment. I was young, foolish, immature, naive, and too trusting of certain individuals. I resent Middlemiss fowarding what was a private letter from me to the prophet David O. McKay to Wilkinson, and I resent his leaving them in his files to be later essentially opened for public scrutiny. I do not resent Quinn for using them, as an historian, he is only doing his job, examining the documents and interpreting their significance.

Further, in retrospect, to suggest that the victims of the Spy Scandal, men like Ed Morrell, Ray Hillam, Louis Midgely, and Richard Poll, were in some way connected to some mythical "Communist Conspiracy" or were "Communist Sympathizers or Dupes" is ludicrous. I have the utmost respect

for them all. After my mission I took courses from both Morrell and Midgely. Morrell served as a counselor in my own Provo East Stake presidency, served as a mission president, and then as a bishop of my sister ward. Poll is the author of one of the most significant and meaningful essays about the church that I have ever read: "What the Church Means to People Like Me" (*Dialogue*, Winter 1967).

As a consequence of my experiences, I now temper my own sustaining of the leaders of the church by reserving the right to determine for myself whether their words and deeds are of God or not. This is in accordance with what even Brigham Young preached (see *Journal of Discourses* 9:150). Certainly, in the case of the BYU Spy Scandal, the activities of leaders and men whom I trusted were not inspired. I am saddened to find church leaders once again apparently involved in spying, that is, keeping secret files and dossiers on certain invididuals. I know from personal experience that this is wrong.

Curt E. Conklin
Provo, Utah

"Spy" Reply

D. Michael Quinn's article on Elder Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon political conflicts (summer 1993) detailed some very interesting history. Let's give Quinn at least a "B" or an "A" for all the relevant material he has researched and presented—it must have taken months and possibly years of dedicated research and digging.

I would give Quinn less than an "A" for his accuracy in reporting and interpreting my own remarks in a telephone discussion with him, and I question Quinn when he quotes Elder Benson and others, then procedes to tell us what they actually meant to say or what unnamed person they were talking about, or what their motives were for their actions or statements. Quinn may be right in some of his assumptions, but how can we prove or disprove it if the person quoted never got as specific as Quinn?

Surprised I was to read about my alleged "spy" activities when I was a student at the University of Utah (8-9) and at BYU (51, n211). Contrary to Quinn's report, I never in my life took a class from J. D. Williams or anyone else expressly to "monitor . . . classroom statements" (9) so I could report to Reed Benson or any of my other friends or associates. J. D. Williams was a very talented and interesting teacher of political science, and I was glad to learn from him, although we differed in our political views. I did often collect campus and metropolitan newspaper articles and editorials regarding campus political events, protests, and speakers. I also attended some public lectures and sometimes observed students protests or demonstrations. On a few occasions I shared my observations and a few newspaper clipplings with Reed Benson, who had previously expressed a desire to be kept informed of same. At the U of U and at BYU I was never associated with any students, faculty, administrators, or Provo chapter of the John Birch Society in any sort of organized "spy ring." During the 1965-66 school year when I was "listed by BYU professors as part of this spy ring" (51n211), I was actually a graduate student at the U of U, was involved in a political campaign in Salt Lake City, and was in the fall of 1966 drafted into the U.S. army.

Quinn's first paragraph on page 72 related the fact that I lost my employment in the Church Publications Department. I can't be certain that I lost my job because of my political views or activities, neither do I know that it was "the state coordinator of the Birch Society" who informed Elder Benson of this incident.

In Quinn's footnote 53 (14-15) he calls the "Citizens for Honest Government" (CHG) a "Birch Society spin-off group" and says that I, as its chairman, was a member of the Birch Society. I do not believe that I had become a member of the Birch Society when I organized and chaired the CHG.

May I now make a few remarks regarding our attitudes and our treatment of one another?

If God controls the selection of those who sit in the presiding councils of the church, should we not go the extra mile to support and sustain them, rather than criticize them? I am reluctant to put forth my hand to steady the ark of God (see Num. 1:51; 1 Cor. 13:9-10; D&C 85:8), to criticize any of the "Brethren."

Following the earthly ministry of Christ, "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul" (Acts 4:20). In a revelation during a church conference in 1831 the Lord said, "I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one ye are not mine" (D&C 38:27). One of the Savior's messages in his visits to the Nephites was, "he that hath the spirit of contention is not of me, but is of the devil, who is the father of contention, and he stirreth up the hearts of men to contend with anger, one with another" (3 Ne. 11:29).

Are we not too often guilty of contention in politics and in the church? Do we as a people need to repent of our pride, our contentions, and our criticisms of the leaders of the church? Can we learn to love one another, to pray, and to listen to the promptings of the Spirit, which will unite us in harmony and truth?

Bryon Cannon Anderson
West Valley City, Utah

Quinn Responds

I appreciate the further insights and comments of Curt E. Conklin and Byron Cannon Anderson. Their perspectives are important, since they were insiders to some of the events in my article on Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon political conflicts. However, part of Conklin's response is a slight misreading of the text in my article, while Anderson asserts more serious criticisms.

The article didn't cite Conklin's January 1966 letter as evidence of efforts "to extract 'pro-Communist' views from their professors." Instead, his letter was in the footnote for the *previous* sentence which summarized activities of several BYU students during the year before they were recruited as part of the BYU "Spy Ring" in 1966. Although I regarded their activities prior to April 1966 as more than coincidental, I had no evidence that they co-ordinated among themselves or were co-ordinated by someone else. Therefore, I merely cataloged the evidence of their prior activism against Professor Richard Poll as a demonstration of their partisanship before Stephen Hays Russell selected them to monitor BYU professors. I didn't state or suggest they were functioning as "a conspiracy" prior to April 1966. Conklin seems to have read the footnote reference to his letter as my comment on the period *after* April 1966, rather than (as I intended) on the period

before then. In a rewrite, I would make that chronological distinction more emphatic. The bulk of Conklin's letter was his candid reflection which I found very moving.

I regret that Byron Cannon Anderson disputes my "accuracy in reporting and interpreting my own remarks in a telephone discussion with [Quinn]." Our January 1993 conversation began with my request for him to give his perspective on the controversy involving Ezra Taft Benson and the John Birch Society. I had no intention to inquire about what Ernest Wilkinson (not I) called campus "espionage," but explained I was making this request for an upcoming article in *Dialogue*. In fact, I hardly asked Anderson any direct question, because he immediately began to reminisce with details that I wrote down as fast as I could.

Once he started reminiscing, Anderson's first words were that Reed Benson introduced him to the John Birch Society as a freshman at the University of Utah, and that he joined the JBS while still an undergraduate. Anderson added that Reed's mother and brother Mark were formal members of the society. This was all new to me. As I wrote on page 8 of the article, he then volunteered the information that Reed asked Anderson "to provide him with the names of students who were active in liberal causes" at the University of Utah. Anderson's letter restates that he supplied such information to "Reed Benson, who had previously expressed a desire to be kept informed of same."

On the telephone, Anderson immediately added that he attended one or more classes taught by J.D. Williams whom he liked personally, despite the difference in their political views. From his comments, I concluded that Anderson meant his attendance in J. D.'s class was an extension of what Reed Benson had asked him to do. Anderson's letter now denies that this was intentional monitoring, but that was the context of what he told me about Reed's request to monitor campus liberals. Until Anderson described it, I had no idea that there had been any surveillance by students at the University of Utah, much less that this involved Reed Benson.

There are obviously differing views about Anderson's alleged involvement in campus monitoring. Anderson's letter said he merely "attended some public lectures and sometimes observed student protests or demonstrations" at the University of Utah, and then reported back to Reed Benson. It was BYU's pro-Birch Wilkinson who used the word "espionage" when Reed first proposed such activities in 1960 for the Provo school. In recognition of those two polarized views, my article used both the neutral term "monitoring" (usually without quotes) and the judgmental term "espionage" (in quotes).

My note 211 on page 51 said that BYU professors claimed in 1966 that Anderson had been monitoring them. The note observed that he was not a BYU student that year. Immediately after his remarks concerning Professor Williams, however, Anderson told me on the phone (and I quoted his words exactly in the article): "I transferred to Brigham Young University where I was involved in the same sorts of things." Again, Anderson was volunteering answers to a question I never asked him.

BYU's student directories show that Anderson was enrolled from fall 1964 through the summer of 1965. He then returned to the University of Utah as a graduate student from fall 1965 through spring 1966. Therefore, if Anderson's statement to me was accurate, then he was "involved in the same

sorts" of student monitoring at BYU a year before the famous "Spy Ring" of spring 1966. This is supported by the allegations of BYU professors who didn't specify the time period Anderson had monitored them. I buried most of this in a footnote, but his letter requires its discussion here.

Anderson's letter also says that he wasn't a member of the JBS when he organized and chaired the Citizens for Honest Government in March 1966. However, its other executive officers were the prominent Mormon Birchers J. Reese Hunter and Mark E. Anderson. In the *Salt Lake Tribune*'s report of the Utah Birch Society's dinner for Robert Welch a month later, Anderson was listed as one of the banquet's organizers. And he had told me on the phone that he joined the Birch Society during his first years at the University of Utah.

Concerning the account of Anderson's loss of church employment (which again he surprised me by volunteering), I regarded him as a victim of anti-Birch sentiment at LDS headquarters. His words on the phone to me were that "the head" of the Birch Society in Utah told Benson, and reported back the apostle's response to Anderson. The article used the phrase "state coordinator," since that was the official term as I understood from published Birch sources. A historian is always limited by access to sources and one's personal abilities, but I did my best to present Byron Cannon Anderson's experience as accurately as I could from the combination of evidence created in the 1960s and his direct statements to me in 1993.

Anderson's letter concludes that my article about Ezra Taft Benson and the other general authorities was mere "criticisms of the leaders of the church." To the contrary, I bent over backward to present an evenhanded narrative of all sides in a controversy which was polarized and bitter (even to the casual observer of the 1960s). In response to the objection of Anderson (and possibly other supporters of Elder Benson's views in the 1960s), I'll add something here that I decided not to put even in the footnotes of the article.

What I knew of the mid-1960s controversy between Hugh B. Brown and Ezra Taft Benson I read from the newspapers as a returned missionary. I felt close to the philosophy Hugh B. Brown expressed on many issues, but I had a testimony from personal experience that Elder Benson was a prophet, seer, and revelator. During this very public controversy, school friends and ward members sometimes asked me which of the two church leaders I thought was "right." Privately and publicly (in testimony meetings) during the 1960s, I said that I felt both President Brown and Apostle Benson were each carrying out God's mission for them. God didn't find it necessary to sort out the controversy between those two prophets, seers, and revelators, so I've never felt it necessary to reconcile the apparent contradiction in my affirming they were both doing his will.

Whole sections of the Benson-Birch article surprised me during my dragnet approach to research. However, I did my best to be fair to all concerned in narrating that experience. Other authors may feel it necessary to identify who they think wore the White-hat and who wore the Black-hat in controversial events. Or at least to inform the reader who the author regards as "right" and who was "wrong." Instead, I think it's usually better for historians to leave value judgments to the reader, even though authors may have strong opinions of their own. I've never tried to ignore evidence I disliked or to skew its

presentation to force the reader to a predetermined conclusion. That kind of "objectivity" was the goal in my biography of the controversial J. Reuben Clark, and I was pleased to learn that both his supporters and detractors felt my book had vindicated their views of Counselor Clark. In twenty years of writing about the Mormon hierarchy, I've felt I was describing White-hats who were sometimes caught in the dust storms and stampedes of mortal life.

D. Michael Quinn
Salt Lake City, Utah

Commentary

Donna Bernhisel

Wedged into the same chair,
my husband and son station
themselves, duplicates
of each other.
Too tired to talk,
my son listens.

"This is the story of Jesus,"
I hear my husband say, book open.
"His mom and dad were homeless
but found shelter in a barn.
They had pride;
you'd never see them
begging on the side
of the road."

My son's eyes grow wide.

"This is Mary. She's the mom.
Must've had an easy delivery.
She's wishing all these
visitors, the ones with the
glittery lights around their heads,
would leave so she could stop
smiling and looking patient."

My son's eyes droop
with unasked questions.

"This is Joseph. He's the dad.
He's hoping that his insurance
will cover an out-of-hospital
delivery."

"And this is baby Jesus.
He's a nice kid, doesn't
bite or throw food.
These are the gifts the
wisemen brought. Jesus is
wishing they were wise enough
to bring toys or blocks
or maybe a Lego giftpack."

My son nods his head in recognition,
the scriptures made plain
by his father.

The Psychology of Religious Genius: Joseph Smith and the Origins of New Religious Movements

Lawrence Foster

THE NATURE OF GENIUS—ESPECIALLY RELIGIOUS GENIUS—is an elusive and controversial topic. Great and recognized creativity in fields such as art, science, or politics has been the subject of extensive investigation without leading to clear and generally agreed upon criteria for assessing and accounting for such achievement. Religious genius, especially the prophetic leadership of founders of new religious movements, has proven even more difficult to evaluate with any degree of openness and objectivity. Adherents to new faiths often accept at face value prophetic claims to having had direct communication with the divine, while naive critics and apostates in equally one-dimensional fashion tend to see nothing but fraud and delusion in such claims. Neither approach begins to do justice to complexities that characterize the classic foundational phenomena that noted American psychologist William James explored so convincingly in his still unsurpassed analysis of the psychology of religious genius, *The Varieties of Religious Experience.*[1]

This essay focuses on one particularly well-documented case of religious genius—that of Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, founder of a rapidly-growing religious movement that now numbers more than 8 million

1. The edition cited here is William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: New American Library, 1958). I am grateful to Syracuse University Press for permission to use some material in this article that first appeared in my book *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (copyright 1991 by Syracuse University Press).

members worldwide. Joseph Smith's motivation and the psychological dynamics that made possible both his successes and failures have proven highly controversial, both in his own time and today. Critics of Smith such as Fawn Brodie have often found him opaque and disingenuous. They have speculated that his was a highly conflicted personality with enormous powers to rationalize his own impulses as being the will of God. Devout Latter-day Saints, on the other hand, have often ignored whole areas of Smith's personality and actions, creating an almost unbelievable paragon who could do nothing wrong as he consistently attempted to do God's will. Despite the apparent polarization of opinion, recent scholarship increasingly has seen Smith as a complex figure who nevertheless creatively attempted to come to terms with and fuse seemingly conflicting elements within his personality and his world into a new synthesis.[2]

The analysis that follows is an admittedly speculative personal reflection on elements that need to be kept in mind in understanding the psychological dynamics of Joseph Smith's creativity. I begin with some general observations on the nature of great religious creativity and prophetic leadership, drawing on the work of scholars such as William James, Anthony F. C. Wallace, Kenelm Burridge, and others. The core of the article then presents a new hypothesis about one possible element in Joseph Smith's psychology that might help explain some of his most puzzling and disturbing actions associated with his concerted effort to introduce plural marriage among his followers during the last three years of his life. Finally, I ask whether the hypothesis about Joseph Smith's psychological characteristics may help us in understanding the psychological dynamics of other great prophets and foundational religious figures throughout history.

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2. For an early call to consider Joseph Smith in all his complexity, see Jan Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 3-20. Especially revealing recent treatments are Gary James Bergera's articles "Joseph Smith and the Hazards of Charismatic Leadership," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 6 (1986): 33-42, and "Toward 'Psychologically Informed' Mormon History and Biography," *Sunstone* 16 (Dec. 1991): 27-31. For some of the classic psychological reductionist accounts, see Isaac Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1902); Bernard De Voto, "The Centennial of Mormonism," *American Mercury* 19 (Jan. 1930): 1-13; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2d. ed. rev. and enl. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 418-21; and Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 137-43. Marvin Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," *Church History* 33 (Mar. 1974): 78-96, analyzes the tendency toward psychological reductionism that is present in Brodie's revised edition. For treatments of Smith as a paragon who could do no wrong, see almost any of the works published by official Mormon publishers such as Deseret Book.

I

Great religious creativity, as many scholars have argued, always begins with a problem or complex series of problems that the future prophet finds deeply disturbing. To use psychological jargon, "cognitive dissonance" is always present. Individuals who eventually become prophets find this dissonance more disturbing than do many of their contemporaries, and they seek with unusual intensity to try to make sense of both their personal lives and their world. The dissonance for religious geniuses—as opposed to geniuses in art, science, or politics—focuses with unusual intensity on *value* conflicts and inconsistencies. Ultimately, as anthropologist Kenelm Burridge suggests, the prophetic figure attempts "to initiate, both in himself as well as in others, a process of moral regeneration."[3]

How does this process take place in the prophetic figure? Anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace has presented a classic description of the way in which new religions—or as he calls them "revitalization movements"—originate in a context of high social disorder and perceived stress.[4] Based on a consideration of hundreds of different groups on five continents, Wallace concludes: "With a few exceptions, every religious revitalization movement with which I am acquainted has been originally conceived in one or several hallucinatory visions by a single individual. A supernatural being appears to the prophet-to-be, explains his own and his society's troubles as being entirely or partly a result of the violation of certain rules, and promises individual and social revitalization if the injunctions are followed and the rituals practiced, but personal and social catastrophe if they are not."

Wallace observes that thereafter the "prophet feels a need to tell others of his experience, and may have definite feelings of missionary or messianic obligation. Generally he shows evidence of a radical inner change in personality soon after the vision experience: a remission of old and chronic physical complaints, a more active and purposeful way of life, greater confidence in interpersonal relations, the dropping of deep-seated habits like alcoholism. . . . Where there is no vision (as with John Wesley), there

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3. Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken, 1969), 162. For a compelling example of Burridge's analysis of a single cult leader, see his *Mambu: A Study of Melanesian Cargo Movements and Their Social and Ideological Backgrounds* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

4. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 38 (Apr. 1956): 264-81. For the work that most directly influenced Wallace's formulation of his "revitalization movement" theory, see his *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage, 1972). A revealing attempt to use Wallace's theory to deal with the dynamics of American religious history is William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

occurs a similarly brief and dramatic moment of insight, revelation, or inspiration, which functions in most respects like the vision in being the occasion of a new synthesis of values and meanings."[5]

One need not accept the value judgment Wallace makes when he refers to such visionary experiences as "hallucinatory" (that is, not literally true) to accept his general description of what happens in such instances as strikingly similar to the case of Joseph Smith. Young Joseph, though highly talented, was at loose ends initially—viewed by some as a pleasant and outgoing ne'er-do-well who spent much of his time hunting for hidden treasure. The series of visions he had in his teens ultimately led to the transformation of his life and the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Although surviving accounts of Joseph Smith's first vision are far from consistent on points of detail, such as whether one or several figures appeared to him, they do indicate that young Joseph was deeply disturbed by the competing claims to religious truth that were being put forward in his area. Joseph was bright enough to understand that such mutually exclusive claims simply could not all be true. Eventually he would conclude that he had been specially called by God to introduce a new religious synthesis that would integrate and supercede all previous ones.[6]

All this is well-known among scholars of Mormon history. But what were the *psychological* dynamics that led young Joseph to see visions and be open to the notion that he was specially called by God to lead the way in developing a new synthesis of truth, and later a new social system, including polygamy? To place this issue into a larger context, let us return to the perspectives of William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* and realize that religious prophets, including Joseph Smith, are in some sense, at least initially, "sick," "disturbed," or "abnormal." Successful, as opposed to unsuccessful, religious prophets eventually work through their psychological disturbance by creating a new synthesis, but the intensity of

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5. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," 270-71.

6. For a summary of some of the major issues involved with Joseph Smith's "first vision" experience and a bibliographic essay on major studies, see my "First Visions: Personal Observations on Joseph Smith's Religious Experience," *Sunstone* 8 (Sept.-Oct. 1983): 39-43. More recent studies such as Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), have expanded our understanding of the social context of Smith's religious concerns but have added little to our understanding of the psychological dynamics of his religious experiences. For a preliminary listing of studies that could be used to reconstruct the visionary components of later products of Smith's religious creativity such as the Book of Mormon, see my *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 294-97; and Scott C. Dunn, "Spirit Writing: Another Look at the Book of Mormon," *Sunstone* 10 (June 1985): 16-26.

their drive always continues to owe something to the magnitude of the problems they feel they have escaped by developing their new understanding of reality.

James is particularly eloquent in discussing the psychology of religious genius in individuals for whom "religion exists not as a dull habit, but as an acute fever." Genius in such individuals, according to James, is frequently associated with "symptoms of nervous instability."

> Even more perhaps than other kinds of genius, religious leaders have been subject to abnormal psychic visitations. . . . Often they have led a discordant inner life, and had melancholy during part of their career. They have known no measure, been liable to obsessions and fixed ideas; and frequently they have fallen into trances, heard voices, seen visions, and presented all sorts of peculiarities which are ordinarily classed as pathological. Often, moreover, these pathological features in their career have helped to give them their religious authority and influence.[7]

James explains how psychological disorder may contribute to greatness in a person who also has a "superior intellect":

> The cranky person has extraordinary emotional susceptibility. He is liable to fixed ideas and obsessions. His conceptions tend to pass immediately into belief and action; and when he gets a new idea, he has no rest till he proclaims it, or in some way "works it off" . . . Thus, when a superior intellect and a psychopathic temperament coalesce . . . in the same individual, we have the best possible condition for the kind of effective genius that gets into the biographical dictionaries. Such men do not remain mere critics and understanders with their intellect. Their ideas possess them, they inflict them, for better or worse, upon their companions or their age.[8]

James also emphasizes that even if religious inspiration may often occur in psychologically unstable or disordered individuals, that fact does not necessarily discredit the *fruits* of such inspiration. He quotes Dr. Henry Maudsely's statement:

> What right have we to believe Nature under any obligation to work by means of complete minds only? She may find an incomplete mind a more suitable instrument for a particular purpose. It is the work that is done, and the quality of the worker by which it is done, that is alone of moment; and it may be no great matter from a cosmical standpoint, if in other qualities

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7. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 24.
8. Ibid., 36.

> of character he was singularly defective—if indeed he were a hypocrite, adulterer, eccentric or lunatic.[9]

James concludes that the only ultimate test of the validity of religious inspiration is practical—in Jesus' words, "By their fruits ye shall know them." He concludes: "If there were such a thing as inspiration from a higher realm, it might well be that the neurotic temperament would furnish the chief condition of the requisite receptivity."[10]

One final observation needs to be added before we can briefly explore one possible approach to understanding Joseph Smith's psychological states and how they may have influenced some of his most controversial beliefs and actions. The line between health and illness, between normal mood swings and those that might be called extreme, is a fine one indeed. It is often difficult for a contemporary psychiatrist who has worked closely with a patient to make an accurate diagnosis. To diagnose with confidence someone long dead, even when extensive records exist on his or her life, is far more difficult and speculative. The observations that follow are therefore intended to be suggestive, not definitive. These observations will have served their purpose if they open up new possibilities for better understanding aspects of Joseph Smith's beliefs and behavior that might otherwise appear opaque or incomprehensible.

II

My ongoing interest in the psychology of Joseph Smith's religious experience and its impact on his actions has been greatly stimulated by nearly two decades of intensive research as a non-Mormon scholar into the origin and early development of plural marriage among the Latter-day Saints.[11] Initially, I tried to separate my concerns about Joseph

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9. Ibid., 33. Brigham Young made a similar point in a sermon on 9 November 1856, when he reported how, shortly after he became attracted to Mormonism, he responded to a man who attacked Joseph Smith's character at every conceivable point. Young told the man that he had never seen Smith and did not know his personal character, but that the doctrine was what mattered. "He may get drunk every day of his life, sleep with his neighbor's wife every night, run horses and gamble, I do not care anything about that, for I never embrace any man in my faith. But the doctrine he has produced will save you and me, and the whole world; and if you can find fault with that, find it" (*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [Liverpool, Eng.: LDS Bookseller's Depot, 1855-86], 9: 77-78).

10. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 37. James's acute sensitivity to the implications of abnormal psychology for profound religious experience may have been due, in part, to the fact that he had also experienced many of the extraordinary states about which he wrote. See Harvey Mindess, *Makers of Psychology: The Personal Factor* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1988), 35-44.

11. For an account of how my interests in this area developed, see "A Personal

Smith's religious and sexual drives, avoiding reductionistic approaches while attempting to make sense of the extraordinarily complex religious and social phenomena associated with the early development of the Mormon movement. Clearly Joseph Smith, like any dynamic personality, *can* be analyzed using a variety of different psychological and other perspectives. How convincing any one such approach can be as an *explanation* of what actually made him tick remains highly questionable since reality is always far more complex than any single way of conceptualizing reality can be.[12]

Ultimately, however, the psychological question continued to recur. Why did Joseph Smith feel so preoccupied with introducing plural marriage among his followers during the last three years of his life between 1841 and 1844 that he eventually put many other vital aspects of his prophetic leadership at risk? Was there some hidden psychological key that could help make sense of this seemingly obsessive drive? As difficult as understanding the introduction of polygamy may have been, it ultimately proved not to be the most challenging task. A variety of factors including biblical precedent, concerns for expanding kinship ties in a socially chaotic environment, and Joseph Smith's own strong sex drive all made plural marriage an idea with considerable power for the Mormon prophet in Nauvoo, Illinois, during the early 1840s.[13]

The most intractable problem associated with the early development of polygamy, instead, was something else. One curious bit of evidence simply did not make sense. William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake high council and a man of unquestionable honesty and integrity, emphatically insisted that Joseph Smith had approached him in the spring of 1844, shortly before his martyrdom, and had said: "This doctrine of polygamy or Spiritual-wife System, that has been taught and practiced among us will prove our destruction and overthrow." According to Marks, Smith went on to say that he had been "deceived, in reference to its practice," that it was "wrong," and that Marks should go to the high council and prefer charges against all who practiced the doctrine, while Joseph would "preach

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Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983): 87-98. My major findings are reported in *Religion and Sexuality* and *Women, Family, and Utopia.*

12. On this point, see Foster, "Personal Odyssey," esp. 96-97. A rather apologetic example of how Joseph Smith's experiences could be analyzed using the perspectives of Freud, Jung, Adler, Ego Psychology, Erik Erikson, and so forth is T. L. Brink, "Joseph Smith: The Verdict of Depth Psychology," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 73-83. More revealing of the substantial contribution that different analytical approaches can offer in understanding one complex personality is Mindess, *Makers of Psychology,* 147-68.

13. See Foster, *Religion and Sexuality,* 125-46, and *Women, Family, and Utopia,* 124-33.

against it, with all my might, and in this way we may rid the church of this damnable heresy."[14]

Apart from this remarkable statement from a man of unimpeachable honesty, there is evidence from both LDS and RLDS sources that Joseph Smith may indeed have talked about abandoning polygamy near the end of his life. In *Mormon Enigma*, a superb biography of the Mormon prophet's wife Emma Hale Smith, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery refer to the minutes of an 1867 meeting within the RLDS church in which a man named Hugh Herringshaw stated that he had "heard Joseph tell the 12 that they must abandon polygamy and turned to Brigham Young and asked if he was willing to do so. Young said he had been asleep. Then Joseph spoke upon the matter as only he could talk denouncing the doctrine of polygamy. Brigham replied that he and Taylor had determined what course they would pursue."[15] A year earlier, in 1866, Brigham Young had conceded in a carefully qualified statement, "Joseph was worn out with it, but as to his denying any such thing I never knew that he denied the doctrine of polygamy. Some have said that he did, but I do not believe he ever did."[16]

I believe that these and other reports that could be cited accurately reflect the tenor of statements made by Joseph Smith during the last months of his life. If Smith did indeed talk to Marks and to his closest associates among the Twelve about possibly stopping polygamy, such statements are extraordinary in the context of 1844 Nauvoo. For three years, Joseph Smith had engaged in a major, carefully orchestrated effort to introduce plural marriage among his closest followers in the Quorum of the Twelve and other high church councils. He himself had led the way by taking at least sixteen wives besides Emma in a full physical sense during that time. He had put enormous pressure on unwilling associates such as Heber C. Kimball and Orson Pratt to accept the belief and practice, and as many as

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14. Letter of 15 June 1853, printed in *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3 (7 July 1853): 52-54. Marks reaffirmed this statement in a letter dated 23 October 1859 that appeared in the first issue of the *True Latter-Day-Saint's Herald* 1 (Jan. 1860): 22-23, and in a letter to Hyrum Faulk and Josiah Butterfield on 1 October 1865, in the archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS archives).

15. Council of the Twelve Minutes, Book A, 6 Apr. 1865-12 Apr. 1889, RLDS archives, as quoted in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith—Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 179.

16. Brigham Young address, 8 Oct. 1866, as quoted in Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 179. In support of the idea that Joseph Smith may have seriously considered ending polygamy in Nauvoo, it may be significant that he apparently did not take additional plural wives himself after November 1843. Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 179.

thirty of his closest associates had taken plural wives under his influence, committing themselves in very tangible form to the new beliefs and practices.[17]

How under such circumstances would it even have been conceivable for Joseph Smith to talk about rejecting plural marriage without forfeiting all credibility with his closest associates? One could understand why he might have feigned such an intent with an associate such as William Marks, who opposed polygamy, but if he actually spoke in such terms to members of the Twelve who were already living in polygamy, how could such statements possibly be explained? Was Smith, as some of his previously most loyal followers at the time asserted, losing touch with reality during his final months in Nauvoo?[18]

A compelling psychological approach to explaining this and other puzzling features of the Mormon prophet's behavior during this period was suggested to me by a Mormon psychiatrist, Dr. Jess Groesbeck.[19] For nearly two years, I dismissed his suggestion as reductionistic, but gradually the explanatory power of the interpretation came to seem more and more compelling to me. Groesbeck argued that many aspects of Joseph Smith's behavior, especially during the last years of his life, appeared strikingly similar to behavior that psychiatrists associate with manic-depressive syndromes. Although one could understand that any individual under the pressures Joseph Smith faced might have experienced substantial mood swings, in the Mormon prophet's case those mood swings appear so severe that they may be clinically significant. Groesbeck also

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17. For the most important accounts of this process, see Charles E. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati: Standard, 1914); Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; Foster, *Religion and Sexuality* and *Women, Family, and Utopia*; Danel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1976); and Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*.

18. In a profound reflection based on his extensive study of Joseph Smith and his role in Mormon Nauvoo, Robert Bruce Flanders explores this possibility in his "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado, 1973), 141-66. On page 152, for example, Flanders speculates that "in 1844, Smith was losing control of many of his affairs, and perhaps of himself."

19. Personal conversation with R. Jess Groesbeck in May 1988 immediately following Valeen Tippetts Avery's Mormon History Association Presidential Address, which was subsequently published as "Irreconcilable Differences: David H. Smith's Relationship with the Muse of Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 3-13. For Groesbeck's published speculations, see his "The Smiths and Their Dreams and Visions: A Psycho-Historical Study of the First Mormon Family," *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 22-29. I am grateful to Dr. Groesbeck for sharing with me other unpublished materials he has written about Joseph Smith's psychology.

pointed out that there is substantial evidence that tendencies toward manic-depression tend to be inherited. Although many people are aware that one of Joseph Smith's brightest and most appealing sons, David Hyrum, tragically lapsed into insanity and spent the last years of his life in a mental institution, few realize at least six other male descendants of the Mormon prophet also have suffered from psychological disorders, including manic-depression.[20] The possibility that Joseph Smith himself may also have been subject to similar tendencies cannot be discounted.

What are some of the characteristics of psychological mania, and how do such states reflect themselves in behavior? According to Harold I. Kaplan and Benjamin J. Sadock's *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/IV*:

> The critical clinical feature for a manic episode is a mood that is elevated, expansive, or irritable. The associated symptoms include hyperactivity, pressure of speech, flight of ideas, diminished need for sleep, increased self-esteem to the point of grandiosity, extreme distractibility, short attention span, and extraordinarily poor judgment in the interpersonal and social areas. . . .
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> The person speaks more rapidly, thinks more rapidly, or moves more rapidly. The person frequently requires much less sleep and has apparently limitless energy. Many people with a manic illness feel that they are highly creative during these attacks. The reason, in part, is because there is a flooding of consciousness with ideas and associations that at times are imaginative and creative but that at other times are idiosyncratic and of little artistic merit. . . .
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> Although the elevated mood is often described as euphoric and cheerful and having an infectious quality, it is characterized by an absence of selectivity and an unceasing driven quality. Mania is also characterized by an extremely poor frustration tolerance, with resulting heightened irritability. A manic patient may be quite humorous, good natured, and friendly until frustrated in some trivial way. The good humor then promptly disappears and is replaced by anger and even rage. . . .

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20. For discussions of David Hyrum Smith's case, see Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Insanity and the Sweet Singer: A Biography of David Hyrum Smith, 1844-1904," Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1984; Avery, "Irreconcilable Differences"; and Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 288-95. Of the six other male descendants diagnosed as having mental disorders, one committed suicide at about age forty-five after showing signs of manic-depression, and another, who had been diagnosed as schizophrenic (dementia paradoxia), also committed suicide. Documents in my possession from a living associate of the Smith family. Name withheld by request. On 22 May 1993 in Lamoni, Iowa, I corroborated examples of manic-depression in the family with a Joseph Smith, Jr., descendant.

> The increased activity often takes the form of sexual promiscuity, political involvement, and religious concern. . . .
>
> The manic episode may or may not include psychotic symptoms. The impairment of judgment may not be sufficiently severe to justify a psychotic diagnosis. Delusions and hallucinations are not unusual. The context is usually consistent with the dominant mood. It is quite common for the person to communicate with God and to have it revealed that he or she has a special purpose or mission. Patients frequently describe themselves as an "organ" of God through whom God speaks to the world.[21]

In the various forms of manic-depressive illness, the manic highs alternate in bipolar fashion with periods of depression.[22] Current diagnostic opinion, described by psychiatrists Frederick K. Goodwin and Kay Redfield Jamison in their synthetic study *Manic-Depressive Illness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990),[23] emphasizes that manic-depressive illness expresses itself in an extraordinarily complex variety of forms, on a spectrum of intensity ranging from relatively mild, cyclothymic ups and downs that would be hard to distinguish from normal mood swings to extreme highs and lows that clearly display full-blown psychosis.

At the extreme end of the manic-depressive spectrum, the bipolar I form of the syndrome, individuals feel the full force of manic excitement or depressive despair. During their manic phases, they feel invincible and often do outrageous things. In full psychotic manias, individuals lose touch with reality, experience delusions and hallucinations, and lack any sense of judgment in interpersonal relations. At the other extreme, depression can become so severe that individuals can come to feel utterly hopeless and eventually may commit suicide if not treated.

A milder form of manic-depressive illness, bipolar II, typically involves recurrent depressions alternating with brief "hypomanic" (less than manic) periods of several days to a week or more when they feel mildly euphoric and full of self-confidence and energy.

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21. Harold I. Kaplan and Benjamin J. Sadock, *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/IV*, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1985), 761.

22. It is also important to note that some individuals apparently are subject only to depressive states. Treatment of such individuals is handled differently from treatment of those who experience manic-depressive states.

23. For a recent popular treatment of the subject that is also utilized here, see Patty Duke and Gloria Hochman, *A Brilliant Madness: Living with Manic-Depressive Illness* (New York: Bantam, 1992). The presentation in the following paragraphs is highly compressed. Anyone interested in understanding the full dimensions of manic-depressive experience, should closely consult Goodwin and Jamison's fascinating 938-page analysis. To an extent rare in medical texts, it conveys the personal dimension of the manic-depressive spectrum, with both its positive and negative elements.

It is often very hard to determine whether an individual is experiencing the bipolar II form of manic-depression needing treatment or just a normal period of enthusiasm or low spirits, but the recurrent nature of the experience is diagnostically important. In the mildest, cyclothymic forms of the manic-depressive spectrum, the distinction between normal expressions of enthusiasm or low spirits and those suggesting illness is particularly difficult to determine.[24]

III

How do descriptions of psychological mania square with Joseph Smith's actions during the last three years of his life in Nauvoo between 1841 and 1844? To anyone who has worked closely with the records of the Mormon prophet's life during those final years, the parallels are striking. Only a few key elements can be highlighted here, especially as they relate to his involvement with introducing the belief and practice of plural marriage among his closest followers.

Most obvious is the Mormon prophet's extraordinary expansiveness and grandiosity throughout this period. During the last year of his life, to mention only the most well-known examples, Smith served as mayor of Nauvoo and head of his own private army, became "king" of his secret Kingdom of God that he anticipated would eventually encompass all of North and South America, ran for president of the United States (that effort was cut short by his martyrdom), and was the "husband" in some sense of dozens of wives.[25] About a year before his martyrdom, he declared:

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24. Even with living individuals, diagnosis of manic-depression is difficult because the symptoms can mimic other types of mental disorder. Reliable diagnosis of someone no longer living is even more difficult, particularly if the symptoms are mild. If Joseph Smith suffered relatively mild forms of manic-depression, knowing whether his behavior represented normal volatility of mood or possible illness would be difficult to determine with any degree of conclusiveness. I have, nevertheless, been encouraged to pursue the manic-depressive hypothesis by positive reactions from both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars. For example, Kay Redfield Jamison, in a letter to me on 7 May 1992, responded to the preliminary version of my argument in *Women, Family, and Utopia*, 161-66, by saying: "[Y]ou make a very convincing case. It has always seemed that Joseph Smith would be a likely candidate."

25. For discussions of this period of Joseph Smith's life, see Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period I*, ed. Brigham H. Roberts, 6 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1948), vols. 4 and 5; Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I*, 6 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), vol. 2; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977); Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Klaus H. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in*

"Excitement has almost become the essence of my life. When that dies away, I feel almost lost."[26] Those who supported Joseph Smith during his last years were impressed by his sense of divine mission and his feeling that he was discovering the very secrets of the universe. Those who opposed him, including some of his previously most loyal lieutenants such as William Marks and William Law, thought instead that he had slipped his moorings and become a "fallen prophet," unfit to lead the church he had founded.

In no area were Joseph Smith's manic qualities more evident than in his efforts to introduce and practice polygamy during the last three years of his life. The point at which Joseph Smith began systematically to introduce polygamy to his closest associates has strong suggestions of mania. As Danel Bachman, summarizing the account by Helen Mar Kimball, wrote:

> Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and John Taylor [key members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles who were returning from England] arrived in Nauvoo on July 1, 1841.... Joseph Smith was waiting at the landing with a company of horsemen. As soon as the missionaries disembarked from the boat, he rushed them to dinner at his home, not even giving them time to visit their own families. Vilate Kimball thought that this discourtesy continued after dinner when Smith brought the entire party to the Kimball home. The Prophet, wrote Helen Kimball, "seemed unwilling to part with my father and from that time kept the Twelve in Council early and late." Helen said her mother "never dreamed that he was during those times revealing to them the principles of Celestial Marriage" or that her trials were about to begin.[27]

If the initial systematic attempt to introduce the concept of plural marriage among his closest associates bespeaks possible manic enthusiasm on Joseph Smith's part, his subsequent surge of actitivity with the sixteen or more women with whom he appears to have sustained sexual relations as plural wives (the full number may have been much greater) is even more suggestive of the hypersexuality that often accompanies manic periods. Some earlier writers such as Fawn Brodie, who have closely investigated the evidence on Joseph Smith's plural relationships, have suggested that he was in effect essentially a lusty, good-natured libertine giving vent to

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Mormon History (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967); Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*; Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; and Bachman, "Plural Marriage."

26. Sermon on 14 May 1843, as reported in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church* 5:389.

27. Bachman, "Plural Marriage," 179, based on Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 10 (15 Aug. 1881): 42.

impulses that more cautious individuals keep under better control. I have increasingly come to the conclusion, however, as did Brodie upon later reflection, that this argument cannot adequately explain the extent of Smith's sexual relationships and activities. Something more surely was involved.[28]

Clinically significant manic episodes often alternate with correspondingly deep states of depression. Once again it must be noted that many individuals experience mild depression and that such states of mind are not uncommon during periods of severe stress. Whether such periods of depression were clinically significant in Joseph Smith's case remains debatable. That he *did* have periods of severe depression and discouragement during the last years of his life is, however, indisputable.

One such period was described by one of his plural wives, Mary Rollins Lightner. She recalled Smith saying:

> I am tired, I have been mobbed, I have suffered so much from outsiders and from my own family. Some of the brethren think they can carry this work on better than I can, far better. I have asked the Lord to take me away. I have to seal my testimony to this generation with my blood. I have to do it for this work will never progress until I am gone for the testimony is of no force until the testator is dead. People little know who I am when they talk about me, and they will never know until they see me weighed in the balance in the Kingdom of God. Then they will know who I am, and see me as I am. I dare not tell them, and they do not know me.[29]

Although this was recounted many years later, it seems to reflect accurately the spirit of many of Joseph Smith's private statements during his last days, including those in which he allegedly expressed doubts about polygamy. His sermon of 7 April 1844 at the funeral of King Follett may appropriately serve as his own epitaph. In this sermon, he described his glorious vision of men progressing to the achievement of full godlike powers. He declared in his conclusion, which George A. Smith said referred to plural marriage, "You never knew my heart; no man knows my history; I cannot tell it. I shall never undertake it. If I had not experienced what I have, I should not have known it myself. . . . When I am called at the trump of the archangel, and weighed in the balance, you will all know me then."[30]

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28. Although this was the emphasis in the original edition of *No Man Knows My History*, Brodie's "Supplement" to the second, revised and enlarged edition in 1971, pages 405-25, increasingly emphasizes theories of psychological disorder in trying to explain the Mormon prophet's behavior.

29. Mary Rollins Lightner, Remarks at Brigham Young University, 5, 14 Apr. 1905.

30. *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 5 (Nov. 1844): 93. See the letter of George A. Smith

Here, it seems to me, was a profoundly lonely man, poignantly aware of the inability of the world (or even himself) to understand the underlying significance of his ideas and mission and seeing with stark clarity that he was about to be overwhelmed by forces he had helped set loose but which were beyond his control. Throughout his life, Joseph Smith was painfully aware of his singularity and never able to escape it.

Where does all this leave us with regard to understanding the dynamics of Joseph Smith's psychology and its impact on his beliefs and practices? It must be emphasized again that the analysis presented here about Joseph Smith's possible tendencies toward manic-depressive mental states is not intended as anything but an hypothesis. It is in no way intended to reduce the mystery—and the greatness—of Joseph Smith's accomplishments. Even if this hypothesis be true, the ultimate question remains not the *origin* of Smith's genius but the *fruits* of that genius.

To restate one of William James's observations, "If there were such a thing as inspiration from a higher realm, it might well be that the neurotic temperament would furnish the chief condition of the requisite receptivity."[31] It may be that only individuals whose inhibitions are bypassed by various forms of mania may be able to convince themselves and others that their insights emanate directly from God or other higher spiritual powers.

It must further be emphasized that individuals with manic-depressive tendencies can be extremely effective leaders, especially during times of crisis. One striking example is Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan general and leader of England during the 1640s and 1650s, who never lost a battle and who dealt with a host of issues that would have destroyed any lesser person.[32] A related example, Abraham Lincoln, who was subject to recurrent depressive states (though probably not manic-depression), nevertheless showed extraordinary creativity in handling the most intractable crisis the United States has ever faced and has been recognized by both scholars and the general public as the greatest president this country has ever had.[33]

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to Joseph Smith III, 9 Oct. 1869, as reproduced in Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952, 84.

31. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 37.

32. Both Robert S. Paul, *The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), and Christopher Hill, *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1972), convincingly document Cromwell's manic-depressive tendencies. Cromwell's manic-depressive behavior is also discussed in H. Belloc, *Cromwell* (London: Cassell, 1934); Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: The Lord Protector* (New York: Knopf, 1973); and W. D. Henry, "The Personality of Oliver Cromwell," *Practicioner* 215 (1975): 102-10.

33. All the standard biographies of Lincoln discuss his depressive tendencies and the problems they caused for those who had to deal with him. See especially James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945); R.

And in the twentieth century, Winston Churchill, himself with the cyclothymic tendencies that ran throughout his distinguished lineage, led England to victory over the Nazis in World War II at a time when an individual with less manic drive might well have assumed that defeat was inevitable.[34]

Thus William James's insistence that the *fruits* of religious inspiration must be considered apart from the *sources* of such inspiration must be seriously considered. Even if cyclothymic or manic-depressive psychological states may arguably have provided much of the *occasion* for Joseph Smith's remarkable creativity, the validity of the *product* of that inspiration must be judged on its own merits. Nonbelievers no doubt will still continue to see Joseph Smith's creativity as a product of his own fertile mind, but devout Saints may equally well see that creativity as an emanation from the divine.[35]

IV

If this hypothesis about the impact of possible manic-depressive tendencies on Joseph Smith's complex religious creativity holds up under scrutiny, does it also suggest any new insights for understanding the creativity of other great foundational religious figures and the origins of

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W. Hudgins, "Mental Health of Political Candidates: Notes on Abraham Lincoln," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 130 (1973): 110; and Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: New American Library, 1977). Goodwin and Jamison, *Manic-Depressive Illness*, 358, note that although Ronald R. Fieve, *Moodswing: The Third Revolution in Psychiatry* (New York: William Morrow, 1975), describes Lincoln as a "mild bipolar manic-depressive," "the evidence for hypomania is far less clear-cut than for his serious depressions."

34. For discussions of Churchill's sharp alternation between periods of depression and high energy, tremendous drive, and sometimes questionable judgment, see Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991); John Pearson, *The Private Lives of Winston Churchill* (New York: Touchstone, 1991); A. Storr, *Churchill's Black Dog, Kafka's Mice, and Other Phenomena of the Human Mind* (New York: Grove Press, 1988); and Lord C. M. W. Moran, *Winston Churchill: The Struggle for Survival, 1940-1965: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1966).

35. Of course, any effort to use psychological theories to understand major religious figures inevitably will be dismissed as "reductionistic" by devout believers. But the manic-depressive hypothesis appears to me to be less reductionistic than many other psychological approaches because it does not imply any necessary judgment about the quality of the product of the experience. Furthermore, as Anthony F. C. Wallace noted to me in a letter of 4 August 1992 after reading an earlier draft of this article, "One advantage of the [manic-depressive] hypothesis is that it answers, to some degree at least, the tricky question of timing. Why did the prophet have his revelation just when he did rather than months before or later? In a sense the choice of date becomes random, a function of the cyclical mental evolution of the prophet's mood."

new religious movements as well? Although a fuller investigation, both cross-culturally and cross-temporally, would be necessary to establish how frequently manic-depressive states may have influenced foundational religious figures, a convincing argument can be made that such figures have sometimes exhibited behavior that could be described as manic-depressive and that such a hypothesis may help explain otherwise puzzling aspects of their prophetic careers.

Among the individuals I have studied most intensively who exhibited behavior suggesting manic-depression are Ann Lee, founder of the Shaker movement, and John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the perfectionist community at Oneida, New York. The candid reminiscences of Ann Lee in the rare 1816 *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee, and the Elders with Her,* vividly describe how she was subject both to periods of extraordinary euphoria when she had visions of walking with Jesus Christ as her Lord and Lover and seeing glory after glory, as well as other visions in which she felt herself living literally in the uttermost depths of hell with those in unbearable suffering and torment.[36] As historian Clarke Garrett has suggested in a sophisticated reconstruction using contemporary evidence, Lee's untimely death at age forty-eight in 1784 may not only have been due to the physical and mental abuse she had suffered, but also to heavy drinking associated with severe depression during the last year of her life.[37]

The thoroughly documented case of John Humphrey Noyes is even more suggestive of manic-depression. Indeed, historian Michael Barkun, who has worked extensively with manuscript materials relating to Noyes's early life, has argued that Noyes may provide almost a classic illustration of the manic-depressive syndrome.[38] Noyes's emotionally devastating three weeks in New York City in May 1834, for example, saw him swing

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36. *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee, and the Elders with Her* (Hancock, MA: J. Talcott & J. Teming, Junrs., 1816). Other primary sources also make this point clearly. For secondary starting points that suggest these issues, see Ann White and Leila S. Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message* (Columbus, OH: Fred. J. Heer, 1904), and Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society,* new enl. ed. (New York: Dover, 1963).

37. Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 195-213.

38. Barkun indicated to me that after reading one of his papers on Noyes, a psychiatrist commented to him that Noyes's experiences provided almost a classic example of the manic-depressive syndrome. See Michael Barkun, "'The Wind Sweeping Over the Country': John Humphrey Noyes and the Rise of Millerism," in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1987), 153-72; and "The Visionary Experiences of John Humphrey Noyes," *Psychohistory Review* 16 (Spring 1988): 313-34.

from extraordinary euphoria and direct self-identification with Christ to the depths of depression in which he was unable to sleep, wandered the streets among down-and-outers and prostitutes at night, and consumed copious amounts of cayenne pepper and other stimulants to try to convince himself that he really existed.[39] Throughout Noyes's subsequent career, though he never faced such near-total collapse, he continued to experience wide mood swings. Whenever serious crises would develop in his Oneida Community, for example, he would go away, sometimes for months or years at a time, leaving responsibility for straightening out problems to trusted subordinates.[40]

In their pathbreaking study *Manic-Depressive Illness*, psychiatrists Frederick K. Goodwin and Kay Redfield Jamison discuss as illustrations four other important religious leaders who appear to have exhibited manic-depressive tendencies.[41] Most notable and well-documented of their cases is that of Martin Luther, the initiator of the Protestant Reformation and founder of the Lutheran movement. As Luther himself and his biographers such as Roland Bainton, Heiko A. Oberman, Erik Erikson, and H. G. Heile have shown,[42] he was subject at times to periods of the most profound depression, with even psychotic and suicidal components, going back to childhood. At other times, he experienced periods of exhaltation and extraordinary energy, during which he showed an astonishing verbal and literary productivity.

In many ways similarly complex was George Fox, founder of the

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39. John Humphrey Noyes's graphic description of the episode was published in his *Confessions of John H. Noyes. Part I: Confession of Religious Experience, Including a History of Modern Perfectionism* (Oneida Reserve, NY: Leonard, 1849). For other primary evidence relating to his extremes of emotion, see the edited collections by George Wallingford Noyes, *Religious Experience of John Humphrey Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), and *John Humphrey Noyes: The Putney Community* (Oneida, NY: By the Author, 1931). The most relevant secondary studies of Noyes are Robert Allerton Parker, *A Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), and Robert David Thomas, *The Man Who Would Be Perfect: John Humphrey Noyes and the Utopian Impulse* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

40. One of the reasons for Noyes's success in staying in control of the Oneida Community throughout virtually its entire existence was his willingness to step aside during periods of crisis until his loyal associates were able to resolve major problems by appealing to his authority and principles in his absence. If such flexibility were more common among charismatic figures, perhaps fewer of them would be killed or deposed.

41. Goodwin and Jamison, *Manic-Depressive Illness*, 360-63.

42. Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: New American Library, orig. ed. 1950); Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New York: Image, 1992); Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Norton, 1962); and H. G. Haile, *Luther: An Experiment in Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

Religious Society of Friends, better-known as Quakers. Fox, like some other key Quaker leaders such as James Nayler, was subject to extreme mood swings with apparently psychopathological elements. William James, for instance, cites the entry in Fox's *Journal* when he describes feeling called to go to Litchfield in the middle of winter, take off his shoes, and walk through the town during market-day crying out, "Woe to the bloody city of Litchfield! Woe to the bloody city of Litchfield!" Yet Fox was an enormously capable and level-headed person at other times, and his organizational efforts were largely responsible for the Quakers being the only significant religious group originating during the period of the Puritan Revolution to survive to the present.[43]

Sabbatai Sevi, whose messianic claims convulsed much of the Jewish community of Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa during the seventeenth century, is another figure who illustrated classic manic-depressive behavior, with sharp alternation between days of anguish and ecstasy. Gerschom Scholem's magisterial study of Sevi's life and impact leaves no doubt about his wide mood swings and the tremendous emotional impact of the "frenzied ecstasy" that his associate Nathan of Gaza helped channel into a powerful millenarian movement.[44]

Emmanuel Swedenborg, the eighteenth-century Swedish scientist, philosopher, and mystic whose ideas profoundly influenced a variety of movements from nineteenth-century spiritualism to more recent new age and occult groups, also exhibited manic behavior and wide mood swings after his mid-fifties. He began having a series of dreams, ecstatic visions, and trances that led him to spend the last third of his life producing a prolific series of writings, including *Heaven and Hell, from Things Heard and Seen.*[45]

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43. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 25-26. For similar examples, see *The Journal of George Fox*, rev. ed. by John L. Nickalls (London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975). Tendencies toward emotional excess among early Quakers are throughly documented in standard scholarly treatments of the movement, including William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2d ed. rev. by Henry J. Cadbury (York, England: William Sessions Limited, 1970), and John Punchon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984).

44. Gerschom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah*, trans. R. J. Zwi Wesblowsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973). On page 126 Scholem describes Sevi's symptoms, "with almost absolute certainty," as "manic-depressive."

45. Goodwin and Jamison, *Manic-Depressive Illness*, 362-63, present evidence that Swedenborg's major visionary experience at age fifty-six was associated with an attack of acute mania. For vivid descriptions of Swedenborg's role as a seer and his subsequent impact, see Slater Brown, *The Heyday of Spiritualism* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972); J. Stillson Judah, *The History and Philosophy of the Metaphysical Movements in America* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967); and Colin Wilson, *The Occult* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

Beyond such cases, one cannot help speculating that the most influential of all religious founding figures, Jesus of Nazareth, called the Christ by his followers, may have been subject to manic-depressive tendencies. Of course, the primary records are so limited and the accretions of interpretation so great that almost nothing can be stated with historical certainty about Jesus except that he lived and had a profound impact on those who knew him best. Nevertheless, if one could look freshly at the reported events of Passion Week, for example, one might at least wonder whether such activities may not suggest manic-depressive behavior. Jesus' actions riding into Jerusalem on a donkey while ecstatic followers spread their garments and leafy branches in front of him on the road and shouted Hosanna, or scourging the money changers from the temple, when juxtaposed with Jesus' profound depression shortly before his final arrest when he felt that his soul was "very sorrowful, even unto death" (Mark 14:34), "and being in agony . . . his sweat became like great drops of blood falling on the ground" (Luke 22:44), could raise the question of whether something more than normal mood swings may have been present during Jesus' experience as well.[46]

Irrespective of whether any particular foundational religious figure may or may not have experienced cyclothymic or manic-depressive states, the question nevertheless remains how and why such states may contribute to great creativity, especially religious creativity. Let us touch briefly on the question of the relationship between manic-depression and artistic creativity, before returning to the question of its role in religious prophetic leadership. In a recent investigation of the links between artistic creation

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46. Many scholars have been unwilling to deal frankly with early Christianity using the same criteria they apply to the analysis of other religious movements. Jesus, in particular, is always treated as *sui generis*. If Jesus and some other figure are reported to have done something descriptively similar, the framework used for analysis often is quite different.

A case in point relates to the Quaker James Nayler. Scholars readily agree that psychological excess characterized his behavior on 24 October 1656 when he rode into Bristol while followers sang and chanted, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel," and spread their garments before him. Nayler, one of the most eloquent of the early Quaker leaders, was punished for his "blasphemy" by brutal whipping, imprisonment, and having his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron before saying, shortly prior to his death: "There is a spirit which I feel, which delights to do no evil nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things in hope to enjoy its own in the end." For a detailed analysis of this episode, see the chapter on "Nayler's Fall" in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 241-78.

If orthodox Christianity asserts that Jesus must be viewed as both "wholly man" and "wholly God," then perhaps scholars should at least consider whether the full complexity of human psychological dynamics, with both its heights and depths, may not have characterized his life as well.

and mood disorders, for example, psychiatrist Kay Redfield Jamison found that in forty-two award-winning playwrights, poets, and novelists, rates of treatment for emotional illness (mainly depression or manic-depression) were vastly more common than one would expect in the general population. For example, whereas only 5 percent of the general population had ever been treated for a major depression, Jamison found that 13 percent of the novelists, 28 percent of the poets, 38 percent of the artists, and 50 percent of the playwrights she interviewed in depth had undergone such treatment.[47] Why should this be the case?

At a session on the creative mind at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in San Francisco in 1989,

> panelists argued that at the heart of artistic expression lies the process of change: changes in mood, in perception, in energy levels. "The creative process involves a cycle of disruption and re-integration in response to stress," said Frederick J. Flach. . . . If it is true that the cycle occurs in all of us . . . it is also true that some people—artists—undergo it more frequently. In some of them, the process of re-integration after disruption fails. "Mental illness," suggested Dr. Flach, "is a failure in the regulation of this process."[48]

Even more than in other types of artistic creativity, religious creativity shows what a fine line separates insanity and social disorganization from ecstasy and the highest visionary reorganization of the individual and society. The prophet, as Kenelm Burridge suggests, is both a dangerous and a necessary person, an adventurer who puts himself at risk in order to try more fundamentally than the average person to make sense of his confusing world. As Burridge notes: "It is not appropriate to think of a prophet as reduced in size to a schizophrene or a paranoid, someone mentally sick. In relation to those to whom he speaks a prophet is necessarily corrupted by his wider experience. He is an 'outsider,' an odd one, extraordinary. Nevertheless, he specifically attempts to initiate, both in himself as well as in others, a process of moral regeneration."[49]

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47. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 21 June 1989, A2, A6, based on Kay Redfield Jamison, "Mood Disorders and Patterns of Creativity in British Writers and Artists," *Psychiatry* 52 (May 1989): 125-34. Also see Goodwin and Jamison, *Manic-Depressive Illness*, 332-56, and Kay Redfield Jamison, *Touched with Fire: Manic Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: Free Press, 1993). Ibid., 240-60, raises the question whether treatment of manic-depressive disorders may inhibit some forms of great creativity. As with almost every aspect of manic-depressive illness, there are no simple answers. Also see Kay R. Jamison et al., "Clouds and Silver Linings: Positive Experiences Associated with Primary Affective Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 137 (Feb. 1980): 198-202.

48. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 21 June 1989, A6.

49. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth*, 162.

The result in many cases is only partially successful. Perhaps one reason that prophets so often face martyrdom or early death is that they have attempted to take on too much. Like Moses, they may be able to lead their followers to the edge of the promised land yet be unable to enter it themselves. Just as for every positive genetic mutation there are hundreds that are destructive, so too, I would argue, for every successful prophet there are hundreds of other would-be prophets who fail to realize their promise.[50] And even "successful" prophets often fall short of their ideals. Although prophets' experiences are deeper and richer than those of their followers, prophets, even the greatest of prophets, are not omniscient. Inevitably they are striving toward goals that to some extent can never be fully achieved.[51]

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50. A recent analysis, for example, argues that many of the post-World War II problems of the Bruderhoff religious movement were due to the depressive tendencies of Heine Arnold, who led the group from 1957 to 1982. Julius Rubin, "The Society Syndrome: Depressive Illness and Conversion Crisis in a Christian Fundamentalist Sect," *KIT Newsletter* 5 (Mar. 1993): 6-8. Rubin's larger study *Forsaken by God: Religious Melancholy and the Protestant Experience in America* is scheduled for publication by Oxford University Press in fall 1993.

51. This point, which is central to my analysis of religious leadership, is also developed in my article "James J. Strang: The Prophet Who Failed," *Church History* 50 (June 1981): 182-192, and in *Religion and Sexuality*, 245-47.

Having More Learning Than Sense: William E. McLellin and the Book Of Commandments Revisited

Mark R. Grandstaff

IN NOVEMBER 1831, IN A SMALL out-of-the-way community in the Western Reserve of Ohio, known as Hiram, ten ordinary looking men met to discuss an extraordinary circumstance—the publication of a Book of Commandments. This book, however, was no mere compilation of Old and New Testament dictates, but a collection of allegedly "new" revelation. Their leader, and the revelator of these writings, Joseph Smith, Jr., called these men together to make some final decisions regarding the revelations' impending publication.

Five of these men had been with Smith from the beginning of the Mormon movement in New York and were instrumental in prospering its causes. Oliver Cowdery, second elder of the Church of Christ and one of three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon, was Smith's scribe and confidant. The Whitmer family—brothers David, John, and Peter—was also intimate with the young prophet. They provided Smith with a home and sustenance during his translation of the book. Like Cowdery, they along with their brother Christian were witnesses to the book and the unfolding Mormon drama.

Four of the remaining five men converted in Ohio. Sidney Rigdon, prominent ex-Campbellite minister, affiliated the previous year and successfully convinced Smith to move the Mormon group from New York to Kirtland, Ohio. Orson Hyde, a former Methodist, ex-Campbellite, and member of Rigdon's Reformed Baptist group, had been baptized and ordained a Mormon elder by Rigdon a month earlier. Luke and Lyman Johnson were brothers who, with their family, had been baptized the

preceding spring and like Hyde were recently ordained. It was at the Johnson home in Hiram where part of Mormonism's early doctrinal foundation was laid.

The final convert, William E. McLellin, was introduced to the church by Samuel H. Smith and Reynolds Cahoon in Illinois sometime in July 1831.[1] Soon afterwards, he traveled over 450 miles to Independence, Missouri, to meet the Mormon prophet. He missed Joseph Smith but his exuberance for the new religion did not wane. Remaining in Independence in August, he was baptized and ordained an elder, and then set off with Hyrum Smith on a short mission back to Illinois. Finally, on 25 October 1831, after walking to Kirtland, he met Joseph Smith and like so many before asked for a revelation on his behalf.

Seven days later, these men met in what was for them "heady" times—the final dispensation of the fullness of times. Traditional LDS interpretations portray the November conference as a tumultuous affair: revelations were criticized, Smith's prophetic ability was challenged, and in a dramatic confrontation with Deity, the future apostate, William McLellin was humbled and rendered prostrate.

What interested me in this incident was a Gospel Doctrine lesson I heard in Detroit in the summer of 1989. The instructor informed us that he was qualified to teach this year's subject: besides serving in a number of leadership "callings," he had served a mission, had married in the temple, and perhaps more important had taken a class in LDS church history and the Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) at Brigham Young University. The D&C could be understood, he informed us, if studied in themes. Opening his official church manual, D&C, and other approved reference material, he began to explain the background to sections 66 and 67, revelations given to Joseph Smith on behalf of William McLellin. For the next forty minutes, McLellin was harangued, castigated, tried, convicted, and sentenced as an apostate "from the beginning."

From time to time I would raise my hand and ask questions about the instructor's source documentation, perspective, and insight into an event which few professional historians would claim. By this time, however, I could sense a general unrest among our group and perhaps from fear of being associated as one of McLellin's corroborators, I ceased my interrogations. I left that class, however, with a determination to understand the significance of what I had experienced along with a better conception of what happened that day in November 1831.

Much of the collective understanding we have about the November conference stems from late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latter-day

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1. The name "McLellin" has several variations, M'Lellin, McLellan, and McLellen. In this essay I have standardized the usage to McLellin as per the period.

Saint authors who neither witnessed the event nor knew Smith or McLellin. The majority of this literature was conveyed to members through conference talks, church educational material, and Utah church-affiliated publishers such as Deseret Book.

The earliest secondary work to describe McLellin's role at the conference was a nineteenth-century biographical sketch of McLellin published in *The Deseret News* on 12 May 1858 as part of a history of the Quorum of the Twelve.[2] With the exceptions of dissidents McLellin, William Smith, and John F. Boynton, all sketches were either first-person accounts or gleaned from correspondence and journals. Wilford Woodruff, then serving as assistant church historian and author of the Twelve's history, found it difficult to piece together sketches of those who had left the church as many were "now out of the church & scarsly(sic) any record left whareby I can get a correct knowledge of their ministry or work."[3]

According to his journal entries, Woodruff wanted to write an "honest" history of the dissenters and was frustrated over the limited sources from which to draw.[4] Except for Luke Johnson, Orson Hyde, and Thomas B. Marsh, none of the Twelve available for interview in 1858 were members of the church prior to 1832, let alone present at the November 1831 conference.[5] Thus Woodruff had to rely on hearsay information and a few scattered sources. Knowing little about McLellin's role in the church in 1831 and 1832, he referred to the manuscript copy of the *History of the Church* to flesh out the period.[6] After incorrectly citing McLellin's birthplace and

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2. It was also published later in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 807-809.

3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, Volume 5, 1 January 1857 to 31 December 1861*, Scott G. Kenny, ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Book, 1984), 38. For some insight into Woodruff's role as Church Historian, see Thomas G. Alexander's excellent biography, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 179.

4. *Woodruff's Journal*, 5:40. With the exception of Lyman Johnson, the sketches included all the original members of the Twelve. Of those eleven sketches, seven were written in first person, three in third person, and one, David Patten's, was taken from his journal. All of the third-person accounts were of dissidents McLellin, William Smith, and John F. Boynton. See all issues of the *Deseret News*, 24 Mar.-8 Sept. 1858. The original manuscript entitled "Biographies of the Twelve" is in archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT; hereafter LDS archives.

5. Only Johnson mentions the 1831 conference in his history. He recalled that at this "conference, the eleven witnesses to the Book of Mormon, with uplifted hands, bore solemn testimony to the truth of that book, as did also the prophet Joseph." Nothing is said about McLellin's role. See "History of Luke Johnson," *Deseret News*, 19 May 1858, 1.

6. The manuscript copy of this history can be found in LDS archives as "History of the Church, 1839 to Circa 1882." The McLellin account is in Book A-1, 161-63. A copy can also be found in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Autobiographical and Historical Writings*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989), 367-68. See also *Times*

providing some background information in the first paragraph, Woodruff also cited several examples of McLellin's disobedience beginning with the incident at Hiram.

> At his (McLellin's) request Joseph Smith inquired of the Lord concerning him, and received a revelation (see Doc. & Cov., Sec. 66.) Wm E. McLellin, as the wisest man in his own estimation, having more learning than sense, endeavored to write a commandment like unto one of the least of the Lord's, but failed: it was an awful responsibility to write in the name of the Lord. The elders and all present that witnessed this vain attempt of a man to imitate the language of Jesus Christ, renewed their faith in the fullness of the gospel, and in the truth of the commandments and revelations which the Lord had given to the church through my instrumentality; and the Elders signified a willingness to bear testimony of their truth to all the world.

Woodruff further listed McLellin's disaffection as a member of the Twelve, his excommunication, and subsequent activities with the Missouri mobs as proof of his apostasy. His final conclusion regarding McLellin is interesting. "Bro. McLellin," Woodruff closed, "was a man of superficial education, though he had a good flow of language. He adopted the profession of medicine."[7] Woodruff's selection and ordering of the sources beginning with the 1831 conference portrayed an arrogant McLellin who allowed flaws in his personality and not in the church or its leaders to eventually lead him astray.

In 1888 George Q. Cannon published *The Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet* which relied heavily on the manuscript "History of the Church" in writing the story of McLellin and the November 1831 conference. Nevertheless, it contained some significant variations,

> While at Orange (Ohio), William E. McLellin, one of the prominent elders, desired the Prophet to obtain the will of the Lord concerning him. Joseph complied, and through the word of the Lord which came as an answer to his prayer, William E. McLellin received much encouragement for what he had done; but he was commanded to repent of some things and was warned against adultery, a sin to which, he was inclined. He was promised great blessings if he should overcome. This instruction, direct from the Almighty, seemed to affect him for a time, but the words did not sink deep into his heart, because he soon rebelled and attempted to bring reproach upon the Church of Christ. He joined with other in whom the spirit of discontent was

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and Seasons 5 (15 Apr. 1844): 496-97.

7. "History of William McLellin," *Deseret News*, 12 May 1858, 1.

brooding to find fault with the revelations of the Lord which Joseph received.

Specifically, about the conference, Cannon expounded,

> When the Prophet returned to Hiram, the Lord condemned the folly and pride of McLellin and his sympathizers, and said to them that they might seek out of the Book of Commandments even the least of the revelations, and appoint the wisest among them to make one like unto it from his own knowledge. Filled with vanity and self-conceit, McLellin sacrilegiously essayed to write a commandment in rivalry of those bestowed direct from God upon the Church. But he failed miserably in his audacious effort to the chagrin and humiliation of himself and his fellows.[8]

While Cannon, like Woodruff, interpreted McLellin's behavior at the 1831 conference as leading to McLellin's later disaffection, he also added two key ideas which were recorded in neither the manuscript version of the "History of the Church" nor in Woodruff's biographical sketch. First, Cannon assumed that it was criticism of the revelations which elicited section 67. The manuscript, on the other hand, written in Willard Richards's hand presumably in 1842, recorded that it was after the reception of the "Preface" (sec. 1) that "some conversation was had concerning the revelation and language." As a result, section 67 was received. Nowhere in the revelations does it say specifically that there was criticism.

Second, Cannon inferred that this criticism was initiated by McLellin and other members. Because McLellin made the attempt to write a revelation, and Joseph Smith later chided him for his presumptuousness, Cannon assumed that McLellin must have been the chief antagonist. Again, the "History of the Church" does not make this clear. A causal connection can only be loosely inferred. Cannon's embellishment of the facts presented McLellin as rebellious, sacrilegious, and humiliated by his failure to successfully besmirch the revelations of the church.

At the turn of the twentieth century, church historian Andrew Jenson compiled *A Latter-Day Saints' Biographical Encyclopedia* which was primarily a collection of short sketches about prominent men and women of the church. In regards to McLellin, Jenson copied Woodruff's biographical sketch and added Cannon's part about McLellin's criticizing the revelations at the November conference.[9] Because McLellin had died since the writing of Woodruff's sketch, Jenson added "He [Mclellin] finally died in

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8. George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith, The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1888), 123-24.

9. Andrew Jenson, *A Latter-Day Saints' Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: The Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), 82-83.

obscurity at Independence, Jackson County, Mo., April 24, 1883." The line about dying an obscure death completed Woodruff's and Cannon's interpretation of McLellin as a modern-day Book of Mormon dissenter much like Nehor and Korihor as he resigned McLellin to a similar fate—an ignominious death.[10]

Though flawed and unsubstantiated, Woodruff's sketch, Cannon's conceptualization of McLellin's role at the conference, and Jenson's addition to and synthesis of the two works is the common theme in many secondary works. Of the thirty-seven works describing this event, the majority rely on Joseph Smith's history and the Woodruff-Cannon-Jenson synthesis to weave their narrative.[11] For instance, in 1917 Orson F. Whitney in the April general conference spoke on the subject of revelation and used the Woodruff-Cannon-Jenson synthesis as an interpretive theme from which to draw a spiritual lesson from the 1831 conference. Taking the synthesis one step further, Whitney interpreted the 1831 conference as a confrontation between the learned and the Lord. As a result, Whitney introduced a new theme—"The Lord's Challenge"—which had implica-

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10. More work is needed to understand how groups form conceptions of organizational dissenters. My content analysis of the published *History of the Church* reveals a developing organizational paradigm which correlates dissent with biblical figures such as Satan and Judas or Book of Mormon characters such as Nehor and Korihor. Of the 105 references to apostates in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period I, History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 6 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955), 9 percent compared dissenters to notorious scriptural persons. In the case of McLellin, 17 percent of the works refer to his ignominious or obscure death. The same wording applied to the death of Nephite apostate Nehor in the Book of Mormon (Alma 1:15). Additionally, the description of the McLellin incident is remarkably similar to that of Alma's confrontation with Korihor (Alma 30). After having challenged the head of the church, Korihor is struck dumb, and admits having been deceived by the devil. Reduced to poverty, Korihor is forced to beg for food and eventually is killed by a group of renegade Nephites. "And thus we see the end of him who perverteth the ways of the Lord," Alma cautions,"and thus we see that the devil will not support his children at the last day, but doth speedily drag them down to hell" (30:60). Two important works essential to an understanding of a society's need for developing such mythologies are Dan P. McAdams, *Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of Self* (New York: William and Morrow and Co., Inc., 1993), and Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Also useful is David Thelan, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History* 75 (1989): 1117-29.

11. See the appendix for a list of secondary works used in this study. It should be noted that few publications of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) address McLellin's role at the conference. Nothing is mentioned in Inez Davis's *The Story of the Church*. Literature produced by the Temple School relies on the LDS interpretation of the McLellin episode. F. Henry Edwards's commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants, however, downplays the criticism and McLellin's role at the conference. He suggests that the elders were sincerely seeking spiritual reassurances.

tions for those who thought that they could second-guess or criticize church leaders. Questioning the brethren was similar to questioning the Lord.[12]

According to Whitney, McLellin and a group of members (no longer accorded the status of prominent elders) saw themselves as superior to Smith and his revelations. Deity perceived their intentions and challenged them to write a revelation equal to Smith's.[13] Likewise, Elder Charles Hart, nine years later in general conference, told a "similar" story. This time, however, the challenge was interpreted as analogous to the biblical confrontation between Elijah and the priests of Baal.[14] By the late 1940s, the "challenge motif" continued with only minor variation. One novel interpretation described the conference as a show down between Smith and McLellin.

> He (McLellin) proposed in a sarcastic attitude of criticism and ridicule that the revelations be rewritten and revised, to go forth to the world in perfect English. This was a severe rebuke to Joseph Smith and might have been a source of embarrassment, as a few friends of McLellin's and the apostates in that neighborhood were in full sympathy with his philosophy. The Lord answered the challenge, thereby exalting the Prophet in the eyes of his friends and dethroning the "brilliant" McLellin . . . McLellin gladly accepted the challenge and wrote a document for the group to consider. Upon reading it they pronounced a failure, agreeing that the revelations were certainly "of the Lord."[15]

This motif was further introduced into the 1954 work *Teachings of the Doctrine and Covenants* prepared for LDS Sunday schools and published by the Deseret Sunday School Union. One objective of this lesson was to warn LDS intellectuals who might question the revelatory process or church leaders' decisions.

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12. Orson F. Whitney, in *Conference Reports* (7 Apr. 1917), 42.

13. Ibid. Whitney wrote, "In the early days of the Church certain of its members who thought they had made the Prophet Joseph Smith, because they had had a little more schooling than he, presumed to sit in judgement upon the revelations that he had received from the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord, by the Prophet told them the thoughts of their hearts in these searching words: (quotes D&C 67:5-8).

"Well, one of them, who thought himself the wisest, and who possessed some learning, took up the challenge and actually attempted to frame a revelation; but it was a flat failure. He could utter, of course certain words, and roll out a mass of rhetoric; but the divine spirit was lacking, and he had to acknowledge himself beaten."

14. Charles H. Hart, in *Conference Reports* (4 Apr. 1926), 132-33.

15. E. Cecil McGavin, *The Historical Background of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Paragon Printing Co., 1949), 174.

> The intellectual who discovers in the scriptures, ancient or Modern, mistakes in grammar must beware lest the finding leads him to undermine the sure word of God and result in a loss of his own faith. . . . [Addressing the 1831 conference] It is not surprising that some still doubted that the various writings presented to them and the message delivered were revelations from the Almighty. Some of the revelations bore so patently the form of expression of the Prophet that William E. McLellin challenged the Prophet openly, charging that Joseph had written some of the so-called revelations entirely out of his own mind. McLellin's challenge, together with the feeling that others might be similarly skeptical, caused the Prophet to turn again to the Lord for aid . . . the result was another revelation (D&C 67).[16]

According to this interpretation, McLellin challenged Smith not only because of the poor grammar and style of the revelation, but because its content seemed contrived. McLellin was then challenged by the Lord to duplicate the least of the revelations. The author elaborated,

> McLellin, perhaps under the urging of others, accepted the challenge. He retired from the conference and, in the solitude of his room, attempted to write that which might sound like a revelation from the Lord. On November 2nd he appeared again in the conference and with tears in his eyes begged the forgiveness of the Prophet, of his brethren, and of the Lord. He could not write a revelation. Try as he might, he could not write that which would sound as if it were a revelation from the Lord.[17]

The inference seems clear: To be learned is good, *if* they (intellectuals) hearken to the counsels of God (church authority).

Over the next thirty years few in the Utah church's leadership attempted further public interpretation. Sunday school courses, such as Gospel Doctrine, increasingly stressed the application of doctrine, not church history. Though some courses in the late 1970s and early 1980s did cover the Doctrine and Covenants from an historical perspective, William McLellin and the November 1831 conference were given little coverage.[18]

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16. William E. Berrett, *Teachings of the Doctrine and Covenants, Course 27* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School General Board, 1954), 4-5.

17. Ibid.

18. In addition to the Sunday school material, other "official" media also continued to pursue the connection between McLellin, criticism of church leaders, and apostasy. In 1985, for instance, a *Church News* article was run on the alleged McLellin materials of Mark Hofmann. Tied in with this commentary was another article written by a professor of speech communications at Eastern Illinois University titled "McLellin became enemy of Church," which freely borrowed from Jenson's *Biographical Encyclopedia* complete with McLellin again dying in obscurity. See Calvin N. Smith, "McLellin Became Enemy to

According to a 1978 detailed lesson plan, a member of the class was to read out loud a paragraph entitled "The Critic's Failure."[19] In almost catechistic style, the teacher was then to ask the class, "What was the effect of William E. McLellin's failure upon the other brethren present?" According to the manual, the proper response was: "The brethren renewed their desire to bear witness of the Book of Commandments."[20]

In the 1989 Gospel Doctrine manual, all references to McLellin's criticism of the revelations were deleted. The lesson was aimed at doctrinal application to daily life. While in the past, scriptural applications were drawn from historical events and actors, this manual elicited experiences from class members to make these distinctions.[21] The latest 1993 Gospel Doctrine manual attempts a balance between lessons derived from the examination of church history and members' experience. During the lesson on D&C 66-70 members are cautioned not to find fault with church leaders. It further cited D&C 67 and McLellin's challenge of the revelations as proof of the 1839 Joseph Smith statement which said that those who found fault with church leaders were on the "high road to apostasy." Moreover, the text inferred that those "who question" like McLellin could lose their "crown of eternal life" (D&C 66:12).[22]

Although the image of the apostate McLellin challenging Smith at the 1831 conference seemed fixed in Mormon memory, the 1970s also saw some historians slowly challenge the accepted interpretation. Surprisingly, however, few discounted the Woodruff-Cannon-Jenson synthesis: (1) Criticism of the revelations led to the reception of D&C 67, which challenged the antagonists; (2) McLellin as one of the chief antagonists accepted the challenge and made the attempt to construct a revelation; and (3) he failed. General histories such as James Allen's and Glenn Leonard's *Story of the Latter-Day Saints,* Donna Hill's *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon,* Milton Backman's *The Heavens Resound,* and more specialized histories like Lyndon Cook's *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* or graduate studies such as Robert Woodford's dissertation on the Doctrine and Covenants and

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Church," *Church News,* 27 Oct. 1985, 7, 13.

19. This passage was the incident described in the manuscript "History of the Church," 163.

20. *Doctrine and Covenants, Section 1 through Section 102,* Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Supplement (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978), 144-47.

21. *The Doctrine and Covenants and Church History, Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 17. Almost all references to church history had been edited and the entire manual was reduced at least 50 percent in size from the preceding edition.

22. *The Doctrine and Covenants, Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1991), 39-40.

Max Parkins's "Conflict at Kirtland" depend heavily on the "synthesis" to explain the event.[23]

Yet some of these works do offer some important variations. For instance, Donna Hill made it clear that McLellin was not the only follower of Smith who had tried to receive a revelation.[24] Milton Backman took a different approach. Elders (including McLellin) who attended the conference presumed the revelations were true. However, "some of them recommended that the language of certain revelations be improved prior to their publication."[25] This concept differs from the interpretations of George Q. Cannon or William Berrett where McLellin is sacrilegious and openly combative. Dan Vogel, in his work on religious seekers and early Mormonism, interpreted McLellin's criticism of the revelations as an objection to the codification of religious principles and authority.[26] Finally, Lyndon Cook in his narrative on the historical background of Doctrine and Covenants 67 suggested that it was time for a reinterpretation of the event. Cook wrote,

> Care should be taken not to condemn McLellan unduly for his participation in this matter. McLellan had met Joseph Smith for the first time only seven days before this meeting. Because he later became a bitter enemy of the Prophet, it is easy to adopt a retroactive interpretation of this circumstance. Consider section 68, which refers to him as one of the faithful elders of my church.[27]

The first step in reevaluating the incident entails a review of the

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23. See the appendix for citations.

24. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1977), 141.

25. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound, A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 90-91. Backman, after reading an early draft copy of this essay, adopted the Jenson synthesis in his newest work on the Doctrine and Covenants. See his *Joseph Smith and the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, Co., 1992), 2-3.

26. Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 110. If there was any confrontation it may have been over this subject. For example, in spring 1832 (most likely 1831) David Whitmer said he objected to printing the revelations on the basis that it would form a creed from which to judge church members. He also objected to the changes made to the revelations as they were being prepared for publication as the Doctrine and Covenants in 1835 and strongly disagreed with the publication of such "sacred things" as it often enraged the non-members who read them. See David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Nauvoo, IL: New Nauvoo Neighbor Press, 1976), 51-55. It is the reprint of the 1887 original.

27. Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, UT: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 105-108.

primary sources. The manuscript "History of Church" is a logical place to start.[28] It does describe McLellin as a vain, self-conceited individual who, as the wisest man in his own estimation, took it upon himself to write a revelation in accordance with section 67's instructions.[29] There is reason, however, to question Joseph Smith's description of the November conference and McLellin in 1831.

For example, the account of this 1831 conference was not recorded until sometime in 1842 by Willard Richards who had joined the church in 1835. As it was the first event written by Richards, and since he was not present at the time, Joseph Smith or someone else helped with its writing. Assuming that Smith aided the new historian, his perception of McLellin was probably colored by McLellin's later dissent.[30]

Central to Smith's view of dissenters were events which transpired in Ohio and Missouri in the late 1830s. Within a period of two years over a third of church leaders had disaffiliated. With the exception of Smith, all nine elders who attended that November 1831 conference had been by 1842, at one time or another, disfellowshipped or excommunicated. Only two, Sidney Rigdon and Orson Hyde, would return during Smith's lifetime. McLellin, excommunicated in 1838, did little from that time on to endear himself to Smith. Indeed, Smith, like other Saints, began to classify dissenters (especially those who would openly confront Smith) as apos-

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28. Thanks to Dean Jessee's and Howard Searle's work on Joseph Smith's history we know that its reliability is questionable. The sheer number of scribes, inadequate contemporary source material, many authors, breaks in actual writing all point to a document that must be seriously evaluated before basing conclusions about the past. See Dean Jessee's "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 23-46; and Howard Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830-1858," Ph.D diss., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1979.

29. Those who do not have access to the manuscript history can also find the McLellin incident in Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:224-26. Its narrative, with the exception of editor B. H. Roberts's marginalia, does not causally connect the reception of Doctrine and Covenants 67 with criticism of the revelations. Evidently Roberts relied on Cannon's input when editing the early volumes of the history. In fact, Roberts's own *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1930) fails to make any mention of McLellin's role at the November 1831 conference. For an important analysis of Roberts's contribution to LDS church history, see Davis Bitton, "B. H. Roberts as an Historian," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Winter 1968): 25-44; and more recently Bitton's and Leonard J. Arrington's *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 69-86.

30. Joseph Smith desired Richards to accelerate the writing of the history during this period. Within six months of becoming the historian, Richards produce almost twice as much as the previous historians combined. Little time was spent in proof-reading and editing the document. See Howard C. Searle, "Willard Richards as Historian," *Brigham Young University Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 45-46.

tates and judases.[31] By 1842 the expulsion of the Mormons from both Ohio and Missouri was increasingly interpreted as the doings of disaffiliates like McLellin. These events could certainly bias Smith's perception of McLellin's role at the November 1831 conference.

Though the published *History of the Church*'s account may be biased, it still makes no connection between the alleged criticism and the receipt of section 67. In fact, no nineteenth-century primary source made that correlation. Of the sixteen contemporary journals which mention McLellin, none discusses his role at the 1831 conference—neither do the two Mormon newspapers, *The Evening and the Morning Star* and *The Messenger and Advocate*. Searches of John Whitmer's history, *The LDS Herald, The Deseret News, The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Sidney Rigdon's *Messenger and Advocate*, McLellin's own paper, *The Ensign of Liberty* (published at Kirtland, 1845-49), and the McLellin collection at both the LDS and RLDS archives reveal nothing about McLellin's presumptuous criticism and challenge.[32]

There are enough nineteenth-century sources, however, to reconstruct McLellin's attitude toward the church and Smith in 1831 and 1832. In an 1848 editorial in his paper *The Ensign of Liberty* McLellin discussed his conversion to Mormonism and subsequent meetings with Smith in late October and November 1831.

> I united with the Church of Christ on the 20th day of August, 1831, in Jackson County, Mo., and I was administered to in baptism and confirmation by Elder Hyrum Smith, the brother of Joseph. I first heard his preaching in Paris, Edgar County, Ill. When I heard it, I made up my mind that there was more in it than any religion I have ever before heard advocated; consequently, I put myself to the trouble and expense of travelling about 450 miles, in order to examine the matter. And after all the examination I was capable of making, I was fully convinced and converted to the doctrine and practices of the church as they were then held and taught.[33]

Of the meeting with Smith, McLellin added,

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31. See n10.

32. McLellin's letters to Joseph Smith III, however, do mention the November 1831 conference. In both cases, he says nothing about the alleged criticism of the revelation but attacks Smith's later alteration of the revelations' contents. See William E. McLellin to Joseph Smith III, 10 Jan. 1861, from Linden, Genesee County, Michigan, and McLellin to Smith, July 1872, from Independence, Missouri (originals in archives, the Auditorium, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, MO; hereafter RLDS archives).

33. *Ensign of Liberty* 1 (Jan. 1848): 60-61.

> We [McLellin and Hyrum Smith] reached Kirtland [from Independence] on the 18th day of Oct., and on the 25th I attended a general conference in the town of Orange, about 20 miles distant. Here I first met and formed an acquaintance with Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, John Whitmer, &c. . . . Following this conference I went home with *The Prophet* and on Saturday, the 29th, I received through him, and wrote from his mouth a revelation concerning myself (D&C 66). I had expected and believed that when I saw Bro. Joseph, I should received one: and I went before the Lord in secret, and on my knees asked him to reveal the answer to five questions through his Prophet, and that too without his having any knowledge of my having made such request. I now testify in the fear of God, that every question which I had thus lodged in the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, were answered to my full and entire satisfaction. I desired it for a testimony of Joseph's inspiration. And to this day consider it to me an evidence which I cannot refute.[34]

The recent availability of McLellin's 1831 diary substantiates McLellin's later recollection. In diary entries dated 25-29 October 1831, McLellin wrote of his first meeting with Joseph, his ordination, Joseph healing his ankle, the reception of D&C 66, and his attendance at the Hiram conference. On 30 October 1831, two days before the alleged altercation between an arrogant McLellin and the prophet, he recorded,

> This day the brethren and sisters collected at Bro. J. Johnson's. And the brethren called on me to preach. But it seemed to me as if I could not. Here was the church who had been instructed by the first elders in the church. Here was Brothers John, Sidney, Oliver, and Joseph and it did not seem to me as if I could instruct them or even entertain the Congregation; but with confidence in Enoch's God I arose and addressed them about one hour and a half.[35]

In this state of mind, it seems highly improbable that McLellin would challenge the revelations and Joseph Smith's prophetic ability. Moreover, diary entries through November 1831 exhibit no animosity toward Joseph, the church, or the revelations. McLellin related only that having received the word of the Lord from Joseph, he was "determined to obey it." He wrote nothing of the "confrontation" over the revelations.[36]

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34. Ibid., 61.

35. William E. McLellin journal, 30 Oct. 1831, McLellin papers, LDS archives.

36. Some may argue that journal writers often keep their own indiscretions out of their daily writing. I see no evidence of McLellin attempting to gloss over his own failings. In fact, on several occasions he is quite candid. For instance, his entry for 20 August 1831 discusses some of his fears and limitations. After a struggle with personal doubt about himself, he wrote, "I did not doubt the truth of the things which I had

Further supporting McLellin's attitude toward the church and Joseph during this period is a 4 August 1832 letter from McLellin to his brother Samuel in Carthage, Tennessee. In the letter, he explained the missionaries' teachings, the testimony of David Whitmer about the Book of Mormon, and his attendance at October-November 1831 conferences.

> On the 25th Oct. I attended a conference, where I first saw and became acquainted with Joseph. About 40 Elders attended. General peace pervaded the conference and much instruction to me. From thence I went home with Jos. and lived with him about three weeks; and from my acquaintance then and until now I can truly say I believed him to be a man of God. A Prophet, a Seer and Revelator to the church of Christ . . . We [the Mormons] believe that Joseph Smith is a true Prophet or Seer of the Lord and that he *has* power and *does* receive revelations from god, and that these revelations when received are of divine authority in the church of christ.[37]

Contemporary sources demonstrate that in 1831 and 1832 McLellin was no dissenter and that the part McLellin played at the November 1831 conference has been greatly exaggerated, if not counter-factual.[38] From

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embraced [Mormonism], but my fears were respecting my own salvation." His early journals give some intimate insights into his life.

37. William E. McLellin to Samuel McLelin, 4 Aug. 1832, 4, RLDS archives.

38. This does not mean that McLellin did not have other foibles which got him into trouble with church leaders. On 3 December 1832, Joseph Smith records in his diary that McLellin was excommunicated (in Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984], 16-17). It is not clear why this happened unless it had to do with his failing to complete a mission the preceding spring and possibly committing adultery. According to McLellin, while on his mission in Ohio he became sick and decided to stay in the town of Middlebury and recuperate. While there he became a clerk in a country store, did not preach "in public," and returned in April to Hiram. At Hiram, he met Emiline Miller and after a four-day courtship was married (William McLellin to Samuel McLellin, 4 Aug. 1832). See also "The History of Luke Johnson," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 835.

Joseph Smith in a letter to his wife, Emma, was not pleased with McLellin's decisions to return from his mission and marry. Joseph writes, "I am not pleased to hear that William McLelin has come back and disobayed the voice of him who is altogether Lovely for a woman. I am astonished at Sister Emaline yet cannot belive she is not a worthy sister. I hope She will <find> him true and kind to her but have no reason to expect it his Conduct merits the disapprobation of every true follower of Christ but this is a painful subject . . ." (Joseph Smith, Jr., to Emma Smith, 6 June 1832, in Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 238-39).

Besides returning from his mission early, McLellin may have failed to receive a divorce from his first wife, Cynthia Ann, who "deprived him of her most lovely endeavors to render him happy and agreeable." Emiline, on the other hand, "rendered him happy and filled him with hopes that he could spend the remainder of his days tranquilly as it respects matrimonial subjects" (William McLellin to Samuel McLellin, 4

the sources available, some churchmen embellished the events to teach specific lessons, and professional historians failed to seriously question the documents and their interpretation. Moreover, those who desired to make McLellin into an example of criticism, irreverence, and apostasy may have done their history a great disservice. They may have missed the significance of the occasion—the continued use of witnesses to verify the "truthfulness" of inspired documents. These nine men were to the Book of Commandments what the eleven witnesses were to the Book of Mormon.

The use of witnesses to verify "historical" documents has its roots in the Book of Mormon. While both the New and Old Testament use witnesses to identify misconduct or as a witness to Jesus and the early Christian movement, the Book of Mormon linked witnesses to verify the "truthfulness" of divinely inspired texts.[39] Speaking of Isaiah's witness of Christ, Nephi records,

> And my brother, Jacob, also has seen him [Christ] as I have seen him; wherefore, I will send their words forth unto my children to prove unto them that my words are true. Wherefore, by the words of three, God hath said, I will establish my word. Nevertheless, God sendeth more witnesses, and he proved all his words (2 Ne. 11:3).

About the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, Nephi explained,

> at that day when the book shall be delivered unto the man of whom I have

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Aug. 1832). By early 1833, McLellin evidently repented and was restored to fellowship in the church as he served missions to Illinois and Missouri during much of that year.

39. According to Mosaic law, for instance, it took two or more witnesses to condemn a person to death for murder (see Deut. 17:6; 19:15). Jesus, speaking to his disciples in the New Testament, explained how his followers should handle personal grievances: "Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him of his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or more witnesses every word may be established" (Matt. 18:16).

The apostolic church not only applied the concept, but institutionalized it. Paul in his second letter to the Corinthians testifies of his witness of Christ, admonishes their unbelief, and exclaims, "This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established" (2 Cor. 13:1). Writing to Timothy about discipline procedures in the church, Paul cautions him not to receive accusations against elders, but rather before two or three witnesses. For background material, see David F. Freedman, et al., eds., *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 114-15; *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 249. For a traditional Mormon perspective on the use of witnesses, see Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 436-37.

> spoken [Joseph Smith, Jr.] the book shall be hid from the eyes of the world, that the eyes of none shall behold it save it be that the three witnesses shall behold it, by the power of God, besides him to whom the book shall be delivered; and they shall testify to the truth of the book and the things therein . . . wherefore, the Lord God will proceed to bring forth the words of the book; and in the mouth of as many witnesses as seemeth him good will he establish his word; and wo be unto him that rejecteth the word of God (2 Ne. 27:12, 14).

Soon after Joseph Smith finished dictating this portion of the Book of Mormon, he was importuned by Cowdery, Whitmer, and Harris to have them be the three witnesses. In revelation Smith was told that they would see the plates as well as the breastplate, the sword of Laban, the Urim and Thummim, and the Liahona. "And it is by your faith that you shall obtain a view of them," the revelation said, "even by that faith which was had by the prophets of old. And after that you have obtained faith, and have seen them with your eyes, you shall testify of them by the power of God" (D&C 17:1-3).

A short time later, the three witnesses accompanied by Smith had a spiritual manifestation in which the plates were revealed by an angelic visitor. Following the visitation, all three drew up a document which bore testimony of the divine nature of the Nephite record. Eight other witnesses were shown the plates devoid of any spiritual or emotional displays. They likewise created a document testifying of the physical appearance of the plates. These "testimonies" were then published in the first edition of the Book of Mormon. Four of the eleven witnesses of the Book of Mormon were present at the November 1831 conference in Hiram, Ohio.

According to the Far West Record, dated 1 November 1831, ten elders gathered at the November conference at Hiram, Portage County, Ohio, to discuss publication of Joseph Smith's revelations. The fact that they were revelations was understood. McLellin, for instance, had already received assurances of Smith's prophetic ability seven days earlier. The focus for this meeting, however, was the number of copies to be published. Oliver Cowdery, second elder of the church and clerk of the conference, "made a request desiring the mind of the Lord through this conference of Elders to know how many copies of the Book of commandments it was the will of the Lord should be published in the first edition of that work." The elders discussed the issue, pondered it, and then unanimously voted that 10,000 copies should be made. This completed, the conference adjourned till the afternoon.[40]

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40. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 26-28.

Understanding the implications of the morning meeting is important to our reinterpretation. First, the revelations of Joseph Smith had been compiled and after publication could be distributed to members of the church. Until the establishment of a printing press, few members would know the content of these revelations. After their dissemination, these revelations would in time become the genesis of organizational structure and tradition—the basis from which Utah Mormonism would later construct a political state and a religious tradition.[41]

Second, the fact that Cowdery lead the meeting and specifically asked the elders present to discern the will of God rather than defer to Smith's guidance is not surprising. Mormonism during this period was more equalitarian and considerably less hierarchial than it would later become.[42] Gifts of the spirit, for example, whether revelation, speaking in tongues, or discerning spirits, were given to various members of the church. "For all have not every gift given unto them," Smith wrote, "for there are many gifts, and to every man is given another, that all may be profited thereby." Cowdery's earlier failure to translate, for instance, was not so much viewed as a divine rebuke as it was a misuse of talents. He had been given other gifts, including "the spirit of revelation" and the "gift of Aaron." While early sections of the Book of Commandments attest to Smith's ability to translate and receive revelation, it was a gift, not a divine right.[43]

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41. See Vogel, 110.

42. See Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 156-60; and Vogel, 144.

43. The ten elders were representative of the transition which the movement was undergoing—the five New Yorkers were part of a small network of primitivist believers who aided Smith in his translation, the Ohioans had joined Smith's church. For the New Yorkers, nothing other than Smith's "gift" to translate the plates and receive revelations with the aid of a stone seemed to differentiate Smith from them. The Cowderys, the Whitmers, the Pages, the Smiths, who formed the early nucleus of the Mormon movement, all participated in the sharing of spiritual gifts from emotional rapture to heavenly visitations.

By 6 April 1830, however, the nature of Smith's role changed. In a revelation purportedly co-authored with Cowdery, known as the "Articles and Covenants of the Church," they were designated first and second elder of the church. This codification of membership standards and ecclesiastical structure would later be viewed as one of the first steps toward the centralization of Smith's religious and secular power.

For families who had been with Smith in New York the distinction was not so obvious. In September 1830 the Cowderys and Whitmers listened to a new seer, Hiram Page. While a significant number of revelations increasingly pointed toward Smith as leader of the church, it was section 28, a response to Page's revelations, which made it explicit. In referring to Smith as Moses and Cowdery as Aaron, the verses delineated their roles and placed Smith in a superior position: ". . . I say unto thee, no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church excepting my servant

When the Hiram conference reconvened, Joseph Smith received a revelation known as the Preface to the Book of Commandments (later D&C). Though there is no specific record about how this revelation was received, McLellin provided insight into the process.

> I, as scribe have written revelations from the mouth of both the Revelators, Joseph Smith and David Whitmer. And I have been present many times when others wrote for Joseph; therefore, I speak as one having experience. The scribe seats himself at a desk or table, with pen, ink, and paper. The subject of inquiry being understood, the Prophet and Revelator inquires of God. He spiritually sees, hears, and feels, and then speaks as he is moved upon by the Holy Ghost, the "thus saith the Lord," sentence after sentence, and waits for his amanuenses to write and then read aloud each sentence. Thus they proceed until the revelator says Amen, at the close of what is then communicated. I have known both those men mentioned above, to seat themselves, and without premeditation to thus deliver in broken sentences, some of the most sublime pieces of composition which I ever perused in any book.[44]

Following receipt of this revelation, Joseph Smith addressed perhaps the most important aspect of the conference. "Inasmuch as the Lord has bestowed a great blessing upon us in giving commandments and revelations," Smith queried, "what testimony should [we] attach to these commandments which should shortly be sent to the world?" Immediately, several of the elders stood up and said that "they were willing to testify to the world that they knew that they were of the Lord." Some who failed to obtain a spiritual manifestation as to the truthfulness of the revelations were hesitant to do so. Section 67 was then received.

Section 67 was *not* given because the elders criticized Smith's grammar. Rather, the section explained why they failed to receive a spiritual

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Joseph Smith., Jun for he receiveth them even as Moses. And thou shalt be obedient unto things which I shall give unto him, even as Aaron, to declare faithfully the commandments and the revelations, with power and authority unto the Church. And if thou art led at any time by the comforter to speak or teach, or at all times by the way of commandment unto the Church, thou mayest do it. But thou shalt not write by way of commandment, but by wisdom; and thou shalt not command him who is at thy head, and at the head of the church (D&C 28:2-6)."

As second elder Cowdery would speak and teach within the bounds established by Joseph who would receive commandments as head of the church. In Ohio Smith would receive additional challenges to his spiritual authority by others claiming revelations. The transition from "charismatic authority" to institutional hegemony, though in process, was far from complete. Nevertheless at the November 1831 conference Cowdery in his position of second elder and as an Aaron to a modern-day Moses directed this meeting. See Vogel, 104-13, 144 for a similar discussion.

44. *Ensign of Liberty* 1 (Aug. 1849): 98-99.

manifestation in regards to the Book of Commandments. It then provided definite instructions on how to "prove" the revelations. The elders were told in the revelation that the manifestation did not appear because "Ye endeavored to believe that ye should received the blessing which was offered unto you; but behold verily I say unto you there were fears in your heart, and verily this is the reason that ye did not receive" (D&C 67:3).[45]

Only seven days earlier at conference in Orange, Ohio, a similar discussion ensued over the elders' ability to discern the "will of God." Sidney Rigdon instructed the new elders,

> When God works, all may know it, for he always answered the prayers of the Savior, he makes his children one by his holy spirit, he binds their hearts from earth to heaven . . . God always bears testimony by his presence in counsel to his Elders when they assemble in perfect faith and humble themselves before the Lord and their wills being swallowed up in the will of God.

Following Rigdon's remarks, Smith added, "It is the privilege of every Elder to Speak of the things of God &c, And could we all come together with one heart and one mind in perfect faith the vail might as well be rent today as next week or any other time . . ."[46]

In that instruction, novitiates were counselled to be unified in faith, humility, mind, and heart. If so, God would not only reveal his will, but himself. These teaching were reiterated in section 67:

> And again, verily I say unto you that it is your privilege, and a promise I give unto you that have been ordained unto this ministry that inasmuch as you strip yourselves from jealousies and fears and humble yourselves before me, for ye are not sufficiently humble, the veil shall be rent and you shall see me and know that I am not with the carnal neither natural mind, but with the spiritual . . . Ye are not able to abide the presence of God now, neither the ministering of angels; wherefore continue in patience until ye are perfected. Let not your minds turn back; and when ye are worthy, in mine own due time, ye shall see and know that which was conferred upon you by the hands of my servant Joseph Smith, Jun. Amen (D&C 67:10-14).

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45. See F. Henry Edwards, *The Edwards Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, MO: Herald House Publishing, 1986), 256-59, for a similar interpretation regarding the reception of a spiritual manifestation. The concept of the heart and mind being receptive to revelation is central to Mormon theology. Oliver Cowdery, for instance, was instructed in April 1829 that spiritual insight is not a product of the "heart" only. The use of the intellect could not be ignored in seeking the revealed word (D&C 8 and 9).

46. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record* (25 Oct. 1831), 20.

Though failing to receive a manifestation in connection with the Book of Commandments, the elders were told of an alternative means to gain such a witness. In verse 5, they were told what they already knew—Joseph Smith was neither learned nor perfect. His grammar was poor and undoubtedly Cowdery, Rigdon, David Whitmer, and McLellin were more eloquent. Keeping Smith's educational background in mind, the elders were told to choose the weakest of Smith's revelations, select the most learned among them, and then to produce one like it. If they could, the revelations were not divine. If a revelation could not be produced, then this test coupled with their knowledge of Smith's background testified to the revelations' truthfulness. They must "bear record" of the same.

In order to follow the revelation's instructions, William E. McLellin, a school teacher, the most recent convert, and a newly ordained elder, volunteered or was chosen to make the attempt.[47] He then failed to produce a revelation. With his failure, the conference adjourned for the night.

On the following day, 2 November, the conference opened with a prayer by Oliver Cowdery. Lyman Johnson was ordained an elder by Sidney Rigdon and Cowdery again read the revelation (D&C 1) to the group of elders. All then arose in turn and bore witness to the truthfulness of the Book of Commandments. During the meeting, a joint statement was prepared in which those present "testified" of the truthfulness of the revelations.[48]

With one exception, the Book of Commandments document was similar to those signed by the witnesses to the Book of Mormon. While

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47. Prior to his joining the church, McLellin taught school in five different states. In Kirtland the church hired him to teach common school where he taught the subjects of penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography. He also taught grammar in the School of the Elders. For background on McLellin's teaching experience, see *Messenger and Advocate*, Feb. 1835, 80. For more about his work at the School of the Elders teaching grammar, see Heber C. Kimball, "Extract from Journal," *Times and Seasons* 6 (1845): 868; "The History of Heber C. Kimball," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26 (1864): 568; and Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs, 1903, in E. Dale Lebaron, "Benjamin Franklin Johnson: Colonizer, Public Servant, and Church Leader," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967, 325.

48. According to the Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:226, this document was to be published as a part of the Book of Commandments. The only existing statement, however, is an unsigned copy in the manuscript history. B. H. Roberts attributes the destruction of the printing press in Missouri as the reason why it was not published in the first edition of the Book of Commandments. Whether signed or not, the Far West Record indicates that each of the elders stood and "bore witness to the truth of the Book of Commandments (Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 28). Later in 1835 a similar testimony was printed in the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants to which all members of the Quorum of the Twelve including McLellin had their names attached.

the document of the Three Witnesses proclaimed a personal angelic visitation, and the statement of the Eight Witnesses rationally described the character and nature of the gold plates, the wording of the Book of Commandments's testimony claimed a charismatic witness. Following McLellin's failure, the testimony of the Book of Commandments was given to the elders, "through the Holy Ghost, shed forth upon us, that these commandments were given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for all men, and are verily true."[49]

This third means of verifying the "truthfulness" of inspired documents, like its own predecessors, also had its basis in the Book of Mormon. The manuscript should be read, pondered upon, and then in a spirit of humility the seeker of truth should ask God if the work is "true." If the seeker asks, "with real intent, having faith in Christ, he [God] will manifest it unto you by the power of the Holy Ghost. And by the power of the Holy Ghost, ye may know the truth of all things" (Moro. 10:3-5).

Was this pattern institutionalized for subsequent revelations? It seems likely, for in November 1835 at Kirtland, Ohio, a revelation pertaining to the Quorum of the Twelve was received. Of the event, Joseph records,

> Thursday 5th [November 1835] attended School, Isaac Morley came in from the east this morning I was called to visit Thomas Burdick, I took my scribe with me and we prayed for and laid our hands on him in the <name> of the Lord Jesus and rebuked his affliction - Wm E. McLellen and Orson Hyde <both at the November 1831 conference> came in and desired to hear the revelation concerning the Twelve, my scribe read to them they expressed some little dissatisfaction but after examining their own hearts, they acknowledge it to be the word of the Lord and said they were satisfied; after School Brigham Young came in and desired also to hear it read. After hearing it he appeared perfectly satisfied; in the evening lectured on Grammar.[50]

Even as late as 1978, revelations were separately confirmed by prominent elders in the church (general authorities). In a stake conference of the Great Falls, Montana East Stake, in October 1985, Elder Richard G. Scott, then a president of the First Quorum of Seventy, explained the details surrounding the 1978 revelation extending the priesthood to all worthy males. Scott further explained that upon its reception, Mormon prophet Spencer W. Kimball contacted every general authority individually and asked him for his feelings, comments, and approval. Following

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49. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:226.

50. Excerpt from Joseph Smith's 1835-38 diary in Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 72.

their consent, the "revelation" was announced and then presented to the body of the church for its sustaining vote. While Scott saw this gesture to the general authorities as a measure of Kimball's humility, it was, in effect, a continuation of a policy established at the November conference in 1831.[51]

In conclusion, the distorted interpretation of McLellin's role at the 1831 conference obscured both the meaning of the event—witnesses to the Book of Commandments—and a third method of receiving spiritual inspiration as conveyed in the Book of Mormon and used by the young prophet—a charismatic witness.[52] The nine witnesses, like the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, found their doctrinal guidelines in "revealed" texts. In the case of the Book of Mormon, two tests, one spiritual and one rational, were prepared. Three witnesses allegedly saw and conversed with an angel, while the other eight handled the plates. A similar dialectic governed the witnesses to the Book of Commandments. On one hand, the elders were to rationally duplicate an inspired scripture and in the event of failure testify to the manuscript's "truthfulness." On the other hand, God manifested its truth by the charismatic dispensing of his holy spirit. This balance between rationalistic explanation and charismatic experience is at the core of Mormon theology and may well exemplify the differences in the LDS/RLDS traditions.[53]

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51. Excerpts of Scott's remarks are recorded in my diary, 28 Oct. 1985.

52. The use of the Book of Mormon as a guide to early church organizational and doctrinal development needs more work. One important contribution to the recent scholarship is Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), who argued for a reinterpretation of the impact of the Book of Mormon on early church development. In this instance, Smith's use of witnesses was consistent with and developed within the context of the Book of Mormon.

53. Some may argue that my use of a charismatic typology is ahistorical. On the contrary, the emphasis on charismatic and rationalistic concepts when discussing antebellum religion and Mormonism is not new. The work of Vogel, 110-11, and RLDS historian, William Russell, "The Latter Day Saint Priesthood: A Reflection of 'Catholic' Tendencies in Nineteenth Century American Religion," *Restoration Studies* (Independence, MO: Temple School, 1980), 232-41, speak to this dialectic. In a broader scholarly setting, Anthony F. Wallace, Paul Johnson, William McGloughlin, Peter Berger, Paul Tillich, and Emile Durkhiem among others use similar categorization. Even the seminal work of political historian Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), used the categories of liturgical and pietists to describe those who were attracted to rational or "enthusiastic" religion. Certainly, Joseph Smith's own conversion experience (especially his 1832 narrative) portrays a young man torn between the universalism and rationalism of his father's beliefs and his mother's charismatic leanings. I see Joseph's own conversion as coming, not through a charismatic experience, but through a visitation with a supernatural being which rationally discourses with him. It is not an intellectual leap to assume that Mormon theological roots were steeped in the rationalism of the

During the last 162 years, rather than explore the theological implications of D&C 67, some church leaders developed an elaborate mythology describing the November 1831 conference. This interpretation explained to faithful the nature of apostasy and apostates. Significantly, the story of McLellin is typical of a genre which correlates dissent with biblical figures such as Satan, Cain, and Judas or with Book of Mormon characters such as Nehor and Korihor. The McLellin story establishes a paradigm from which an intellectual's dissatisfaction with the church or church leadership can be understood and rationalized by Mormon membership. One who questions, indeed, has "more learning than sense" and is a potential candidate for apostasy.

It is time for a reinterpretation of disaffiliation and organizational mythology through a cautious review of Mormonism's early beginnings "by study and by faith," "through the mind and through the heart."[54] It is time to stop fearing intellectual inquiry and go about the work of salvation remembering that all are sinners and that God's purposes cannot be frustrated. Ultimately, only truth will set us free. For now, however, when Mormons of any tradition raise their hands to sustain a revelation, from branch administrative action through general conference pronouncement, they like their leaders are participating in a ritual which extends back to the early decades of the Restoration. This procedure unites them with the original witnesses of the Mormon movement. In a sense, it says to all believers that their opinions, abilities, and spirituality are valued, that all of them from the most senior general authority to the youngest new born baby girl are co-equals in the work of building the church, the Kingdom of God, and Zion. It is something that the various Mormon traditions share. It is something with my own church's increasing size and growing bureaucracys I hope we never lose.

Enlightenment and the "enthusiasm" generated during the awakenings. The words "charismatic" and "rationalistic" may be ahistorical terms, but nevertheless capture the meaning of the events transpiring in Mormon theological development in 1820 as well as in 1993.

54. A profitable starting place may be to examine the dated but useful work of Meyer N. Zeld and Roberta Ash, "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change," *Social Forces*, Mar. 1966, 327-41. More current is Helen Rose Fuchs Ebaugh's *Becoming an EX: The Process of Role Exit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). See also Roger D. Launius and W.B. Spillman, eds., *Let Contention Cease: The Dynamics of Dissent in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Graceland/Park Press, 1991).

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into the dimlit room, like night
we bow to the immaculate light
rising in the tiny Christ.

The child watches from his mother's lap.
His gaze, beyond our gifts, rests on us
and bids us lay our wisdom in the dust
to follow him—
through other deserts to another hill,
where Mary's birth pains touch her still;
follow to our own nativity
when new birth throes, begun on Calvary,
will burst our hearts.

The Struggle for Power in the Mormon Battalion

Larry D. Christiansen

THE MORMON BATTALION REACHED SAN DIEGO in late January 1847 with five and a half months of service remaining in its one-year enlistment. Mustered by the Mormon church at the request of the U.S. government, the battalion was intended to help defend federal interests in its war with Mexico, while bringing much-needed money to church coffers. These last five to six months of battalion service would be filled with military drills, occupation duties, and internal strife. Battalion members entered California disgruntled and were more ripe with discord and division when discharged. Supposedly the hard portion of their service was behind them, but inter-battalion conflict soon replaced the trials of the trail. Their California experience would prove contradictory. That which bound the soldiers together in the beginning became in the end the primary source of discord: their religion. Ultimately such problems turned on the issue of whether the battalion belonged to the U.S. government or the LDS church.

The problems in California did not equally bedevil the five companies of the battalion. Company B was ordered to San Diego. Members looked forward to their assignment, and none of those keeping journals recorded negative accounts of their stay. They meshed readily with the community. Some served in civic positions, and most took advantage of the opportunity to work for the citizens of the town in a wide range of employment. Dr. John S. Griffin, the physician who came west with General Stephen W. Kearny and served Company B for almost two months, praised their industry. The town's citizens asked the army to retain the company in their community and expressed deep emotion at their departure. When the time came for re-enlistment, twice as many men from Company B volunteered as in the other four companies combined.[1]

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1. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1848* (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1969), 284-90; William Hyde, Private Journal of William

The remaining four companies were assigned to Los Angeles. Members of these companies were ultimately less inclined to re-enlist. They had more complaints, internal strife, and trouble with military regulations. They performed less work and were negative about the community and its residents.[2] These men were assigned to labor on the fortification which became Fort Moore. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke ordered "diligent persecution" of the work for ten and a half hours a day,[3] but by their own words the men refused to work more than a half day.[4] Yet even during their easy California duties, these men at Los Angeles complained that their noses were continually held to the grindstone, that they were enslaved for ten months by their Mormon officers.[5]

The reasons for this dissymetry of response between those stationed in San Diego and those in Los Angeles can be traced to their locations during the bitterest infighting for control of the battalion in California. Company B was removed from the center of the problem much of the time, and company members did not allow past grievances on the trail to dominate them afterwards. Many in the other companies took the opposite approach and participated in the struggle for power as if it were spiritual warfare where religious resentment played the crucial role. Their attitudes reflected negatively against their commanding officer, the Mormon officers, the government, the army, the Californians, and almost everything except their religion. The roots of the problem stretched back to the beginning and became troublesome on the plains of Kansas. Before the end of the battalion's service a self-appointed leader, Levi W. Hancock, had sufficiently underminded those in authority to become the most influential man in the battalion.

Hyde, typescript, archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives); "The Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (July 1931): 88-90; Frank Alfred Golder, *The March of the Mormon Battalion From Council Bluffs to California Taken From the Journal of Henry Standage* (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 212; George Walcott Ames, Jr., "A Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 22 (Mar. 1943): 54-57.

2. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 220, 221. Henry G. Boyle diary, typescript, 1 July 1847, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

3. Cooke's Order No. 9, 24 Apr. 1847, in Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 279.

4. David B. Gracy and Helen J. H. Rugeley, "From the Mississippi to the Pacific: An Englishman in the Mormon Battalion," *Arizona and the West* 7 (Summer 1965): 158, 159. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 219, 220, 224, 225; James Pace diary, 4 June 1847, LDS archives.

5. Tyler, *History of the Mormon Battalion*, 296; Journal of Levi W. Hancock, 16 July 1847, LDS archives.

When the Mormon Battalion was called in 1846, LDS church leaders selected most of the officers and placed them in charge of all religious and social affairs of the battalion. Among the almost entirely Mormon unit only the cadre leadership of battalion commanders James Allen, Andrew J. Smith, and Philip St. George Cooke plus Lieutenant George Stoneman and surgeon George Sanderson were non-Mormons. In the march from Council Bluffs to Santa Fe only one non-Mormon officer was present at a time, thereafter Cooke, Smith, and Stoneman were with the battalion to California. In a meeting with the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, Brigham Young, president of the LDS church, instructed them to act as fathers to those they presided over.[6] If a comparable meeting had been held with rank-and-file members of the battalion, no doubt considerable emphasis would have been placed on the men to obey those chosen to lead them. Obedience to authority was a cardinal principle of both the army and the Mormon church.

The Mormon Battalion first moved to Fort Leavenworth to outfit their march to California. Here they experienced some delay due to sickness of both their commander Colonel James Allen and some enlisted men, which caused three companies to move out on the trail under Captain Jefferson Hunt, the senior Mormon officer. Most in the remaining two companies followed a couple of days later. They reunited on 19 August 1846 at Hurricane Point because of a terrific storm they experienced. Some believed the storm was a manifestation of Satan's displeasure at the joyous reunion of the battalion companies. Others took it as an ominous judgment of God on the battalion for their imprudence and misdemeanor.[7] The battalion spent a few days at this campsite recovering from the effects of the storm.

More important, the battalion had some internal sorting out to do. The two late arriving companies, C and D, had had serious problems en route from the fort. In both companies the problem concerned men dissatisfied with the captains the church had placed over them. Between Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, many men had become involved in conspiracies to oust the two captains.

These mutinous impulses had first erupted the day after the first three

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6. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 123-29; Eugene E. Campbell, "Authority Conflicts in the Mormon Battalion," *Brigham Young University Studies* 8 (Winter 1968): 127-29. Only two works of any note indicate that there was disharmony in the battalion above what little Sargent Tyler's covered. They are Campbell's article and John Yurtinus's dissertation, "A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976.

7. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 146-48; Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 138-39; William Coray journal (incorporated into the Journal History in LDS archives by dated entry), 19 Aug. 1846; Levi Hancock journal, undated entry, probably 21 Aug. 1846.

companies left Fort Leavenworth. At the time Captain James Brown of Company C was sick and temporarily relieved of duty. In his absence Adjutant George P. Dykes ordered the acting company commander, Lieutenant George Rosecrans, to clean up the campground vacated by the three departing companies. Rosecrans refused to comply. Someone reported this to Captain Brown, who directed the men to do as Dykes had ordered. This put the two officers at odds with each other. More serious trouble came with Lieutenant Robert Clift, who had been trying to persuade Brown's wife to get her husband to resign his commission and quit the battalion. Brown heard Clift making some threats and uncomplimentary remarks about the captain. Brown grabbed his pistol and declared "he would shoot Clift." He did not find his antagonist while his anger was up but soon found he was facing a possible court martial.

Clift had preferred charges against Captain Brown. Brown wanted to make amends, but Clift was not willing. In an attempt to settle the matter internally, Adjutant Dykes finally prevailed on Clift to drop the charge if Brown publicly apologized to Clift and his company. The apology meeting was held, but Brown spoke too long, and Rosecrans, still the acting commander, had Brown placed under guard and renewed Clift's charges.[8]

Thus troubles in the two companies were left festering. On the evening of the storm at Hurricane Point, Rosecrans and Clift held a toast meeting in which participants drank and gave toasts expressing their sentiments concerning the captains of companies C and D. The toasts were as follows: "Here is to Capt. Brown that he may be discharged and sent back to the Bluff, having disgraced himself as an officer and that his place may be filled by Lieut. Rosecrans who raised the company. Here is to Capt. Higgins that he may be discharged and the one take his place (meaning Canfield) to who it rightly belongs."[9]

On the morning of 20 August the case of Captain Brown was taken up by battalion officers under the leadership of Captain Hunt. The toast of the previous night was not known or brought up. After details of the trouble were reviewed, the matter was brought to a head and settled. Brown, Rosecrans, and Clift were given a "complete dressing out," and each gave necessary acknowledgment of responsibility. Brown retained his office, and the three officers shared the blame for the troubles.[10]

Meanwhile a seemingly smaller problem had been causing a stir among a few. Ultimately the man at the center of this disturbance would become a driving force behind the struggles and controversies which would continue to plague the company. Shortly before the last two com-

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8. William Coray journal, 20 Aug. 1846.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.

panies caught up to the rest of the battalion, Levi W. Hancock had a dream. He was a forty-three-year-old musician in Company E and one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy of the LDS church. Despite his high church rank, he had been given no authority in the battalion. But because of his age, church standing, and friendship within the battalion, he was accorded much respect.

In his dream he saw some of the battalion cut their own throats. This made him feel bad since he felt he had warned them all of approaching danger and recited to them how the church expected them to keep themselves clean. While engrossed with concern for his dream, he was visited by a private making charges that some of the men had defiled themselves with adultery and swearing at the fort. This caused Hancock to feel that he must "come out against all sin and disorder."

None of the private's charges concerned those involved in the authority conflict in the two companies. Hancock decided he could not lay his hands on the offending parties to bless them lest he be seized by the same spirit afflicting them. He decided to approach Captain Hunt about the battalion holding religious meetings, hoping this would help the men. Hunt responded favorably to Hancock's suggestion and called Hancock and Private David Pettigrew to assist the officers in the battalion's spiritual affairs.[11] Hunt and Hancock were long-time friends. But eventually Hunt's decision to elevate Hancock to a position of authority would come back to haunt him.

Later that day the battalion held a religious meeting in which Daniel Tyler, William Hyde, David Pettigrew, and Hancock and Hunt spoke to the battalion on their duties as soldiers and members of the church. Hancock focused his remarks on the improper conduct of some for the last few days and stressed the need for obedience to counsel. He promised the sick would recover if they put away evil from their lives.[12] Captain Hunt expressed his feelings at some length, and with emotion according to one of the listeners, as "He fairly laid the ax at the root of the tree and discountenanced vice in the strongest terms, which imported a good spirit to the Battalion and checked insubordination materially." He also advised the captains of the companies to assemble their men frequently to pray for them and instruct them on the principles of virtue and "to be united with each other."[13]

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11. Levi Hancock journal, 21 Aug. and 10 Sept.; "Autobiography of David Pettigrew," 74, manuscript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. Hancock gives himself alone the credit, but Pettigrew claims both were called by the officers.

12. Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers, 20 Aug. 1846, LDS archives; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 148.

13. William Coray journal, 20 Aug. 1846.

Assisting the officers, Hancock and associates addressed the task of correcting personal misconduct—being in the ranks, they were closer to the situation. Hunt maintained his authority by presiding at these meetings. It looked like a good start, but within ten days the new structure was coming apart.

After the first meeting "the brethren" met for a special prayer in behalf of the sick. Illness had plagued them since Council Bluffs. The following day the sick, who had been left at the fort, caught up with the battalion and brought word that Colonel Allen was still ill. Sickness continued to stalk the command despite the work of the Mormon doctor, admonitions to live right, as well as administrations to and baptisms of the sick. Then they received the bad news that Colonel Allen had died at the fort.[14]

The following day the battalion marched into Council Grove. They held a memorial service for Colonel Allen and buried two older people who were with a family party accompanying the battalion. The battalion now needed a new commander, and the officers were unsure of the procedures to accomplish this. They met and after some investigation decided that Captain Hunt should be their commanding officer until they reached General Kearny.[15] Feeling the government must confirm their choice, the officers addressed a letter to U.S. president James K. Polk informing him of Allen's death and asking him to appoint Hunt as Allen's successor. This letter was read to the troops and money collected to pay the cost of getting the letter posted at Independence, Missouri.[16]

Matters became complicated the next day when another candidate to lead the battalion arrived. On 29 August Lieutenant Andrew J. Smith of the regular army arrived with Dr. George B. Sanderson (the battalion's surgeon), a paymaster general, a guide, and the men's staff members. Earlier Smith had tried to convince the Mormons attending Colonel Allen at the fort that he should lead them to Kearny. Both he and Sanderson had sent letters to Brigham Young requesting that Smith take charge.[17] A couple of days after writing Young, Smith sent a letter to the U.S. Adjutant General explaining that just prior to his death, Colonel Allen had requested him to forward to Washington, D.C., select papers concerning the battalion. Smith

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14. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 148-49; William Coray journal, 24 Aug. 1846; Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 140. See also "Extracts From the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (Apr. 1932): 37. Baptizing the sick for the restoration of their health was a practice of the early Mormon church started by Joseph Smith. It was later discontinued.

15. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 154-56.

16. Samuel Rogers journal, 29 Aug. 1846; Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 143. Polk received the letter too late to affect the change of command.

17. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 143, 150-54; William Hyde journal, 23.

stated that he was on his way to report to General Kearny. He had the general's instruction to Colonel Allen in his possession, and he felt it his duty to see that his instructions were carried out. Therefore he would "with the concent of the Mormons" take charge of and lead them to Kearny. He hoped his course of action would be approved by the War Department.[18]

Smith met with the Mormon officers and let them know that he hoped to lead them to General Kearny. He stressed the advantages of having a regular officer at their head. He knew the army's way of reports, rolls, and how to get provisions. He told the Mormons, who were short of supplies, that there were provisions in advance and rear which were available for their use. But the men in charge of those supplies did not know the Mormon officers, who had not yet received their official commissions. Smith could get these provisions. He also knew the trail to Santa Fe and had a guide who could direct them.[19]

Smith also had a letter from the commander of Fort Leavenworth to Captain Hunt informing him that because of Colonel Allen's death, the government property in the battalion's possession had not been duly receipted. He advised that they accept Lieutenant Smith, who could remedy the problem.[20] The paymaster general urged the Mormon officers to take the advice of the post commander and alluded to potential problems if they tried to go by themselves. Smith's guide also told the Mormons that their old nemesis from Missouri, Colonel Sterling Price, leading a command of Missouri volunteers, was nearby and intended to attach the Mormon Battalion to his regiment if Smith was not selected.[21] Because Price had earlier been involved in what Mormons believed were mobbing activities against them in the late 1830s and in the harsh treatment and abuse of Mormon prisoners including Joseph Smith at Richmond, Missouri, he was considered in 1846 an "inveterate enemy" of the Mormon church. Thus the guide's warning carried some weight.

The Mormon officers remained silent except for Adjutant Dykes, who stated the present command did not know how to fill out the pay rolls and other documents. Dykes expressed his view that Smith should be accepted. Hunt, suspicious, asked Smith about his intentions and whether he planned to carry out Colonel Allen's designs. Smith assured the Mormon that such were his plans.[22] In the same meeting, according to Daniel Tyler,

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18. Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Smith to Roger Jones, Camp near Fort Leavenworth, 25 Aug. 1846, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

19. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 156-57; William Hyde journal, 23.

20. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 143-44.

21. Ibid.; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 156-57.

22. Jefferson Hunt and J. D. Hunter to Brigham Young and His Council, 17 Oct. 1846, in Journal History, 17 Oct. 1846, and in Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 156-57.

"Captain Hunt stated boldly and emphatically that it was his [Hunt's] right to assume command, and that he had no fears of the responsibility of leading the Battalion," but that he was one man and the whole council of officers should decide.[23] Smith and supporters were excused, and the Mormon officers discussed the matter. Then Captain Nelson Higgins of Company D moved that Smith lead them to Kearny, and Captain Daniel Davis of Company E seconded the motion, which carried unanimously. Smith was notified of the results, and he took command of the battalion on 30 August 1846 at Council Grove.

The men in the battalion were surprised at the move; one man was convinced the sole reason was because Smith was a West Pointer.[24] Another noted that the men did not know the reason why, "but time will show leaving it in the hands of those who knows concerning our mission."[25] A third thought that Smith had been accepted on his "genteel promises."[26] After trouble erupted with Smith, the men remembered things differently. Only then did charges emerge that the Mormons had not been consulted about the change in command and that Smith's appointment went against the counsel of church leaders and a promise of Colonel Allen. None of the battalion's numerous diarists mentioned Allen's promise that he would be the only non-Mormon officer in the command.

The basis for this argument came over two weeks later in a letter from Brigham Young. John D. Lee traveling with Lieutenant James Pace and Howard Egan brought the letter, reaching the battalion at the crossing of the Arkansas River. The letter was addressed to Lieutenant Samuel Gully, who had dispatched Lieutenant Pace to the Mormon camps with the news of Allen's death and a report that Smith sought to take command of the battalion.

Young's letter stated that Colonel Allen had repeatedly promised there would be no other gentile officer in the command and that if he became sick or died, the command would devolve on the ranking Mormon officer. Therefore, according to Young's letter, "the command must devolve" on Captain Hunt. Colonel Allen may well have made the comments, but apparently no one at Council Grove in late August knew of this promise. The letter arrived too late to be acted on.[27]

The day after Smith took command, a private in Company D declared the soldiers had "cause to rejoice." About thirty of the men including himself had been baptized for the remission of sins and restoration of

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23. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 144.
24. "Extracts from the Journal of William W. Bigler," 38.
25. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 158.
26. William Hyde journal, 23.
27. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 144, 155-56.

health. He took it as a sign of "a great reformation" in the company. He also noted that there were many sick in the battalion.[28]

But the real reform in the battalion was soon revealed as a matter of order and protocol. The new command insisted the men comply with military regulations which heretofore had been ignored. Previously, the army's method of determining who was excused from marching and duties was not followed. Instead when soldiers decided that they were unable or unwilling to march, they climbed in a wagon and rode. Or they were left with a tent and an able-bodied man to attend them. A wagon was then sent back.[29] The men also had an aversion to doctors and medicine and tended to rely on faith healing. Before leaving the Council Bluffs area, church leaders told the men that if they were sick to call the elders who could rebuke "all manner of disease." Six weeks later the battalion received a letter from Brigham Young telling the soldiers to live by faith and leave the company surgeon's medicine alone if they wanted to live.[30]

But after a month and a half of doing things their way, the new commander, Lieutenant Smith, pulled men out of the wagons because they had not complied with the army's regulation for sick call. Smith was approached twice, once by a sergeant and once by Captain Hunt, with information that the men had "religious scruples against taking mineral medicine." But Smith insisted on army regulations. Thereafter any man who claimed to be sick or afflicted could only ride or avoid duties by reporting to the doctor and being diagnosed unfit for marching or duty.[31]

Next the new commander divided the battalion, sending the family and friends contingent to Pueblo and taking the soldiers on to Cimarron Cutoff, bypassing Bent's Fort.[32] These actions caused more complaints, with Levi Hancock objecting that it violated counsel of church leaders.[33] A day later John D. Lee, the agent from the Mormon camps seeking money

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28. John Steele diary, 31 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1846, typescript, Special Collections, Lee Library. The Mormons also later abandoned the concept of repeated baptism to wash away sins.

29. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 147, 149; "Extracts from the Journal of William W. Bigler," 38-39.

30. *Journal of Discourses by President Brigham Young and His Two Counsellors and the Twelve Apostles* (Liverpool, Eng.: Published by Horace S. Eldredge, 1871), 13:142; Journal History, 18 July 1846; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 152. Extremists in the battalion claimed that the doctor's medicine would poison them and that natural death was preferred. They charged the doctor with killing some of the men. It would be interesting to compare the battalion's death rate with that of the Mormons in their Missouri River camps.

31. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 144-45, 160.

32. Levi Hancock journal, 15-17 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1846; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 165, 169.

33. Levi Hancock journal, 15-17 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1846.

from the soldiers, reached the battalion. He tried to reverse the change of command and the separation of families. He strongly objected to the battalion traveling any other route than that marked out by the church and Colonel James Allen even though the Cimarron Cutoff was a direct order from General Kearny.[34]

Smith's order separating the family and friends company from the battalion became a major complaint against his command. The group consisted mostly of wives with some elderly and children. They had been included at the last minute with little thought and less preparation. Sickness and suffering afflicted them, and at Council Grove an older couple died.[35] They had to keep up with the battalion, or the command had to slow down for them. Both groups suffered from the relationship. They struggled along the easy travel of the Santa Fe Trail, and ahead lay the severe trials of the waterless stretches of the Cimarron Cutoff and worse deserts before reaching the Pacific Coast.

On 12 September 1846 as the battalion moved up the Arkansas River, members encountered Mormons traveling downstream from Pueblo. The chance meeting was with members from the Mississippi Company of Saints, who had traveled from their homes to Fort Laramie before they realized the mass Mormon emigration had not moved across the trans-Missouri River plains in the summer of 1846. At the invitation of some trappers, they moved south to Pueblo to spend the winter. Then a small party left the group to return home for their families and supplies and met the battalion.[36]

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34. Juanita Brooks, ed., "Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission: John D. Lee," *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (July and Oct. 1967): 191-99; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 161.

35. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 140, 142, 359-60; John Steele diary, 27 July 1847. The precipitant forming and unprepared state of this group are illustrated by the example of Thomas Williams of Company D. He left his wife and children at Council Bluffs with only five days' provisions and a yoke of oxen with an old wagon. He had no money and no idea where his family would get food after the five days. The next day his company commander, Captain Higgins, went back to get his family to accompany the battalion, and Williams decided on the spur of the moment to do the same. He would take them although he had no money to equip and supply them for any trip (see Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 359-60). Also see the church's Return List Mormon Battalion for Companies A and B enrolled at Council Bluffs on 16 July 1846 (LDS archives). These lists have Captain Hunt's families assigned to go forward with the church on the day the lists were made, but in short order he took his two wives, seven children, plus four other people with him. Captain Brown changed the arrangements for his wife and took her, while Lieutenant Luddington added his mother to accompany his laundress wife.

36. John Brown, *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1941), 38-70. There is surprisingly little mention of this encounter in the diaries of battalion members. Private Samuel Holister Rogers mentioned the encounter in his

Lieutenant Smith decided to send the contingent of family and friends accompanying the battalion up the Arkansas River to Pueblo to join the Mormons already there. When the Mormon officers accepted his proposal, he detached a guard detail to escort them to Pueblo.[37] This was a wise decision, but resentment increased against most of the Mormon officers for allowing the separation. The focal point of their anger was Senior Captain Hunt. The opposition was led by Lee and Hancock, and they became increasingly bold in their actions and criticisms. Some of the more vocal soldiers said they needed a leader such as Lee who would stand up for their rights. The situation deteriorated to the point that most of the Mormon officers reprimanded both Lee and Hancock.[38] Within a week Lee and Hancock were engaged in a plot to replace Captain Hunt with Lieutenant Samuel Gully by using claims about dreams to justify their actions.[39] The plot was not implemented, but resentment against Hunt increased. Finally Hunt relieved Hancock of the religious calling he had given him a month earlier.[40]

Hancock's journal does not record this dismissal, but Lee's does. According to Lee, Hunt told Hancock he had to put him down because of his actions. No one had the right to counsel in regard to the battalion but Hunt himself. Hunt continued that he would exercise his authority in the name of the Lord and no man would take it from him. This declaration was no doubt a rebuttal of the notion that Hunt could be replaced by Lee.

Then Lee addressed the council of officers and disclaimed any personal desire to command the battalion. He declared that if Hunt had "been as willing to have used his authority in behalf of the Bat[t]. as he is to exercise it over his best Friend" and brother, there would have been no trouble or complaints.[41] A dozen years earlier Hancock had introduced Hunt and his wife to the LDS church and taught them the gospel, and a special friendship and bond had been formed and maintained until now when the "best Friend" felt hurt.[42]

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journal (12 Sept. 1846), and John D. Lee did the same when he met them a couple of days after the battalion (Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 188-89.)

37. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 157-58.

38. Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 191-99.

39. William Coray journal, 28 Sept. 1846. Besides the many dreams concerning the removal of an army officer, the conspirators probably had the "numerous revelations, visions, and prophecies" that Mormon officers referred to in their letter to church leaders of 13 October 1846. The specific prophecies all failed, such as the advance party continuing on to California before the second group reached Santa Fe.

40. Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 198; Levi W. Hancock journal, 28 Dec. 1846; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 216.

41. Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 198.

42. Pauline Udall Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion* (Salt Lake City:

On 3 October Lieutenant Smith stopped the battalion after a short march and held a council with the officers. They had recently received orders from General Kearny that unless they reached Santa Fe by the 10th, they would be discharged. Smith explained that at their present rate of march, they would never make the deadline. The Mormon officers and Smith decided to divide the command, taking the most able men and teams on a "double forced march" to Santa Fe and leaving the rest to follow. The purpose of the plan was to meet the deadline and save the whole battalion from being dismissed.[43] The plan worked. The advance group reached Santa Fe on the 9th, the others on the 13th, and all were retained in the service.

But at the time this second separation raised a storm of bitterness in the command. As with the separation of the families at the Arkansas crossing, charges were made that the plan violated church counsel against dividing the battalion. The opposition also claimed that Colonel Allen had pledged that the battalion would not be divided. Those opposed reacted variously. Some cried, prayed, swore, while others wanted to forcibly "settle the dispute on the ground." Hancock, after citing violation of church advice and Allen's promise, stated that it looked as though the leaders were determined to go against church counsel "in every movement."[44] Colonel Allen had promised not to divide the battalion, and church leaders had counseled the same. But far from betraying their command, the Mormon officers' decisions to support Smith had served the battalion well.

In arguing against separation, Lee and Hancock welcomed early termination of the battalion. Lee thought discharge would be a blessing with each man receiving a full year's pay and provisions. Then they would be free to assist their families and friends with money and food. He thus viewed the efforts of the Mormon officers and Smith to arrive on time at Santa Fe as a treacherous scheme to take this privilege away from the soldiers. Lee thought marching to California would be wasteful, as it placed the soldiers some 800 miles from their eventual destination in Great Salt Lake Valley. He concluded that it was better to leave the army with its money and goods in New Mexico.[45]

Lee and Hancock thought that the battalion belonged more to the LDS

The Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Foundation, 1958), 24-26.

43. William Coray journal, 3 Oct. 1846; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 169; Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 163. Although Tyler includes Hancock and Pettigrew in this council, Hancock's journal and Lee's diary suggest this was not the case. Lieutenants Pace, Lytle, Gully, and Clark did oppose the separation.

44. Levi Hancock journal, 3 Oct. 1846.

45. Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 289-91; Levi Hancock to Brigham Young, Santa Fe, 18 Oct. 1846, LDS archives.

church than the U.S. army. And they had good reason to believe their view was shared by church leaders since Brigham Young had explicitly informed Mormon officers that he reserved the right to counsel them in more than religious matters.[46] When church leaders learned that after Colonel Allen's death the Mormon officers had written to President James K. Polk rather than to Brigham Young for help in establishing the battalion's legitimate commander, they were incensed.[47] Church leaders had been sympathetic to John D. Lee's concerns about Lieutenant Smith's appointment. Lee reported that he had called Smith a tyrant and threatened to cut his throat if he did not cease oppressing his brethren. In response, Brigham Young had leaped to his feet and inquired why Lee had not taken Smith's head off.[48]

Young was still intervening in battalion matters in 1847. He dispatched Apostle Amasa Lyman to the Pueblo detachment with instructions for the officers to prevent the group from marching west by the southern route. If the officers would not do what the church wanted, they were to be replaced. If Lyman learned the main portion of the battalion was still at Santa Fe, he was to go there and bring them back to the church. He was to throw out all gentile officers. And it did not matter whether General Kearny objected.[49] Mormon leaders assumed that the army would adapt to the church, not the other way around.

Lee's close connection to Brigham Young helped to empower Hancock and him in the eyes of battalion men. Lee and Hancock continued to escalate their resistance to the officers. They pushed their version of what the church wanted so effectively that many men became "ready to revolt." Soldiers went to Lee and stated "they would obey council of the Church or loose their lives in the attempt."[50]

At Santa Fe Hancock and Lee endorsed the proposal to send a sick detachment plus the majority of the women and all the remaining children to Pueblo. When the battalion departed, Lee turned back to the Mormon camps on the Missouri River, taking with him the battalion's money. Hancock remained with the battalion, which had received a new commander by order of General Kearny: Colonel Philip St. George Cooke.[51]

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46. Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young 1846-1847* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971), 333-34, 595-96; Journal History, 19, 20 Aug. 1846; Yurtinus, "A Ram in the Thicket," 1:64-65.

47. Council of Twelve Apostles to Elders Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, and John Taylor, Journal History, 7 Jan. 1846.

48. Charles Kelly, ed., *Journal of John D. Lee, 1846-47 and 1859* (Salt Lake City: Western Printing, Co., 1938), 20-21.

49. Thomas Bullock journal, 30 June 1847, LDS archives.

50. Brooks, "Diary of . . . John D. Lee," 192-93, 291.

51. Ibid., 302; Hancock journal, 13 Oct. 1846.

Hancock was still convinced the battalion was being mismanaged by its Mormon and gentile officers. Five days after the decision to detach the sick, he wrote a letter to Brigham Young, explaining his view of the situation. According to Hancock, the Mormons had lost an opportunity to take power from their "enemies" and were now being forced to make a needless march to California. If the officers had behaved wisely, the battalion would now be traveling either to Bent's Fort or to Pueblo to spend the winter and then north to meet their families.[52]

Hancock continued to work behind the scenes to undermine the men's confidence in their officers. Often when enlisted soldiers were disciplined, Hancock rushed to their side, portraying both the Mormon officers and Colonel Cooke as oppressive. On one occasion Hancock visited a soldier under arrest for sleeping on guard duty. Cooke had issued orders forbidding visits. Hancock excused his ignorance of the order, but he never excused Cooke. In Hancock's view, Cooke was the meanest man he had ever seen and Lieutenant Smith was a gentleman in comparison. Hancock thought Cooke was so low a "cur" that the devil would hate his appearance and refuse him power in the lower realm.[53]

Thus bad feelings continued as the battalion marched to the Pacific Ocean. A day before the battalion's long march ended, Lieutenant George Oman of Company A told Private Henry Standage of Company E that Hancock's behavior would have led to insurrection if "he had been left to pursue the same and had not been checked."[54] It was the Mormon officers led by Captain Hunt who would try to check Hancock, whose support was to be found among the enlisted men.[55]

Hunt tried to fulfill both the military and religious responsibilities he had received in connection with the battalion. He called meetings, spoke at each of them, and counseled commanding officers to hold religious services. The role of Hunt and his officers became complicated when some wanted the battalion to swear allegiance to church leaders regardless of the orders from General Kearny.[56]

The battalion took up its station at San Luis Rey on 3 February 1847 and prepared for inspection on the first Sunday. By the following Sunday

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52. Levi Hancock to Brigham Young, Santa Fe, 18 Oct. 1846.

53. Levi Hancock journal, 4 Nov. 1846, 14, 26 Jan. 1847.

54. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 216.

55. Jefferson Hunt and others to Brigham Young, Los Angeles, 14 May 1847, in Kate Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1968), 11:356-57.

56. Samuel Rogers journal, 9, 20, 29 Aug. 1846; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 148, 210; William Coray journal, 20, 29 Aug. 1846; Tyler *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 156-58, 163; Levi Hancock journal, 14, 16 Feb., 17, 18 Apr. 1847.

Captain Hunt had obtained permission from Colonel Cooke to hold religious meetings and had planned the service. Hunt presided over the meeting, and after the pre-arranged sermon, spoke to the men of their duty to their God and to each other. Then Hunt stated he would give out an appointment for a meeting the following Sunday.[57]

Hunt's meeting and his call for a second one upset Hancock, who reacted immediately. He pressed for a meeting the following evening. Hancock had been holding secret meetings for eight days, and now he came out in the open to challenge Hunt and the officers over who would lead the spiritual affairs of the battalion. Hancock charged that the captains had tried to take away his rights. He then described the confidential meetings, which were becoming known outside the circle of participants. They had washed each other's feet and anointed each other with oil, and the Lord had testified to them that it was right. Hancock continued with disparaging remarks about the captains taking the lead when it was not their place.[58] In a final tactical move for advantage, Hancock declared it had been revealed to him that Daniel Tyler was the man to preach to the battalion. He quickly called for a vote of those assembled about whether Tyler should preach or not. The meeting voted as Hancock had wanted: he would conduct the next Sunday meeting and Tyler would preach.[59]

Of course Hancock was strategically ignoring the charge which had been given to the officers by church leaders—and his own lack of formal authorization to lead from either army or church. Sergeant William Coray, who observed the struggle, knew this. In his journal he focused the problem as an issue of authority—Hancock thought he had the most and the captains thought they had the most. Coray knew that Hancock had been given no authority in the battalion. When the battalion was called into service Coray was assisting Apostle Willard Richards and asked if the church would send a religious leader. Richards told him the officers would be the sole religious counselors. Coray concluded that Hancock acted improperly in setting the men against their officers. Coray would not justify the officers altogether, as some had set bad examples and been somewhat tyrannical. But Hancock had usurped their position.[60]

Hancock's resistance to the officers had been escalating. Back in late December 1846 at the Indian villages on the Gila River, Hancock had heard that Hunt was going to preach to the Indians. Someone asked Hancock what he thought of it, and he responded that the Lord had manifested

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57. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 210; Henry Bigler journal, 57; James Pace diary, 14 Feb. 1847.

58. William Coray journal, 15 Feb. 1847.

59. Ibid.; Samuel Rogers journal, 21 Feb. 1847; James Pace diary, 21 Feb. 1847.

60. William Coray journal, 15 Feb. 1847.

nothing to him about it or to any of the Seventies. But if the Lord had spoken to the high priests, then he had no objection. He was pleased when Hunt did not preach. A few days later Lieutenant Dykes came to Hancock seeking counsel. At first Hancock refused, stating he had been "put down" for giving counsel to the officers and had been charged with seeking power and authority. Finally he told Dykes to do right and everything would work out. He declared this would be his only counsel to officers until he saw the Twelve and gave an account of his stewardship. Then in an implicit bid for Dykes's support, Hancock stated that if Hunt would acknowledge that he [Hancock] had a right to counsel the soldiers, he would choose good men to assist him and the battalion would have better times.[61]

By the second week in February 1847, Hancock was no longer conciliatory. He was explicitly using his position as a Seventy as base for his bid for power in the battalion. When he first began ordaining seventies during the march, he told the men he would place them in some quorum when there was a convenient opportunity.[62] By the time the battalion reached California, he seemed to be forming his own corps of loyal seventies. Soon he reported that they were calling him chief.[63] By June they were even taking up money for Hancock to return to his family when the battalion's service ended. During this time he secured a scribe to write down his words when he preached.[64]

In California Hancock had pulled off a virtual religious coup d'état. By forming his own group over which he exercised power, he had excluded Mormon officers from exercising religious leadership over the men. Frequently during the march Hancock had put on his old Nauvoo Legion jacket and thrust his right hand into the coat in a decidedly Napoleonic pose, which he would maintain for some time.[65] Certainly he had made of himself a figure of power and dissension during the battalion's stay in California.

By late spring Hunt addressed a letter to Brigham Young explaining the situation in the battalion and his deteriorating position. He stated that a few restless souls had stirred up dissension and had aimed their harshest blows at him, construing his best intentions into something evil. Hunt declared that he was considered the most vile person in the battalion.[66]

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61. Levi Hancock journal, 24, 25, 28 Dec. 1846.

62. Ibid., 26, 27 Aug. 1846, 6-9 Feb. 1847.

63. Ibid., 12 May 1847.

64. Samuel Rogers journal, 20, 21 June 1847; "The Journal of Robert S. Bliss," 87; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 217, 218; Levi Hancock journal, 14, 16 Feb., 17, 18 Apr. 1847.

65. James Van Nostrand Williams journal, 14 Dec. 1846, LDS archives.

66. Jefferson Hunt, Philemon C. Merrill, D. C. Davis, and Lorenzo Clark to Brigham

On 4 April the battalion held a Sunday evening service under Hancock's direction. The featured speaker was Sergeant Tyler who lectured on his desire to honor the priesthood. Hancock then spoke a short time and "gave way." The giving way was to Hunt, who had a message he wanted to express. The senior captain reminded his audience that the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had "strictly charged" the officers to lead all religious meetings. He implored the officers to regain their lost leadership position. They should preach themselves and call on the elders to assist them. According to Hancock's journal, Hunt concluded with the declaration: "now as I have said before so I say now you are the men who the twelve charge to be fathers to the Batalion and we must see to it." Hancock's retort came later in his private journal:

> A poor shorte sighted creature he nor no other man ever got the right of presiding over men called to be seventies in the priesthood and And I am bold to say there is no such a thing can exist and if he or any other ofiser has bin called to be fathers for one yeare to those whom I am called to preside they at the end of the year shall be hered if my voice in the councill is hered I have seen them labour and patience in the kingdom as in their uniforms.[67]

The Mormon officers did little in response to Hunt's challenge to reassert their religious leadership. But Hancock was aroused to action. It had become "dangerous" for him to counsel openly, he claimed. On 18 April he assembled his Seventies separately and formally organized them into a quorum with a president and a host of counselors. Hancock's journal makes it clear the move was in reaction to Hunt's call to the officers.[68]

Unfortunately for their cause, the officers lined up on the unpopular side of several struggles which occurred that spring in California. The first concerned how a discharge from the army would be effected. When the battalion finally determined that California would not be their home, some claimed that Colonel Allen had promised to pay them for the time it would take them to reach their final destination after discharge. In an attempt to calm the brewing tempest, Mormon officers produced the instructions of General Kearny to Colonel Allen, which told him to discharge the soldiers in California with no promise of pay to go anywhere. A Seventy and close supporter of Hancock decried the discharge without money or guns as another example of mistreatment, and three days later he stole ammunition while on guard duty, rationalizing his act on the basis of the supposed

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Young, Los Angeles, 14 May 1847, in Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 11:356-57.

67. Levi Hancock journal, 4 Apr. 1847.

68. Ibid., 17, 18 Apr. 1847; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 217-18.

grievance.[69] Such a promise from Colonel Allen would have been unlikely. Not only did the promise contradict Kearny's instructions but Allen's own written appeal to the Mormons.[70] Certainly the controversy served Hancock's ends.

The final controversies were tied up in a struggle over whether to re-enlist and how to organize the men's return to the main body of Mormons. In early April 1847 officers tabled a petition signed by the men for an early release. Instead they favored a re-enlistment of the battalion with Hunt as lieutenant colonel in charge. Even when it became evident that the men were in no mood to re-enlist, officers carried through promises made to their superiors to push recruitment. The issue came to a head at a meeting, with both sides rehashing the pros and cons of re-enlistment. As the arguments continued, Pettigrew became agitated and exclaimed that the prophets of the Lord should be considered before signing on for another year. Captain Hunter of Company B took up the issue. It had been hinted that there was a prophet in the camp, he said. If so, he wished him to come forth and give the word of the Lord on the subject. Hunter also charged that someone had set the men at variance with their officers. Hancock responded to Hunter's remarks and denied ever setting the men against their officers. When the talking finished, only a few men gave their names for re-enlistment.[71] Colonel Jonathan Stevenson, commander of the Southern Military District, reported to military Governor Richard B. Mason that in the Mormon Battalion were two "chief men" who prevented the enrollment of at least three companies for another year of service. Of these two men, Pettigrew and Hancock, the latter had become the most influential.[72]

The day after the recruitment meeting, the Mormon officers, conceding to the will of the men, met to draft a plan for taking them back to their families and the church.[73] They felt their charge from church leaders dictated this course. But Hancock was ahead of them. Three days earlier he had assembled his corps and organized the main company going home. He was in overall command with tactical leadership of its two primary divisions given to lieutenants James Pace and Andrew Lytle. Hancock praised the latter as the only two officers who had shown respect at all times to the priesthood and served as fathers to the men under them.[74]

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69. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 227-28.

70. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 113-15.

71. Ibid., 275, 281-83; Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 231-33.

72. Private and Confidential letter of Colonel J. D. Stevenson to Colonel R. B. Mason, Los Angeles, 23 July 1847, Mormon Battalion Papers, National Archives.

73. James Pace diary, 30 June 1846.

74. Golder, *March of the Mormon Battalion*, 229, 230; Albert Smith journal, 16 July 1847, typescript, LDS archives.

Thus the Mormon Battalion split into various groups. The largest party consisting of 164 persons formed around Hancock; 81 men finally re-enlisted; and about 50 men followed Captain Hunt up the coast to Monterey. A few men chose to stay in southern California. The religious dispute was instrumental in these divisions and in the decisions of some to remain in southern California.[75]

The internal strife in the Mormon Battalion reduces itself finally to a struggle to answer one question: Whose battalion was it? Hancock believed they were the church's and therefore his to direct. Officers accepted the fact that they had enlisted in the United States army and were under that command. There never was a showdown before church leaders as to who was right. Perhaps by the time the main portion of the battalion reached the church, they were no longer in the mood to plumb the depths of its disputes. More pressing matters were at hand. Captain Hunt did not meet Young until the summer of 1848, and if Hancock made his report as planned, there has been no evidence found of the meeting.

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75. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 298, 305; Journal of Elijah Elmer, 25 July-11 Aug. 1847, typescript, San Diego Historical Society; Robert Bliss journal, 96; Henry Boyle diary, 20 July 1847.

"A Banner is Unfurled": Mormonism's Ensign Peak

Ronald W. Walker

TO THE NORTH OF SALT LAKE CITY, two or three miles from famed Temple Square, an odd, knob-shaped promontory rises above the community of Saint and gentile. Since pioneer times, it has been called Ensign Peak. Not quite a mountain but more than a hill, the "Peak" has been important to Mormon history. The early settlers believed God had used it to reveal the place for their new city, and they laid out Zion under its slope. For them, Ensign Peak was a symbol for some of their major beliefs, which they celebrated in poetry, song, sermon, and ritual. For the present generation, the "Peak" can also be important. Though we have largely forgotten its original meaning, it now serves a new purpose. Through its prism, we see a past culture: Our progenitors' mixed civil and theocratic loyalties, their literalness, their sense of mission, and above all their eagerness to rally to the sound of the millennial trumpet.[1]

The story of the "Peak," or at least some of the ideas that came to surround it, began with the Mormon church's first years. Calling Joseph Smith to the prophetic office in 1823, the angel Moroni quoted several biblical texts that predicted a latter-day "Mount Zion" and the setting up of an "ensign," or banner, that would summon God's dispersed people to a place of gathering (JS-H 1:36-61).[2] Smith understood that these and other

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1. A current LDS Melchizedek priesthood lesson manual, *Come Unto the Father in the Name of Jesus,* has a discussion titled "An Ensign for the Nations." Gone from the lesson are the literal, nineteenth-century images of Ensign Peak and a physical flag, replaced by the broad, figurative symbolism used in the present time. Some of the themes of this essay were given in a preliminary survey by D. Michael Quinn, "The Flag of the Kingdom of God," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 105-14. Joel Pulliam, a student assistant, helped research several sections of the following narrative. I am also indebted to John M. Hartvigsen, a scholar of Utah's various flags, for a critique of this article, which provided much useful information.

2. Moroni cited passages in Joel 2:32 and Isaiah 11:9-12 that contained these images.

biblical prophecies pertained to his mission, and they came to play a major role in the new church. Wrote Mormon poet and apostle Parley P. Pratt in the first issue of the British *Millennial Star*: "The morning breaks, the shadows flee, Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled!" In short, the mission of the new religion was to proclaim the new age and mark a rallying point where the righteous might gather.[3]

Other Christian millennial churches had a history of declaring such things, but without the literal-mindedness of the Mormons. Though Smith revealed western Missouri to be the center place of the new Zion, there is evidence that he and other LDS leaders began to look wistfully to the American West soon after the church's organization in 1830, perhaps because of the region's scripture-fulfilling mountains.[4] There, a literal ensign might be proclaimed on a literal "Mount Zion."

There was another strain to this literalness. In April 1842 Smith revealed the need to set up an earthly "Kingdom of God," and he followed this revelation by organizing the shadowy "Council of Fifty" three years later. The Mormons were contingency-planning for the apocalypse. Believing their movement foretold an imminent second coming, they wished to be ready as events unfolded. During the Council of Fifty's first meetings in March and April 1844, the Mormon prophet urged the exploration of the American West. In this region the Saints would make a settlement and raise "a standard and ensign of truth for the nations of the earth."[5]

Part of the prophet's reason to go west lay in the growing conflict about him. Already the church had been driven from New York, Ohio, and Missouri, and as events in the Mormon capital of Nauvoo, Illinois, darkened in June 1844, Smith crossed the Mississippi River intending to go to

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3. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, ed. Parley P. Pratt, Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), 264-65. The poem has become a favorite LDS hymn. For other expressions of Mormon "new age" expectation and gathering, see D&C 64:42; 105:39; and 113:6. For examples of how these themes were used in the church's polemical literature and sermons, see *Latter-day Saint Messenger and Advocate*, 2 Oct. 1835, 203-204; *The Orson Pratt Journals*, comp. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1975), 30, 52, 69, 70, which detail the early preaching texts of Parley Pratt's brother, Orson Pratt.

4. Lewis Clark Christian, "Mormon Foreknowledge of the West," *Brigham Young University Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 403-15; Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 85-111; and Ronald W. Walker, "Seeking the 'Remnant': The Native American During the Joseph Smith Period," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 1-33.

5. This is a retrospective statement on Smith's purposes. See George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 158, for the date 1 March 1845. The historical writing on the Council of Fifty is checkered, but the most recent survey which downplays its role in practical events is in D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members," *Brigham University Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163-97.

the Rocky Mountains. Several hours before his departure, he asked his followers to make a sixteen-foot emblematic flag "for the nations," apparently hoping to take a Mormon, scripture-fulfilling banner with him on his journey. However after less than a day on the Iowa side of the river, he returned to Nauvoo and began his fateful journey to Carthage. The day prior to Smith's death, not fully understanding his danger, Nauvoo citizens responded to his earlier wish and began preparation of a flag of white cloth. The flag, said one of the Saints later, was not intended for Nauvoo. Smith undoubtedly meant the banner to be a tangible symbol of a restored latter-day Kingdom in the mountainous West.[6]

Smith's blend of Mormon millennialism, the American West, and a "flag of the Kingdom" had a powerful effect on Brigham Young, who came to lead the main body of Mormons after the Carthage assassination. In early 1845, Young had the Council of Fifty ratify the goal of a literal western Kingdom with a raised "ensign and standard of liberty for the nations."[7] But there was a problem. Smith had not specified the precise spot for the Saints' settlement, nor had he given a blueprint for finishing the flag.[8] Prior to his death, the field of white cloth had only been partly cut.

The new Mormon leaders did their best to overcome these difficulties. From Washington, D.C., Elder Orson Hyde learned of the recently printed report of John C. Frémont's Great Basin exploring ("a most valuable document to any one contemplating a journey to Oregon") and Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas franked a copy to his Mormon friends in Nauvoo. LDS leaders also reviewed Lansford Hastings's travel guide to California.[9] Clearly, the topic was much studied. "Elder Heber C. Kimball and I . . . examined maps with reference to selecting a location for the saints west of the Rocky Mountains," Young's diary summarized. The two leaders also read various accounts of the region written by trappers and other travelers.[10]

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6. Council Meeting, 26 Feb. 1847, Thomas Bullock minutes, archives, historical department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS archives). Also see *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1950), 6:528 (hereafter *HC*). The origin of the latter reference is uncertain, as the entry does not appear in Smith's diary.

7. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle* (1 Mar. 1845), 158.

8. Council Meeting, 26 Feb. 1847.

9. LDS historians have suggested that the peripatetic Hastings talked with LDS leaders in Nauvoo about their western migration, but that circumstance seems unlikely. See Will Bagley, "Every Thing Is Possible: The Plot to Conquer California," 6, privately circulated.

10. Orson Hyde to the Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 26 Apr. 1844, 5, Joseph Smith papers, fd. 6, bx. 3, LDS archives; *HC* (20, 27, and 31 Dec. 1845) 7:548, 755, 558.

Elder George A. Smith wove an heroic tapestry about these preparations in an 1869 sermon. After Joseph Smith's death when "every trouble and calamity" seemed to beset the Saints, Brigham Young sought the Lord to know where to go. According to Elder Smith, Young after fasting and praying daily on the topic "had a vision of Joseph Smith, who showed him the mountain that we now call Ensign Peak, immediately north of Salt Lake City, and there was an ensign fell upon that peak, and Joseph said, 'Build under the point where the colors fall and you will prosper and have peace.'"[11]

Young's official papers fail to document such a spiritual experience. Yet there is abundant contemporary evidence that Young's mind was full of such ideas. Several weeks before the Nauvoo exodus, John D. Lee's diary had Young saying, "the Prophets would never be verified unless the House of the Lord be reared in the Tops of the Mountains & the Proud Banner of Liberty wave over the valleys that are within the Mountains." This flag would mark the place of gathering. To these concepts, Young added a startling addendum: "I know where the spot is & I [kn]ow how to make this Flag."[12]

Two months later as the residents of Nauvoo began their evacuation from the city, a sermon of Elder Orson Hyde once more carried these themes—the ideas of "flag," a sacred location in the West, and Joseph Smith. In what may have been a veiled reference to Young's dream as related by George A. Smith, Hyde spoke of Joseph Smith's continuing direction of the church. "Joseph is as much our President as he ever was," Hyde was quoted in the spotty minutes of the time. "Suppose he had appeared to the 12 & held a flag waving it & saying go Westward — & s[aid] when I drop that flag — stop."[13]

These themes continued during the Mormon migration. When Samuel Brannan and his *Brooklyn* company sailed from the East to California in 1846, they apparently took with them an emblematic banner of their own design. "The standard which you took with you," Elder Hyde later advised Brannan, "do not exhibit, till the council of the church have approved it."[14]

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11. George A. Smith, 20 June 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Latter-day Saint Book Depot, 1853-86), 13:85 (hereafter *JD*). Smith's sermon was not off-the-cuff sermonizing. A half dozen Congressional dignitaries were in the congregation, including Samuel Hooper, chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, and the church historian undoubtedly intended to present LDS official history. See Junius F. Wells, "Brigham Young's Prevision of Salt Lake Valley," *Deseret News, The Christmas News Section*, 20 Dec. 1924, 17.

12. John D. Lee journal, 13 Jan. 1846, LDS archives.

13. Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 3 Mar. 1846, LDS archives.

14. Orson Hyde to Brannan, 5 Sept. 1846, Samuel L. Brannan correspondence, LDS archives. I am indebted to Will Bagley for calling this letter to my attention.

At a Winter Quarters council in November, Young told associates of another dream about the West which had revealed to him "many beautiful [but barren] hills" and "valleys skirted with timber &c."[15]

Three months later the minutes of one of Young's council meetings began with an unusual entry: "A PIECE OF RUSSIA IS WANTED." "Russia" was a kind of leather that might be used in making a long-wearing flag—or perhaps the reference was to "Russian crush," a strong unbleached linen fabric.[16] But whether leather, linen, silk, or some other durable material, Mormon leaders agreed that the time had come to prepare the flag that Joseph Smith had first talked about and that it should be made of the "best stuff in the Eastern markets." Young wanted it larger than Smith's design. "What of a fl[ag] 16 feet by 8 feet on a mountain 5 mi[les] off?" he asked. "I think 90 by 30 [feet] better." Perhaps the banner could be hoisted on an hundred-foot tower with pulleys. Young also urged the colors of red, white, and blue for the flag's field, with purple and scarlet for the insignia, though the layout of the entire design was uncertain. To gain added inspiration about how it might be made, Heber C. Kimball, Young's counselor, suggested the men "dream about it." When completed, the large flag would be placed on a mountain rising above "a perfect Sea of Water."[17]

By any measure, the discussion was extraordinary. It meant that before leaving Winter Quarters, Mormon leaders had already decided to fly a huge flag on a mountain rising above a yet to be settled valley. The act, they seemed to say, was integral to their mission. That evening Young and his council dispatched Elder Jedediah M. Grant east with an authorizing letter. Grant was told to visit "various Sea ports" to secure material for a flag not less than 35 by 15 feet. "The Lord's Servants have need of a little means to accomplish a great work," the letter implored, hoping that donations to fund the project might be forthcoming. The final product should be "an ornament to the cause for which it is intended," the letter insisted, "an honor to the Union," and "a praise to the Saints."[18] While no

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15. Willard Richards diary, 7 Nov. 1846, LDS archives.

16. Many of the best flags of the period were made of bunting, a loose-woven but durable cotton or wool composition. When using the term "Russia," pioneer leaders apparently were struggling to find the proper term for flag material.

17. Council Meeting, 26 Feb. 1847, Thomas Bullock minutes. During the previous week, the severely ill Young had a near-death, out-of-body experience. "I actually went into Eternity last Wednesday week, & came back again," Young reported. During this episode, Young said he spoke with Joseph Smith, who gave him instructions. The incident apparently rekindled Young's interest in a future ensign to be flown in the West, as the topic immediately surfaced in his discussions. See Willard Richards diary, 23 and 28 Feb. 1847.

18. Willard Richards [For the Twelve] to Jedediah M. Grant, 26 Feb. 1847, Draft Letter Book, Brigham Young papers, LDS archives. Earlier in the day, church leaders suggested

contemporary documents tell of Grant's mission, he apparently was successful. It was later reported that during his short mission he secured materials for "making a flag, which for several years floated over 'the land of the free and the homes of the blest' in Salt Lake City and was familiarly known as 'the mammoth flag.'"[19]

From the outset, Mormons understood that their flag might be seen as unpatriotic or even seditious. Young therefore proposed the banner be flown subordinate to the American flag and inscribed with the non-political motto: "Religious Toleration."[20] But whatever the arrangement, the Mormon flag implied a new kind of society, perhaps even a new, yet-to-be realized, millennial nation-state. Certainly, Mormons hoped to establish a government different than the American secular ideal. In an important sermon delivered on his way west, Young gave his view of what the soon-to-be-organized LDS community would be like. All people would be protected in their rights and no one forced to accept Mormonism, Young maintained. But all citizens, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, would be required to "acknowledge the name of God and His Priesthood" and accept the reign of Jesus Christ. In turn, the Saints would keep the "celestial," or highest, law of righteousness. This will be the rule, Young concluded, "The Kingdom of God and His Laws and Judgment in the man Christ." And on this rule of behavior "would be [flown] a flag of every nation under heaven," inviting all people everywhere "to come unto Zion."[21]

Wilford Woodruff, who recorded Young's sermon in his diary, understood these words were not meant as an allegory. After all, Young had invoked the code words for the Saints' hoped-for millennial government ("The Kingdom of God and His Laws and Judgment"). In this spirit of an explicit, theocratic Kingdom, Woodruff drew in his diary a fanciful pennant-like drawing of what a possible "flag of all the nations" might look like.[22]

Young's remarks—recognizing the legitimacy of the American flag while at the same time declaring the coming Kingdom of God—provide a clue to understanding the debate that later centered around Utah's Ensign

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the letter be sent to Orson Hyde, who was then in the East. But apparently after more mature consideration, Mormon leaders concluded the matter required the attention of a special representative.

19. Andrew Jenson's *Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: By Andrew Jenson, 1888), 1:59. Susan Grant, Jedediah's daughter, also gave the same result. See her statement in Carter E. Grant, "Robbed by Wolves," *Relief Society Magazine* 15 (July 1928): 358.

20. Council Meeting, 26 Feb. 1847, Thomas Bullock minutes.

21. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle* (29 May 1847), 189-90; Wilford Woodruff diary, LDS archives, for the same date.

22. Wilford Woodruff diary, 29 May 1847.

Peak and to explaining several larger issues of Utah history as well. Mormons had left their homes in the midwest deeply alienated from *Americans* but clinging to an idealized *Americanism*. They believed that they, and citizens like them, would ultimately preserve the Republic and in the process transfer American ideals and American symbols, such as the country's flag, to the coming millennial Kingdom. The American flag was not to be abandoned or placed aside.

Young's sermon, and Woodruff's reaction to it, also showed how vague the Mormons were about the design of their flag, despite church leader's earlier reported statements to the contrary. Before entering the Great Basin and certainly after, Mormons considered rectangular flags and pennants, discussed white flags and multi-colored flags, and used a variety of names like "Flag of Liberty," "Flag of the Kingdom," "Deseret Flag," "mammoth flag," and Young's latest "flag of all the nations" to describe them. Obviously, more important than the shape, design, or name was the banner's symbolism, which carried the message of a place of gathering and the setting up of a newly restored righteous Kingdom in the West. This ambiguity was in keeping with the times. During the first half of the nineteenth century and beyond, even the American flag was subject to much variation and local design. A standardized version of the "Stars and Stripes" was a relatively modern circumstance.

Wilford Woodruff summarized the Mormon notion of a "gathering ensign" in a moment of reverie before heading west. Writing in his diary at the close of the year, 1846, he examined his life and hopes. "I pray my Heavenly Father to lengthen out my days to behold the House of God stand upon the tops of the Mountains," he penned, "and to see the Standard of Liberty reared up as an ensign to the nations to come unto to serve the Lord of Hosts."[23] Woodruff no doubt spoke for the entire pioneer company in uniting together the themes of the gathering, temple building, the West, and a literal and symbolic "Standard of Liberty."

As the pioneer party traveled into the Great Plains, led by Young and the other main leaders, members were anxious about where they were going. Where was the gospel flag to be lifted? While leaders had bandied about such places as Oregon, California, Texas, and Vancouver Island, by 1846 they had fixed their eyes on the Great Basin interior, most specifically the Bear River, Salt Lake, or Utah Lake valleys. Each of these valleys answered the requirements of Young's earlier statements about settling in the West's "beautiful" but "barren" hills or his still more revealing passage of placing the gospel flag above a "perfect Sea of water." But during the

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23. Woodruff diary, appendix following the entry of 31 Dec. 1846. Woodruff had voiced these themes earlier, saying that the Twelve must go to the "Mountains & lift up the standard of Zion" (22 June 1846).

final stage of the trip, Young had still not named the precise place. As he told his brother, Lorenzo, who was worried by Brigham's poor health and his failure to declare a destination: "Brother Lorenzo, when we reach the end of our journey I shall know it; AND I DON'T KNOW IT."[24]

Several of the pioneers thought Young's indecision lay with his inner or spiritual seeking. "Brigham Young did not tell us whither he was leading us," said one. "Perhaps he did not know it himself. He confined himself to telling us that God, in a vision, had caused him to see the spot where we were to stop."[25] Churchman Erastus Snow, also along on the pioneer trip, gave the same report. "Said the Prophet Brigham [to the camp]—'I have seen it [the promised location], I have seen it, in vision, and when my natural eyes behold it, I shall know it.'"[26]

Young was looking for Ensign Peak, or at least this is what Mormon believers would later claim. After visiting Utah in 1866 and interviewing Brigham Young, British author and critic William Hepworth Dixon said that this was the report he had heard from the prophet himself. "Brigham Young tells me," he wrote,

> that when coming over the mountains, in search of a new home for his people, he saw in a vision of the night, an angel standing on a conical hill, pointing to a spot of ground on which the new Temple must be built. Coming down into this basin of Salt Lake, he first sought for the cone which he had seen in his dream; and when he had found it, he noticed a stream of fresh hill-water flowing at its base, which he called the City Creek.[27]

If Young failed to record such a "vision of the night" in his own records, there is evidence of his spiritual groping about where to settle. By early July 1847, perhaps as the result of their interview with mountaineer Jim Bridger, Young and the Mormon leadership increasingly looked on the Salt Lake Valley as the place for their settlement. But Young wanted confirmation. His own diary tells of his first view of the valley from Big Mountain. Turning the carriage in which he was riding to see the vista to the west, he

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24. Quoted in Wells, "Brigham Young's Prevision of the Salt Lake Valley," 58.

25. Quoted in Vicomte d'Hausonville, *One Day in Utah: A Literary French Nobleman's Views on the Mormon Question*, trans. Leo Haefeli (Ogden, UT: Ogden Herald Publishing Co., 1883), 16.

26. Erastus Snow, 14 Sept. 1873, *JD* 16:207.

27. William Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1867), 1:186-87. Another traveler, perhaps relying on Hepworth Dixon or possibly on his own interview with Young, told basically the same story. See Joseph Alexander von Hubner, *A Ramble Round the World*, 2 vols., trans. Lady Herbert (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), 140, 142.

felt "the spirit of light" resting on him and hovering "over the valley." "I felt that there the Saints would find protection and safety."[28]

Coming into the valley, he may have looked to the west-northwest, to the mushroom incline of Ensign Peak. "I knew this [was the right] spot as soon as I saw it, up there on the Table ground," he insisted several days later, apparently referring to his descent down the east valley bench.[29] His first plans in the new settlement included the mount. "I want to go there," he supposedly said.[30] Despite a fatigue caused by his "mountain fever," on his third day in the valley (the second being the Sabbath) Young led a reconnaissance to the top of the "Peak." Its members included the functioning but still yet to be formally organized "First Presidency," Young and counselors Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, who were joined by apostles Ezra T. Benson, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff, and church secretaries Albert Carrington and William Clayton. A ninth member, Lorenzo Dow Young, joined the party en route. Of the leading LDS authorities then in the valley, only Apostle Orson Pratt, unaccountably, was not enrolled.[31]

While several participants recorded the event, Woodruff's diary gave the fullest detail. We "went North of the Camp about 5 miles," the young apostle wrote, "& we all went onto the top of A high Peak in the edge of the Mountain which we considered A good place to raise An ensign upon which we named ensign Peak or Hill. I was the first person that Ascended this Hill. Brother Young was vary weary in clim[b]ing the Peak[,] he being feble. We then desended to the flat." Clayton agreed that the trip required "hard toil," the horses getting only two-thirds of the way to the summit.[32]

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28. *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-1847*, ed. Elden J. Watson (Salt Lake City: By the Editor, 1971), 23 July 1847, 564.

29. Norton Jacob diary, 28 July 1847, LDS archives.

30. George A. Smith, 20 June 1869, *JD* 13:86. Clayton made the same point: "We passed or began to ascend the mountains, [the] President signifying a wish to ascend a high peak to the north of us" (Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle* [26 July 1847], 368).

31. Woodruff said that when the party first was formed in the morning, it had ten members. Clayton, however, listed only eight names leaving camp for the trip to the Peak later in the day, Lorenzo Young joining the group as it went north. If Woodruff's figure is correct, the group included Pratt, who may have been inadvertently left out of Clayton's listing. Woodruff diary, 26 July 1847; Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle* (26 July 1847), 367-68. The other apostle in the Basin was Amasa Lyman, temporarily out of the valley assisting the incoming "Pueblo" detachment of the Mormon Battalion. See Erastus Snow diary, 28 July 1849, LDS archives.

32. Woodruff diary; Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle* (26 July 1847), 368. For other accounts, often brief to the point of having few additional details, *Brigham Young Manuscript History*, 565; Heber C. Kimball memoranda, LDS archives; and Albert Carrington, "History of George Albert Smith," Ms. 5829, fd. 4, bx. 1, LDS archives. All entries are for the date 26 July 1847.

What took place on the top is unclear. To be sure, the men used the promontory (and Kimball's spy glass) to survey the region, which confirmed their earlier judgment of the valley. "They appeared delighted with the view of the surrounding country," said one of the settlers who heard the explorers' report later in the day.[33] More than satisfying curiosity, Young and the other church leaders used the vantage to lay out the future city. From the time Mormons entered the area, the prospective site for their new community had steadily moved up the valley to the north, and now Young finished the process. From Ensign Peak he apparently decided to build the center-piece of the new city, the Mormon temple, on land directly at the edge of the slope of the mountain. Literally, Isaiah's prophesied "Mountain of the Lord's House" would be put at Ensign Peak's feet.

Did the expedition unfurl a flag? The idea was clearly on the men's mind. According to Woodruff, the hikers concluded the hill was a "A good place to raise An ensign," and named it accordingly. These acts have led later Utahns to conclude that either the Mormons took a flag of their own to the top of the summit or that they raised an American flag on the "Peak," claiming the Mexican lands of the Great Basin for the American Republic. The latter became a persistent, local tradition, preserved by countless Independence and Pioneer Day orations, the insistence of several historical writers, and even a mural placed within the Utah State capitol rotunda.[34]

There is not enough historical evidence to make either case. One nineteenth-century LDS opponent wrote a highly colored account alleging that Young and his associates had flown a blue and white "Flag of Deseret" on 26 July 1847, a claim that a recent historian treated as a possibility. But neither writer produced validating evidence.[35] Nor is an American flag

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33. Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West: 1846 to 1878*, ed. William M. Egan (Richmond, UT: Howard R. Egan Estate, 1917), 108.

34. The most prominent twentieth-century proponent of the Ensign Peak American flag-raising was Susa Young Gates, intent on preserving the patriotic honor of her father. See for instance her *Brigham Young: Patriot, Pioneer, Prophet. An Address Delivered Over Radio Station KSL, Saturday, 1 June 1929* (Salt Lake City: Np, 1929), 10-11. The capitol dome panel was a 1933-35 Works Progress Administration project done by artists Lee Greene Richards, Waldo Midgley, Gordon Cope, and Henry Rasmussen. The tradition was crisply challenged by B. H. Roberts, "The 'Mormons' and the United States Flag," *Improvement Era* 25 (Nov. 1921): 3-7; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930) 3:270-78; and Andrew Jenson, "Public Pulse," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 Aug. 1931, 4.

35. Don Maguire journal, Second Narrative (July 1877 to June 1878), 21, typescript, Utah State Historical Society; Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney, *Holy Murder; The Story of Porter Rockwell* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1934), 93-94; and Quinn, "Flag of the Kingdom," 111-12. There is no record of the pioneer camp having such an emblem in their possession when leaving Winter Quarters, though Brannan might have later provided the company with one. Travelling eastward from California, Brannan met the

raising any more likely. While Young carried his personal American flag to Winter Quarters, when going to the Great Basin he apparently left it behind for the second wave of pioneers to bring. "If there was a United States flag in the pioneer company," recalled one of the travelers, "I never saw it or heard of it." What he did remember rebutted the claim. Without a "real" American banner in the camp, during the group's 1847 Independence Day celebration on the Wyoming plains George A. Smith put a makeshift flag of his own manufacture on the end of his wagon tongue.[36]

There is a third possibility. Rather than using a "Flag of the Kingdom" or an American flag, perhaps the pioneer expedition made do with what they had. William C. A. Smoot, then a twenty-year-old member of the camp, recalled the morning Mormon leaders set out on their expedition. According to Smoot, the symbol of the hill was already known. As the party went north, Heber C. Kimball explained to bystanders, "We will some day hoist an ensign here." Later, Smoot tried to follow movements on the summit. "While they were up there looking around they went through some motions that we could not see from where we were, nor know what they meant. They formed a circle, seven or eight of them. But I could not tell what they were doing. Finally they came down in the evening."[37] Possibly the men had united in a Mormon prayer circle.

Later, Smoot asserted they were doing more. "They hoisted a sort of a flag on Ensign peak," Smoot reported. "Not a flag, but a handkerchief belonging to Heber C. Kimball, one of those yellow bandanna kind."[38] Smoot's remarks, made sixty years after the event, appeared to confirm a report published a year or two earlier by the *Salt Lake Tribune*. The newspaper said that Kimball himself had told of the incident. He had made an improvised flag from "a great yellow bandanna decorated with black spots," which he tied to Willard Richards's walking cane and then waved aloft. The act was symbolic. Said Kimball: The mount with its provisional flag signified the ensign to which "the oppressed of the world should flee for refuge."[39]

Kimball's flag waving was an impulsive act, a foreshadowing of what might be. Two days later, 28 July 1847, meeting with the pioneers on what would become "Temple Square," church leaders still spoke of the "Peak" and its flag in the future tense. According to one contemporary account,

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advance company at the Green River and could have brought the *Brooklyn* Saints' special flag with him.

36. Letter of William C. A. Smoot, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 Mar. 1910, 12, c1-2.

37. William C. A. Smoot, "Remarks at the American Party Banquet," 18 Mar. 1910, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2, c6.

38. Smoot, "Remarks at the American Party Banquet," 2, c6.

39. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1908.

Young promised: "We shall [yet] erect the Standard of Freedom."[40] Lewis Barney's narrative was similar. Written many years later and perhaps embellishing some of the detail, Barney remembered Young looking to the north and proclaiming, "Up yound[er] is Ensign peak Where the ensign to all the nations wil[l] be raised." According to Barney, Young said he had seen Ensign Peak "many times" in vision as well as seeing "thousands of people geathered" below it," and knew the Saints' new location, once he had arrived, as well as his "old home and farm in the States."[41]

Although the historical record gives few details, a flag raising apparently took place sometime during the next several months. Eighty years after the event, it was claimed that Erastus Snow and two other men had been reportedly asked by Young to oversee the flag hoisting and declare the land an American possession. But Snow said nothing of the sort in his journal.[42] Harrison Sperry, an 1847 pioneer who arrived some weeks after the first party, left a more convincing witness. "Although the [American] government was at war with Mexico," Sperry testified, "we placed the flag of our country on Ensign Peak—I have seen that flag raised myself—and declared this American soil."[43] Equally spare but persuasive was the memoir of John P. Wriston, a Mormon Battalion member, who entered the valley shortly after the first Ensign Peak "explorers" had made their reconnaissance. "I helped to rais[e] the United States flag on Encine Peak," he declared. "I feel to Rejoice at having the Privelage of Seeing the flag raised that was spoken of by Isai[a]h the Prophet."[44]

Obviously the Mormons retained their affection for their national colors. "We were not told to hate the flag," remembered one of the pioneers. "We were not taught to hate the government of the United States, for which our forefathers fought and died."[45] Within a week after the Mormons' arrival in Utah, the discharged "Pueblo" company of the Mormon Battalion

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40. Jacob diary, 28 July 1847.

41. Lewis Barney, autobiography and diary, 1878-83, 40, LDS archives. This tradition was preserved also by H. Spenle, "The 'Temple Block,' Salt Lake City," *Scientific American* 66 (6 Feb. 1892): 83. According to Spenle, "upon the arrival of the Mormons in Salt Lake Valley, in 1847, Brigham Young, looking toward Ensign Peak, marked the site with his cane, saying: 'This is the place to stay; this is the spot I have seen in vision.'"

42. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 July 1931, 1; Erastus Snow diary, July-Aug. 1847, LDS archives.

43. *Deseret News*, 14 Aug. 1920, sec. 4, vii, c2.

44. John P. Wriston, "The Book of the Pioneers," 344, unpublished miscellany collected by the Utah Semi-Centennial Commission, 1897, Utah State Historical Society. Susa Young Gates also cited the testimony of her cousin, the 1847 pioneer John R. Young. See the preliminary draft of her Brigham Young biography, fd. 2, bx. 9, Susa Young Gates papers, microfilm, LDS archives. Wriston said that he got to the valley as early as 26 July, but most of the Pueblo soldiers did not arrive until several days later.

45. William C. A. Smoot, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 Mar. 1910, 2, c6.

brought an American banner into the community, which was probably followed a month or two later by Young's.[46] In late 1847 one of these was placed on the settlement's high "liberty pole," prompting Mormons to later claim that, there, they had flown the first civilian-flown American flag in the Great Basin.[47] But the Ensign Peak episode may have come first. Fifty years after the event, a *Deseret News* editorial claimed that a company of pioneers had unfurled the American flag on the peak a scant three weeks after the Mormons' first arrival.[48]

For Wriston the Star Spangled Banner answered Isaiah's prophecy. Mormon leaders may have had a different view. The American flag conveyed their patriotism and embodied what they believed were the best of human ideals, but their kingdom flag promised Christ's climactic coming reign. Both were important, and each likely were hoisted at different times on the "Peak," the latter's turn probably coming in 1849. At dawn, 22 July of that year, President Young, six apostles, three presidents of the Quorum of Seventies, and one or two others climbed the "Peak" and consecrated it for "the erection of a standard thereon [and for] a place of prayer." Later the same morning, they conferred the ordinance of LDS endowment on Addison Pratt, already called to a South Seas proselyting mission.[49]

In part, the general authorities of the church were preparing for Utah's first "Pioneer Day," honoring the coming of the first settlers, and apparently hoped to fly a distinctive Mormon flag as part of the festivities. Two days after the leaders' trek, Iowan Charles Darwin, visiting Salt Lake City at the time, heard rumors that the Mormons planned to lift a banner on "ensign mountain" for the occasion, and almost certainly they did so, though neither Darwin's diary nor any other journal of the time recorded the event.[50]

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46. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1908, 4, C7; Thomas L. Kane to Millard Fillmore, 11 July 1851, copy in "Correspondence Between Thomas L. Kane and Brigham Young and Other Church Authorities, 1846-1878," Brigham Young papers, LDS archives. Kane believed Young's flag was the first in the territory, though probably the battalion's banner had precedence. For a more extended treatment, see Roberts, "'Mormons' and the United States Flag," 3-7.

47. *Speech of Hon. W. H. Hooper, of Utah, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 25, 1869*, broadside (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1869), 2. Also see statement of Eliza R. Snow, in Roberts, "'Mormons' and the United States Flag," 3.

48. Journal History, 24 July 1847, apparently quoting the *Deseret News* of the same date. Microfilm runs of the newspaper fail to provide a complete issue for this date and therefore it is impossible to confirm the editorial's exact date and pagination.

49. Franklin D. Richards diary, 21 July 1849, LDS archives; "Manuscript History of the Church," 21 July 1849, LDS archives. The tradition of other LDS endowments being performed on the "Peak" is preserved in such sources as *Deseret News*, 24 July 1897, 9, C2.

50. Darwin journal, 24 July 1849; Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains,*

By all accounts, this celebration, conducted at the base of Ensign Peak and continuing its symbolism—was impressive. Parades, banners, decorations, music, and dinner—each done on a scale meant to convey saga. The California emigrants passing through the territory looked on with some doubt: Could the preparations be finished on time? ("The Saints will prove them to be bad calculators," vowed one enthusiastic Mormon.[51]) According to one observer the dining tables had a gargantuan, accumulated length of over one and a half miles. Such Bunyanesque size was necessary for the more than 4,000 or 5,000 expected for dinner.[52]

To these arrangements, there was the need to complete a "liberty pole," meant to surpass anything previous in the basin. Six cross beams were put in position next to the excavated hole and guy ropes readied. Shortly after 7:00 p.m., 200 men carried the 104-foot pole to its position, and with President Young personally giving directions, the pillar was slowly lifted into place. By 9:00 p.m. the job was finished.[53]

The largeness of the task, and the minuteness of the Mormons' account, suggest the importance the people gave their project. Such gauges must be used, for the Saints themselves—always fearful of being misunderstood—said little about what was actually taking place. Already that evening Young's large American flag, once mounted on the Nauvoo temple, was placed at the east side of the "Bowery," the pioneer meeting area. It was apparently placed there again the day of the celebration. But Young's personal attention lay elsewhere. In the early morning hours before the jubilee began, Young tried to complete work at the new liberty pole, which then became the object of another flag-raising. Young described the exercise: "At half past seven (a.m.) a large national flag measuring sixty-five feet in length was unfurled at the top of the liberty pole, which is one hundred feet high, and was saluted with the firing of six guns, the ringing of the Nauvoo bell and spirit-stirring airs from the band."[54]

The euphemistically-called "national flag" was not the "stars and stripes," reported one of the California argonauts, but a banner with at least one star, which was set off by a field of blue and white strips.[55] Another

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Mountains and Mines, ed. Paul C. Phillips (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), 79-80; and Thomas Bullock, "Report of Proceedings," 24 July 1849, "Minutes of Meetings, 1845-1856," LDS archives.

51. Thomas Bullock, memorandum, 23 July 1849, "Minutes of Meetings, 1845-1856," LDS archives.

52. Wilford Woodruff diary, 24 July 1849. Woodruff thought as many as 7,000 attended the dinner.

53. Thomas Bullock, memorandum, 23 July 1849, "Minutes of Meetings, 1845-1856," LDS archives.

54. "Manuscript History of the Church," 24 July 1849.

55. Charles Benjamin Darwin, "Journal of a Trip Across the Plains from Council

California emigrant labelled it for what it was, the Flag of Deseret, christened after the peculiar name that Mormons first used for their new land.[56] Perhaps this was the "mammoth flag," which Young and his council had discussed in February 1847 and which Jedediah Grant had been commissioned to secure.

This mixing of national and theocratic symbols carried on through the day. During the celebration, the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution were read. The American flag was brandished. But it was a smaller version of the Flag of Deseret that led the parade, and worried non-Mormons heard what they thought was a public reading of a constitution of Deseret and perhaps even a declaration of Deseret's independence. In the latter instance, they were surely mistaken. Less than a week before, the Mormons had completed their formal preparations for applying for U.S. statehood.[57]

There was another thing that must have roused questions about Mormon loyalty. Four times during the festival, either in recitation or in song, Parley P. Pratt's poem, "The Mountain Standard," was presented. Its stanzas, probably written in celebration of the raising of the Mormon flag on the "Peak" above, tied together the Saints' "ensign" with their sacred mission and their sacred geography.[58]

> Lo! the Gentile chain is broken;
> Freedom's banner waves on high;
> List, ye nations! by this token
> Know that your redemption's nigh.
>
> See, on yonder distant mountain,
> Zion's standard wide unfurled,
> Far above Missouri's fountain,
> Lo! it waves for all the world.[59]

Bluffs, Iowa, to San Francisco," 24 July 1849, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This configuration of the "national" or Deseret flag may have become the most popular. Rumor claimed that it was flown at Brigham Young's funeral and placed in his casket and that it was used during the church's fifty-year jubilee. Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, 93-94; John D. T. McAllister diary, 6 Apr. 1880. The flag is given a rendering in Quinn, "Flag of the Kingdom of God," 113.

56. Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, 80.

57. "Manuscript History of the Church," 18 July 1849.

58. Darwin journal, 24 July 1849; Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, 79-80; and Thomas Bullock, "Report of Proceedings," 24 July 1849, "Minutes of Meetings, 1845-1856," LDS archives.

59. The poem is quoted in B. H. Roberts, "The 'Mormons' and the United States Flag," 6-7, and is cited in "History of the Church," 24 July 1849, LDS archives. For a

Mormons used Pratt's verses, sung as a hymn, throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, especially during Pioneer Day celebrations.[60]

The 1849 celebration showed how delicately Mormons were poised between the secular and religious—and between the present and the millennial future. Onlookers, while pleased with the July 1849 spectacle, were confused. The settlers had not only used their own rituals and symbols during the day, but had bitterly condemned their past treatment in the east. Concluded one emigrant: The Mormons were greatly alienated from Americans in the east and bore close watching. Another was harsher. To him the Utahns were "upstart traitors" and their leaders reckless "desperados." He was delighted when a gale sent the new liberty pole and its flag crashing into the dust. A fitting omen for Mormon pretension, he thought.[61]

Young probably had several reasons for holding the grand festival. Among them was the need to act out, in yet another detail, their scriptural pageant. Benjamin Brown, Mormon missionary and pamphleteer, cited biblical prophecy when cataloging the events required at the hands of God's latter-day people: They were to usher in the "stupendous gathering." They were to raise an ensign on the mountains to which the people might come. On the "same elevated position" the Lord's house must be built. Finally, before the culmination a feast of "fat things was to be made for all people."[62] Perhaps Young's jubilee was meant to fulfill scripture and provide yet another sign to identify the Lord's chosen.

Whatever the original motivation, Pioneer Day became an annual fixture in Salt Lake City and in many Utah communities. At first Mormons celebrated as they did in 1849. Salt Lake City's 1850 rites once more displayed a large (and non-described) flag on Temple Square's liberty pole, and during the proceeding the citizens gave the toast: "The Flag of Deseret:

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slightly different version, see Oliver B. Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 67, LDS archives.

60. George Careless, et. al., *The Latter-day Saints' Psalmody* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1889), #227. The hymn was reprinted into the twentieth century.

61. Darwin journal, 24 July 1849; Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, 80. If the travellers of the time were confused, it is by no means clear that the Mormons themselves had worked out the meaning of their various flags. George Henry Preble, *Our Flag* (Albany: John Munsell, 1872), 16, quoted Young as denying the existence of a distinctive, territorial flag: "We have no territorial flag, our flag is that of the nation, the stars and stripes." Did Young see the Deseret Flag as simply another local variation of the American flag, so common during the time? Was the American flag, or a variation of it, to be the flag of the Kingdom? Or more likely did Young understand that the unique "flag of nations" waited for the millennial moment?

62. Benjamin Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth: A Record of Manifestations of the Power of God* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 29.

May it continue to wave over a free and happy people, and never be tarnished by an act of cruelty and oppression." In turn, Eliza R. Snow's verse, "The National Anthem," forced a "response from every heart" in the large congregation. "The white-crested Eagle" had fled to the mountains, said Snow, and had set the stage for an important gospel drama: "Lo! an Ensign of Peace on the tops of the mountains—/ A Banner! a Banner is wide unfurl'd:/ Hark! the heralds are sounding a loud proclamation—/ Hear, hear the glad message go forth to the world."[63]

These themes would continue. During the 1851 celebration settlers flew the American and Deseret emblems from the same staff. In 1856 the citizens of Ogden had a "mammoth" Flag of Deseret. Even church members as far distant as present-day Wyoming insisted on a Pioneer Day celebration that featured a pioneer flag. Their 14-by-6-foot canvass had the star of Deseret in the upper corner with a spreadeagle to its right (recalling Snow's poetical "white-crested" image). Below were the words: "O GOD, SAVE ISRAEL," and still further the beehive symbol and the additional words, "WE'LL NEVER GIVE UP THE SHIP." The reverse was similarly filled with prolix figures and words.[64]

There were simpler flags as well. During the Salt Lake City harvest celebration of 1848, a white flag devoid of any decoration was flown, but which nevertheless carried its own symbol. "Our flag was not stained with any national devis[e]," explained one of the citizens, "but it was pure and white."[65] Such a white flag inspired Parley P. Pratt to write another poem, once more coupling the flag-symbol with Zion's mountain. Written in 1856, "The Standard of Zion" told the Saints to gaze on "yon mountain's proud height" where the ensign of Zion was "exultingly streaming."[66]

Early Mormon convert Joel Hills Johnson wrote the most enduring verse about the "Peak" and its banner. Dangerously ill during the winter of 1852-53, Johnson by his own account felt an overwhelming urge to write. The impulse seemed like "fire in my bones," he later said, preventing him

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63. *Deseret News*, 3 Aug. 1850, C1, C2; 10 Aug. 1850, 65, C2-3. Snow's verse was republished and given its name in Eliza R. Snow, *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856), 265-66. Snow returned to the theme several times later. For instance, her "Anniversary Song for the Pioneer," ibid, 203, contained the lines:

> Zion's Banner—Freedom's Ensign,
> Broad and gloriously unfurl'd,
> Waves amid the Rocky Mountains—
> Heavenly beacon to the world.

64. Journal History, 24 July 1854, 24 July 1855, and 24 July 1856, LDS archives.

65. Levi Jackman diary, 10 Aug. 1848, LDS archives.

66. *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 395.

from resting.[67] The result was a large sheaf of devotional poems, including a dozen devoted to Zion's "Holy Hill" and its literal and symbolic ensign. The most famous, "Deseret," became the LDS anthem, "High on the Mountain Top."

> High on the mountain top a banner is unfurled.
> Ye Nations, now look up; It waves to all the world.
> In Deseret's sweet, peaceful land,
> On Zion's mount behold it stand!
>
> For God remembers still His promise made of old
> That he on Zion's hill Truth's standard would unfold!
> Her light should there attract the gaze
> Of all the world in latter days.
>
> His house shall there be reared, His glory to display,
> And people shall be heard in distant lands to say:
> We'll now go up and serve the Lord,
> Obey his truth and learn his word.
>
> For there we shall be taught the law that will go forth,
> With truth and wisdom fraught, to govern all the earth.
> Forever there his ways we'll tread,
> And save ourselves with all our dead.[68]

By the mid-1850s Ensign Peak, both as site and symbol, had gained a place in local ritual. In the next several decades, it also became a fixture in Mormon lore, which was impossible to disentangle, then or now, from what had actually taken place in 1847. In telling the Ensign Peak story, Mormon poets were not the only transcribers. Some American and European travelers were also drawn to the legends of the "Peak," and Temple Square preachers added their words as well.

John W. Gunnison, the U.S. government surveyor who wintered in the valley, 1849-50, understood the Saints still intended to build a massive symbol of their gathering. "To the north of Temple Block, and close by, towers up and overlooks the Temple City, the 'Ensign Mound,'" Gunnison wrote.

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67. Joel Hills Johnson, reminiscences and journals, 1835-82, Feb. 1853, LDS archives.

68. The current Mormon hymnal gives four of the six verses penned by Johnson. For the original, see "Zion's Songster, Or the Songs of Joel, Book Third," 19 Feb. 1853, 376, Joel Hills Johnson papers, LDS archives.

> It terminates the great spur, and is conspicuous in approaching the city, from every quarter. On this mountain peak there is soon to be unfurled the most magnificent flag ever thrown to the breeze, constructed out [of] the banner flags of all peoples. Joined in symbolical unity, "the flag of all nations" shall wave about the sacred temple; then shall they verify the decree given by the Prophet Isaiah.[69]

Gunnison's account gave the millennial meaning to the peak when it and its several flags would proclaim the radical mission of the restored gospel and the coming new earthly order. But as the nineteenth century wore on, Mormons increasingly used their sacred hill to look backward, not forward. The symbol of Ensign Peak celebrated past achievement—the pioneers—instead of heralding a new society. The spirit of Mormonism was changing.

The focus of the newer statements was almost entirely on Young's vision. Thus famed British adventurer Richard Burton spoke of the angel President Young had seen. It was "Mr. Joseph Smith," Burton reported. Smith had appeared to his successor and "pointed out to him the position of the New Temple, which after Zion had 'got up into the high mountain,' was to console the Saints for the loss of Nauvoo the Beautiful."[70] The role of the angel Smith was also reported in the travel report of William Minturn.[71]

Some visitors had the Mormons telling the story differently. Instead of (or perhaps in addition to) an angel, these accounts reported Young had seen an ensign descend on the cone-shaped mount. This is what had impelled the church leader during the pioneer journey and given the mount its name. "As the dreamer surveyed the scene," recounted the *San Francisco Overland Monthly*, "the heavens above the mountain were opened, and a mighty Star-Spangled Banner appeared; it floated through the air with stately grace until it alighted on the mountain-top, when a voice from heaven spoke in our dear Anglo-Saxon tongue: 'Build your city at the foot of this mountain, and you shall have prosperity and rest.'"[72] The sermons

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69. John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 33-34. Gunnison gave the scriptural text as Isaiah 2:18, 25. A contemporary journal repeated Gunnison's narrative. "The Mormons in Utah," *Bentley's Miscellany* 38 (1855): 70, said: "To the north of the temple-site rises above the city the 'Hill of the Banner,' visible for a very long distance. On this hill will be speedily unfurled 'the most splendid flag that ever fluttered in the breeze'—a flag made out of the colours of all nations, as a symbol of the future perfect union of mankind in faith and love."

70. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 243-44.

71. William Minturn, *Travels West* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1877), 153.

72. Quoted in the *Millennial Star* 32 (13 Dec. 1870): 785.

of Mormon general authorities George A. Smith and Joseph F. Smith also told of a descending "ensign" but gave no details.[73]

Other Mormons believed Young's spiritual eye had seen a divine "ark" or "tent" falling on the mount. "'This is the place where I, in vision, saw the ark of the Lord resting,'" Apostle Erastus Snow quoted Young as saying. "'This is the place whereon we will plant the soles of our feet, and where the Lord will place his name amongst his people.'"[74] The verse of John R. Young, the president's nephew, used the same image: "'I have seen this land in vision, I saw the tent come down/ And rest upon the summit, of yonder rising ground.'/ There, we will build a Temple, a resting place for God,/ And His spirit will requicken, the hill and valley sod."[75]

There were still other shadings and emanations. The "Peak," said other visitors, was the Mormons' "Mount of Prophecy."[76] It was where Young had "wrestled" with the Lord.[77] In turn, English versifier Henry Buss returned to the theme that the hill had determined Zion's location.

> The vale here viewed from top of Ensign-peak—
> (A prom'nent rock)—the Mormons this allege,
> The signal was, which Brigham had to seek
> As resting place—so the Almighty pledge.
> After a thousand miles of prairie, rock,
> Vast rivers, Indians, and of toils severe;
> Pursued by murder, pillage, and the shock
> Of storm and want, the Mormons settled here.[78]

By the 1880s, thirty years after the coming of the Mormons to Utah, Ensign Peak had become both fact and legend. Fortunately, each of these gave the same basic rendering: By embodying LDS prophetic scripture and

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73. George A. Smith, 20 June 1869, *JD* 13:85; Joseph F. Smith, 3 Dec. 1882, *JD* 24:156.

74. Erastus Snow, 14 Sept. 1873, *JD* 16:207. Some have argued that the phrase "This is the place" first originated with an 1880 Wilford Woodruff speech during the fifty-year jubilee celebration. But the phrase, as seen from the above source, was current at least seven years before—and probably much earlier. Also see Lewis Barney's retrospective account, "Autobiography and Diary, 1878-1883," 40, which also used the famous words.

75. John R. Young, scrapbook, 1928-30, LDS archives, punctuation added. For a variation on the same theme, see Erastus Snow, 14 Sept. 1873, *JD* 16:207.

76. Stanley Wood, *Over the Range to the Golden Gate: A Complete Tourist's Guide* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, Publishers, 1889), 60; Caroline H. Dall, *My First Holiday; or, Letters Home From Colorado, Utah, and California* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881), 83.

77. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist: Volume. 1: 1878-79* (Chicago: Illinois, 1878), 123-24.

78. Henry Buss, *Wanderings in the West, During the Year 1870* (London: Printed for Private Circulation by Thomas Danks, 1871), 153.

Joseph Smith's early plans for western settlement, Ensign Peak played a role in early Mormon and Utah history. Perhaps it was its unusual form or its place at the head of the Salt Lake Valley. Or perhaps, as believers might say, it was the reality of providence's hand. Whatever the reason, during the settlement of Utah the "Peak" helped to satisfy Young's inner striving and confirmed the decision to make Utah's Wasatch Front Zion's headquarters. Later the mount, in ritual and lore, charted Mormonism's nineteenth-century spirit.

The Mormons were re-enacting patterns as ancient as humankind itself. As religious people had done for millennia, they used symbols such as Ensign Peak to consecrate their new land, reminding themselves and generations to follow of their sacred purpose.[79] But they were doing more than settling and claiming a new land. They knew that they were actors, not just observers. In God's latter-day drama, they were bringing in Christ's millennial reign.

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79. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 18-20.

Aspens

Don W. Jenkins

Parchmental stand aspens,
Paper atrmeble accepts scars,
Words healing standing parchmental—

There was a sanctity unbuilt,
Unhousable, sung by leaves,
Taken from heartwood, present.

I walk among the pillars of life
And need not emperson it,
Need only return and return.

Telling the Tales and Telling the Truth: Writing the History of Widtsoe

Karl C. Sandberg

JOHNS VALLEY IS A HIGH MOUNTAIN VALLEY about 7,000 feet in elevation, thirty miles long, and twenty wide. You can drive it today, partly on paved road, partly on gravel, starting from Bryce Canyon and going north to Antimony. A few miles down the road on your right is the turnoff to the Pine Lake campground maintained by the U.S. Forest Service. Further on and to the right, not visible from the road, is a cemetery set in a stand of pinion pines, and at the junction of the road that turns east and goes up over the mountain to Escalante, you can still see the remnants of a few houses and outbuildings. Still further both on the left and the right are large stretches of sage and rabbit brush where fields and houses used to be. This is the site of the former town of Widtsoe.

The history of Widtsoe should be brief, as the town was brief. The first to come to Johns Valley were polygamous Mormon families seeking sanctuary, first, beyond the caring of the feds—the first survey of the valley in 1876 shows land held at Sweetwater Creek by Mrs. John D. Lee—and later beyond the ken of the Mormon church, as the church reversed field on the "principle." Then cattlemen and sawmill owners came with their families, along with those looking for a new start on new land to be obtained by homesteading or by squatter's rights.[1] They were variously of the churched, the unchurched, the barely-churched, and the never-churched. A branch of the LDS Tropic Ward was organized there in 1908. A town was platted in 1910 and called Winder after President John R. Winder of the

1. Mabel Woodward Nielsen and Audrie Cuyler Ford, eds., *Johns Valley, the Way We Saw It* (Spring City, UT: Art City Publishing Co., 1971), 2.

First Presidency. It was shortly renamed Houston after President James Houston of the Panguitch Stake (there were too many towns named Winder in Utah). And then in 1917 it was permanently renamed Widtsoe after John A. Widtsoe, president of the International Dry-Farming Congress. Several miles north of Widtsoe there used to be a town called Henderson until they hooked a team onto the post office and dragged it to Widtsoe, thus amalgamating the two towns.

For a time Widtsoe flourished and gave promise prosperity. The population grew to over 400. Then the climate changed, and a cycle of drought coincided with the Great Depression of the 1930s. In 1935 the federal Resettlement Administration, one of the agencies of the New Deal, moved in to purchase the citizens' holdings and return the area to public domain as potential grazing land, resettling the citizens in other more productive parts of the state. The citizens of the town held a mass meeting and voted to end the town. The post office was closed. The state road commission removed the town's name from the highway. The town should have died and become a ghost town, such as dot the West.

But the writing of the history of Widtsoe has to accommodate another fact. Every year since then the town has held a reunion. Three times as many people attended the fiftieth reunion in 1987 as left the town in 1937. The place was gone, the buildings were gone, but the community was still there. The most interesting aspect of the history of Widtsoe is in a question: What held the town together after so many other forces had pulled it apart?

The answer, I believe, is in the fact that the history of Widtsoe is at bottom the history of a speech community. La Rochefoucauld said that the accent of one's birthplace abides in the mind and heart as well as in the speech. And so it is with a speech community. The predicate is a marvelous thing, and the number of things it allows us to say is indefinitely large, but it is the speech community that puts in the fence lines and gates and generates the subtle unspoken rules and signs that show who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, what can be spoken and what is unspeakable. It tells us who we are and who we should be by telling us what we have been. It holds things together. It tells us of our freedoms and our servitudes. It strengthens our hands and turns our faces to the fray. The markers of a speech community might be in the accents of the speech or in its code words, in its oratory or in its silences, in what it reverences or in what it profanes, but its soul is in its tales.

It was in fact the tales that made me a member of the town of Widtsoe. My family moved away before my sense of geography was oriented by the creeks running down the mountain, Horse Creek, Deer Creek, Cow Creek, Sweetwater. But when former Widtsoe people came to visit, I listened to them as they told their stories, some of which were told over and over,

sometimes with slight variations but often with the same intonation at the comical line. I came to know people I could not put a face to through stories about them. When the tellers got going on the government, I knew we had passed over the line into High Poetry.

Still I had not sentimental attachment to the town. I was a Salt Lake City kid, and I wanted to keep moving out and away not back. But in the early 1970s I began to wonder about Widtsoe. Those people from Widtsoe knew something that contemporary America didn't. I knew their tales, but I didn't know their history to which the tales pointed. Their history, I now realized, was my history, upon which all the other experiences of my life had been layered.

About this time I began to be in close contact with Aunt Mabel Nielsen—both of my parents had passed away. Mabel, sensing that she had few years left, had started along with Audrie Cuyler Ford to collect personal reminiscences from as many people as possible who had lived in the valley. They did spontaneously what ethnographers do. Without a notion of speech community, they collected its markers. They had the people tell their stories in their own terms and accents, using their own categories and giving their own meanings to the experiences. They titled the work *Johns Valley, the Way We Saw It*. This collection became my second source of tales.

When people told what stayed inside of them from the Johns Valley experience, what did they talk about? Almost all of them talked in some way about the struggle, or rather the Struggle, the heat and the cold, the drought and the blizzards.

Said Frederick Hermansen Clinch,

> In 1920 we had one of the most terrible summers—no rain and a total failure of crops. . . . Waiting for rain day after day, we would see the wind sending great billowing clouds of loose soil into the air. . . . They waited and prayed but still no rain. The crops burned in the fields. Another season, when I was of an age when I noticed people and the expression on their faces, I saw the line of worry beneath the dust on my father's face. One day I heard him say to mother, "It's burning up. The crops can't hold out many more days." I remember how he made his hands into a fist and brought them down on the table and bowed his head over them as if he were in terrible pain. I can never forget mother's face, as standing by his chair, she placed her hand on his shoulder and said nothing. . . . Later that night I was awakened by the wind blowing. There were flashes of lightning and rumbles of thunder. It was just getting light when the rain started to fall. I ran outside, clapping my hands and singing. . . . [M]other stood in the doorway and watched, her long braids hanging down over her shoulders. . . . That year there was a good harvest and the grain bins were nearly filled to the

top of the cabin. There was just enough room for us to crawl between the grain and the roof. We slept on the grain, on straw ticks.[2]

The cold. Most of the accounts mention the winters, the deep snows, the blizzards, the preparations against the winter. Lillie Cuyler tells this story:

> In 1909 a man crossing the East Fork out of Red Canyon on his way east to Tropic was lost in a blizzard. The storm was so bad he had to depend on his horse to find the way, but the horse turned north instead and gave out just south of father's place. The man started following father's south fence and finally got close enough to see the light in their south window. He continued toward the house, falling down and struggling to get up, finally falling against their door. Mother heard a noise and went to the door expecting to let the dog in for a minute, when the man fell in more dead than alive. Father and mother spent nearly all night trying to get him thawed out and into some of father's dry clothing, putting him to bed and getting hot liquids into him. They took care of him for some time, but pulled him through without any ill effects. I have told this as I remember my parents telling it several times. I believe it happened the same night that Henry Lossee from Tropic was frozen to death trying to cross the East Fork to Tropic with the mail. His pack horse fell into a snowdrift, couldn't get up, and also froze to death.[3]

They talked about the hard times, often with humor, and the drier the better. One of the great blessings of living in Johns Valley, they said, was that when the Depression hit the rest of the country, there you couldn't tell the difference. After a summer of drought and burnt fields, Randolph Frandsen's wife had a baby, which the neighbors came to see. "That's a fine baby, Randolph, but he's kind of little, ain't he?" "Yes, we didn't hardly get our seed back on that one." Humor is one of the potent arms of the spirit and in desperate situations grander than all sorts of hallelujahs.

So it is not strange that they told stories about their stories and about their storytellers. "I remember sleeping in wall-to-wall beds when our folks when to the dances," said Orlene Zabriskie Chestnut, "and telling 'happy ever after stories' until they got home, like the one Clellan Zabriskie told about a man and woman who had twelve kids and the wolves got after them and they would throw one child, and the wolves would stop and eat it; and finally, after all twelve kids had been fed to the wolves, they arrived home safe and lived happy ever after."[4]

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2. Ibid., 138
3. Ibid., 282-83.
4. Ibid., 89.

Randolph Frandsen was one of the most quoted men in the valley. He had a Model T and was trying to drive to California. When he stopped in Las Vegas for gas, the service station attendant asked if he should check the oil. "Well, yes, please," said Randolph, "and while you're at it, put in a quart of castor oil. It hasn't passed a thing all day."

In 1992 I attended the Widtsoe reunion and saw Merthel Gleave, whom I hadn't seen for over fifty years. Within minutes he was telling a story about my dad George that I had heard from several other people with minor variations. George and Randolph were hunting deer with the numerous Gleave boys, who were driving the deer down the hollow, with George, and Randolph posted at the point to shoot the deer as they ran past. A buck ran down, George shot at it, and knocked it down with a clean shot to the head. When they went to look at it, George said, "I don't know what's happening to my shooting, Randolph, I just don't know. I was aiming for its eye, and I hit it right here at the butt of the ear." For once Randolph was taken in. "Oh, no, that's good shooting, George, that's good shooting."

The center of the town was the sawed log meeting house with its bell which called people to Sunday school and sacrament meetings on Sunday, to school during the week when the hall was used for school, or to a dance whenever there was a town dance. The religion was spirited, social, direct, enhanced by the feeling of neighborliness created by mutual struggle against the elements and the land. Churchiness was at a minimum, but I have picked up tales about a bishop's counselor I have never been able to match up with any actual counselor in a real bishopric. I call him Charlie. He appears in the tales as one wanting to leave the world a better place than he found it. An old sheepherder just off the range came down with pneumonia, and when Charlie went to visit him, he could see the old man was in a bad way. So he started consoling him and talking to him about the celestial kingdom. The sheepherder raised up out of bed and said, "Why, I'll outlive you, you oily sonofabitch!" And he did, so they say.

Yes, profanity was an important part of the speech community. There were some men who didn't swear. And there were some women who did, which came to me as a surprise and a marvel. But if we are telling the truth, the lives of most of the men were floating on a raft of goddamns through Sonofabitch Canyon—because the truth about the world is that there are some problems you can't solve until you just take hold of them and swear them through.

Some swearers were just coarse, but others swore with imagination. Fleet Merrill was plowing for the bishop (Quince Kimball at the time), using a nice team of horses and a mule hooked up to a three-horse sulky plow. Each time he came to the end of the piece he was plowing, the mule would stop, and the horses would almost have to pull him around the turn. People

would stop to listen just to see what Fleet would come out with next. As in: "G.D. a mule. They never was what God intended anyway. They are a man-made S.B., and no one but a bishop would own one."[5]

And then there was Pherron Heaps, who had a team of pulling horses that he took around to all the county fairs in the area and usually won. It was a rule that the driver was disqualified if he swore during the contest. Once Pherron's team was up against their stiffest competition, and they couldn't budge their next load. Pherron let it go, and the judge disqualified him. "I didn't swear," Pherron said, "that's them horses' names."

Randolph Frandsen was such a man. Before the valley got a steam-powered thresher, he was the one driving the horses which drove the gears delivering power to the thresher. It was not that he was a profane man, but he was an expert in mountain grammar with power to turn the air blue. And on one such morning Charlie said to him, "Randolph, you don't need to swear like that to make those horses go." Randolph replied, "Well, Charlie, I look at it this way, you pray a lot, and I swear a lot, but the Good Lord knows that neither one of us means anything by it."

The line between tragedy and laughter was thin. I know one story with several variants. One version is included in the book,[6] and I have heard two others, but I'll tell the one I heard first and heard repeated most often. A certain man from Escalante had been committed to the state mental hospital in Provo, and after several years there he died. The hospital was to ship the body home for burial, but the train only ran as far as Marysvale, so the family asked Arzie Campbell, who had a dump truck, to meet the train and bring the body over the mountain to Escalante. Arzie asked George and Lorin to go with him. Before they left Widtsoe they had been drinking a little, and by the time they got to Marysvale, they had been drinking a little bit more. So when the train arrived after dark and seven hours late, they were free from the chains and hobbles that tie ordinary men to the earth. They loaded the casket in the back of the truck, and with Lorin riding back there with it so nothing would happen, they drove off through the dark. It was past midnight when they started up the Escalante mountain with Arzie and George arguing about whether Arzie's truck would make it up over Ford Stuck, which was the place on the mountain where, if you were going over it in a Model T, you would always get stuck and have to back up over the mountain in reverse. Arzie was sure that he would make it over because he had just put a new ruxtel gear in his truck. When they got to the place, he reached for the new lever but pulled the dump lever, sending Lorin and the coffin out into the night and down the

5. Ibid., Vird Barney account, 64.
6. Ibid., 88

mountainside. George and Arzie got out and started groping around, and after the longest time they found the coffin. It was empty. They groped around some more, found the body, put it in the coffin, and were just going to nail the lid down again when the corpse moaned and tried to sit up. It was Lorin. By now they were some sober. They groped around some more, found the real corpse, and when they got down off the mountain into Escalante, it was just getting light. They delivered the coffin to the family, who opened it to get ready for the viewing. The deceased was face down. The family just looked at it and then finally someone said, "Ain't it a shame how they treat them poor folks in Provo."

There were other stories about death, in other accents. Many people talked about the 1918 flu. Said one: "I look back with sadness on the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. We lost many young people at that time; nearly the whole town was down with it. Our family and Orrel Zabriskie's family did not get it. . . . George and Orrel wore face masks and went to the homes, where they chopped wood and carried it. They also brought water to the doors."[7]

Lillie Cuyler remembered: "During the flu epidemic in World War I, mother, Bert Halladay, and William Rose were [among the only] ones who were able to go from home to home doing chores, chopping and carrying wood, and taking hot food to the sick, keeping fires going, with big kettles of soup or pans of bread baking to help feed the sick. Mother helped nurse several who had it, and one I remember who died in her arms was a Stoddard boy."[8]

Verd Barney said:

> The winter of 1918 brought more heartbreak and sorrow than fun. The flu raged wild, and fresh graves were dug each day. It was hard to dig them fast enough. My older brother, Van, helped to dig graves. There was another fine able-bodied young man (Richard Frederick Robinson while digging Gertrude Young Bullock's grave) who remarked one day as they worked at the task, "one of these days you'll be digging my grave." His words were sadly prophetic. Three days later he was dead.[9]

The same tale teller continued: "Van recalls some sobering moments, too; Glen Thornton being struck by lightning; the Desmond boy who was dragged to his death by a runaway horse; Rob Lay's boy, Lionel, who was run over with a wagon and killed."[10]

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7. Ibid., Adella Zabriskie account, 275.
8. Ibid., Lillie Cuyler account, 282.
9. Ibid., Vird Barney account, 64.
10. Ibid.

The people in the valley buried their own dead. The men would make a coffin from lumber from the mill and would dig a grave in the cemetery set among the pines. In the home of the Relief Society president, there was always a bolt of satin for lining the coffin, and overnight someone would have to stay with the body to change the formaldehyde packs to keep the body from discoloring before the funeral. Mabel Nielsen tells how she and her sister Ruby, who were thirteen and fifteen, volunteered to sit a shift with an older couple from midnight until morning. When they got to the house, the older couple had already been there for several hours. The girls with bravado assured the couple that they could do the job themselves, and so the couple showed them how to change the packs. The girls felt the enormity of what they had done as the older couple left. In the light of the coal oil lamp, they watched the hands of the clock go around to one. "Well, if you have never touched a corpse before, now is the time." They went into the other room, jostled the body when they changed the packs, screamed when the body made a noise, and then realized it was just gas escaping. They wondered if they too might see a man in a blue suit the way a certain sister sitting alone with her husband who had been killed by lightning had. But there was no visitant. Four more times they watched the hands of the clock go around. Then they heard a milk bucket clanging in the distance and saw the light come back to the sky. Others came to relieve them, and they went home to breakfast. This story was told again and again.

Thus far we have come dangerously close to committing literature, which is the human thing and which will, if followed to its furtherest reaches, end up with the Gargantuan laugh or the cry of Job. And although some might cavil this notion, it is precisly the tales, the literature, that gather in the meaning of history and give it life. They provide the metaphors with which we think. In the case of Widtsoe, they show the stuff of a community with bonds and identities which has survived for fifty-three years even without a place to abide. They reveal a kind of experience not unique to Widtsoe but common in many aspects to the colonized West and part of the core of a certain kind of Mormonism.

And it is the tales that allow us to see others as they saw themselves. Consider the account of Mahonri Moriancumer Steele, Jr.:

> I was born when the colonization of the Rocky Mountain Empire was still young. The great directing genius of the colonization, Brigham Young, was still alive and his dream of a mighty civilization stretching from Canada in the north to Mexico in the south and extending to the Pacific Ocean was being pushed through as rapidly as possible. To this end some people were continually kept on the frontier. No sooner than they had laid out a settlement and made it secure, than the hardiest men and women left the nucleus, leaving to those who followed after the task of continued

> growth and consolidation.... In all the history of the world I don't suppose that there is a parallel in colonization equal to this. Each new settlement experienced all the heart-breaking toil, privations, and indomitable courage that was experienced in the first settlement in the territory. Brigham Young was, of course, the guiding spirit, but he could not have accomplished all this unless he had been supported by thousands who were just as hardy and imbued with the same vision. It was my fortune to be born and raised on what was practically the last of the frontier.[11]

How did they look to those outside? The Farm Security Administration, created in April 1935 to address the plight of the rural poor, commissioned a documentary study of rural America with the polemical purpose of publicizing and justifying agency programs. Two of the FSA's best photographers, Dorothea Lange and Russell Lee, devoted several months to studying rural Utah. After photographing the coal mining town of Consumers, Lange traveled to Widtsoe to take photos which were to be used in justifying resettlement of the town's residents. Historian Brian Cannon describes the photos:

> Revealing forbidding images such as stark wire fences, weather-beaten buildings, boarded up windows, snow, and ice, the photos suggest a town unfit for habitation. Although over one hundred people lived in Widtsoe at the time, Lange photographed only three women and one child. By avoiding direct confrontation on film with large numbers of the town's denizens, Lange minimized the potentially explosive human element of settlement: its denigration of the fabric of community—ties to people and place.
>
> In appearance, many Utah towns settled since 1900 resembled Widtsoe. Rudely constructed homes, weathered outbuildings, rickety public buildings, treeless and unpaved streets, and weed-strewn lots were common. In a decade of deprivation that enhanced the allure of material success, it was easy to disparage such communities as unproductive commodities with little intrinsic worth.[12]

From the inside it looked to some, to those born before 1890 or so, like a great adventure, participation in one of the great undertakings of history. From the outside it looked like poverty from which people needed to be rescued by the government. Others saw them as people who didn't have $500 a year. They saw themselves as hard-working and honest people who had never had a master.

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11. Ibid., 299.

12. Brian Cannon, "Introduction," *Life and Land, The Farm Security Administration Photographers in Utah, 1936-41* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1988), 3-5.

And how did the Resettlement look to those who were resettled? After initial hope followed disillusionment and cynicism. The government men came to be seen as those who liked to ride around in big cars and tell people what to do. For some time after the resettlement, for example, people could not spend their own money—their checks had to be counter-signed by someone in the Resettlement Office before they could be cashed. And the government men were slow. Weeks dragged into months and months into years while the people just waited. It was one thing to deal with blizzards and droughts and another to deal with a tedious and sometimes officious bureaucracy. At one of the last gatherings of the town, this song was sung to the tune of "The Man on the Flying Trapeze" (words penned by Ida Steed):

Once Widtsoe was happy but now we're forlorn,
Just like an old coat that is tattered and torn.
We're left in this valley to cry and to mourn
And wait for the government men.
They said in two weeks we will move you all out,
Two weeks is a lingering spell—
And we are still wondering what it's about,
But the government men will not tell—oh—

Chorus
Farewell to this valley, farewell one and all,
We've been happy in Widtsoe in springtime and fall,
Every family is leaving but none knows when,
Not even the government men.

Rex Taylor is leaving, but no one knows when,
Except Mr. Wright and the government men,
A few months of waiting will do him no harm,
And so he must not say word.
Clarence Sandberg, Del Twitchell, and poor Milton Steed,
Not persuaded this valley to leave
They will stay with the prairie dogs, rabbits, and birds
Unbelievable, simply absurd—oh—

Chorus

The account given by Reed Beebe weaves together the principle strands of others who talked about beginnings in the valley, its high points, and its resettling:

In August 1924 Garfield Stake Quarterly conference was held in Widtsoe. Widtsoe had two stores and Henderson one; several sawmills were operating and doing a good business; a new hotel had been built by Robert W. Pinney; William F. Holt was interested in promoting growth in the valley unthought of before; Pine Lake—our recreation area since the valley was first settled—was being enlarged with an earthen dam to supply water for better irrigation of the Widtsoe lots and for a large ranch Mr. Holt had purchased; so for the first time in its history the valley was to have a payroll, and the people rejoiced. This was also the year of the greatest crop production in the history of the valley; more grain was produced than in all of the rest of the county, Piute County, and Kane County combined. Brother D. W. Woodard was heard to remark, "After much tribulation cometh reward."

At this conference, which was attended by Elder Melvin J. Ballard of the Council of Twelve, great things were expected of the valley. . . . In his remarks during conference, Elder Ballard enlarged on the possibilities for the valley—what a wonderful area it was. Comparing it to the Garden of Eden, he said, "Johns Valley will remain thus, so long as you keep out of debt, and keep the commandments of God; but, if you fail to keep His commandments, it will be cursed, and will be taken from you." . . . When I returned [from a California mission] in February 1928—less than four years from the time he made the prediction—over half of the people had moved out; the Holt enterprise was failing; the drought had returned, and another depression—one of the worst depressions ever to hit this nation—was in the offing and soon to strike.

We continued to struggle, working with the Utah State Land Office in building a canal from Rocky Ford, south and west of Widtsoe, down to and covering most of the land in the Henderson area.

Then in the spring of 1934, the government sponsored Rural Rehabilitation, upon request of some of the last residents, came in and surveyed the valley with the idea in mind of purchasing the land and moving the people into other more developed sections of the state.

My last night on the ranch in Johns Valley, 31 December, 1935, was one that I will long remember. I didn't sleep much, thinking back over the past twenty-five years—the joys we had experienced, some of the sorrows we had endured—and now what? Where? and why? How had we failed to keep God's commandments? I am sure that most of us loved our neighbor as ourselves, the great flu epidemic of 1918 had proven this. We had better than average attendance at Sunday School and sacrament meetings; we had good leaders who were interested in the people they presided over. Wherein had we failed? But we had.

Those administering the rural rehabilitation program—the Resettlement Administration—were slow to act. The expenses of administration of the program more than doubled the money paid out for the land, and they kept putting settlement off for months and years. In the case of my father, he died of a broken heart November 1937; mother died three years earlier. Finally, on 7 December 1937, over a month after father's death, the Reset-

> tlement Administration came to make settlement with our family. Expense of interest on mortgages and delinquent taxes ate all the equity we had in our 3,000 plus acres of land. Vera was relocated on a run-down fruit farm in Orem. I was given the choice of buying the farm of a cousin of the attorney for the government—or nothing. So ended our sojourn in Johns Valley, a place I still love, because most of my memories there were good.[13]

Are tales history? Yes, in that they are a means, perhaps the best means, of seeing things from the inside out. Whether or not they are factual concerning the events and the personae is of secondary consideration. They are factual perceptions that people had of the events. They are part of the ethnography without which history falls short of the truth about the core of the thing. Once Heber C. Kimball was preaching in the tabernacle and said, "I wish I had some stones. I'd like to pelt your damned heads, for you lie like hell." He was the one who complained that when people printed his sermons, they took all the music out of them. I haven't been able to relocate that passage in the *Journal of Discourses,* and so I cannot give its context, but I give it as my opinion that he was referring to those who were trying to write history without the benefit of ethnography.

But beyond the truth of the tales and the self perceptions are two other dimensions of the truth of history. First, events cannot easily be interpreted if at all by those who are still inside of them. And the people in the valley were also being moved by events and forces from far out of sight in New York, in Asia, in Europe. They were caught up by currents that carried them variously to farms in Payson, Orem, Salina, to counties north, to the steel mills at Geneva, to the drunk tank in Salt Lake City, to Bastogne and Iwo Jima, to Stanford, IBM, and the Lord knows where. Like crabs on the seashore, we cannot see where we are until we get on top of something else. History to be true has to get up high in order to show things as they fit together. But here I find another metaphor in one of the pastimes that people talked about. They would get on their horses and ride up above Pine Lake to the Barney Top, a vista from which they could see for a hundred miles or more, as far as Grand Canyon, as far back as the beginning of the world. Doing history, getting at the truth of history, depends on reaching for eminences from which to view things in a larger context, whether a life, a town, a church, a people, a nation, or a world.

Still in the telling of the story, the self-perceptions and the seeing things as they fit together are not enough. The enterprise of history is driven also by the need to see what is below the surface or behind the appearance of things, things as they are at bedrock. To show the type and the qualities of the historian, I go back to another of the tales of Widtsoe, the one of the

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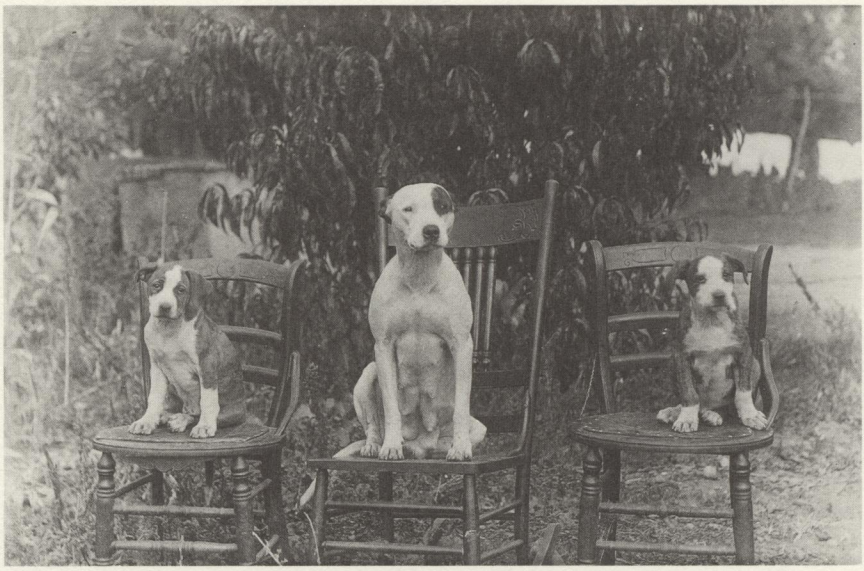
13. Nielsen and Ford, *The Way We Saw It,* 70.

town Christmas parties and dances held, of course, in the sawed log meeting house. As the evening progressed, announcements were made as to the whereabouts of Santa Claus. We have just received word that Santa Claus is in Marysvale, now in Circleville, now in Antimony. And then Santa Claus, played by John R. Campbell, burst into the hall with his red suit and his cotton whiskers, ringing his bells and making the rounds of the children with his ho-ho-ho, asking them if they had been good or bad. All the children were concerned with making the proper response, except five-year-old Larvin Campbell, son of John R. He had the qualities of an historian and kept following Santa Claus around the room, looking and listening. Then he looked up at his Sunday school teacher and said, "You know, I'd swear to hell that was my dad."



Heinrich Hug and Jacob Tobler: From Switzerland to Santa Clara, 1854-80

Douglas F. Tobler

"NOT A DAY PASSES OVER THE EARTH," Charles Reade wrote, "but men and women of no note do great deeds, speak great works and suffer noble sorrow. Of these obscure heroes, the greater part will never be known till that hour when many that were great shall be small and the small great."[1] Two of these "obscure heroes," Heinrich (later Americanized to Henry) Hug and my great-grandfather, Jacob Tobler, became part of a large throng who accepted Mormonism in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century and then "gathered" to Zion to help populate and pioneer the Great Basin Kingdom.

Both men were German-speaking Swiss—Hug from Canton Zürich and Jacob from tiny Protestant Appenzell ausser Rhoden in eastern Switzerland—who had joined the LDS church during its first decade in Switzerland in the 1850s. Both contributed to the Mormon harvest of souls there that would eventually number in the thousands of converts, many of whom, like themselves, would eventually leave the homeland for America. Hug had converted first, having been baptized with several of his family on 31 January 1853 by the pioneer missionary into that part of Switzerland, George Mayer.[2]

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1. Quoted in *Richard L. Evans's Quote Book* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1975), 65.

2. *A Diary of George Mayer*, 145-46, 149-50, 153-54, archives, historical department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. See also the intensive study by Paul-Anthon Nielson, "'Sending the Gospel to the Swiss': Die ersten zehn Jahre

For the next five years Hug roamed the Protestant cantons—they were not admitted into the Catholic ones—in search of converts, keeping a careful and complete record of the 201 souls he was able to bring into the fold. Jacob Tobler and his first wife, Anna Katherina Preisig, were listed as numbers 167 and 168 of those which he either baptized, confirmed, or both, having submitted on 10 August 1856 while Hug was on a swing through the eastern cantons.[3] Even though he had long wanted to emigrate and several of his extended family, including his mother and four brothers, had emigrated to Utah already in 1854, Heinrich acceded to Mayer and his successors', John L. Smith's and Jabez Woodard's, requests to remain to continue what they correctly assumed would be an astounding missionary success while providing vigorous and informed leadership for the growing Swiss flock. Because he had traveled as a missionary for four years, Heinrich knew virtually every member in Switzerland. By 1858, however, he was permitted to leave and led a group of Swiss Saints to Utah a year later, settling for the time being in Salt Lake City in 1860 prior to the call to southern Utah.[4]

Jacob's achievements were more modest as he and his wife became integrated members of the Herisau branch from 1856 until their departure with a sizable contingent in 1861. It would take them most of that year to make preparations, cross over to Liverpool, the Atlantic Ocean and most of America before arriving in Salt Lake City in the fall just a few days before October's general conference, where both the Hug and Tobler names were read out as part of the 300 plus delegation being sent to strengthen the

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des Mormonentums in der Schweiz, 1850-1860," Ph.D. diss., 1989, based, in part, on Swiss archival sources and genealogical information. The recent unpublished honors thesis of Paul K. Savage, "From Switzerland to St. George: The John and Barbara Mathis Story," makes liberal use of Mayer's diary as the Mathis and Bryner families followed the Hugs into baptism in Zürich.

3. Heinrich Hug, "Unpublished Journal," original in Walter M. Pierce Library, Eastern Oregon College, LaGrande, Oregon. I am grateful to Paul Nielson for having called my attention to this extensive and valuable journal. Many of the papers are no longer legible. What could be read was transcribed from the German script by Justus Ernst. Copies of the original journal and the transcription are in my possession. See page 276 for the baptism record of Jakob and Katharina Tobler.

4. See especially H. Hug, "Worte des Abschieds," *Der Darsteller* 3 (5 März 5 1858): 155. Hug's first wife, Maria Wampfler, shared his desire to flee to Zion. Her poem, "Longing" ("Sehnsucht"), expresses the longing for Zion in "Deseret," 79-80. Hug's own early feelings were expressed in a poem, "The Chosen Land" ("Das Erwelte [sic] Land"), probably written around 1856. After mentioning a number of countries in Europe (Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Switzerland), as well as Palestine, India, Japan, and Africa, among others, he tells us that it is none of these. It is America, Christ's chosen land for those "who believe his teachings" (Hug, 84; see also "A Word of Encouragement" ["Ein Wort der Aufmunterung"], 87-88, written in the euphoria of 1858).

"Cotton" Mission in Dixie, the southwest corner of Utah. They were to be part of the 85-member Swiss Company sent to strengthen Jacob Hamblin's barely-established Santa Clara settlement.[5]

It does not appear that at the beginning of their pioneering experience in Dixie that either Henry or Jacob was chosen for any significant leadership role, although given Hug's church background, achievements, and adequate knowledge of the English language[6]—gained in an earlier visit to England—that seems somewhat surprising. Leadership was entrusted to their mutual friend and fellow missionary, Daniel Bonelli, presumably because his ability to speak English was somewhat better than Hug's, but within a year Bonelli also disappears from the leadership scene.[7] Both Henry and Jacob settled into the community, eventually living across the street from each other not far from the church in the middle of town for most of eighteen years on what is now Santa Clara Boulevard.

We do not know the details of their association except that, diarist and poet that Hug was—he began keeping a comprehensive journal in 1838—he included at least two poems of comfort and consolation on the occasion of the deaths of two Tobler baby girls.[8] But this record, notwithstanding its 279 double-spaced transcribed pages for the period until 1879, is fragmentary and uneven. Many pages of the original are no longer legible; parts of his life we know little about. Church records show that Jacob was chosen to confirm the oldest Hug child, Fridolin Walter, and court records note that after Henry and the rest of the Hugs left Santa Clara, Jacob represented them on legal matters concerning their property in court.[9]

Sinfully—for this descendant historian—Grandfather Jacob either did not keep a journal or it has been lost, but for thirty years after 1875 he served as Santa Clara ward clerk and later as a counselor in the bishopric.[10] As such he recorded data about himself and his family as well as summaries

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5. The standard work is Andrew Karl Larson's *I Was Called To Dixie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), see 43ff, especially 46n20. Also of interest is Nellie MacArthur Gubler, "History of Santa Clara, Washington County, 1850-1950," in Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun* (Panguitch, UT: Garfield Co. News, 1950), 145-76; Nellie Ray, "History of Santa Clara," unpublished typescript in my possession.

6. Hug, "Journal," 18-31, describes Hug's first visit to Britain accompanying a group of emigrating Swiss Saints in March 1857. On pages 50-51 he describes himself as a teacher of the Saints in English: "I was the best educated in this subject among the Swiss Saints."

7. Bonelli's leadership was short-lived after Edward Bunker was called to be bishop of the Santa Clara ward in 1862. See Edward Bunker, "Autobiography," 17, Lee Library.

8. Hug, 209, 221.

9. "Santa Clara Ward Membership Records," 17 Sept. 1873, Lee Library; Fifth District Court, Washington County, "Probate Records: Divorces and Lands," Books C-F, 1873-86, 11 Nov. 1882, 162.

10. "Santa Clara Ward History."

of his own numerous sacrament meeting talks revealing, among other things, his philosophy of life, his understanding of Mormonism, and his continued joy in being in Zion, even in Dixie.[11] In addition, I have relied on a few documents, including a short unpublished history of Jacob and Barbara Staheli Tobler by their daughter-in-law Cecilia Ence Tobler,[12] the remembrance of older living family members, the 1959 published Hug Family History, and a number of WPA oral histories done during the Great Depression.[13]

In any event, once in Santa Clara, the lives of the two men and their wives tended in opposite directions. Already sometime during the decade of the 1860s, but certainly by 1871, Hug had become thoroughly disillusioned with Mormon theocratic leadership, especially church leaders in St. George, but also with Brigham Young. Similarly, he completely lost his faith in Mormonism, was "cut off from the church" the year the St. George temple was dedicated in 1877, and felt increasingly like a pariah in this Mormon-dominated community. Although he yearned for the beauties and freedoms of his Swiss homeland and rued his departure, he eventually settled in Oregon where he lived out his days with a new secular philosophy of life.[14] His years associated with Mormonism and Utah became an incongruous chapter in the later Hug family history written by descendants who not only were not Mormons but knew little about the church or its former influence upon their family.

For Jacob, the Santa Clara experience was vastly different. After arriving there, he participated fully in building the community.[15] Unlike many

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11. Ibid; see especially comments made on 22 Mar., 21 June, 18 Oct. 1896, and 17 Feb. 1901.

12. "Life Stories of Jacob Tobler and Barbara Staheli Tobler," unpublished typescript in my possession.

13. Bernal D. Hug, *One Hundred Years of Hugs: The Story of the Hug Family in Switzerland and America* (Elgin, OR: Elgin Recorder, 1960); the life sketches of Harmon Gubler in the Utah State Historical Society and of Edward Bunker in the Lee Library were written under the auspices of WPA.

14. The *Hug Family History* from chap. 5, p. 38 on, chronicles the life of Henry Hug and his extended family in Oregon. The latter part of Hug's "Journal" describes his new life and surroundings in northeastern Oregon where he became a respected farmer and county commissioner. Two poems, "My Home in My Old Age" and "My Religion," capture the philosophy of life in his later years which centered on the Golden Rule. Neither poem is numbered. He died on 17 March 1902 with funeral services in the Elgin Presbyterian church.

15. In addition to serving as ward clerk for thirty years (1875-1905) and as a member of the bishopric for twenty-four (1877-1901), Jacob took care of the school house where he was "to keep everything in good order and ring the bell 15 minutes bevor [sic] each meeting," and paid into the Perpetual Emigration Fund, to the building of the Manti temple, and the Brigham Young Academy in Provo. He was also a member of the Staheli

others, he never left Mormonism and never wanted to. Already in 1865, like many in Dixie, he entered into plural marriage and eventually sired twenty-one children by three different wives, Barbara Staheli, Barbara Hafen Willi, and Rosina Reber Staheli. By 1874 he had become something of a community leader in the introduction of the United Order of Enoch and presumably followed the lead of Bishop Edward Bunker in making a total commitment.[16]

In 1877 at the age of forty-four, he entered the ward bishopric, a position of trust and respect in the community, serving first with Marius Ensign, for whom he named one of his sons, George Ensign, and then after 1884 with his next-door neighbor, John G. Hafen, the younger brother of his third wife. Most important, he became the founding Saint for well over 5,000 descendants, virtually all of whom became committed Latter-day Saints.[17]

No one who knew the young Heinrich Hug in Switzerland in the latter half of the 1850s would have dreamed that his relationship to Mormonism would end with disaffection. He had been raised in the small town of Weiningen in the shadow of Zwingli's Zürich. George Mayer had gained access to the family through Heinrich's brother, John, who had been baptized earlier in Basel. His family was respected in this half-Protestant, half-Catholic town noted for its wine, his father having served for ten years as the town's recorder. Other local families, like the Bryners and the Mathis, whom Paul Savage has so thoroughly researched and lovingly described in his family history,[18] were part of the same group to whom Mayer brought Mormonism. Though still young and single, Heinrich—along with other members of his family—appear to have been religious seekers in the true sense of the word. They were dissatisfied with their current religious life and may even have investigated the Baptist faith before Mormonism came along.[19]

Swiss Band (drummer) and the Santa Clara Irrigation Company. "Santa Clara Ward History and Santa Clara Irrigation Company, Minutes of Board Meetings," Utah State Historical Society.

16. Harmon Gubler remembered that "[T]he United Order was headed in Santa Clara by Bishop Bunker and Bros. Tobler and Hafen" (Gubler, 7).

17. In preparation for the Santa Clara Days Family Fair, held the last weekend in September 1992, a count was made of the direct descendants of Jacob Tobler. The number totaled 5,960. In Henry Eyring's journal there is this tribute to Bishop Ensign, recorded on 14 Oct. 1884, the day of his death: "He was a most excellent man who made a record of this life that will long be remembered by his friends." I appreciate Edward Kimball for calling this to my attention.

18. Savage, passim.

19. Nielson, 20. At that same time that the Hugs began listening to George Mayer, they also brought a "Baptist preacher" into the house, presumably to test the authenticity

Shortly after baptism, Heinrich was ordained to the LDS priesthood and began his extraordinary four-year ministry which would doubtless have made him better known among Latter-day Saints had he remained true to the faith. His own meticulously kept record shows that he labored first in and around Zürich, recording his first baptism—Jakob Schaufelberg—in 1854. In the spring of 1855 he confirmed nearly a dozen converts in Canton Thurgau who had been baptized by the Bonelli brothers, George and Daniel, both powerful missionaries themselves,[20] close around their home near Weinfelden, as well as a person or two in nearby St. Gallen. But most of his converts in 1856 were fellow Zürchers like himself or South Germans, temporarily living in Zürich. His labors also took him to other cantons such as Schaffhausen, Appenzell, Bern, and even into the border canton of Neuchâtel where he enjoyed unusual success and helped build up the branch at St. Imier. Whenever missionaries were allowed to preach—mostly in Protestant cantons—and in spite of constant harassment by police, zealous pastors, and some citizens, Hug went there. It was during one of his "eastern" walking tours in the late summer of 1856 that he met and baptized Jacob and Katherina Tobler. Their lives and those of his descendants became changed forever. But that was not true for many of his converts, by any means. At least forty-two of his 200 baptisms were cut off ("ausgeschlossen") before they ever left Switzerland.[21]

Besides being an active, full-time missionary and local leader, first as branch then district president in Zürich, Hug served as a member of the leadership of the mission that included John L. Smith, Smith's successor, Jabez Woodard, both of whom would later settle in St. George, the Bonelli brothers, and Ulrich Stucki and Ulrich Bühler, early converts from Canton Bern. At one mission leadership meeting, as recorded in Woodard's journal, Hug bore a strong testimony of the gospel. "He said he knew he should have the spirit of the Lord while he did what was right."[22] His journal for those years contains numerous poems and entries redolent of faith, testimony, and enthusiasm.[23]

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of Mayer's message.

20. The Bonelli brothers (originally spelled Bommeli) had both been baptized by George Mayer in Zürich in the course of the spring and summer of 1854. Between 1855 and 1859 when he emigrated to Utah, George baptized 155 people in the cantons of Thurgau, St. Gallen, and Appenzell. This constituted over 10 percent of all converts made in Switzerland in the decade, 1850-60. Daniel baptized 86 prior to this departure in 1860. Nielson, 35, 41.

21. Hug, Journal, 216-31.

22. Jabez Woodard diary, 1857-58, 5, LDS archives.

23. These include "A Psalm about the Promised Land," two entitled "Testimony" ("Das Zeugnis"), "The Call" ("Der Ruf"), "The Lamentation" ("Die Klage") and several others. In the second "Testimony" poem Hug rhapsodizes:

It was not easy being either a missionary or a member in those days. In spite of its vaunted reputation for freedom, real religious liberty was hard to come by in nineteenth-century Switzerland.[24] In Zürich authorities repeatedly and routinely refused the Saints permission to hold meetings and it was not uncommon for Saints wherever they lived to walk 8-10 miles to attend meetings when and where they could. Woodard recorded, for example, how a Brother Johannes Alder in Herisau, Appenzell a.R., although financially better off and respected than most Saints, was stoned by a mob and charged with (1) reading the Bible with three friends, (2) lodging Saints in his home, and (3) hiding missionaries. He was fined thirty shillings—a considerable sum—by the local magistrate.[25] Woodard captured the challenges the missionaries, including Hug, faced those days in his entry for 1 January 1858: "[It is] not very pleasant when a man expects every time the door opens in a meeting to see a policeman coming to arrest you."[26]

Hug performed other services for the new Saints. In 1857 he was asked to accompany President John L. Smith in leading a group of emigrant Saints to Liverpool, one of the first Swiss contingents to leave. There he became acquainted with church leaders in England, including Elder Orson Pratt, labored with a new German convert, Karl G. Maeser, who had only recently fled his native Saxony, had his picture painted

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"In my heart lies buried, deep and solid as a rock A diadem which brings joy to all of my life."	("In meinem Herzen liegt begraben Sehr tief und felsenfest Ein Kleinod welche mich thut laben den ganzen Lebensrest.")

It concludes with this stanza:

"I testify that a Prophet does live	("Ich zeug' das ein Prophet tut leben
I believe and feel it deeply I will devote myself to His Word Fully when God calls me." (See 77-79, 82-83, 85.)	das glaub' und fühl ich tief Ich will mich seinen Wort ergeben So gut wenn Gott mir rief.")

24. Writing in the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* in 1852, T. B. H. Stenhouse, pioneer missionary in Switzerland, put the problem in proper perspective: "With respect to religious liberty, there is much less of that in Switzerland than is generally supposed. There is now in some Cantons very much to the contrary. . . . Thus in this Canton (Vaud) religious liberty is denied by the constitution but taken by the people. In some other Cantons, it is guaranteed by the constitution but denied by the intolerance of the people" ("A Chapter on Switzerland," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 14 [1852]: 5).

25. Woodard, 82.

26. Ibid, 84.

with him, and preached—sometimes in halting English—to congregations of English Saints. It was undoubtedly his first trip to England and initiated him not only into the details of the emigration process, but to the European Mission leadership. It was, therefore, not surprising that in spite of his limited English language ability, he was later entrusted with his own emigrant company in 1859.[27]

In a letter to the Swiss Saints and published in their Mormon periodical, *Der Darsteller* (The Representative), in 1858, Hug announced already in March that he—"the first," he said, "was now being the last"—would indeed, finally realize his "long-cherished wish" to be "carried by the waves of the Atlantic to Zion." He also felt a strong need to leave his testimony with his fellow Swiss Saints. "At the time of his entrance into the Church," he wrote, "its genuineness [*Ächtheit*] was as clear as the noon-day sun." He then explained that he had searched "for years and in different forms" for the "path of salvation" (*Weg des Heils*). He concluded his warm and friendly letter by stating that in the beginning he had merely "believed on the prophets of the dispensation," but that belief had turned to certainty ("Mein Glaube wurde zur Gewissheit"). He hoped, he wrote, "to remain eternally in this truth." Such in brief is a summary of Hug's four-plus productive but turbulent years as a Latter-day Saint missionary in Switzerland.[28]

Jacob Tobler also labored off-and-on some four and a half years in his native land before emigration. The flourishing Herisau branch, some five miles from their home village of Schönengrund, welcomed him and Katherina as its nineteenth and twentieth members. Unlike Hug, he did not serve a full-time mission but aided the missionaries as they came into the territory. In his journal Jabez Woodard recorded that on 31 October 1857 he "stayed the night with Brother Jacob Tobler" and then ordained him a teacher the following day.[29] Ten days later Woodard was a Tobler guest again; Jacob then accompanied him to a meeting—perhaps one he had arranged—with the Abraham Webber family in a neighboring town where "we have liberty." Two months before in August 1857, "the authorities in the Canton of Appenzell [had] commenced persecuting the Saints, and sending some of the Brethren out of their native towns to stop them preaching Mormonism."[30]

Neither Jacob nor Katherina had any luck interesting their own fami-

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27. The description of the trip to England begins on page 11 in Hug's journal and continues for another nineteen pages. There are also other notes on the trip scattered throughout the journal. Pages 11-30, 54-56.

28. "Worte des Abschieds," *Der Darsteller* 3 (März 1858): 155-56.

29. Woodard, 52.

30. Ibid., 55.

lies—immediate or extended—in the gospel, either while they were there or when Jacob's son William and later several grandsons returned at different times during the first half of the twentieth century to try again. For his own part, Jacob is recorded as having himself baptized seventeen persons and confirming another sixteen prior to their departure. In any case, he must had received the Melchizedek priesthood before 19 December 1859, the first recorded confirmation he performed.

Like other European Saints both the Hugs and the Toblers were under considerable pressure to emigrate. One was not really a full-fledged Latter-day Saint if he or she was able and did not. To stay made it easier to fall away from the faith. As noted earlier, Heinrich had long wanted to emigrate to America even before be became a Mormon, a paradoxical attitude when one considers his later intense longing for his Swiss homeland after he began to be disaffected in Santa Clara. Heinrich's journal, as well as a long and descriptive letter back to the editors of the *Darsteller*, give us a good idea about emigrant life aboard their ship, the *Emerald Isle*, and what emigrants that would follow could expect. In New York he was, for example, fascinated by the Castle Garden reception building, the efficient church organization to help them, and the rapidity with which emigrants with trade skills and English could quickly find work to tide them over the winter of 1859-60 and gain funds for the necessities of the trip west. He also reestablished his relationship with Karl G. Maeser, then doing missionary work in Philadelphia but sent to New York by George Q. Cannon to translate for him. Like themselves, Maeser was working to get funds to eventually travel to Zion.[31]

We know much less about the crossing from the taciturn Jacob. He and Katherina sailed with 945 other Saints on the large ship *Monarch of the Sea* on 16 May 1861, one of the last ships of the season. Most of the passengers were Scandinavian Mormons, but that were enough Swiss (88) to form one ward, the eleventh on board, under the leadership of Bishop Ignatz Willi, later the first husband of Barbara Hafen Willi Tobler, Jacob's first plural wife. Their old friend and sometime guest, Jabez Woodard, was president of the group.[32] They too had an uneventful ocean crossing but pushed on westward arriving at Florence, Nebraska, on 1 July 1861. There tragedy struck: Katherina Preisig Tobler contracted cholera and died. They had had no children in five years of marriage; Jacob was left

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31. "Bruchstücke aus einem Briefe," *Der Darsteller* 4 (Dec. 1859)): 8-11; Hug, *Journal*, 152-56.

32. The most comprehensive description of this voyage on the *Monarch* is in William G. Hartley, *Kindred Saints: The Mormon Immigrant Heritage of Alvin and Kathryne Christenson* (Salt Lake City, Eden Hill, 1982), 263-79. The *Monarch* was a seven-year-old American packet ship; this company constituted the second largest emigrant ship.

to pursue their common dream alone, crossing the plains as part of the Sixtus E. Johnson company. His second wife, Anna Barbara Staheli, traveled in the same company.[33]

In 1860 Henry also experienced tragedy, but for him it came at the end of the journey. Soon after arriving in Salt Lake City both Henry and his wife Maria contracted mountain fever from which she died. In addition, they lost two small sons to death, one in Switzerland and one later in Salt Lake City.[34]

According to Hug family tradition, Henry had already on his arrival in 1860 encountered disappointments with Zion and wondered why his family had not warned him. What he had seen was "a severe shock to his Swiss ideals of democracy and justice," both principles to which all of the Hugs were fiercely committed.[35] This may be so, but there is little support for this view in Hug's journal, at least for the early years in Zion.

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33. The Swiss part of Johnson's Company left Florence, Nebraska, on Sunday, 14 July 1861, and joined the larger company the following Friday, 19 July, seventeen miles west of North Bend. Here Johnson was put in charge, presumably by elders Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow who rode into camp that morning and were at the usual morning meeting. Jabez Woodard was called as chaplain and also served as interpreter for the Swiss; George Teasdale was called as clerk. The daily record is found in George Teasdale, "Pioneer Company 8—1861," LDS archives. Teasdale comments favorably and often about the Swiss choir and their singing. On Sunday, 18 July, he wrote: "The sweet mellow hymn rises in the air as the Swiss open the meeting with one of their pretty hymns." The account for Sunday, 22 September, read in part: "It being Sunday, of course, we had a meeting by campfire and a good meeting we had. The Swiss lead [sic] off by singing, prayer by one of the boys [McIntire], a few words from the captain and a preach [sic] from the Chaplain." Several years later while writing an autobiographical sketch, Sixtus Johnson remembered his company of sixty wagons: "We camped on Saturday afternoons to wash and fix up the wagons, and we rested Sundays. Some evenings after supper a violin was brought out and the time was spent in singing and dancing until the bugles sounded for the people to retire.

"Do you suppose those people were unhappy to be going to a desert country, a land where the trapper said nothing would grow? No, they were usually cheerful! But one night some were dissatisfied and quarreling. So, taking a stick, I drew a line on the ground and said, 'All who whant [sic] to follow me step on the right, and all who don't step on the left.' They all stepped on the right. We had only two deaths in our company. A very old woman died and a boy was drowned. We arrived in Salt Lake just in time to escape the snows. Those same women who had given me such black looks now thanked me with tears in their eyes" (quoted in *A Voice from the Mountains: Life and Works of Joel Hills Johnson* [Mesa, AZ: Lofgrens, 1982], 247).

34. Hug, *One Hundred Years of Hugs*, 24: Hug, Journal, 256.

35. The rest of the family's alleged comments are tantalizingly enigmatic: "He sought a conference with his brothers, and asked them pointed questions, the answers to which verified his suspicions. He asked them, 'Why, oh, why have you stayed here? Why did you not write and tell me how things were?' They answered, "Henry, you just keep your eyes and ears open, and your mouth shut, and live as normal a life as possible. Soon you will know why we stayed, and why we did not write" (Hug, *One Hundred Years*

He soon married again, this time another young Swiss woman, Anna Müller, whom he had undoubtedly known in Switzerland, but met later at his mother's home—next door to his own—in Salt Lake City. They were later married and traveled with the group to Santa Clara together.

According to Tobler family tradition, the widower Jacob Tobler, like many others, was counseled by church leaders, even Brigham Young, not to go to Santa Clara, where he had been called, without a wife. Married couples and families were what was needed in pioneer Utah. Jacob remembered the two-year younger woman from Landschlacht Branch in Thurgau, Anna Barbara Staheli, who had been part of their group from Switzerland to Utah. She had found an unhappy job with an English family in Mill Creek when he came calling and, according to family lore, would even marry him to escape it.[36] They were then married on 18 October 1861 along with other Swiss couples in the Endowment House just a few days before the trek south began.

Life in Dixie in the early 1860s was trying and primitive. The natural contrast with Switzerland, especially lush, green eastern Switzerland with its richly verdant pastures, vineyards, fields, and forests, that had been their home, must have been striking. Still, they were now out of Babylon, away from persecution and ridicule, and helping build the Zion society; to most of them that mattered most.

The 1860s were the most difficult years. There was the lack of housing, the resorting to dugouts and caves, the floods, and the constantly-ruined ditches which had in late 1861—and would again—demand heavy and repeated labor and care. Water would make the western desert blossom as a rose, but it needed to be carefully husbanded and controlled. Usually, there was too little of it, causing contention among communities and strife among Saints; sometimes there was too much and it became a destructive force which savaged their common handiwork in a flash.[37] This was,

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of Hugs, 25).

36. Cecilia Ence, "Life Stories of Jacob Tobler and Barbara Staheli Tobler," 1.

37. A report on the life-and-death water situation in Dixie was written into the St. George Stake Historical record under the date 23 June 1863: "It is found that a spirit of uneasiness prevails with many people in the settlements. This summer is found to be less propitious for the raising of crops. Particularly is this the case on the Santa Clara, where the water has failed and the greater portion of the field crops have dried up as well as thousands of vines and trees. The citizens of St. George, having opened up a large field below the fields of Santa Clara settlement, held an equal right with the Santa Clara citizens to use the waters, and the supply proving insufficient for both, is a great loss to all. This scarcity of water is causing a general search for other places upon which to settle, so that the population of Santa Clara is lessened by nearly one-half; the people moving to Clover Valley, Panaca, etc."

The census for 1866 showed St. George with a population of 1,086, of which 165 were men. They had 729 3/4 acres under cultivation: 272 1/2 wheat; 219 1/2 acres corn; 80

unfortunately, true both for the Santa Clara and Virgin rivers. According to the minutes of the Santa Clara Irrigation Company, both Henry Hug and Jacob Tobler were ditch shareholders and regularly contributed their share of work and money to keep it intact and functioning. Neither appears to have been a "slacker" in the pioneering venture.[38]

But there was also much hunger, drought, disappointment, and contention in those early years. Edward Bunker, whom church leaders had called from Ogden in the fall of 1862 to preside over a growing community where the newly arrived neat-and-tidy Swiss with their garden culture were being harassed by the free-roaming cattle of the earlier settlers,[39] lamented the economic condition. "At this time [1862],"

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acres of cotton; 98 1/4 acres cane (for sugar and molasses); and 59 1/2 acres orchard. By contrast, Santa Clara, though older, had 247 people with forty-four men. Their crops included: 81 3/4 acres wheat; 74 acres corn; 32 acres cotton; 15 acres cane; 26 acres orchard; and 5 acres vineyard for a total of 233 3/4 acres.

Concerning the last-named item on viticulture, the record contains this unintentionally humorous and prophetic entry about a problem which apparently already had begun to plague the community. Henry Hug's brother, John, was one of those, along with George Staheli, Edwin Hamblin, Lemuel Leavitt, and C. Hafen, who received a "license to distill" peaches and grapes in Santa Clara and Tocquerville. It was for six months and cost the considerable sum of $40. But there was also the following provision that "should the distilling prove subversive to the public good, [the] Court shall have the right to revoke the license" (St. George Stake Historical Record).

38. Records show that in August 1872, for example, both were credited with work on the ditch, Jacob Tobler for $3 and Henry Hug for $2.50. In 1873 Jacob Tobler was credited with $15 worth of work on the ditch and in 1881 was listed as a stockholder (Santa Clara Irrigation Co., "Minutes of Board Meetings," Utah State Historical Society).

39. In 1866, Daniel Bonelli, in newly-learned and awkward English prose, wrote an interesting and philosophical account of the melting pot experience in Santa Clara; it also may shed some light on the challenges that people like Henry Hug faced: "It would be difficult to pen an accurate and explicit account of the minute and characteristic difference that arose from time to time among the people [of Santa Clara] on account of the various views entertained consequently upon the trainage [sic] of the minds under various circumstances, education received in various ways and experiences obtained in different countries. A population gathered from many countries and all placed in circumstances new to them could not help developing many phases of life among whom some were instructive to the reflecting mind and others assisted in making the desolation more forbidding. The greater portion of the people had come from the heart of Europe's continent where the civilization for ages had framed institutions and laws regulating a dense population with rigid exactness. Another portion, a considerable one, was accustomed to the life of the frontier with the habits of a western farmer on the great public domain of the American states, and the first-mentioned portions, being principally without means and unable to speak the English language, suffered considerable privation in gathering the experience and the knowledge they now possess, but time, the common destiny of all, and above all, the spirit of the Gospel have assimilated to a great extent unequal elements and paved the way for a greater progress than the year of the past has accomplished in the days of the coming future" ("Santa Clara Ward History").

he wrote in his "Autobiography," "we endured many privations and hardships on account of dry seasons and loss of crops. I was obliged to haul my breadstuffs from the north for several years."[40] Most of the others, especially the Swiss, were too poor to be able to afford anything from the north and lived on what they could find locally, mostly pigweed. It was little wonder then that even in the late 1860s when Erastus Snow was traveling back to Dixie from Salt Lake City, he felt discouraged by the number of families he met traveling north, giving up on Dixie and looking for something better.[41] Not everyone who was "called" stayed where they were sent. Still, for those who remained where they had been called, they were happy, as Jacob later said in testimony meeting, to be in the bosom of "apostles and prophets" to whom they were obedient.

Neither Henry nor Jacob appear in the beginning to have played anything but supporting roles in building the community, although later on by the 1870s that changed for Jacob. This may have been, in part, and notwithstanding Hug's earlier claims, because of their relative lack of ability in English; Harmon Gubler claimed later that the younger generation often had to interpret for their parents when visitors showed up in town.[42] But it must have seemed like something of a slap in the face for Henry after all of his service and church prominence in Switzerland. Moreover, it is clear from reading the minutes of the St. George Stake that until well into the 1880s, and then only sparingly, Santa Clara people, generally, but especially the Swiss, were given little responsibility or authority within the church. Only Edward Bunker and Marius Ensign, neither Swiss, appear to have spoken for or represented the community. This may be only one of several historic sources of discord—irrigation water distribution was the main one—between the two communities and the traditional St. George condescension toward the misnomered Santa Clara "Dutchmen." In any event, the legible parts of Hug's journal are silent

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40. Edward Bunker, "Autobiography," 17.

41. At a conference of the Southern Mission held on 3 May 1868, Snow "expressed [the] regret which he felt at meeting so many families and young men belonging to the Southern Mission on their way north" ("Santa Clara Ward History").

42. "Everyone talked in the Swiss language at this time [1870s], and if any Americans [sic] would come and begin talking to our parents or to any of the older people, we would have to translate it to them. We children could talk the English language pretty good, but our parents could not talk at all, only just what they happened to learn" (interview, 2-3, Utah State Historical Society). My own father, Donald Tobler, born in 1904, has often commented on the "Swiss" words and heavy accent of his grandparents whom he regularly visited until 1920. His own acquired Swiss-German vocabulary—the meaning of which he did not know until his sons returned from missions in Switzerland—consisted of swear words and profanity.

about these matters while church records show that he only blessed one child—not his own—in February 1863 and never performed another church ordinance during the remaining sixteen years he lived in Santa Clara. He did, however, gain a Lieutenant's commission in the local militia in 1865.[43]

Hug's sensitive poetry—written mostly in High German or with an occasional piece in the Swiss dialect (Schwyzerdütsch) and often set to familiar Swiss melodies—exudes in the 1860s a sense of joy and gladness about being a Latter-day Saint in Zion. In "The Happy Circumstance" ("Der glückliche Stand") he fairly explodes with happiness. "The joy in my heart is great," he wrote, at not being a prisoner of the material world, but being a member of "Christ's great army" with "Brigham as its head."[44]

At about the same time—many of the poems are not dated but presumably in the mid-1860s—Hug wrote a spright, whimsical tribute to the Santa Clara River entitled "A Joyous Little Word to the Santa Clara" ("Ein freundliches Wörtchen an den Santa Clara"). The Swiss, he tells the animated river, will, because of their industry and experience growing grapes and making wine, make the river beautiful and famous. "The vineyards will become the river's most beautiful decoration."[45]

Then in 1866, speaking for the Swiss scattered throughout Utah—two of his brothers had settled in Providence in Cache Valley—he praises his countrymen and predicts that they will show God their gratitude for having brought them the gospel in the old country by being faithful "here in Utah's meadows." ("Wir Schweizer hier in Utah Auen, Wir wandeln treu, um Gott zu schauen."[46]) In "The Call to the Southern Mission," written in February 1866, Hug summarizes in verse what the Cotton Mission was all about from Brigham Young's perspective and heaps premature praise on the Swiss and their ability to achieve its purposes.[47]

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43. St. George Stake Historical Record.

44. Hug, Journal, 173. The last stanza reads in German:

Nach allen Kirchen frag' ich nicht
Die auf der Welt bestehen
Als diese, welche Brigham ist
Zum Haupt, von Gott ersehn.
Der will ich ewig treue sein
Und ihr mein ganzes Leben weihn
Und ihr mein ganzes Leben weihn.

45. Hug, Journal, 174-75.

46. Ibid., 175-76.

47. Two stanzas, the fourth and the seventh, capture the essence of the message and some of Hug's best poetry:

During the late 1860s Hug's attitude and spirit began noticeably to change. Already, presumably in late 1866, he had a serious bout with an extended, confining illness—we do not know exactly what it was—which he calls his "time of sorrows" ("Meine Passionzeit"). He is troubled, he says, not only by the sickness but because in this most difficult time, he cannot understand why God has left him alone ("In such troubled hours, my soul has become an orphan").[48] This theme of his impending death, however, becomes transformed into release from the pain and suffering of this world and the joy of meeting forefathers in a better life in his long meditative poem, "Premonitions of Death" ("Vorgefühle des Todes").[49]

By June 1867 Hug's poetry began to reflect some early signs of loneliness and alienation. In "The Desire for Solitude" ("Lust der Einsamkeit") and "Hope" ("Die Hoffnung") he paints in somber hues a verbal picture of being a "pilgrim" in a "dark valley." This theme is more fully and metaphorically developed in a later poem entitled "The Complaint of the Red Mountains" ("Klage der rothen Berge"). What Karl Larson later affectionately called the "Red Hills of November" were, Hug says, once green, beautiful, and full of wildlife like the beloved mountains of his native Switzerland but have become bare and desolate because of human sin. A similar fate has come to him. Speaking through the abused red, bleeding hills, he lashes out: "so, people, don't be so arrogant, through you much has been ruined, We bleed here still as a sacrifice, hear, Sinners, hear the word ring out."[50]

Die Wolle die an Sträuchern wachsen
Die pflanzt in Menge überall
Baut feine Häuser, gute Strassen
Und solches thut auf Berg und Thal
Aus Wüsteneien sollt Ihr machen
Die schön in unsere Augen lachen.

Wie ist's was denkt Ihr Schweizersöhne?
Ihr fühlt die Pflicht, Euch wird's zur Lust
Sobald Ihr hört die ersten Töne
Entspringen aus des Meisters Brust
Ein Wunsch, ein Auftrag, ein Verlangen
Ihr thut es gleich ganz unbefangen (182).

48. Ibid., 183.
49. Ibid., 185.
50. Stanza 19 reads:

Drum Menschen seid nicht so hoch
Durch euch ist viel zerfallen
Wir bluten hier als Opfer noch
Hörts Sünder, hörts erschallen (190-92).

In 1869 Hug reached age forty. His poem, "Life-Career" ("Mein Lebens Corrier [sic]"), written for his sister—probably Rachel Roulet who also lived in Santa Clara—vacillates between disillusionment and faith. He is struggling with himself. He confesses that in these years he has gained little of the world's goods but is still happy to be "in Zion." With family close by, he praises God for having brought him to this land, but the love for the gospel which characterized so many early poems has vanished.[51]

Hug's talents as a poet were apparent and probably appreciated in the repeated times of sadness and death that plagued pioneer Dixie. He may have served the Santa Clara Swiss in much the same literary way as Charles Walker did the larger St. George community. Over the years, he must have written many epitaphs; some of those preserved are for the children of friends Jacob Tobler and John G. Hafen as well as for Lina Martha Stucki and Lydia Roulet.[52]

Neither Hug's journal nor other available documents reveal fully the causes for the volcanic-like eruptions of bitterness, animosity, and rebelliousness which dominate his poetic writings throughout the 1870s, but conflict between the people of St. George and Santa Clara over water rights was high on the list. Karl Larson's later judgment that "controversies arising from [the shortage of irrigation water, especially on the Santa Clara] have probably been more numerous in regard to that unpredictable stream than any other major tributary of the Virgin River,"[53] seem to describe well the condition Hug decried. During the decade he vented his fury first at his fellow Santa Clara Swiss for their timidity and pusillanimity, at civil and church authorities in St. George, and eventually at all church authority, even Brigham Young. This he coupled with a growing skepticism about Mormons, Mormonism, and Zion which would first turn him and his family into local pariahs, then take them out of the church, and finally out of Santa Clara and Utah in 1879.

In this vein, August 1871 was a particularly "productive" month. In "Santa Clara" and "Santa Clara: St. George's Henpecked Husband" ("Santa Clara unter dem Pantofel von Seite der City of [sic] St. George") he chides Swiss friends—including presumably Jacob Tobler—for their submission to the "despotic"—written in huge letters—abuse of power by St. George and their wholesale betrayal of their Swiss love of freedom and the rights that belong to free citizens, but especially to the Swiss.[54] They have,

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51. Ibid., 195-97.

52. Ibid., 209, 212, 213, 314, 221.

53. A. Karl Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1980), 1:458n.

54. Ibid., 214-15, 226-28. Four lines capture the essence of this biting indictment of

he says, become "obedient slaves," their sense of right and freedom dead. The Swiss of Santa Clara—unlike the historic victorious warrior heroes of the old country—have gone down to ignominious defeat. Just as Gessler tried to force his will on the quintessential medieval Swiss hero, Wilhelm Tell, so St. George authorities were using their "rights" and power in a "despotic, tyrannical and arrogant" manner against the people of Santa Clara.[55] Those who, like himself, spoke up were ignored or silenced. Similarly in "Brigham Youngs Dream" he accuses the prophet of responsibility for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, a forbidden topic only whispered about in Dixie, and predicts that that shameful crime will haunt him throughout eternity.[56] Presumably Hug had either not heard or not believed Brigham's comment in St. George about the same time on 11 June 1876, as recorded by Charles Walker, that "as to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, if he [Brigham] had not been foiled by Judge Cradlebaugh and other federal officials, he would have hung every guilty person concerned in the bloody deed."[57]

But what was happening inside Hug appears to be more than just indignation over water rights. Other poems, like "The Village of Weiningen," "Dixie in Utah," "Looking Back," "Longing for my former Swiss Homeland," and "The Old Swiss Homeland," are critical of the barrenness, the heat, the sand of Dixie ("Our little folk here in the South, knows this is no Eden"), and compared it unfavorably with the beauties and productivity of Switzerland as well as the happy memories of childhood. "There," he sighed, "I dreamed my best dreams."[58]

Most bitter and poignant are the writings which chronicle the loss of faith in Mormonism. In a longer epic-like poem also written in 1871 enti-

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St. George and its leaders:

Desspotisch [sic] und gewaltig
Tiranisch frech und treist
Im Rechte mannigfaltig
Das ist des Georg's Geist.

55. Ibid., 226-28.

56. Ibid., 233-34.

57. Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 1:427.

58. Hug, Journal, 215, 219, 220, 224, 232. In the Hug family history, there is the following explanation for the move to Oregon: "The Hug families were joining a migration of former Mormons who were going to Oregon. They were leaving both northern [Cache Valley] and southern Utah for a partly-timbered region in northeastern Oregon, where it was not necessary to irrigate to raise good crops. There was plenty of good spring water, timber to build with and to use for fuel, and plenty of native grass. It was a country much like the native Switzerland from which most of them had come, a new land of many opportunities" (39).

tled "Deceived" ("Geteuscht"), he describes the spiritual journey that had brought him to Dixie and that had now become utterly anticlimactic. He had become, he said, "an empty house." His long-standing hopes lay shattered, his once-firm faith weak and small. "Deceived spoke a still small voice, Deceived was the message from day-to-day." Soon he could no longer stand the pain of this inner hymn; "the dream," he wrote, "was gone."[59]

In "An Apostate Swiss Mormon in Utah" ("Ein abgefallener Schweizer Mormon in Utah") and "A Deceived Mormon in Utah" ("Der geteuschte Mormon in Utah"), neither of which is dated but probably written some time in the 1870s, Hug gives full expression to his loss of faith in Mormons and Mormonism. "Mormon doctrine just didn't pass the test" ("die Mormonenlehre hält nicht stand"); it was only "empty phrases" similar to "morning dew" or "soap bubbles."[60] Mormonism was a "pious delusion" ("frommer Wahn") and Zion a place where "priestly deception" ("Pfaffentrug") blooms and the "hypocrite can find his happiness without much trouble." "If," he concluded, "you love virtue and are not afraid of the light, go to the heathen; they are better."[61]

All the same, in finally taking leave of Utah in 1879 both Hug and his wife have, Anna, revealed mixed, even contradictory feelings. They were leaving behind their "foolish, pious faith" but also many happy memories

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59. Ibid., 215-18.

Geteuscht sprach eine leise Stimme
Geteuscht hiess es von Tag zu Tag
Mit Schmerzen höre ich diese Hymne
Das ich ihr nicht mehr lauschen mag
Der Traum ist weg, der süsse Schlummer
Und Keine schöne Bilder mehr (218).

60. Ibid., 230.

Die Mormon Lehre hällt nicht Stand
Es sind nur leere Phrasen
Sie hat so vielen Flittertand
So leicht wie Seifenplassen (229).

61. Ibid., 228-29.

Wer Tugend Liebt und's Licht nicht scheut
Der muss dies Völklein meiden
Ich sag' es jetzt im Ernste Heut
Noch besser sind die Heiden (230).

of good times and good people. Anna, especially, poured out her heart to Susette Bosshard Hafen, the first wife of John G. Hafen, her "best friend and loyal neighbor" with whom she had lived in "good harmony" for eighteen years. She and Henry would both, they said, remember what they had learned in Dixie.[62]

Santa Ward membership records—probably in ward clerk Jacob Tobler's own hand—record laconically what must have been especially painful for him, namely that on 5 September 1877, the year the St. George temple was dedicated, Henry and Anna Müller Hug were cut off the church for apostasy. On 3 June 1879 the family drove their wagon out of town; Henry and Anna would never return. Family ties with Mormonism would be severed for well over a century.

For Hug's convert, neighbor, and friend, Jacob Tobler, the "joyous journey" continued and became better. Like Hug, he and Barbara established their home in Santa Clara, eked out a meager living, mostly by raising fruit and peddling it into the northern Utah communities, Pioche, and the Silver Reef as well as caring for the school house and keeping books for the ward for which he was paid an annual fee of $75.[63] Never did the family ever gain many of the world's goods. Jacob appears to have been more bookish and less worldly than some. Moreover, his spirituality, wisdom, and faith deepened noticeably as he became one of the community's spiritual stalwarts. But, unlike the Hugs, by 1865 Jacob and Barbara entered into plural marriage, a practice that may have been at least as widespread in the town and among the Swiss as Larry Logue has shown it was in neighboring St. George.[64] When Ignatz Willi died, Jacob took his widow, Barbara Hafen Willi, as his first plural wife; that marriage produced two sons, who grew to maturity, and two daughters who died in infancy before their mother herself was taken in death in 1875. Later, in October 1881 Jacob married another widow, Rosina Reber Staheli, by whom he fathered six children before she too died in 1900.

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62. Ibid., 232-33.

63. "Santa Clara Ward History," 7 June 1882, LDS archives.

64. Larry M. Logue, "Belief and Behavior in a Mormon Town: 19th Century St. George, Utah," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984: "[N]early 30 per cent of St. George households were involved in polygamy in 1870 and 33 percent in 1880. . . . If the number of households is reduced by fourteen percent to allow for husbands who were unlikely to enter polygamy because of their inactivity in the Church, over 34 percent of all 'eligible' households were polygamous in 1870 and nearly two in five in 1880. Either method of defining the denominator produces unprecedented rates for plural marriage" (91).

This more refined statistical analysis confirms a census for 1867 and reported in the St. George Stake Historical Record:

Virtually all of the families' children who survived were then raised in a relatively happy atmosphere by Barbara Staheli Tobler.[65]

Adherence to the practice of plural marriage may have been not only an important barometer of one's faithfulness but also de facto pre-requisite for leadership in the church, not just in Dixie but elsewhere. Charles Walker recorded in his journal that he heard President George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency say in St. George in April 1884 that "he did not feel like holding up his hand to sustain anyone as a presiding officer over any portion of the people who had not entered into the Patriarchal order of marriage."[66]

Grandfather Jacob's development into a tried and tested Saint in Santa Clara must have been similar to many. The memory of powerful spiritual experiences at the time of his baptism never left him. Neither did his love for the apostles and prophets, for whose guidance and society he had yearned even as a youth.

Santa Clara records show Jacob as an active participating member and priesthood holder. Over the years he blessed numerous children and baptized, rebaptized, and confirmed many in the ward before he ever became a member of the bishopric.[67] Previously, in 1874 he had, so Harmon Gubler remembered, with Bishop Bunker and Brother Hafen, enthusiastically pushed the introduction of the United Order of Enoch in Santa Clara. Both he and Barbara were rebaptized into the order, Barbara being confirmed by Apostle Erastus Snow. Presumably, like Bishop Bunker he "put in all [he] possessed," though his amount must have been considerably smaller. But when the order broke down after about a year—"a dark day for myself and family,"[68] Bunker called it—Jacob was apparently unwilling to follow his leader in the founding of Bunkerville, although his son Harmon would later move there in 1905.

In 1877 not only did Jacob become a counselor in the bishopric with his friend, Marius Ensign, but was present at the dedication of the St. George

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On Friday, March 8 [1867] a census was taken in St. George which showed there to be

Polygamist -	69
Monogamists -	102
Doubtful -	1
Total Married Men Church Members	172

65. My father, Donald Tobler, has repeatedly recounted a conversation he had with his uncle, Alfred Tobler, Jacob and Rosina Reber Staheli's first child. He said that after his mother died and her six children were taken into Barbara Staheli Tobler's home they were treated with kindness and, "if there was any favoritism shown, it was always to them."

66. Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2:629.

67. "Santa Clara Ward Membership Records."

68. Edward Bunker, "Autobiography," 18.

temple and played with the Staheli Swiss band of which he had been a charter member. Already in the late 1870s, like most members of bishoprics, he spoke often in sacrament meetings, emphasizing his faith in the gospel, in the gifts of the spirit, his support for the church leaders, for the principle of tithing, the need for careful and accurate records, for teaching the gospel to the children, and for enduring to the end.[69]

Jacob Tobler lived to age 85 and died in November 1918. He and three of his wives are buried around the bend and up the hill from Santa Clara in the red and bleeding dirt. As noted earlier, there is now a sizeable posterity from these ordinary pioneers, most of whom are Latter-day Saints who love these ancestors and treasure their memory. Their gratitude, admiration, and affection know no bounds. He and his wives would undoubtedly take some pride in the number of their "jewels in the crown of eternal life," his own name for his posterity. It is not known whether any of Henry Hug's descendants are Latter-day Saints.

For at least one of Jacob Tobler's descendants, there is also a warm love and appreciation for Heinrich Hug. He was, after all, the one who originally brought the gospel to Katherina and Jacob; God touched their lives—and ours—through him. While he may have been guilty of pride and at times lacked humility, he also helped spread the gospel and build the kingdom and the community that nourished but also tried, chastened, and purified them all. Moreover, he passed on a record of Switzerland, of the introduction of Mormonism there, of life, his thoughts, his struggles, and his own perception of reality. Life in Dixie was, indeed, harsh and he was right: Santa Clara was no Scherzingen or Weiningen. Perhaps there *was* too much mixing of church and state in Utah and too much "unrighteous dominion," even despotism, ostracism, and pettiness, and not just in St. George. Perhaps pioneer Dixie was too small and too stifling for some free and intellectual spirits and too much attention was being paid on temporal matters, and the spirit, at least of some, suffered. The speakers, Charles Walker lamented, talk "as they themselves feel not relying on the Holy Spirit for utterance. The congregations are very small and often time is taken up in items concerning the ditches, fences, fields, dams, stock, etc. I sometimes think if our meetings were devoted exclusively to the worship of God and feeding the Bread of Life to the Saints it would have better effect on the people."[70] In evaluating the contributions of each of these Swiss Saints, I feel a sense of sincere gratitude for both of these obscure heroes and am pleased that a juster and fairer Judge will decide their rewards.

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69. "Santa Clara Ward History."

70. Larson, *Diary of Charles L. Walker*, 1:269.

Dialogue and Difference: "I and Thou" or "We and They"?

Seymour Cain

In memory of Martin Buber (1878-1965), master and friend.

I DIRECT MY THOUGHTS AND YOURS to the I-Thou model of human relatedness as it is confirmed or denied in the all-too-human realm of ethnic, national, religious, and ideological differences. Any honest and wide treatment of how we behave in such circumstances is bound to cause some discomfort, since we may recognize ourselves in some of the horrible examples of non-dialogical relatedness. What I have to say here is not directed at someone else, at *them*, those other guys, whom we scan with a critical eye. I am talking about us, about you and me. Indeed what I have to say applies to Buberians as well as non-Buberians or anti-Buberians. We cannot enter the kingdom of dialogue by a rote recitation of phrases from Martin Buber's works while engaged in non-dialogical relations with our ideological adversaries in politics, religion, and philosophy.

Let us talk together about dialogue and difference, what the deep existential and phenomenological thinkers call "otherness." (Why not "others"?) One stance towards distinctive others is to consider them abnormal, inferior, alien, as say Orientals compared with us Occidentals, as Africans or blacks compared with us Euro-Americans or whites, as primitives compared with us civilized persons. It is "We" as versus "They," us good guys as versus those bad guys, we the advanced versus they the backward, we the developed versus they the undeveloped, we the dominant versus they the dominated. This imperialist view of other human beings is targeted in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon

Books, 1978). Although his presentation may seem strident and exaggerated at times, on the whole it is a correct picture of Western attitudes towards the peoples, cultures, and religions of the Middle East, particularly the Arabs and Islam. Read it and weep or gnash your teeth, according to your respective allegiances.

There is a clear distinction, however, between what Said has to say and what Buber teaches. Said wants us to see the other as same not as other, in his generality as a human being, to see her in a sense as "one of us." Buber wants us to confirm the other in his particularity, in her difference, in his *haecceity*, if you'll pardon me that useful medieval Latin term, not in her partaking in a general, abstract humanity. For Buber the dialogical relation is one of "I" or "We-uns" in our own cultural and spiritual heritage to "Thou" or "You-all" in your particular culture and traditions. As opposed to the "We" versus "They" stance, which Said sees as the dominant response of Euro-American culture to the non-European peoples, the way of dialogue points to the meeting of two realities—two selves or two communities—each in its ownness, its concrete particularity.

Far from being unrealistic, as some anti-Buberians allege, this is the height of realism, insisting that we address real beings in their actual concrete situation, not treat them as ethnic stereotypes or remote abstractions—which are outside the realm of address and response. The dialogical stance does not foreclose the possibility of conflict or division. In fact it definitely includes that real possibility, which we see actualized almost every day. But it steers us away from the demonization of the other person, nation, religious community, or socio-political party, from the dehumanization of our adversaries, of those who differ with us.

That is the way of dialogue. The way of non-dialogue, the non-I-Thou stance is opposite. It says, "I'll affirm you and allow you to exist if you become like me, think like me, do as I do, are my mental-spiritual clone." Its motto is, "Nothing alien is human to me." This is not simply the stance adopted by uneducated, backward, unenlightened persons. It is the stance very often adopted by people like you and me, so-called liberal, tolerant, enlightened, cultivated persons. It plays a prominent role in intellectual circles, where people skewer one another with verbal swords. Many of us, intellectual or not, are imprisoned in ideological stances which act as iron maidens against any real human intercourse. Abstract reductionism prevails in the differences between liberal and conservative, socialist and free-marketeer, atheist and theist, right-to-lifer and free-choicer, feminist and partriarchalist, etc., etc. There is no interhuman meeting, no real dialogue between human beings, just barrages of abstract ideas or ideals, partisan slogans, condemnations and fanaticisms, which block off even the possibility of encounter. We sanctify ourselves as the repositories of right and virtue and demonize our adversaries as evil incarnate. Fanaticism and

bigotry are by no means the monopoly of organized religion and its adherents. They are universal human failings indulged in by disputants on all sides.

I recall the story about a meeting between Buber and T. S. Eliot that may exemplify my general point here. It seems that Buber and Eliot met and talked with one another at some length and with mutual respect. Later Maurice Friedman asked Buber, "How come you were able to have a friendly meeting with a man like T. S. Eliot, who is so opposed to you in his opinions?" (Eliot had once described himself as an Anglo-Catholic in religion, a classicist in literature, and a royalist in politics.) To which Buber replied pithily, "I met with another man, with another human being, not a set of opinions."[1]

How many of us can say the same for our encounters with persons who have ideas and ideals opposed to our own? Do we open up to the other in his difference, take his views seriously, or rather seek to win an argument, substituting debate for dialogue, domination for meeting? Of course, you and I don't meet up with an Eliot every day, but how about someone on our own level? I am afraid many of us act badly most of the time when we meet persons with radically different commitments and allegiances. We seek to subdue rather than to understand. Often what most moves us are the intense passion, resentment and hatred evoked by dialectical differences. "How dare this other person believe utterly different than I do! Let's demonize the bastard!" That is our knee-jerk response to a radical difference in opinions. Recall that in the Christian tradition (which a lot of us tend to demonize) there is a doctrine that one should condemn the sin but not the sinner. Assuming that we view a radical difference in viewpoint from ours as a serious failing, do you or I make that salutary distinction?

By sheer chance while I was on a week's holiday in Vancouver, British Columbia, last year, I came across a newspaper column titled "Hatred of all the things we aren't." The author, Richard Wagamese, writing from an Indian reservation, cites a contemptuous letter from a Canadian Caucasian expressing his scorn for the primitiveness of the Indian aborigines, who he maintains have nothing of value to contribute. He is especially scornful of the alleged spirituality of their rituals and myths, which he attributes to bunk about the "noble savage," who he claims existed only in Rousseau's imagination. In rebuttal the columnist cites early missionaries as witnesses to the nobility and spirituality of the aborigines they encountered. He calls for the preservation and enhancement of the traditional spiritual culture to maintain the Indian essence and identity. He realizes that the man who wrote the contemptuous letter does not understand this and is not even

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1. Maurice Friedman, *Encounter on the Narrow Ridge: A Life of Martin Buber* (New York: Paragon Books, 1991), 334, 419.

interested in trying. That man exemplifies the "Orientalist" vice, treating what is non-European or pre-modern as inferior, worthless, contemptible, bypassed in the progressive unrolling of history. He also exemplifies the failing highlighted by Buber of treating what is other as "It" rather than "Thou," as an object of disregard rather than a being to be met, of closing oneself off from the realm of the *Zwischenmenschlich*, the interhuman.

Let us turn our attention now to the always tensile topic of religious difference, which provides a good take-off point for analogies with other fields. What is involved here again is the relation to what is other—other basic beliefs, sacred acts, communal forms—what is unfamiliar to us, strange, sometimes abrasively so. Should any of you feel left out, I assure you that I am including naturalism and humanism among the basic stances towards reality and the attitudes developed in their support.

Let me suggest a typology of response to religious differences.[2] There have been three main historical responses: complete disregard, polemical attack or defense (apologetics), and syncretism. The first is the way of ignorance, of not-knowing, of shutting ourselves off in a sectarian enclave or ghetto, unstained by physical or mental contact with the awful, threatening others and their sinful, pagan ways and beliefs. "Ignore them" is the maxim about others: "Act as if they don't exist." This was a far more practicable alternative in former ages.

In addition to this passive, insulating reaction, there is the active, aggressive way of attack upon other religions as "untruth" or "unfaith" in comparison with our own religion, which we proclaim contains the whole and only truth. This polemical response may involve considerable study and knowledge of other faiths, but solely as a means to extol one's own faith while denigrating that of others and above all to become the victor in intellectual debates, *contra gentiles*, against the gentiles, the pagans, the unbelievers.

The third way, called variously "syncretism," "synthesis," or "eclecticism," has a great appeal to liberal humanists in religious communities. It seeks to open up to whatever is deemed holy and good in other religions and to incorporate it with one's own faith. This approach has been subjected to ridicule as well as praise. It risks a certain shallowness, inauthenticity, or irresponsibility when it tries to put things together that don't belong together or are clearly contradictory. It may also descend to a merely aesthetic appreciation, a non-existential spectator stance without engagement or commitment. Yet it points us to real contacts with other religions and their adherents, to real mutual influences, and to the effects

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2. I have used this typology before in classes on "The Jewish Christian Encounter: Conflict and Dialogue" and in a published article carrying the same title in *FORUM: On the Jewish People, Zionism and Israel* (Jerusalem), Fall/Winter 1979.

of such contact on our religious attitudes, assuming that there can be growth and development in religious existence.

I should point out there has been a good deal of syncretism in Judaism and Christianity, however the orthodox may deny it. Ralph Marcus, the eminent scholar in Hellenistic Judaism, used to say that the Israelites stole far more than the jewels of the Egyptians from the ancient Near Eastern cultures. Similarly early Christianity was enriched by various patterns of Greek thought and culture, and Greek and Islamic philosophy had an enormous effect on medieval Jewish and Christian philosophical theology. The American philosopher of religion W. E. Hocking noted that the capacity to assimilate from other sources may be the sign of health and vitality in a religion. A religion already has to be something definite before it can assimilate anything from external sources.

The possibility of mutual influence between religious communities and cultures brings us to a fourth way beyond the traditional three ways: the way of dialogue. Here we assume a real difference, which cannot be ignored or blotted out, and a real relation, a mutual address and response. A real dialogue openly and unreservedly engaged in (and I don't mean just talking together) may lead to actual understanding and to self-realization. In coming to understand and appreciate the other in his particular religious existence, we may come to realize what we are in ours. This is the way to do away with the dividing, distorting stereotypes which proclaim the defects and shortcomings of other faiths and extol the virtues and perfections of our own. There is a religious term for this, *idolatry*, and it takes many forms: idolatry of ourselves, our nation, our "race," our political ideology, our religious community.

Let us take the example of the encounter or misencounter between Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. The two movements arose out of the same historic situation in first-century Palestine and soon went on their separate paths, each claiming lineal descent from the biblical patriarchs and prophets, from the religion of Israel. While the "elder brother" proclaimed itself to be the true Israel, entrusted with the one and only Torah, the "younger brother" proclaimed itself to be the new Israel with a new Word to be preached to all the peoples of the world. The old Israel looked down on the new Israel as at best an inferior imitation fit only for the uncircumcised gentiles and considered the incarnational theology that developed as sheer blasphemy. The new Israel looked down on the old Israel as superseded and made obsolete by the new dispensation through Jesus Christ. The seeds for conflict, anger, and resentment were present from the beginning. The struggle for domination or survival, physical or spiritual, went on for the next 1,900 years. The war of Christendom against Judaism, a living alternative in its midst, became a cruel and horrible one, inevitably directed against the Jewish people, who were the bearers of the targeted

religion, and was one of the main contributors to the European anti-Semitism which culminated in the Holocaust.

"With these senseless exterminations something quite different has begun," declared Hans Joachim Schoeps, a mourner for parents and a brother murdered in the Nazi death camps. He saw genuine, open dialogue as made possible by the Holocaust, not only because it shocked the civilized world but because it was the product of twentieth-century totalitarianism and racism, not of the religious conflict between Judaism and Christianity.[3] Certainly there have been all kinds of institutional attempts, going as high as the Vatican, in which the term "dialogue" has been copiously used. I myself attended a conference at Loyola University in Chicago celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Vatican declaration on the opening of dialogue with Judaism. Rather than examining in detail and depth the work of these rabbinical and priestly representatives, let us try to map out what real dialogue would consist of between Christian and Jew, as for the members of any two faiths.

First, each must accept the whole historical sweep of the other's faith. Christians must not limit their view of Judaism to what is recorded in the Hebrew Bible but must understand that it has had a 2,000-year post-biblical history, is a living faith, not superseded by Christianity in actual reality. They should have at least a dim awareness of the Talmud, the rule of the Oral Law, the development of mysticism, messianic movements, philosophical theology, the Jewish Enlightenment, and latter-day Reform, Conservatism, and Neo-Orthodoxy. And they should not view the religion of the Jews on an ecclesiastical model like their own.

Similarly Jews must view Christianity in all its forms from the primitive Palestinian church to Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Protestant, and independent communities. They should not make similarity to Judaism the norm of authentic Christianity, a requirement for acceptance and dialogue. Christianity is what it became in the whole world through 1,900 years, not what it was in first-century Palestine, in the Jewish-Christian church. My old classmate, Schubert Ogden, the eminent Protestant theologian, once said to me that Judaism and Christianity are historically bound together but theologically distinct, an observation to remember.

What is required for Jewish-Christian dialogue is that the two peoples (I use the term "peoples" advisedly) deal with each other as they really are, not as the cardboard figures and stereotypes that have so long prevailed. Judaism must be understood as it really is, not as a preparatory, inadequate stage superseded by Christianity. Nor can the latter be taken merely as an

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3. Hans Joachim Schoeps, *The Jewish-Christian Argument: A History of Theologies in Conflict*, trans. David E. Green (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1963), xi.

adulterated form of Judaism for the inferior, lax, indulgent gentiles. These concoctions lead only to self-satisfaction not to dialogue.

The truth is that there has been very little dialogue between Jews as Jews and Christians as Christians. To a large extent the relationship has been one of mutual not-knowing and not-caring, of not taking the other seriously in his religio-ethnic particularity, of the opposite of dialogue. This is not to say that there have not been friendly relations between Jews and Christians. This has been true even in medieval times. But it has most often occurred with disregard for the other's faith, for his religious existence, the presumed center of his being. We approach the way of ignorance that I first enumerated but now without the physical restriction of a sectarian enclave or ghetto. I have heard from religious Jews this comment on dialogue. "Who needs it?" Who indeed? I have heard similar remarks from Protestants opposed to ecumenical ties even among themselves. Whether real dialogue is possible between the Christian as Christian and the Jew as Jew (not those who merely list themselves as such on informational forms) remains an open question.

Dialogue, open encounter, is not only a problem between religions but also within religions. European history is full of the intramural conflicts that have often resulted in bloody warfare between adherents of the Prince of Peace. Such hostility and undialogical stances exist flagrantly in present-day Israel between secular and Orthodox Jews as well as between Reform and Orthodox Jews.

An article in the *Jerusalem Post International Edition* (14 Sept. 1991) tells us of the existence of an organization called Gesher ("Bridge") that works to establish a meeting between secular and Orthodox high-school students that will open them to an understanding of their varying humanistic and theistic approaches to the Judaic tradition. An effort is made through mixed secular-Orthodox seminars to divest the two groups of the facile stereotypes they have about one another, such as that the Orthodox are simply narrow, repressive, and draft-dodgers, or that the seculars are merely pleasure-seekers without any ethical values or knowledge of Judaism. This divestiture of stereotypes is done through ingenious exercises, such as cooperation in building a model city and making decisions affecting secular and religious needs, including tough ones as to which project must be scrapped in a budgetary crisis. If one side is not sensitive to the other's needs, the seminar leader switches the advocacy roles, the seculars acting as religious spokesmen and vice versa. Other ingenious paideutic devices are used to make the two groups see how things look from the other side and to avoid demonizing one another. The director of Gesher, Daniel Tropper, aims not at mere tolerance, leaving the two sides in separate enclaves, but at closing the gap between the secular and religious in an

increasingly polarized and politicized society. His basic assumption is that both the theistic and humanistic stances are part of the Judaic tradition.

Coincidentally a *New York Times* report on 14 September 1991 uses the term "bridges" (Gesher again) about the endeavor to bring about mutual understanding between conflicting Orthodox Jews and African-Americans in Teaneck, New Jersey. This supposedly model integrated suburb erupted into a white-black conflict in 1990 at the killing of a black youth by a white police officer. The building of "bridges" between blacks and whites following that tragedy, through the efforts of the Teaneck Clergy Council, is credited with coping with the crisis caused eighteen months later by the anti-Jewish remarks of Leonard Jeffries, a black New York City College professor and resident of Teaneck. Threats of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations by Jewish and black groups ensued. Ugly confrontations seemed imminent. A meeting between African Council and Jewish Community Council representatives reached a mutual understanding of good will, and a planned black march past local synagogues to counter a threatened militant Jewish march past Professor Jeffries's house was canceled. The possibly incendiary marches did not take place. The "bridges" stayed intact.

"A year ago," said the head of the Teaneck Clergy Council, "it wouldn't have been possible *because the level of trust was not there*" (my italics). An official of the African Council noted that they had never spoken directly before with the Jewish Community Council. Hitherto the state of relations between Orthodox Jews and blacks had been one of mutual disregard and ignorance. Now they got together to talk about ways in which to reach mutual understanding of their differing cultures and religions and further to share the joys and problems of bringing up children, their common experience. I need not belabor the point I have made previously on the potential of dialogue between differing and even conflicting groups. This is by no means a magic once-for-all nostrum, for in Teaneck as elsewhere in the world mutual suspicion, distrust, and demonization may arise again. As in Camus's Oran, "the plague" may come again and again.[4] Hence the price of dialogue is eternal vigilance and flexibility in the concrete situation.

Buber's own dialogue with Christianity, Zen Buddhism, Taoism, and other non-Judaic religions is well known. His attitude can be summed up in a remark he once made, that he stood on the threshold of his "ancestral house" and faced the world outside that house in openness to what was there.[5] This is not the stance of a Mr. Zero at Point Nowhere, but of a proud son of Israel, an "arch-Jew" (his own designation) ready to meet persons

4. Albert Camus, *The Plague* (Hammondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1960).

5. Martin Buber, *Hasidisum and Modern Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 42.

from others houses—from other peoples, cultures, religions—ready to listen and to respond.

Perhaps the most important application of Buber's philosophy of dialogue to group relations was to the conflict between the Jewish resettlers of Palestine and the resident Arab population. Buber insisted on just and sensitive consideration of the claims and aspirations of the long-time Arab residents of the land (there were also long-time Jewish residents). He held that the Jewish resettlement must ultimately be judged by moral norms, not by the purely pragmatic standards of power politics. Mainline Zionist leaders on the contrary, though they were reluctant to act unjustly towards the Arab residents, decided that the interests of resettlement were of higher ethical priority. They opted for what Max Weber called the "ethics of responsibility" over the "ethics of conscience." (It was my friend, the late Ernst Simon, who called Weber's dichotomy to my attention.[6])

Buber along with a minority of irenic Zionists rejected both the morality and the practical wisdom of this position. He held that the main task was to gain the trust of the Palestinian Arabs, who were alarmed by the incursion of European newcomers under the aegis of the British Crown, a long-time imperialist opponent of Arab interests. Only if the Arabs were assured that the Zionists were not aiming for dominance in Palestine and eventually a Jewish national state would they drop their mistrust and be inclined to compromise—this was the thesis of Buber and his friends in the Brit Shalom (Covenant of Peace) group. This would require restriction of *aliyah* (Jewish immigration) and giving up the idea of a Jewish national state, requirements that were anathema to majority Zionists. The alternative, Buber held, would be continual conflict with the local Arabs and the surrounding Arab world. Judah Magnes, a co-worker with Buber for Jewish-Arab amity, warned that if the Zionists established a national state against the will of the people of the region, it would tie a Gordian knot that would inaugurate fifty years of intense Arab-Jewish conflict. These predictions seem to have been confirmed by the ensuing events in the past four decades.[7]

Buber's advocacy of these views incurred great disfavor among the leaders of the Yishuv (Jewish settlement) and their supporters abroad, exposing him to intense criticism as a traitor to Zionism or an impractical

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6. See Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, eds. Hans H. Garth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 77-128.

7. For Buber's views, see Martin Buber, *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1983). For Magnes's views, see Arthur A. Cohen, ed., *Dissenter in Zion: From the Writings of Judah H. Magnes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

idealist. Granted that Buber's vision of a bi-national Jewish-Arab entity, shared with some illustrious Zionists, never had a real chance of being fulfilled since it depended on unusual imagination and flexibility from Arab and Jewish leaders and their followers. Yet it is inaccurate to dismiss him as a mere moral idealist, devoid of practical realism. He understood that some injustice was to be expected in intergroup conflicts. What he advocated was doing as little injustice as possible in the concrete situation as against the amoral idolatry of *Machtpolitik*. It is important to recall that Buber was no absolute pacifist. On the contrary he held that in some cases it is necessary to resort to armed violence—for the survival of a community or to resist greater evil.[8]

I am one of those who believes that Ben-Gurion, the practical statesman, was right in advocating a national state for the Yishuv in 1947-48. It was a moment of opportunity and decision that probably would never come again to save a part of Palestine as a refuge for the survivors of the Holocaust. This assured a much different kind of community than that envisioned by the humanistic, cultural Zionism of Buber and Ahad Ha-Am, eventuating in a state like other states and an eating once again of the apple of state power with all the consequences flowing therefrom. That it did not solve the problem of Jewish-Arab conflict is obvious.

It is interesting to note that while accepting the existence of the state of Israel after 1948, Buber envisioned a confederation of Israel and the Arab states of the Middle East.[9] An impossibility now? Of course, but maybe a possibility by the year 2048. What we require of prophets is far-reaching vision not immediate satisfaction. Buber once remarked to a critical younger scholar that while the young man's thought aimed at today, his own thought aimed at the day after tomorrow. (It was the younger scholar who told me the story.)

That the way of dialogue between different religious and ethnic groups is not an airy philosophical speculation somewhere up in the heavens is indicated by the two news stories I have noted. The impulse to engage in dialogue is a fairly common one, impeded though it may be by contemporary society, culture, and ideology. Human life—a really human life—demands it. One need not know what Buber taught in order to do it. But after we do it, intercourse with Buber's writings may lead to an understanding of the meaning and importance of what we have been engaged in.

Now Buber belongs to the ages. He is no longer with us in the flesh. But just as the way of dialogue preceded his life and works, it remains after him, leaving us ready to walk that path—or to go the other way.

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8. See Buber, *A Land of Two Peoples*, 125.
9. Ibid., 292f.

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WE'RE
MARRIED
NOW
WE'RE
MARRIED
NOW

I Have Learned 5 Things

Elaine Christensen

1. The sulfurous flame
sunbeams in corners
lightning like cracked glass
the bulb of an idea
your dark eyes
all
have one source.

2. Pain is truer than people
truer than a full plate
truer than God.

3. Joy is a suitcase
packed with everyday things
no beaded gowns, no hats
no umbrella
just pajamas, a toothbrush, sneakers.
If it rains
stand there
soak up every drop
like applause.

4. I have learned that I want less:
the sound of lake water lapping
tadpoles listless in sun-heated shallows
wispy grass, knobby reeds
greeting me, my name
caught in their raspy throats
one or two clouds
and a bird, maybe,
if it doesn't sing.

5. Old age is where you started,
a child
looking up at the light
at jumbled faces
at mouths whispering, "there, now,
go back to sleep."

From Emerson to Alma: A Personal Odyssey

Helen F. Maxson

IT WAS MY FATHER WHO TAUGHT ME to love Emerson. I can remember him wanting to know what authors I was studying in my tenth-grade English class, and then, at the mention of Keats or Emerson, his shaking his head slowly with closed eyes, implying inexpressible delight at the great masters and savory defeat at trying to explain it. The mystery and promise that attended my father's bemused, silent nod attached itself in my mind to all famous writers of the past. I came to know that lofty pleasures awaited me if I could fathom their archaic but beautiful language, their complex but eternal meanings. Cherishing my father's opinion on all things, I automatically valued what he valued. And cherishing my closeness to him, I wanted to know what he knew, to be "in the know" along with him. My father loved Emerson. I was destined to do the same.

This confluence of taste lasted several years. But as our travels together comprised a mid-life journey for him and an adolescent one for me, it was inevitable that we would finally follow separate roads. I joined the Mormon church seven years ago; my father, had he been converted before his death in 1975, would have made an unlikely Mormon. In fact, he spent most of his adult life as a Unitarian, in part perhaps to rebel against his Seventh-Day Baptist upbringing. Toward the end of his life, searching for the hope that comes with ritual, mystery, and stained-glass windows, he gravitated toward the Episcopal church. I had his temple work done as a Mormon of one year, but I wonder if he has accepted the gospel. A Catholic friend told me when we were in junior high school that our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost. My father's reaction to the news was to ask whether it tickles us when the ghost moves around in there. He longed for something to revere, yet he had limited patience for reverence. Emerson's blend of

awe at nature and contempt for social institutions was a comfortable home for him. In the end, it lacked the ring of truth for me.

Still, as a Mormon, I have wondered how I could have started out so close to my father and wound up so far from him. The question reasserts itself when I consider the similarities between Emerson's thought as I understood it as a teenager and Mormon thought as I have come to know it since my baptism. Even those similarities do not diminish the amazing distance I have travelled since my Transcendental days. And now, having come so far, and having only recently arrived, I am still assessing my new home. The correspondences between Emerson and Mormonism, as well as the differences they reveal, are helping me to delineate my faith. Furthermore, they are helping me to understand the role of my past in getting me where I am.

Two aspects of Emerson's thought that shaped my teenage world shape my adult world as well. The one that first seized my imagination was the notion of a spiritual dimension to all of nature. Emerson tells us that "all the uses of nature admit of being summed in one, which yields the activity of man an infinite scope. Through all its kingdoms, to the suburbs and outskirts of things, it is faithful to the cause whence it had its origin. It always speaks of Spirit. It suggests the absolute."[1] For Emerson, nature is animated by spirit. His thought gives great prominence to the transcendent, which, like Christians, he associates with the term *God.*

Furthermore, I was very much taken with Emerson's exaltation of the individual. In using this phrase, I *do* have in mind the full spiritual development in the Celestial Kingdom that Mormons strive for. But I mean to suggest, more precisely, one of its secular counterparts, the dignity acquired by individuals on earth through access to the spiritual and the perfect. This intimacy with the transcendent is a continuous theme in Emerson's thought. I once told my tenth-grade English teacher that I thought all people had a capacity (figured as a sort of interior black box) to receive impressions and feelings from God (figured as an amorphous, pervasive spirit). She told me that I had obviously been reading Emerson, at which point I decided for the first time to do so. How delighted I was to find out about poets that "the condition of true naming, on the poet's part, is his resigning himself to the divine *aura* which breathes through forms, and accompanying that."[2]

The poet is empowered, and thereby ennobled, by contact with the true and the perfect. When I read also that all people are poets to one degree or another, I knew I had found a system of thought I could stay with. It didn't

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1. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature" (1849), 40, in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 40.

2. Emerson, "The Poet" (1844), in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures,* 459.

occur to me then that having come upon a writer who expressed my own vague inklings, I was adopting him on self-validating terms: in a sense he was both defendant and judge. Never mind. At last I could claim with certainty the inherent dignity I had tentatively, hopefully ascribed to every individual, and had always wanted for myself.

Here then in Emerson, were two of the starting points of my journey toward Mormonism. But in my early twenties I abandoned him as a prophet. By that time I had lost my father to a depression he would never conquer. A painful and disorienting turn of events for me, it took away my youthful faith in life as a logical, ultimately kind experience. My father's idealism seemed now an ineffectual weapon in the face of abrasive realities, the most abrasive of which was that we are not guaranteed our just deserts. In my eyes, no one deserved happiness and success more than my father. He was an exceptionally good person. He was an exceptionally gifted person. And yet his life ended in defeat. Furthermore, the despair that was slowly infiltrating my view of things was underscored by the normal ups and downs of a twenty-year-old's life. A painful *affaire du coeur* had taught me that our needs are precisely that which life intends to thwart. My father and Emerson along with him came to seem naive to me. Both had clearly missed the point.

At the same time, I was studying Emerson in college, practicing on him a form of literary analysis I was just learning. Suddenly I saw the essay "Self-Reliance" as encouraging arrogance rather than offering dignity. In distancing myself from this new Emerson, I pointed my journey of faith a little more squarely at the LDS church, although I had barely heard of it then. The individual in "Self-Reliance" is empowered through contact with "the Over-soul," just as he or she from a Christian point of view is empowered by God. But the gratitude, humility, and worship that characterize the Christian's stance toward God are far less evident in Emerson's thought, and at times they are actively rejected. "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind," Emerson says.[3] Or, "As soon as the man is at one with God, he will not beg. . . . men's prayers are a disease of the will."[4] For Emerson, the Over-soul exalts the individual but does not ask for humility in return. The posture of humility, and the distinction between it and what we commonly call humiliation, were concepts I would need to acquire elsewhere before my Transcendentalism could evolve into my current faith.

In fact, I probably acquired them naturally as I was growing up and simply did not recognize Emerson's divergence from them until I had spent

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3. Emerson, "Self-Reliance" (1841), in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, 261.
4. Ibid., 276.

some time with his thought. I think too that vestiges of "Self-Reliance" that are discordant with Mormonism stayed with me to the time of my conversion in my mid-thirties, and that it was a predilection for another mode of thought that helped me get past them when the time came. Christianity has always seemed to me more dichotomous, more paradoxical, than the tenets of Emerson that influenced me as a teenager, and I think a taste for ironic, paradoxical writers engendered in me by my father's emotional problems and by my own life as a young adult played in my conversion. Consider these examples of Christian paradox.

For the Mormon, humility and exaltation, apparently opposites, are two sides of the same coin (while for Emerson as I understood him they were mutually exclusive alternatives). For the Mormon, a bodily heavenly father is not inconsistent with a spiritual messenger who pervades our world; the fullest freedom comes from obedience; the highest development of one's individuality comes from conformity to the church; a difficult life can find reassurance in the knowledge that nonetheless things are going as they should; the savior and king of the world took his first earthly sleep in a manger. As Mormons, we barely notice the paradoxical nature of these concepts, so accustomed are we to accepting them; yet their irony lies at the heart of our faith. For those who would like to embrace the church but are not willing to let go of a simpler logic, they can form a stumbling block.

For me, an English major who became a teacher, the way to accepting them was paved by literature. My father loved the Romantic writers who believed in perfections they strove to achieve. But I found coping strategies I could trust in the bleaker vision of Modern writers who studied life's frustration of human needs. In the poet Wallace Stevens, I saw a would-be Transcendentalist who had to admit that reality as he saw it fails to cooperate with our need for sublimity and individual dignity. Not believing in God, but desirous of the order and plenitude only God can provide, Stevens explores the power of the wishful imagination to rearrange reality to meet our needs. He gives us moments of warmth and sufficiency contrived by the imagination in spite of the absence of God. He portrays us "collect[ing] ourselves"

> Within a single thing, a single shawl
> Wrapped tightly around us, since we are poor, a warmth,
> A light, a power, the miraculous influence.
>
> Here, now, we forget about each other and ourselves.
> We feel the obscurity of an order, a whole,
> A knowledge, that which arranged the rendezvous,

Within its vital boundary, in the mind.
We say God and the imagination are one . . .
How high that highest candle lights the dark.[5]

Stevens ends this poem by telling us that "being there together [wrapped in the shawl, feeling the miraculous influence] is enough." *Enough* suggests that needs are met, but only in minimal ways. In other poems, he is more forthright in saying that moments of fulfillment are imaginary and therefore transitory. That which is "arranged" by human means, like the rendezvous above, cannot outlast changes brought by time or abandonment when imaginative attention is turned elsewhere.

A complex of emotions falls apart,
In an abandoned spot. Soft, civil bird,
The decay that you regard: of the arranged
And of the spirit of the arranged, *douceurs*,
Tristessess, the fund of life and death, suave bush

And polished beast, this complex falls apart.[6]

Stevens's nostalgia for the wealth possessed by the believer, his honesty about the absence, as he saw it, of anything metaphysical to believe in: these appealed to me during the "existential crisis" of my early twenties, when Sartre, Camus, and John Barth also seemed to see things as they really were—devoid of intrinsic meaning or value. And I admired the way Stevens brings something and nothing, presence and absence, together in his vision, as though he cannot permit himself to possess something unless, simultaneously, he admits that he can't have it. The admission makes the possession possible. He describes

. . . the listener, who listens in the snow,
And nothing himself, beholds
Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is.[7]

Stevens literally makes something of nothing: "The nothing that is" becomes a presence, the best our imaginations can do in an impoverished world.

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5. Stevens, "Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour" (1950), in Stevens, *The Palm at the End of the Mind*, ed. Holly Stevens (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 368.

6. Stevens, "Credences of Summer" (1946), in Stevens, *The Palm at the End of the Mind*, 292.

7. Stevens, "The Snow Man" (1921), in Stevens, *The Palm at the End of the Mind*, 54.

I think Stevens's walking the razor's edge between something and nothing helped me as a new Mormon, sixteen years later, to focus on humility rather than power, obedience rather than willfulness, as ways of fulfilling my potential and dreams. By admitting our powerlessness, we achieve power. That is how Stevens works. That is how the gospel works. It was in part the respect for paradox that I found in Stevens that enabled me to listen to the promptings of the Spirit during my conversion. What active feminist without such a respect would give up her political strategies and goal of earthly political power to join a church promising her empowerment only in return for obedience to a patriarchal "authority," an authority she would be likely to misinterpret as the earthly political power she had been working for for herself? What individualistic post-Emersonian without such a respect would participate in church programs and support church leaders, ignoring Emerson's claim that "society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members"?[8] My faith as a new Mormon had to be agile, embracing contraries, and pursuing a journey that seemed to lead away from, to be inconsistent with, the desired goal. Only the flexibility to consider that, ironically, a willing obedience might bring the fullest freedom could make me go through what at first felt like a renunciation of freedom in order ultimately to acquire it.

And so it served me well to have adopted Stevens as a prophet for a while before the missionaries knocked on my door; it helped me embrace the church to have first accepted a self-contradictory world without attaching a redemptive spirituality to it. As Mormons, we cannot turn away from the world even though we strive to remain untouched by it. Emerson (like his friend Thoreau) advises a detachment from the compromising tangle of social relations, but God commends Alma's missions through the thick of things, and commands us to serve each other.

Still, I have been able to define my Mormonism against Emerson's thought only because they have so much in common. In fact, Alma sounds a great deal like Emerson when he describes his joy at the spreading of the gospel: "Now, when I think of the success of these my brethren my soul is carried away, even to the separation of it from the body, as it were, so great is my joy" (29:16). Alma has had to work for this moment, even to the point of obediently ignoring his own inclinations (8:16). But his joy is so great that he describes it with a metaphor of complete transcendence, much like those Emerson uses for his own joy at the power of poetry: "With what joy I begin to read a poem, which I confide in as an inspiration! And now my chains are to be broken; I shall mount above these clouds and opaque airs

8. Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, 261.

in which I live . . . and from the heaven of truth I shall see and comprehend my relations."[9]

There is no irony in either passage. Unlike Stevens, neither Emerson nor Alma deflates the moment of triumph by dwelling on its transient or ephemeral nature. The Christian surrender to paradox does not diminish in any way the spiritual fulfillment it yields the believer. Furthermore, Alma's focus on the success of his brethren mirrors the emphasis Emerson places on the power of the poet. Emerson tells us "that magnitude of material things is relative, and all objects shrink and expand to serve the passion of the poet."[10] In Emerson's vision the poetic imagination, the needy human mind that inhabits nature, comes to preside over it. Nature takes its cue from the imagination and serves its needs. I'm sure my adolescent desire for the power of the Transcendental poet has fed my adult joy at the empowerment I have felt in following Jesus Christ.

So as a New Englander like my father, I like to think that strains of Emerson infuse my Mormonism. Now it is true that in the days surrounding my baptism, the words of Modern poet e. e. cummings, not of Emerson, were running through my head:

> i thank you God for most this amazing
> day: for the leaping greenly spirits of trees
> and a blue true dream of sky; and for everything
> which is natural which is infinite which is yes
>
> (i who have died am alive again today,
> and this is the sun's birthday; this is the birth
> day of life and of love and wings: and of the gay
> great happening illimitably earth)
>
> . . .
>
> (now the ears of my ears awake and
> now the eyes of my eyes are opened)[11]

cummings's exuberant message of rebirth seemed to break through the bounds of ordinary syntax as my spirit was about to break through the bounds of my former life and of death. It takes Modernist experimentation,

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9. Emerson, "The Poet" (1844), in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, 451.

10. Emerson, "Nature" (1849), in Emerson, *Essays and Lectures*, 35.

11. cummings, "i thank You God for most this amazing" (1950), in cummings, *100 Selected Poems (Evergreen Edition)* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), 114.

I remember thinking (with a sniff at Transcendentalism), to portray spiritual truths in language.

But in the end, the part of me which had loved Emerson played a larger role in my baptism than the part which loved Modern poetry, reactivating feelings of grief for a lost father and the lost perfections we had believed in together. I have always thought that our spiritual lives are substantially shaped by elements of our pasts—ideas we once held, feelings we once felt. In touching us, God works with all the raw materials we provide, addressing us as individuals who have evolved over time. The day before my baptism, a day of fasting and anticipation, showed me how true this principle would be of my experience as a Mormon.

At the time I was living in a small farming community in upstate New York. Because there was sulphur in the municipal water supply, I used to fill bottles with water from a spigot by one of the Finger Lakes that was close by. On the day in question, a Saturday, I was filling bottles as usual. I remember likening the clean water from the lake to the water I would be baptized in the next day. For some reason I started thinking about the story of the prodigal son, which I had probably read that morning since it was fresh in my mind. I came to understand and then to visualize with great intensity the urgent excitement that the father felt when he first saw his lost son coming home, and I realized that was exactly what God was feeling for me at that moment. Never having felt such urgent love and concern on my behalf, I sat behind the wheel of my station wagon for an hour or so and cried. I felt sorrow and fulfillment together, as though my heavenly father's love were evoking memories of my earthly father's love, long banished from thought, and replacing it even as I mourned. Thinking about the cloak, the "best robe," that the biblical father calls for for his prodigal son, I felt God's love for me surround me as if it were that robe. I stayed wrapped in it all that day.

And since that day, I have realized how freely my feelings for my earthly father played in my feelings for God, both in my station wagon by the lake and always. As an adult, I have come to understand my father better, to see that he succumbed to depression because of specific elements of his nature and childhood, not because life in general is a defeating experience. Knowing this has restored some of my faith that a transcendent, benign logic directs the events of our lives, and my adult relationship with God has restored the rest. But my sense of that logic will always include the paradoxical, the ironic. Maybe seeing God as ironic is a way of giving him space to do things that I won't always understand. Maybe it is a way of contriving a faith that can withstand the shocks of experience. But I prefer to think of it as a way of compensating for the narrowness of human perception as against the vast scope of divine creativity. Emerson strove to describe in some detail the workings of the divine in nature. I am content

to let them elude me, leaving in contradictory fragments what I can see of them and knowing nonetheless that the love that powers them is as far from irony as Alma's joy in his missionary work or the prodigal's comfort in his father's best robe.

Risk and Terror

John S. Harris

> *Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who never enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.*—Theodore Roosevelt

WHEN I LAY IN A HOSPITAL VERY BADLY INJURED from the crash of my experimental airplane, a visitor asked me if I thought my injuries were a judgment for my sins. I remember saying no, and I even remember wondering that anyone should be so silly, let alone so tactless, as to ask such a question. But I don't remember who asked it, and I don't really want to. The asker and I have some differences in philosophy and theology that are so deep and irreconcilable that it would be difficult for us to continue to be friends if those differences surfaced again.

I presume that the asker sees God watching every act and doling out immediate punishment for every infraction of divine law. Yes, I did violate a law—not a law of God, but of Nature, and as my parachutist daughter says: The law of gravity is strictly enforced. That I will accept, along with Newton's Laws of Motion, the laws of Conservation of Energy and Matter, and the First and Second Laws of Thermodynamics. Those and many other "Laws" as they have been postulated by astute observers and interpreters of Nature seem to be binding on all humankind. Whether they are binding on God, I do not presume to say. Such laws of Nature are not all obvious, and finding out what they are is sufficient purpose for existence.

Mormon theology includes a belief that before earth existence there was a rather Milton-like war in heaven. At issue was the choice of free agency versus a Satan-proposed plan that all would be compelled to do right. We are told the free agency side won the war, and as a result we all

come to earth as a stage of development in eternal progression. Even without such a theological background, I suspect I would have been inclined to free agency and choice—with the attendant risks and consequences. That inclination is probably genetic.

I know a good deal about my family history. I can see I come from a long line of question-askers and risk-takers. My first ancestor bearing the family name in America came over with Roger Williams in 1630. He immediately got in trouble in Massachusetts Bay Colony over theological issues. Family tradition says he was preaching in church and his doctrines were so offensive to the congregation that he was dragged from the pulpit by the hair of his head and thrown in jail. He was later released and accompanied Williams to Providence, a more tolerant colony. He set the pattern for the family. Since that time, no two successive generations of the family have lived in the same place. They have been pioneers on whatever frontier existed in Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Utah, Chihuahua, and Alberta. And for various reasons they were chased out of most of those places. My mother's people went from England to South Africa in the early part of the last century, and came to Utah in the 1850s. Thus all of my ancestors crossed the plains by wagon or handcart. Risk-takers all.

The pilot's equivalent of seeking a new frontier is what is called "expanding the envelope." Each aircraft has an "envelope of performance"—a top speed, a maximum altitude, a minimum speed before stall, a maximum positive and negative G loading, and so on. On first flying a given airplane, pilots fly conservatively near the center of the plane's envelope—and near the center of their own envelope of skill. As they gain experience, they fly closer to the edges of the aircraft's and their own envelopes. Eventually, they expand both. This is the direction of both growth and progress. For me, expanding the envelope makes a sound metaphor for life—and not incidentally coincides rather nicely with my understanding of Mormon theology.

The procedure of expanding the envelope is not necessarily foolhardy, though there is an element of risk involved. But there is a considerable difference in betting on your own ability to climb a rock cliff and playing Russian roulette. One involves confidence in your own ability. The other relies on blind chance. I might try climbing the cliff, but I certainly would not play Russian roulette. Those who do gamble on sheer chance, whether it is playing Russian roulette or the lottery, either have some kind of death or disaster wish, or alternatively they believe that God or Lady Luck holds them in special esteem and is just waiting for the opportunity to bless them. It is probably that belief that God wants to bless us if only we will provide him the mechanism that makes Mormons such ready suckers for con artists. Such foolishness. Such solipsism. Such pride.

Of course luck plays a part in what happens. However to me luck is not a personage but mathematical odds. No matter how well you control the dangerous variables, flying experimental aircraft is mathematically more dangerous than reading or knitting. Sometimes you win. Sometimes you lose. But you are certainly less likely to lose if you are skillful, and that is what the game is about—winning by skill against more and more difficult odds.

I do not rule out divine intervention. But if God put us on a hostile world so that we could learn and prove ourselves, he would interfere with his own system if he intervened very often. Protecting the worthy at all times or answering all prayers on demand would upset the balance so that the world would no longer fulfill its divine and design function of trying us. Perhaps God has to ration blessings to keep from ruining the world.

The notion of God treating us with this kind of benign neglect sounds like the deist doctrine of God winding the great watch of the world and leaving it to run by itself—the absentee landlord metaphor is commonly applied. Such a belief, however, does not necessarily require an uncaring God. Those who require their God to protect them from every slip, cast him in the role of a doting, over-protective parent whose children can never really learn what there is to learn.

I remember my own father saying that the function of parents, like the function of teachers, is to work themselves out of a job. Thus a parent's job, like a teacher's—perhaps even God's job—is essentially one of weaning. When I was seventeen, I decided that I wanted to hitchhike to Canada. My father gave me a lecture telling me to be careful about other hitchhikers and warning me about other perils on the road, and then he gave me a ride to the edge of town. The world of 1947 was less violent than the world of today, but I realize now that he knew there were risks to the enterprise. Still he let me go. There were unpredictable things that happened, like getting snowed in at Browning, Montana, where I watched my uncle win $200 playing pinochle and getting a ride with the chief of the Idaho highway patrol. And there was that pretty girl in Lethbridge—it was a marvelous adventure.

My son Steve says cynically that adventure is someone else having a very bad time, a long ways away. But adventure is risk willingly taken. It is what makes life more than an ordeal. As Anaïs Nin says, "Life expands or contracts in proportion to one's courage." Again Mormon theology includes the concept that we can progress eventually to godhood. Adventure is only another name for that struggle for progress. Risk willingly taken is what free agency is all about—to allow us to gain the capability and the initiative to become gods. We cannot become adults, let alone gods, if we expect to be divinely coddled. Somehow we must learn to accept the

consequences of acts that are our choice. Somehow we must learn that we won that war in heaven.

Of course danger itself plays a part in the appeal of some things. A hanggliding friend used to say, "If you're not scared, you're not having fun." There can be quite an adrenalin rush to being scared. Some people find it as addictive as any drug. I was rarely scared flying Cessnas in flight training. They are safe and forgiving. They land and take off at fifty miles an hour, they have a stall warning horn that sounds if you let the airspeed get too low, and they are very stable. Transitioning from a Cessna to my Vari-Eze was like changing from a four-door Dodge to a hot-rod motorcycle. A slight twitch of the wrist on the stick could make the plane jump like a porpoise. And it landed at 90 miles an hour. I can remember many times on the early flights when I would taxi to the threshold of the runway, make my pre-fight checks, and think, "This is the day that I could get killed." Then I would open the throttle.

Later, of course, when I learned its habits, the plane no longer scared me. I delighted in its quick agility and responsiveness. Ninety-degree bank turns became routine. It was a delight to fly, but the danger, or its potential, was part of the fun. When I was no longer scared, flying was still fun, but, I admit, not as much. But there were a few times when I had all the adventure I wanted. Once the engine quit on me west of Eureka, Utah. I looked for a place to make a forced landing. There was a road within gliding distance, but it was up and down, passing through hilly and rocky terrain, with curves, cuts and fills. I managed to stretch the glide to relatively flat ground and put the plane down—on a curve and with a strong crosswind blowing the wrong way for the curve. As I skidded to a stop off the side of the road and was shutting off the fuel and turning off the switches, a woman drove up and said, "Are you all right?" "Yes," I answered weakly. Then she asked, "Is anybody picking you up?"

I cannot talk about the scaring on my final flight, because I do not remember the crash. Some kind of psychic-overload dumping apparently occurred. I confess that I have rather mixed feelings about wanting to remember. Perhaps the mind knows best what is good for it.

The nature of scaring probably deserves some comment.

The physiology and psychology of fear have been much talked about.

Writers of adventure fiction have often used the phrase, "the brassy taste of fear." Popular wisdom says accurately that those who are frightened may freeze, have dry mouths, and lose control of the bladder and bowels. I have experienced the dry mouth, but have never known the supposed brassy taste. I have not experienced loss of control of bladder or bowels either, but I have seen it. I have also seen men frozen by fear and unable to move—even when moving was needed to get out of the fearful situation. More commonly what I have felt is a kind of electric shock in the

chest. It is probably the result of suddenly-released adrenalin—the fight or flight reflex. That effect I have felt many times.

Once, when working at a smelter I was on a crew dumping cinders from a train car. The cinders looked like the clinkers from a coal-burning furnace, and ranged from golf-ball size to basket-ball size and were very ragged and still too hot to hold in your hand.

The crew tripped the dump doors in the bottom of the car, and the foreman sent two of us up on top of the car with crowbars to loosen the load so it would dump. He warned us about getting over the openings. The rest of the crew banged on the sides of the car with sledge hammers to shake the load down.

I heard the other end go, and I heard a scream. The other man had fallen through with the clinkers. I shouted to the crew to stop hammering.

The man was jammed in the bottom door, buried to his neck in clinkers, and with a four-foot bank of them above his head and a thirty-foot deep bin below him. One arm was over his head, his eyes were wide open, and he was screaming in pain and terror. I hooked one leg over the top of the car and grabbed his arm to hold him from falling through, while the rest of the crew dug him out from underneath. He passed out before we got him free. It was a fine team effort directed by a cool foreman. We literally saved his life, but none of us were really endangered in doing it.

We put him in a basket stretcher and carried him to the infirmary. The nurse cut his work clothes off and painted his many cuts, bruises, and minor burns. He'd wet his pants but had no serious injuries. When he came to, he asked for his street clothes, dressed, and went to his car and drove away. We never saw him again.

I have also seen men freeze. When I was nineteen, we were climbing into an Anasazi cliff dwelling in a side canyon off the Colorado River. The rock wall was about a 70-degree angle, and we were using handholds the Anasazi had chiseled into the sandstone hundreds of years before. It took attention, but it wasn't really scary. My buddy Loren Dunn and I were climbing easily, and so was the older man who was with us. Then the man looked down and froze. We talked to him, and he answered fairly rationally, but he could not make his arms and legs move. We had to straddle him and move his limbs one at a time to get him down. He told us after that he had been afraid of heights when he was young and had thought he was over it until he got onto the cliff. He was very embarrassed to have to be helped by a couple of kids.

When I was a boy we did a lot of that climbing, jumping across high places, and swinging on ropes—some of it I realize now was pretty foolish, but it built confidence, and none of us got badly hurt. We liked to think it was because we were skillful, but looking back, I suppose we just beat the odds. With all of the kids I grew up with, challenge was constant. Partly

we did things because we did not want to be seen as sissies, but more than that was a kind of constant testing of the others and self. We didn't know then about envelopes, but we were constantly pushing out the edges.

Years later in Ohio, a friend spun a plane in on take-off. Two of us raced our cars down the runway to the crash site. I remember parking clear of the plane, in case it should catch fire, and running to the side door. The other man broke out the skylight of the plane and unbuckled the pilot's seat belt. I pulled the pilot out. He was difficult to handle—both arms and both legs were broken—but this was no time to wait for the paramedics. Gasoline was streaming out of the tanks onto the hot engine. I remember worrying about the pilot getting burned, but my only worry for myself was that I might ruin my good leather jacket. The shakes hit me later.

It was the challenge that led me to build the plane in the first place. People have said to me often, "I wouldn't dare fly in a plane that I built." My stock answer is: "Do you trust someone else more than you trust yourself?" That stock answer rarely satisfied. Not everyone shared my enthusiasm. Still, the answer was genuinely intended. I'd never worked with the foam and fiberglass the plane was made of, but then I've done a lot of things I was not born knowing how to do. But I can read and learn how to do most anything I have a mind to learn. Glen Turner tells me he looks at a job and thinks, "Some man made that thing—I'm a man, so I should be able to make one too—maybe not as fast or perhaps not as well the first time, but eventually I can." That is a fine approach to life. People can do things—if they are willing to risk.

As I have said, flying was not the first place I had put myself at risk. There were all those barns and trees and cliffs I had climbed. At the smelter, there were scary things like tapping furnaces and rigging steel. I also rode wild horses, and once in New Mexico, I chased antelope on a Harley 74. I did not court danger, but I did not avoid doing things that seemed fun or otherwise interesting if the risks seemed manageable. In retrospect I realize that I had a thousand opportunities to get killed. I was well ahead of the odds.

When I was in the army, my boss for a time was a black from Chicago who had lied about his age and gone into the army at fourteen. When I knew him he had been in combat in Korea and had been on occupation duty in Germany. He was a Sergeant First Class and was nineteen years old. When I found that out I said, "Jimmie, you're just a boy." "Ace," he answered, "'taint the years; it's the miles." Greater wisdom I have not found in Israel.

Yes, I busted myself up, and yes there has been a great deal of pain and disability. And unfortunately I will not be able to do some of the things in my golden years that I had counted on doing, and that is too bad. I'm very sorry I crashed, but I'm not sorry I flew.

Joseph Smith's "Inspired Translation" of Romans 7

Ronald V. Huggins

THIS ESSAY EXAMINES MORMON FOUNDER Joseph Smith's treatment of Romans 7 in the Joseph Smith Translation or "Inspired Version" of the King James Bible (JST). First, Smith's modifications of the chapter are compared to the King James Version (KJV), upon which it is primarily based, and to the Greek manuscript tradition. Second, the early nineteenth-century interpretation of the chapter is outlined as background to understanding Smith's rendition. Finally, Smith's rendition of the chapter is investigated.

JOSEPH SMITH'S MODIFICATIONS, THE KING JAMES VERSION, AND THE GREEK TEXT

Basic sources for the study of the relation between the JST and the KJV for Romans 7 are (1) the Joseph Smith-Oliver Cowdery Bible (SCB) and (2) New Testament Manuscript 2 (NT MS 2) of the JST. The SCB (or "Marked Bible") is a stereotype edition of the KJV printed by H. & E. Phinney in Cooperstown, New York, in 1828. Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery bought it jointly from Palmyra printer and bookseller Egbert B. Grandin on 8 October 1829. The SCB is an 8-by-11-by-2-inch pulpit-style Bible weighing just under five pounds.[1] Into it marks were entered (with varying consistency) indicating where and what sort of changes were to be made. These changes were then entered into separate hand-written manuscripts. The manuscript containing Romans 7 is commonly referred to as NT MS 2. NT MS 2 is made up of four folios and totals 154 pages. Romans 7 is treated on pages 123-25 of folio four.[2]

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1. Robert J. Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible: A History and Commentary* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 56.

2. For a detailed account of the manuscript history of the JST, see ibid., 55-81. The SCB and the various manuscripts of the JST are currently housed in the archives of the

The following is the full text of Romans 7 with all the changes made in the SCB and NT MS 2 noted.

(1) Know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law,) how that the law hath dominion over a man ONLY as long as he liveth? (2) For the woman which hath a husband is bound by the law to >her< husband, ONLY {~~so~~} AS long as he liveth; {~~but~~} FOR if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of >her< husband. (3) So then, if, while >her< husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adultress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adultress, though she be married to another man. (4) Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, {~~even~~} to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. (5) For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were {~~by~~} NOT ACCORDING TO the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. (6) But now we are delivered from the law <wherein we were held>, {~~that~~} being dead <\> TO THE LAW, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not >in< *the* oldness of /~~the~~/ the letter. (7) What shall we say then? >Is< the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. (8) But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law, sin >was< dead. (9) For <once> I was alive without TRANSGRESSION OF the law <\>, but when the commandment OF CHRIST came, sin revived, and I died. (10) and WHEN I BELIEVED NOT the commandment OF CHRIST WHICH CAME, which >was ordained< to life, I found {~~to be~~} IT CONDEMNED ME unto death. (11) For sin, taking occasion, {/~~by~~/} DENYED the commandment, AND deceived me; and by it {~~slew me~~} [I WAS SLAIN. (12) {~~Wherefore~~} NEVERTHELESS I FOUND the law {~~is~~} TO BE holy, and the commandment TO BE holy, and just, and good. (13) Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid; But sin, that it might appear sin </> by that which is good, <working death in me>; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinfulL. (14) For we know that the {~~law~~} COMMANDMENT is spiritual; but WHEN I WAS UNDER THE LAW,] I {~~am~~} [WAS YET carnal, sold under sin. (15) BUT NOW I AM SPIRITUAL For that which [I AM COMMANDED TO DO,] I do; AND THAT WHICH I AM COMMANDED NOT TO ALLOW,] I allow not. (NT MS 2 = vs 16) For what I] KNOW IS NOT RIGHT,] <I (1)> would <not (2)> {~~that~~} do <1\> <2\>; {~~but what~~} FOR THAT WHICH IS SIN,] I hate {~~that do I~~}. (vs 16 = vs 17) If then /~~I~~/ I do NOT that which I would not ALLOW, I consent unto the law, that >it is< good, AND I AM NOT CONDEMNED. (vs 17 = vs 18) Now then, it is no more I that do {~~it~~} SIN; but [I SEEK TO SUBDUE THAT sin {~~that~~} WHICH dwelleth in me. (vs 18 = vs 19) For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present

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with me; but {~~how~~} to perform that which is good I find not, ONLY IN CHRIST. (vs 19 = vss 20-21) For the good the I would HAVE DONE WHEN UNDER THE LAW, I FIND NOT TO BE GOOD; THEREFORE,] I do IT not. (NT MS 2: vs 21) But the evil which I would not DO UNDER THE LAW, I FIND TO BE GOOD; that, I do. (vs 20 = vs 22) Now if I do that, THROUGH THE ASSISTENCE *OF CHRIST*,] I would not DO UNDER THE LAW, /~~I no more~~/ I AM NOT UNDER THE LAW; AND it is no more /~~I~~/ <that> I [SEEK TO <\> do {~~it~~} [W]RONG, but TO SUBDUE sin that dwelleth in me. (vss 21-2 = vs 23) I find then {~~a~~} THAT UNDER THE law, that when I would do good evil {~~is~~} WAS present with me; (SCB: vs 22) for I delight in the law of God after the inward man. (vs 23 = vss 24-/~~25~~/ vs 18) {~~but~~} AND NOW] I see another law, EVEN THE COMMANDMENT OF CHRIST, AND IT IS IMPRINTED IN MY MIND (NT MS 2: vs 18; JST: /~~25~~/) {~~in~~} BUT my members ARE warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me in to captivity /~~unto sin~~/ *to* the law of sin which is in my members. (24 = JST: 26) AND IF I SUBDUE NOT THE SIN WHICH IS IN ME, <but with the flesh /~~is subject to~~/ *SERVE* the law of sin>; O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver *me* from the body of this death? (25 = JST: 27) I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord, <then>, THAT /[~~wit~~] (?)/ so <\> with the mind, I, myself serve the law of God <vs 23\>.

Sigla:

1. Additions to the SCB are in capital letters (where confusion might arise due to the close proximity of "I," this is marked by [or]).
2. Deletions from the SCB: {—}
3. Italicized words in the SCB which were *not* marked for removal: > <
4. Transpositions from SCB order: < > with </> or <\> in the place from which it was removed. The direction of the slash marks indicate whether the word(s) has been moved forward or backward in the text.
5. Words crossed out in NT MS 2: /—/
6. Words written between the lines in NT MS 2 are underlined.

Joseph Smith's adaptation of the SCB for Romans 7 is conservative with regard to deletions. In contrast to the 168 words introduced by Smith (thirty-seven in 7:14-15 alone), only twenty-seven words were deleted from the entire chapter. Of these, ten are due to minor clarifications or stylistic changes[3]; five are due to changes in verb tense or mood[4]; and four are due

3. SCB: but //JST: for (v. 2); *so* long as//*only as* long as (v. 2); wherefore//nevertheless (v. 12); law//commandment (v. 14) (but see n32); but what//for that which (v. 15); it//sin (v. 17 = 18); that//which (v. 17 = 18); it//wrong (v. 20 = 22); but//and now (v. 23 = 24).

4. Slew *me*//I was slain (v. 11); the law *is* holy//the law *to be* holy (v. 12); I *am*

to the removal of italicized words.[5] This leaves only nine deletions unaccounted for, all of which Smith probably considered unimportant: "by" twice (vv. 5 and 11); "that" three times (vv. 6, 15 = 16[2]); "do" (v. 15 = 16); "I" (v. 15 = 16); "a" (v. 21 = 23); and "in" (v. 23 = 25). Considerable pains then were taken to retain as many original SCB words as possible. Seven transpositions, however, do occur (vv. 6, 9, 13, 15 = 16, 20 = 22, 24 = 26, and 25 = 27), but these are handled in such a way as to keep as many original SCB words as possible. Indeed, the very act of transposing suggests restoration of words and phrases from incorrect secondary locations to correct original ones.

That Joseph Smith felt the KJV contained many errors and corruptions is well known.[6] The kinds of modifications he made in Romans 7 lead us further to conclude that he understood such corruptions to consist primarily of things removed or left out.[7] This observation confirms certain of

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carnal//I *was yet* carnal (v. 14); evil *is* with me//evil *was* with me (v. 21 = 23).

5. Even (v. 4); to be (v. 10); how (v. 18 = 19). The only point where modern editions of the JST differ in Romans 7 from the changes indicated by Smith is in the retention of the "even" at Romans 7:4.

6. Belief in the Bible's corruption was common in early nineteenth-century America. In 1804, for example, Thomas Jefferson, then president of the United States, spent a few evenings clipping and pasting two KJVs with a view toward "Abstracting what is really his [Jesus'] from the rubbish in which it is buried, easily distinguished by it's luster from the dross of his biographers, and as separable from that as a diamond from the dung hill" (Dickenson W. Adams, ed., *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels: "The Philosophy of Jesus" and "The Life And Morals of Jesus,"* in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 2d. Series [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983], 388). Similarly, Thomas Paine, in his *Age of Reason* (1794; P. S. Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, 2 vols. [New York: Citadel, 1969], 472-73), remarked: "It is a matter altogether of uncertainty to us whether such of the writings as now appear under the name of the Old and New Testaments are in the same state in which those collectors say they found them, or whether they added, altered, abridged or dressed them up." Lucy Mack Smith reported that in 1803 Asael Smith, grandfather of Mormonism's founder, heard that his son (Joseph Smith, Sr.) was interested in Methodism and so, "came to the door one day and threw Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* into the house and angrily bade him read that until he believed it" (Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* 4th ed. [Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1982], 373; Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971], 207).

7. This confirms for a specific passage the general contention of Kevin L. Barney ("The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 [Fall 1986]: 87) that "the JST is almost entirely comprised of additions to the KJV" (see also Robert J. Matthews, "Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST)," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols., ed. Daniel H. Ludlow [New York: Macmillan, 1992], 2:764). Barney's otherwise excellent study is flawed in its assumption that it "was not a common practice to compare textual variants until the middle and late nineteenth century" (87). This, as will become plain, is incorrect. Thus, for example, in the first passage Barney discusses (Matt. 5:22) he has some trouble explaining why the JST agrees

Smith's own statements from around the same time. In Joseph Smith's *History of the Church,* prefacing a "revelation" dated 16 February 1832 (now D&C 76; 1835 ed., XCI), Smith reports: "Upon my return from the Amherst conference, I resumed the translation of the Scriptures. From sundry revelations which had been received, it was apparent that many important points touching the salvation of man *had been taken from* the Bible, or lost before it was compiled" (italics added).

This remark provides insight into Smith's approach to the Bible within at most only a few months of his "translation" of Romans 7.[8] A similar statement occurs in a "revelation" dated June 1830 in which God tells Moses of a time when: "[T]he children of men shall esteem my words as nought, and *take many of them from the book* which thou shall write, behold, I will raise up another like unto thee [i.e., Joseph Smith], and they shall be had again among the children of men . . ." (italics added; HC 1:245-52; Pearl of Great Price, Moses 1:41 [1851 ed., 10]).[9] The conservatism in handling the SCB for Romans 7, then, in light of these statements, suggests that Joseph Smith *did* intend to restore the ancient text of the New Testament. He apparently felt this could be best accomplished by rearranging the words of the SCB, leaving out as little as possible, and then adding whatever seemed to be lacking.[10]

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together with ancient manuscripts against the KJV in deleting "without a cause." Barney would have been able to make his case more pointedly for this passage had he been aware that such variants were known and discussed in Smith's day—and not only among scholars. So the popular *Clarke's Commentary* (Adam Clarke, *New Testament . . . With Commentary . . . A New Edition with the Author's Final Corrections* [New York: Carlton & Porter, n.d. (1832), 1:712]), for example, which Smith appears to have known (see n19), remarks: "*[W]ithout a cause,* is wanting in the famous *Vatican* MS. and two others, the *Ethiopic,* latter *Arabic, Saxon, Vulgate,* two copies of the old *Itala, J. Martyr, Ptolemeus, Origen, Tertullian,* and by all the ancient copies quoted by *St. Jerome.* It was probably a marginal gloss originally, which in the process of time crept into the text."

8. On 16 February 1832, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were modifying John 5:29 (D&C 76; 1835 ed., XCI). They continued their work until 20 March and picked up again in June to carry on throughout the summer and winter. On 2 February 1833 the project was declared complete. H. Michael Marquardt has suggested that Romans 7 may have been modified "during February or early March 1832" (letter to the writer, 4 Sept. 1991), but it may have been slightly later in the year.

9. Similary, in the Book of Mormon an angel tells Nephi in a *vaticinium ex eventu* of a time when the Bible will fall into the hands of a "great and abominable church" and, as a result, there will be, "many plain and precious things taken away" from it (1 Ne. 13:28). For a recent discussion of the types of changes made by Smith, see Philip L. Barlow, "Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible: Fraudulent, Pathologic, or Prophetic?" *Harvard Theological Review* 83 (1990): 54-60.

10. That Smith depends in his modifications on the English rather that the Greek Bible is especially clear in cases where they make sense in English but are impossible in Greek. For example, Romans 1:11, in which the KJV has Paul wanting to see the Romans

However, we shall seek to demonstrate here, in agreement with several earlier studies,[11] that JST Romans 7 does not represent a restoration of the original text. If the JST is not a restoration, what is it? If what we have said is true—that Joseph Smith claimed to restore the text to its original form but did not actually do so—the issue of the validity of the JST as a revelation comes to the fore. Broadly speaking, Mormon scholars have responded to this in two ways. Some have attempted to undermine the validity of modern critical editions of the Greek New Testament by asserting that the earliest extant Greek manuscripts already represent a widely corrupted text. These writers seek to place the JST earlier still and thus for all practical purposes beyond contradiction.[12] However the abundance of early evidence makes such a position difficult to maintain. Others have sought instead to cast doubt on Smith's restorational intent.[13] Though this position is more plausible in that it deals realistically with the textual data, it still suffers from a seeming readiness to assume that if the JST is not a restoration, Smith never intended it as one. But this does not necessarily follow. Perhaps Smith honestly believed he was restoring the ancient text but failed in reality to do so. Or, worse, perhaps he was consciously involved in imposture. If Smith did not intend a restoration, why is it that "many of the early Mormon people were conditioned to think of the revision [of the Bible] as a restoration of original, lost texts," and why did Smith himself say in his journal for 15 October 1843: "I believe in the Bible, as it ought to be, as it came from the pen of the original writers"?[14] Or why a decade

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so as to "impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established," Smith changes to read: "impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established,¿ Smith changes it to read: "impart unto you some spiritual gift </> THAT {ye} IT may be established IN YOU <to the end>." By repositioning "to the end," Smith changes the meaning by moving but not altering the words. In the KJV the phrase "to the end" serves as a simple purpose clause: "to the end that" = *in order that*. The underlying Greek likewise is a purpose clause composed of *hina* + subjunctive. If this phrase were moved to the end of the sentence in Greek, it would not yield the meaning Smith wants. In order to arrive at that, something like *eos telous* (1 Cor. 1:8), *eis telos* (Matt. 10:22, 24:13; Mark 13:13), or *achri telous* (Heb. 6:11; Rev. 2:26) would be required.

11. For example, Richard P. Howard, "Some Observations on Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Revision of Romans 3:21-8:31," privately circulated, 1975; Barney; and Stan Larson, "The Sermon on the Mount: What Its Textual Transformation Discloses Concerning the Historicity of the Book of Mormon," *Trinity Journal* 7 (1986): 39.

12. See R. J. Matthews in Monte S. Nyman and Robert Millet, eds., *The Joseph Smith Translation* (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 286.

13. See Barlow, 57; also Barney, 85-86; Howard, 4-5; and Dale E. Luffman, "The Roman Letter: An Occasion to Reflect on 'Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible,'" in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies III* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1986), 198-99.

14. Howard, 4; Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith

earlier did he allow statements like the following to appear in *The Evening and the Morning Star* (July 1833):

> As to the errors in the bible, any man possessed of common understanding, knows, that both the old and new testaments are filled with errors, obscurities, italics and contradictions, which must be the work of men. As the church of Christ will soon have the scriptures, in their *original purity* it may not be amiss for us to show a few of the gross errors, or, as they might be termed, contradictions [italics added].

And later:

> With the old copy full of errors; with Dickinson's and Webster's polite translation, with Campbell's improved, and many more from different persuasions, how will a person of common understanding know which is right without the gift of the Holy Spirit? . . . *the bible . . . must be PURIFIED*! . . . O what a blessing, that the Lord will bestow the gift of the Holy Spirit, upon the meek and humble, whereby they can know of a surety, *his words from the words of men!* [italics added]

Or again why did he say, as already noted, that "I resumed the translation of the Scriptures . . . it was apparent that many important points touching the salvation of man had been taken from the Bible or lost before it was compiled"? And finally why does the very manner in which Smith treats the text of JST Romans 7 imply (in agreement with his statements on the matter) that he considered the language of the KJV to be essentially authentic except where (1) transpositions have occurred or (2) something has been left out? In view of these facts it seems clear that Philip Barlow's claim that "Joseph Smith himself never explained exactly how he understood his revision of the Bible" is misleading.[15] Rather the message communicated to early Mormons, whether by Smith himself or other representatives of the church, was that the JST *was* to be a restoration of the scriptures to their original purity. The actual manner in which Smith modified the text of the SCB indicates that he was attempting to carry out in practice what he had elsewhere indicated was necessary due to textual corruption. But the principles he used, starting with an English text, proceeding with a mix of common-sense corrections and harmonizations plus sporadic revelations and his own doctrinal expansions—without knowledge of the original languages and without an adequate grasp or even an interest in textual criticism—were simply not adequate to accomplish his restorational task.

Research Associates), 1989.

15. Barlow, 57.

Does the evidence of JST Romans 7 suggest that Smith either through "revelation" or the employment of available resources bring readers closer to the original Greek text for the chapter? From a historical point of view, a comparison between the JST and current critical editions of the Greek New Testament is out of order because Smith could not have had access to them. The appropriate procedure is to compare the JST with the Greek New Testament as it was known in his day. Still the view of some recent writers—that the JST represents, in some sense, a supernatural restoration of the original Greek text—lifts the question to another level. Smith would not need to have access to more modern editions since he would have already moved beyond them. His modifications, if fact, should be increasingly confirmed as textual criticism brings us closer to the original New Testament text. The fact that this restorationist view exists makes at least a brief comparison of the JST with the most current edition of the Greek New Testament relevant.

As represented in the *Nestle-Aland*[26], the following activity is recorded for the Greek manuscript tradition for Romans 7: At four points insertions have been made; at four more, deletions occur; and at eleven, variant readings occur. In each of these cases Smith follows the SCB whether it reflects the best and earliest manuscript evidence or not. In addition, not one of the 168 words Smith introduces, nor any of the seven transpositions of words and phrases, has any manuscript support. The situation is the same when comparing JST Romans 7 with the New Testament Greek text as understood in Smith's day.

Comment should be made in two cases having to do not with the Greek manuscript tradition but with the conjectural emendation of it. In Romans 7:6 an erroneous reading, without support from any Greek manuscript, found its way into the so-called Textus Receptus,[16] where it passed into the KJV: "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead *[apothanontos]* wherein we were held . . ." This, by way of a deletion, a transposition, and an insertion, Smith changed to "But now we are delivered from the law <wherein we were held>, {~~that~~} being dead <\> TO THE LAW . . ." The genitive *apothanontos* is linked to *tou nomou* (the law) in the text underlying the KJV, but in the JST it now refers to the subject of the sentence (i.e., "we"): "we are delivered . . . *being dead* to the law." In this Smith agrees with the Greek manuscripts, most of which have the nominative participle *apothanontes*.[17] Yet he need not have depended on revelation for this correction since it had already been made in a number of English sources familiar to his circles. Through his Methodist connection, Smith might have

16. B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, cor. ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), 514.

17. A few manuscripts read *tou thanatou* (e.g., D, F, G).

come into contact with it either in Wesley's *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*(1754)[18] or with *Clarke's Commentary* (1825)[19]; or, through the Campbellite connection of Sidney Rigdon (who served as scribe for JST Romans 7) and several other early Mormons, in Alexander Campbell's edition of the Bible.[20] But Smith may have simply changed the passage independently because the idea of the law dying seemed unacceptable to him, either doctrinally or because of its conceptual peculiarity.

A second and similar instance is the relocating in the JST of the latter

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18. Wesley's *Explanatory Notes,* a work of premier authority among American Methodists, rendered the passage: "But now we are freed from the law, being dead unto that whereby we were held."

Joseph Smith's early interest in Methodism is well known from his account of the 1824 Lane and Stockton Revival at Palmyra (Smith's incorrect date is 1820): "My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith" but "my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to become united with them" (JS-H 1:7, Pearl of Great Price; 1851 ed., 37; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989). Smith goes on to say in the same context however that he was kept from joining the Methodists or any other sect by a vision: "I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong, and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt . . ." (JS-H 1:19, Pearl of Great Price; 1851 ed., 38). Nevertheless, according to Emma Smith's cousins Joseph and Heil Lewis, Smith later took steps to become a member of the Methodist church in 1828 at Harmony, Pennsylvania (*Amboy Journal,* 30 Apr., 21 May, 11 June, 2 July, 1879; cf. L. K. Newell and V. T. Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984], 25, 314n2).

19. Clarke includes a marginal reading that had been present in the KJV from 1611: "Or, *being dead to that*" (2:79). The SCB did not include this marginal reading. Perhaps Smith had another KJV that did. In any case, regarding Smith's knowledge of *Clarke's Commentary,* H. Michael Marquardt provided the following reference to remarks by Smith's wife's uncle, Rev. Nathaniel C. Lewis, as reported in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1843): 113: "[W]hen the story came out about the 'gold plates,' and the 'great spectacles,' he (Lewis) asked Joe if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles? On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed to Joe to let him make the experiment upon some of the strange languages he found in Clarke's Commentary, and stated to him if it was even so, and the experiment proved successful, he would then believe the story about the gold plates. But at this proposition Joe was much offended, and never undertook to convert 'uncle Lewis' afterward."

20. Alexander Campbell, *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled the New Testament: Translated from the Original Greek, by George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, Doctors of the Church of Scotland* (Buffaloe, VA: Printed and Published by Alexander Campbell, 1826, 1828). Late in 1832 Campbell, in response to six years of public reaction, issued a third revised and enlarged edition. In this he reflects even more clearly the correct reading *apothanontes:* "But now having died *with Christ,* we are released from the law." This edition was issued later in the same year that Smith "translated" Romans 7 (the copyright was entered on 6 August 1832 and Campbell's preface carries the date 10 October 1832).

half of verse 25b to a position between verses 23 and 24 (after some words added by Smith):

> (v. 24 = JST v. 26) AND IF I SUBDUE NOT THE SIN WHICH IS IN ME, <but with the flesh /~~is subject to~~/ SERVE the law of sin>; O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? (v. 25 = JST v. 27) I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord, <then>, THAT /~~wit~~ [?]/ so <\> with the mind, I, myself serve the law of God <v. 23\>.

Here again there is no evidence for this in the Greek manuscripts themselves. A similar suggestion, however, had been made by eighteenth-century Dutch scholar Herman Venema.[21] Venema, however, favored moving the whole of verse 25b rather than only half of it, as Smith did.[22] In suggesting this modification, both men were responding to a difficulty in the text that continues to trouble interpreters: how is it that we find sandwiched between the two upbeat remarks of verses 7:25a and 8:1 the decidedly downbeat restatement of verse 7:25b? In the present century a number of scholars have dealt with this problem either by considering verse 25b a secondary gloss[23] or by rearranging the passage in which it stands (usually 7:23, 25b, 24, 25a, 8:2, 1, 3).[24]

Smith was probably unaware of Venema's position, since it does not seem to have been widely known in America at the time. That is not to say, however, that no one struggled with the apparent difficulty Venema was trying to correct. Campbell's Bible, for example, which incorporated James MacKnight's translation of the epistles, dealt with this by casting verse 25b as a question, a "diatribal false conclusion," such as occurs throughout the Romans letter (for example, 3:1, 6:1, 7:7, 13; 9:14). First, the phrase is transformed into a question, and then a standard Pauline form of emphatic denial *me genoito!* (by no means) is added[25]: "Do I

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21. C. E. B. Cranfield, *Commentary in the Epistle of Romans (International Critical Commentary)*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 1:368.

22. Venema's suggestion is better since, in moving all of verse 25b, rather than only the latter half, as Smith did, he retains Paul's "in the mind"/"in the flesh" contrast.

23. Rudolf Bultmann, "Glossen im Römerbrief," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 72 (1972): col. 198; Franz J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle of Romans: A Commentary*, trans. H. Knight (London: Lutterworth, 1961), 195 and 200; John Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: SMC / London, Philadelphia: Trinity, 1989), 199.

24. Matthew Black, *Romans (New Century Commentary)*, 2d. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 102; James Moffatt, *The New Testament: A New Translation* (New York: Hodder & Stoughton/George H. Doran [1913]), 194: C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (Moffatt New Testament Commentary)* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), 114-15; J. Müller, "Zwei Marginalien im Brief des Paulus an die Römer," *Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1941): 249-54.

25. In the diatribe "a speaker or writer makes use of an imaginary interlocutor to

myself then as a slave serve with my mind the law of God but with the flesh the law of sin? [By no means.]" Campbell includes a note setting forth MacKnight's reasoning[26]:

> Translated in this manner, interrogatively, the passage contains a strong denial, that the person spoken of, after being delivered from the body of this death, any longer serves, as formerly, with the mind only, the law of God, and with the flesh the law of sin in his members, whereas, translated as in our English Bible [KJV] . . . it represents the delivered person as still continuing in that very slavery to sin . . .

As it stands, according to MacKnight, the KJV rendering of verse 25 is "utterly wrong, and even dangerous." Yet in the 1832 revised edition Campbell dropped this reading in favor of one much closer to the KJV: "Wherefore, then, indeed, I myself serve, with my mind, the law of God; but with the flesh, the law of sin."

That Smith was not interested in correcting the SCB in light of the best available manuscript evidence of his day is demonstrated on a larger scale at those points where the JST adopts readings from the SCB which were even then widely recognized as inferior. This becomes immediately apparent, for example, in reference to the most familiar disputed texts: the longer ending of Mark 16:9-20,[27] the woman taken in adultery (John 8:1-11),[28] the replacement of "tree" with "book" (Rev 22:19),[29] and—by far the most

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ask questions of or raise objections to the arguments or affirmations that are made. These responses are frequently stupid and are then summarily rejected by the speaker or writer . . ." (Abraham J. Malherbe, "*Me Genoito* in the Diatribe and Paul," *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989], 23-25, esp. 25). The standard older work on Paul's use of the diatribe is by Rudolf Bultmann (*Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe. FRLANT 13* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910]); more recently, see Stanley Stowers (*The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans. SBLDS 57* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981]).

26. Campbell, appen. xxv; 1828, 425.

27. See, for example, Clarke, 1:343. The language of the passage is echoed further in D&C 24:13 (1835 ed., IX:6 = Book of Commandments 25:23) where it is put into the mouth of God.

28. Clarke, 1:576.

29. This error developed only in the Latin manuscript tradition from an apparent confusion between the original Latin *ligno* and *libro* in some Vulgate manuscripts. This occurred because of (1) a similarity in appearance or sound of the two words, (2) a conscious assimilation to Revelation 3:5, 13:8, and 20:15, or (3) an accidental assimilation to the word libro which occurs three other times in the immediate context. Erasmus, lacking a complete Greek manuscript of the Apocalypse when hastily preparing his edition of the Greek New Testament, made do by translating Revelation 22:16-19 from the Latin Vulgate into Greek. This situation was noted, for example, in two review articles in the *North American Review*, a journal which Mormon historian D. Michael Quinn says

debated biblical verse in Smith's day—1 John 5:7, the so-called *comma Johanneum*.[30] All of these were known to Smith's contemporaries.

This is *not* to say Smith did not intend to restore the Bible to its original condition, which I believe he did, only that in doing so he did not pay attention to the work of scholars. Perhaps their efforts were beyond him. The nearest we come to seeing this in JST Romans 7 is in verses 18b = 19b, where the JST takes over from the SCB a reading based on the inferior *oux eurisko*. The best manuscripts have simply *ou* here, which makes for an abrupt termination.[31]

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was "frequently advertised for sale in the Palmyra area" (*Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987], 174). The first, by James Diman Green, appeared in October 1822 (see 465-66), and the second, by John Gordon Palfry, in July 1830 (see 267). The location of Erasmus's Apocalypse manuscript was not at that time known, but has since been rediscovered. Still, as Green remarked, Erasmus had acknowledged Revelation 22:19 "to have been made in this manner; though it is evident that the whole of the *six* last verses had no better origin . . ."

30. The controversy over this classic trinitarian text raged throughout Smith's lifetime, largely in connection with the Unitarian controversy. Joseph Steven Buckminster, popular Unitarian preacher and Boston minister, remarked that among the small number of "wilful interpolations" into the Greek text, "1 John, V. 7, is by far the most notorious, and most universally acknowledged and reprobated" (Joseph Stevens Buckminster, "Abstract of Interesting Facts Relating to the New Testament," *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Dec. 1808, 639). It would be impossible to offer anything like a comprehensive list of relevant contemporary literature. Closest to home, Smith's copy of Thomas Hartwell Horne's *Introduction* (currently in possession of the RLDS church) devoted no less than thirty-one pages to the issue (Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 4 vols. 4th ed. [Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1825], 4:435-66). (On the fly-leaf of the first volume Joseph Smith's name is written in pencil along with "Kirtland, Ohio, 1834.") *Clarke's Commentary* also included "Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses" at the end of its treatment of 1 John. Alexander Campbell (*The Christian Baptist* 5 [1827]: 363-64) spoke forcefully against the authenticity of the passage, preferring instead to "literally translate the Greek text of Griesbach, which reading is moreover approved and confirmed by Michaelis, and other great critics and collators of ancient MSS." At the time Campbell wrote, John David Michaelis's *Einleitung in die gottlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes* (1750) was widely available in America in Herbert Marsh's English translation of the 1788 fourth edition (1802), which included an extensive "Dissertation on 1 John V. 7" John Michael Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 4 vols., 2d. ed., trans. Herbert Marsh (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1802 [orig. Eng. ed. 1793], 4:412-41); see also William H. Hunt, "Authenticity of 1 Jn 5:7, 8," *Literary and Theological Review* 2 (1835): 141-48. The 1840 edition of Horne's *Introduction*, finally, includes a forty-eight-entry annotated bibliography of "Treatises on the Genuineness of the Disputed Clauses in 1 John v. 7, 8."

31. Metzger, 514. The UBS committee gave the reading only a C rating. Yet *ou* is not only supported by the earliest and best manuscripts (for example, , A, B, C) and had made its way into all forms of the Coptic version, but it is also supported by the principle *lectio difficilior lectio potior* (the more difficult reading is to be preferred). In other words in this instance it is easier to imagine someone transforming a sentence in order to correct awkward style than to envision someone changing perfectly good style and making it

At a relatively early stage in the history of the manuscript tradition *oux eurisko* was introduced as a stylistic improvement. The shorter and more difficult reading had been adopted by Mill, Griesbach, and Lachmann. Still it is not at all certain that this textual decision had trickled down to the circles in which Smith lived and moved. Campbell's Bible, for example, while resorting to Griesbach on several occasions, still prefers *oux eurisko:* "Indeed to incline lies near me; but to work out what is excellent, *I do not find* near me" (italics mine). Even Charles Hodge, while noting the variant, insisted in 1835 that the "common text is retained by most editors on the authority of the great majority of MSS. versions and fathers."[32]

Romans 7 in Early Nineteenth-Century America

Interpretation of Romans 7 in the first decades of the nineteenth century was closely linked to the lively debated issue of the extent of human depravity and the nature and existence of original sin. The Old-Calvinist interpretation—which would have been the time-honored one in America,[33] and at this time was most ardently defended at Princeton Seminary—read the chapter in a way consistent with the reformed doctrine of total depravity, as set out in the classical reformed statements such as the Westminster Confession (VI, 2, 4); the Canons of Dort (III-IV, Art. 4, 6; and "Rejection of Errors," Par. 4); the Belgic Confession (Art. XIV); and the Heidelberg Catechism (Lord's Day III). The corruption of the unregenerate is so complete that it is not possible to describe them with phrases like "I delight in the law of God after the inner man" (Rom 7:22) or "I consent to

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awkward for no apparent reason.

32. Charles Hodge, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans Designed for Students of the English Bible* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1835), 290.

33. See, for example, the poem of Anne Bradstreet (d. 1672) about the two sisters Flesh and Spirit ("The Flesh and the Spirit," in Harrison T. Meserole, ed., *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1968], 20-22), and Jonathan Edwards's *Original Sin* (*Original Sin [The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin defended; Evidences of its Truth Produced . . . Containing, in Particular, a Reply to the Objections and Arguings of Dr. John Taylor . . .]*, ed. Clyde A. Holbrook [New Haven, CT: Yale University 1970 (1758)], 304-305). David Brainerd's diary frequently contains the missionary's despairing cry of wretchedness, patterned after Romans 7:24 "O Wretched man . . ." (Jonathan Edwards, *The Life of David Brainerd* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985 (Orig. 1749)], 100, 108, 109, 123, 181, cf. 186). In the early part of the nineteenth century, Unitarian William E. Channing described the Calvinist view as follows in his "The Moral Argument Against Calvinism": "Calvinism teaches that, in consequence of Adam's sin in eating the forbidden fruit, God brings into life all his posterity with a nature wholly corrupt, so that they are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually" (*The Works of William E. Channing, D.D.* [Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1890], 461).

God's law" (Rom 7:16). Therefore the struggle described in 7:14-25, by a simple process of elimination, *has to* reflect Christian experience. Once this is admitted, it further follows that, even after regeneration, indwelling sin remains a real and constant problem in the Christian life. Thus, Princeton's Charles Hodge who without doubt would have been the most representative defender of the Old-Calvinist view, remarks in his 1835 commentary[34]:

> Paul merely asserts that the believer is, and ever remains in this life, imperfectly sanctified; that sin continues to dwell within him; that he never comes up to the full requisitions of the law, however anxiously he may desire it. Often as he subdues one spiritual foe, another rises in a different form; so that he cannot do the things that he would; that is, cannot be perfectly conformed in heart and life to the image of God.[35]

So intense was this tension for Paul as he wrote Romans 7 that, as

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34. This same year also brought forth a commentary on Romans by the controversial New-School Presbyterian, Albert Barnes. It was felt by many within the Presbyterian fold that Barnes had departed in serious ways from the Westminster Confession in a number of key doctrinal areas, including original sin. Charles Hodge reviewed this commentary in his *Biblical Repertory* (7 [1835]: 285-340). And, while much was said that was critical, still Hodge was "happy to report that the view of the latter part of the seventh chapter is in accordance with the *ordinary interpretation* of Calvinistic interpreters" (318); i.e., it was understood to refer to an exclusively Christian experience. This same understanding was retained by Barnes in subsequent editions (e.g., Albert Barnes, *Notes Explanitory and Practical on the Epistle to the Romans: Designed for Bible Classes and Sunday Schools*, 9th ed. [New York: Harper, 1869], 153-4).

Charles Hodge also treats Romans 7 elsewhere (e.g., *The Way of Life* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1977 (orig. 1841)], 58, 110-15; *Conference Papers* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879], 93-4; *Systematic Theology* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1872], III, 247). The same understanding of Romans 7 is also seen, for example, in the works of the great Southern Presbyterian theologian Robert L. Dabney (*Lectures in Systematic Theology* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1972 (orig., 1878)], I, 193; 1972, 675).

Finally, Charles G. Finney later in the century wrote: "One opinion that has extensively prevailed, and still prevails, is that the latter part of the chapter is an epitome of Christian experience . . . The only other interpretation given is that which prevailed in the first centuries, and which is still generally adopted on the continent of Europe, as well as by a considerable number of writers in England and in America, that this passage describes the experience of a sinner under conviction, who was acting under the motives of the law, and not yet brought to the experience of the gospel. In this country, the most prevalent opinion is that of the seventh chapter of Romans delineates the experience of a Christian" (Finney, "Legal Experience," in Louis Parkhurst, Jr., *Principles of Victory* [Minneapolis: Bethany, 1981], 87-108 [originally *Lectures to Professing Christians* (1880), 320-38]).

35. Hodge, *Romans*, 299.

Matthew Henry's popular commentary said, it was "as if he had a dead body tied to him, which he must have carried about with him."[36]

This dark vision of human nature, however, did not strike a sympathetic cord with the self-confident temper of the newly formed nation, in which even the religious outlook was, to use Nathan Hatch's apt term, quickly becoming "democratized."[37] On most fronts the general attitude was one of self-reliance and confidence, even over confidence, in human potential.[38] In addition, the Old Calvinism had begun for many to take on, if not the sinister appearance of a tyrannical clerical elite, at least the near ridiculous appearance of high-flying irrelevance. Nowhere is this more symbolically portrayed, and perhaps with more historical significance, than in Charles Finney's refusal to study at Princeton on the ground "that I would not put myself under such an influence as they had been under. I was confident that they had been wrongly educated and were not ministers that met my ideal of what a minister of Christ should be."[39] It was in some part due to this shift in temper that the second dominant view, the Methodist-Revivalist interpretation, would increase in importance as the century progressed.

The famous 24 May 1738 entry in Wesley's *Journal*, where he tells how his heart was "strangely warmed" while listening to Luther's *Preface to the Epistle of the Romans* at Aldersgate Street, already contains the understanding of Romans 7 which was to become standard in Methodism. All his prior religious experience is described there in terms of Romans 7:14-25:

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36. Matthew Henry, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible . . . with Practical Remarks and Observations*, 6 vols. (London: Ward, Lock, Boden, n.d. [Orig. ed. 1707-12]), 6:960. Henry's commentary was being published in America by 1816, first at Philadelphia. Concerning the authorship of the Romans section of the final volume of Matthew Henry, an anonymous article in Nathaniel Taylor's *Quarterly Christian Spectator* (2 [1830]: 283) remarked: "Dr. Watts, in his copy of the Exposition, upon a blank leaf at the beginning of the last volume, wrote the following statement:—

"The Rev. Mr. Matthew Henry, before his death had made some small preperations for the last volume. The Epistle of Romans indeed, was explained so largely by his own hand, that it needed only the labor of epitomizing . . ." This epitomizing was done by Mr. John Evans.

37. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

38. As exemplified in Ralph Waldo Emerson's famous 1841 essay, "Self-Reliance" (Robert E. Spiller et al., eds. *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* [Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971-87], 2:27-51), and his mentor, William Ellery Channing's 1838 "Self-Culture" (Channing, 12-36), and his *The Perfect Life*, a series of twelve discourses put together by Channing's nephew after his death (ibid., 925-1020).

39. Charles G. Finney, *The Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney: Written by Himself* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1876), 45-46.

> 9. All the time I was at Savannah I was thus beating the air. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ . . . I sought to establish my own righteousness, and so labored in the fire all my days. I was now properly *under the law.* I knew that *the* law of God was *spiritual; I consented to it that it was good.* Yea, *I delighted in it after the inner man.* Yet was I *carnal, sold under sin.* Every day was I constrained to cry out, *What I do, I allow not: for what I would, I do not; but what I hate, that I do* . . . I find . . . the law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and still bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.
>
> 10. In this state I was indeed fighting continually, but not conquering. Before I had willingly served sin; now it was unwillingly, but I still served it.

The "I" of Romans 7:14-25, then, is not a Christian but one who is yet "under law," for whom the religious life is one of almost continual frustration. By applying the passage to himself, Wesley reveals his belief that it does not describe an experience unique to Jews—such a view had been championed by the English Unitarian John Taylor—but rather, as he says in another place, to "the state of all those, Jews and Gentiles, who *saw* and *felt* the wickedness both of their hearts and lives, and groaned to be delivered from it."[40] Essentially the same view is given later in Wesley's *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* (1754). Except there, perhaps only because the explanation is more pointed, Wesley gives the whole chapter from verses 7-25 a developmental pitch. For verse 7 he comments: "The character here assumed is that of a man, first ignorant of the law, then under it and sincerely, but ineffectually, striving to serve God". By verse 24 the "struggle is now come to the height; and the man, finding there is no help in himself, begins almost unawares to pray, *Who shall deliver me?*" At the very end of the chapter, he "is now utterly weary of his bondage, and upon the brink of liberty." The liberty itself only comes in 8:1. In reading the chapter as a dramatic narrative Wesley reveals his close dependence on the Pietist Johann Albrecht Bengel's *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* (1742).[41]

Of equal importance for our period is Adam Clarke's *Commentary,* which presents the same view in greater depth. *Clarke's Commentary,* not to mention Clarke himself, was immensely popular in America. And this in spite of its disproportionate size (six large volumes for both Testaments). As we have already related, Emma Smith's uncle Lewis seems to have

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40. John Wesley, *The Doctrine of Original Sin, According to Scripture, Reason, and Experience: In Answer to Dr. Taylor* (New-York: J. Soule and T. Mason, 1817 [orig. 1756]), 145-46.

41. In the "Preface," Wesley declares that "Many of his [Bengel's] excellent notes I have therefore translated; many more I have abridged . . ." In his notes on Romans 7, Wesley follows Bengel closely, often almost word for word.

owned a set. Clarke's position on Romans 7 was essentially that of Wesley's, though set forward with greater erudition. (Even the great German F. A. G. Tholuck thought fit to familiarize himself with Clarke's remarks on the chapter, and he quotes from them in his own 1824 commentary on Romans).[42] Also Clarke does not bring in from Wesley and Bengel the desire to read the chapter as a dramatic narrative. Rather he grounds the argument in the contrasting affirmations of verses 5 and 6, which are then understood as expanded upon in 7:7-25 and 8:1-11 respectively.[43]

This view gained a new impetus beyond the boundaries of Methodism in the influential Moses Stuart, professor at Andover from 1812. The importance of Moses Stuart to early nineteenth-century American Christianity is hard to overestimate. He is viewed as one of the key figures in the resurgence of critical biblical scholarship in America and a great defender of the Orthodox cause against Unitarianism. As a student of Yale's Timothy Dwight, Stuart was closely tied to the "moderate Calvinism" of New Divinity circles, and was thus able to provide a way for those circles to entertain an understanding of Romans 7 that previously might have been viewed with suspicion because of its connection with Methodism and Unitarianism.[44]

When tracing lines of dependence, therefore, for the interpretation of Romans 7 as held by the later perfectionists of Oberlin College and by John Humphrey Noyes and his Oneida Community, we are lead first back to Stuart rather than Methodism. In 1831 Noyes learned this position under Stuart himself at Andover[45] as did Oberlin's future president, Asa Mahan,

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42. Friedrich August Tholuck, *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: With Extracts from the Exegetical Works of the Fathers and Reformers,* trans. Robert Menzies (Philadelphia: Sorin and Ball, 1844), 210-11. Princeton's Charles Hodge chalked up Tholuck's approbatory quotation of Clarke to "a moment of forgetfulness" on the part of the great man (Hodge, *Romans,* 199).

43. Clarke, 2:77-89.

44. This same view was also set forth by the English Unitarian John Taylor (d. 1761) in his *The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin Proposed to Free and Candid Examination* (1740) (not accessible to me). The importance of Taylor's work is seen in the fact that it drew fire from both John Wesley (145-46, on Rom. 7) *and* Jonathan Edwards (304-305 and 331-32n9, on Rom. 7).

45. John H. Noyes, *"The Way of Holiness." A Series of Papers Formerly Published in The Perfectionist at New Haven* (Putney VT: J. H. Noyes & Co., 1838), i: "The author was taught by Prof. Stuart, that the seventh chapter of Romans is *not* a description of Christian experience"; John H. Noyes, *Salvation From Sin, The End of Christian Faith* (Oneida, NY: The Oneida Community, 1876), 21-3; Ethelbert D. Warfield et al., eds., *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield,* 10 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), 8:254. A full paraphrase of Romans 7:7-25 was also published by John H. Noyes, "Paul Not Carnal. Exposition of Romans vii 7-25," *The Perfectionist* 1 (20 Oct. 1834): 11-12; also in *"Way of Holiness,"'* 37-64 and *The Berean: A Manual for the Help of Those Who Seek the Faith of the*

a few years earlier.[46] So even though Stuart's commentary on Romans did not actually appear until 1832, his interpretation of Romans 7 had already been exercising wide influence through his students.[47] Despite the difference of confessional context, Stuart's arguments are not essentially different from Clarke's. Again the contrast between 7:5 and 6 is seen painted large in 7:7-25 and 8:1-11 (or 17), thus limiting the entire discussion of Romans 7:7-25 to those yet under law.[48] Indeed, insists Stuart, the language of 7:14-25 could not possibly refer to Christian experience since "if Christians, who are of course under grace and are dead to the law (6:14. 7:6), are actually in the state here represented, then would it follow, that neither grace nor law hinders them from being the servants of sin."[49]

Closer to Joseph Smith's circle, Alexander Campbell championed his own version of this view according to which the "I" had a more generalized symbolic reference to Israel, Paul "in his own person represents the Jew from the days of Abraham down to his own conversion." In the 1827 *Christian Baptist*, Campbell paraphrases several key passages in the chapter.[50] Israel was "alive without law" (v. 9) in the days of the patriarchs before the law of Moses had been given. At that time "I [=Israel] never felt myself subject to death, for where no law is there is no transgression." But with the coming of the commandment from Sinai, sin "revived or came to life, and . . . death was inflicted upon us Jews in a way of which there was no example before the promulgation of the law . . ." In verse 14 the law is called "spiritual" because it "has respect not only to the outward actions, but in some of its precepts reaches to the thoughts." In contrast, the "I" is called "carnal" because "the people, of which I am one, to whom that law

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Primitive Church (Putney, VT: Published at the Office of the Spiritual Magazine, 1847), 188-99. Consistent with his Princetonian background B. B. Warfield, the great chronicler of Perfectionism, speaks contemptuously of the adoption of Stuart's view. At Andover, we are told, Mahan "learned at least to deal with the seventh chapter of Romans so that it would interpose no obstacle to his later theories" (8:43). And of the Oneida Perfectionists, Warfield comments that "Of course Noyes begins by setting aside Rom. VII. 14ff" (8:320).

46. Warfield, 8:43; Asa Mahan, *Autobiography: Intellectual, Moral, and Spiritual* (London: T. Woolmer, 1882), 346-47.

47. For other examples of this view from Oberlin, see Samuel D. Cochran, "Chalmers on Romans," *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, 1846, 18-24; and Finney, in Parkhurst, 87-108.

48. Moses Stuart, *Commentary to the Epistle to the Romans with a Translation and Various Excurus* (Andover: Flagg & Gould, 1832), 283.

49. Ibid., 556. The uniqueness of Stuart's view to American Calvinism of all stripes is reflected in the fact that he is the only example Hodge cites in support of there being "distinguished writers of England and our own country" who held it (Hodge, *Romans*, 297). Similarly, Stuart himself, when listing supporters for his own position, includes no Americans (Stuart, 561).

50. Campbell, 424-25.

was given, were a fleshly people enslaved to appetite." "[I]t was not," Campbell goes on to say for verses 22-23, "owing to any defect in the law, nor in my perceptions and approbation of it mentally, but in the inclinations and propensities to which a human being in this present state is unavoidably subjected—that I failed in finding happiness, peace, or comfort under the law." As to the question whether JST Romans 7 clearly depends on the Campbell Bible, the answer is: it does not.

The Joseph Smith Translation and Romans 7

Joseph Smith's rendering of Romans 7 appears to be motivated by two concerns: (1) finding a solution that strikes a balance between the two dominant interpretations of his day, and (2) furnishing a "biblical basis" for his own restorationist program in relation to the idea of Christianity as a renewed and, therefore, a better kind of law-keeping, and (perhaps) the legitimation of "polygamy."

With the Old-Calvinist interpreters, Smith sets as the overall temporal horizon of verses 14-25 the apostle's *present* Christian experience. Yet at the same time he tempered those statements deemed by Methodist-Revivalist interpreters to reflect sub-Christian sentiments of regular spiritual frustration and defeat; placing at least some of these in the past. This is evident at a number of points, most obviously at 7:14 itself: "For we know that the {~~law~~} COMMANDMENT is spiritual; but WHEN I WAS UNDER THE LAW,] I {~~am~~} [WAS YET carnal, sold under sin." Smith further makes the chapter refer not to one law but to two: (1) the Mosaic law, which the "I" used to be under (e.g., vv. 6, 14, 21 = 23), and (2) the "commandment of Christ," which the "I" is now under as a Christian (vv. 9, 14, 23 = 24). This "commandment of Christ" is imprinted on the mind of the believer, and it is against it that the indwelling sinful principle is at war (v. 23 = 25). The cry of wretchedness (v. 24 = 26) has to do not with the ongoing state of the "I"—as was the case in *both* contemporary prevailing interpretations—but with the condition of a Christian who fails for whatever reason to subdue indwelling sin.

Also more in line with Old-Calvinist than the Methodist-Revivalist interpreters is Smith's not making the chapter turn, in any sense, on a radical change of nature within the regenerated believer; i.e., there is no hint of latent perfectionism.[51] Instead the old law/restored law contrast is

51. Both Smith's previous interest and familiarity with Methodism and Sidney Rigdon's former association with Campbell would naturally incline these two participants in JST Romans 7 to understand verses 14-25 as describing pre-Christian experience. Because of these prior influences it becomes striking that Smith would understand at least some of these verses to describe present Christian rather than past

pivotal. The basis for this is Smith's idea that the Mosaic law had been intentionally made deficient by God. According to JST Exodus, after the original set of tablets of the law had been broken in anger by Moses (Ex. 32:19), a second set was prepared and God again wrote. But this time, Smith tells us, the Lord left out certain essential matters originally included in the first set: "[B]ut it shall not be according to the first, for I will take away the priesthood out of their midst: therefore my holy order, and the ordinances thereof, shall not go before them . . . But I will give unto them the law of a carnal commandment . . . " (34:1-2; also JST Deut. 10:1-2). The phrase "law of a carnal commandment" was imported from the KJV Hebrews 7:16.[52] The law then is inadequate for salvation not because it is "weakened by the flesh," as Paul would have it (Rom. 8:1), but because it had been made defective by God. The new law is better and more effective because it is a restored law, while the old "law of a carnal commandment" was part of an inferior "preparatory gospel" (D&C 34:26; 1835 ed. IV:4).

The same old law/restored law distinction is reflected at a number of points in JST Romans where the issue of the relation of the law and salvation is being discussed. Thus in 4:5 the SCB's "him that worketh not, but believeth" is changed in NT MS 2 to "him that {~~worketh~~} SEEKETH not TO BE JUSTIFIED BY THE LAW OF WORKS, but believeth"; and in 4:6 "righteousness without works" is changed to "righteousness without THE LAW OF works."[53] The "law of works" in each case appears to be synonymous with the "law according to a carnal commandment." This same understanding continues into JST Romans 7. Interestingly, however, it is not the law of Moses, the "law of a carnal commandment," that strikes the "I" of Romans 7 dead. Rather this occurs in relation to the "commandment of Christ." Throughout the chapter the instrumentality of the law in the

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pre-Christian experience. In the minds of Methodist-Revivalist interpreters, as we have seen, the dire wretchedness of the man of Romans 7:14-25 is scarcely an acceptable description of the Christian life. Smith feels sympathy with this objection and so makes some of the darker statements in the chapter refer to the pre-Christian past. Had Smith really had no intention of balancing the two dominant views of his day, we should not have expected him to make the primary reference of the passage the canonical author's present Christian experience as the Old-Calvinist interpreters did.

52. Further reference to it was also inserted by Smith after John 1:17: "For the law [of Moses] was after a carnal commandment, to the administration of death; but the gospel was after the power of an endless life . . ." Dependence on Hebrews 7:16 is obvious because of the reference to the "power of an endless life." This process of transporting verses and terminology from one book to another is further proof of the view of Richard P. Howard (4) and others that the JST is not a restoration of the ancient text. Further discussion of the "law of the carnal commandment" also appears under the dates 22 and 23 September 1832 (D&C 84:23-8; 1835 ed. IV, 4).

53. NT MS 2, folio 4, p. 123; also Rom. 4:2.

death of the "I" is played down and the blame laid exclusively at the feet of sin:

> (5) . . . the motions of sins, which were {~~by~~} NOT ACCORDING TO the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death.
> (10) And WHEN I BELIEVED NOT the commandment OF CHRIST WHICH CAME, which >was ordained< to life, I found {~~to be~~} IT CONDEMNED ME unto death.
> (11) FOR sin, taking occasion, {/~~by~~/} DENYED the commandment, AND deceived me, and by it {~~slew me~~} I WAS SLAIN.[54]

The last two verses quoted reveal that the "I" dies because it has been tricked by sin into not *believing* the commandment of Christ.

Also intriguing in light of the overall restorational focus of the chapter is verse 19 (= JST vv. 20-21):

> For the good that I would HAVE DONE WHEN UNDER THE LAW, I FIND NOT TO BE GOOD; THEREFORE] I do IT not: (JST 21) but the evil which I would not DO UNDER THE LAW, I FIND TO BE GOOD; that, I do."

Certain behavior, previously considered evil, has now under the restoration become acceptable. But what behavior does Smith have in mind? Certainly this might be nothing more than a general reference to the comparative level of freedom enjoyed under the new law of Christ. But the language seems too strong for this. There is some evidence, in fact, that the reference may be to a more specific concern: providing a theological justification for the reintroduction of polygamy. Perhaps a clue is to be found in possible psychological self-legitimation implied in the next verse (20 = 22). When he does the "evil" which he formerly would not do, "it is no more <that> I [SEEK TO <\> do {it} [W]RONG, but TO SUBDUE sin that dwelleth in me."

Significantly, the same basic argument appears a full decade later in an 1842 letter to Sidney Rigdon's unmarried daughter, Nancy. A day or two after an attempt at winning her as one of his plural wives was rebuffed, Smith dictated a letter, apparently intended to weaken her resolve by insinuating that her resistance amounted to disobedience to God's law. His arguments echo significantly the language of the JST rendition of Romans 7:19-20 (= JST 20-22): "That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be, and often is, right under another . . . Whatever God requires is right, no matter what it is . . . even things which might be considered abominable to

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54. The apparent motive behind changing the voice of the SCB's "slew" from active to passive ("was slain") was to transfer the reference of the preceding pronoun "it" from *the law* to *sin*.

all who understand the order of Heaven only in part, but which, in reality, were right, because God gave and sanctioned by special revelation."[55] It seems especially fitting that a consideration of Smith's changing sexual standards and practices should come to mind in the context where the old "law of a carnal commandment" is being contrasted with the restored "commandment of Christ." Needless to say, explicit reference to what remained a secret practice until after Smith's death would not have yet been possible, especially in a work slated for public consumption like the JST. If this understanding of the JST rendering of Romans 7:19-20 (= 20-22) is correct, then it represents one of the earliest justifications of polygamy from the hand of Smith.[56]

Although the revelation permitting plural marriage (D&C 132 in LDS editions) was not given until 12 April 1843, it is now widely recognized that even long before that time Smith's sexual activities exceeded the limits laid down by it—most notably in his taking of married women as plural wives.[57] Allegations of sexual impropriety had dogged Smith's heels from the earliest days of the church. Our interest in this regard is limited to the period around the time Smith was involved in the production of the JST. In 1834, an affidavit by Emma Smith's cousin, Levi Lewis, referred to a

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55. John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; Or An Exposé of Joe Smith And Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 243-45; also Jessee.

56. The only earlier example mentioned in standard treatments comes from the Book of Mormon itself. Though the Book of Mormon adopts a clear anti-polygamous stance (e.g., Jacob 1:15, 2:23-35, 3:5; Mosiah 11:2, 4, 14; Ether 10:5), in one instance a comment appears which, in light of later developments, may have been intended to leave the door open to the eventual introduction of polygamy. The passage begins with a standard renunciation of the practice: "Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord: For there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none" (Jacob 2:27). Yet, a few lines later he says: "For *if I will*, saith the Lord of Hosts, raise up seed unto me, *I will command my people: otherwise*, they shall hearken unto these things" (italics mine; see Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981], 132-33).

57. The polygamy revelation specified that plural wives are to be taken from among virgins: "[I]f any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery . . ." (*Deseret News, Extra*, 14 Sept. 1852, 27; reprinted in Foster, 254, and D&C 132:61). Examples of married women Smith is thought to have pursued include Prescinda (Mrs. Norman) Buell; Sarah (Mrs. John) Cleveland; Mrs. Durfee; Mrs. Robert D. Foster; Sally (Mrs. Samuel) Gulley; Clarissa (Mrs. Levi) Hancock; Lucinda (Mrs. George W.) Harris; Zina (Mrs. Henry) Jacobs; Sarah (Mrs. Hiram) Kimball; Jane (Mrs. William) Law; Mary (Mrs. Adam) Lightner; Fanny (Mrs. Roswell) Murray; Sarah (Mrs. Orson) Pratt; Mary (Mrs. Parley) Pratt; Ruth (Mrs. Edward) Sayers: and Patty (Mrs. David) Sessions. John C. Bennett (1842, 256) also mentions an as yet unidentified Mrs. A**** S****.

remark by Martin Harris five years previous that "he [Harris] did not blame Smith for his attempt to seduce Eliza Winters &c."[58] The year 1832 (especially important as that in which Smith produced JST Romans 7) was particularly eventful in this regard. Since these facts are known and have been investigated, only a brief review, drawing primarily on Richard Van Wagoner's *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, will be necessary. On 24 March 1832 Smith was tarred and feathered, according to one account, for seducing Nancy Marinda Johnson, in whose father's house he was residing. A certain Eli, identified (apparently erroneously) as Nancy's brother, is said to have called for Smith's castration.[59] Later testimony also mentions liaisons in this year between Joseph and two servant girls employed in the Smith household: one named Miss Hill, and the other unnamed.[60] Another name coming down to us from roughly this period is Vienna Jacques.[61] Emma Smith spent much of 1832 pregnant with Joseph Smith III (b. 6 November 1832).

Later evidence further suggests that Smith was already at this time trying to hammer out a theological basis for an eventual turn to open polygamy. Joseph B. Noble, a close friend of the Mormon leader, later related that Smith had become convinced of the legitimacy of polygamy "while . . . engaged in the work of translation of the Scriptures."[62] Orson Pratt, noted Mormon missionary and apostle, also pointed to early 1832 as the time when Smith told certain individuals that "the principle of taking more wives than one is a true principle, but the time had not yet come for it to be practiced."[63]

Four points, then, suggest that JST Romans 7 may reflect this same concern: (1) the parallel argumentation in the letter to Nancy Rigdon ten years later[64]; (2) the evidence implying that Smith was involved in various

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58. Eber D. Howe, *Mormonsim Unvailed, or a Faithful Account of the Singular Imposition and Delusion, From its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, OH: Published by the author, 1834), 268. Lewis also claimed to have "heard them both [Joseph Smith and Martin Harris] say, adultery was no crime."

59. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2d. ed. rev. (New York: Knopf, 1971), 119. But see the reservations of Richard S. Van Wagoner (*Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989], 13n4). That John Johnson had no son Eli is not enough to dismiss this account entirely. Reference is also made to the apparent involvement of an Eli in Smith's own version of the incident (William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* [New York: Knopf, 1969], 67).

60. Van Wagoner, 4-5.

61. Ibid., 4.

62. Ibid., 3.

63. Ibid., 3.

64. Though to be sure it could also be argued that this case represents a specific *application* of the principle previously presented in JST Romans 7; a principle which may

extramarital liaisons in that year, behavior that could be described as "evil which I would not DO UNDER THE LAW"[65]; (3) the later testimony of friends pointing on the one hand to 1832 and on the other to the time of the production of the JST as when Smith began to formulate his reasons for an eventual return to open polygamy; and (4) the overall restorational focus of JST Romans 7 itself.

Conclusion

Joseph Smith's rendition of Romans 7 offers little in terms of real insight into Paul's meaning, and Smith's "restorations" bring us no closer to the form of the text as it "came from the pen of the original writers." Still it provides an interesting window to understanding the passage as it was debated in the early decades of the nineteenth century and to the Mormon prophet himself; his developing teaching and character, and his methods and motives for producing the JST. Whatever else might be said, one of the secrets of Smith's success was his ability to focus the attention of followers around some revelational project; thereby keeping the sense of eschatological expectation high. The first such project, of course, was the Book of Mormon. The JST followed quickly in June 1830, only two months after the organization of the church. Romans 7 provided a special opportunity in this regard. Not only was Smith able to rule authoritatively in a passage that had been debated for centuries (with the inevitable consequence of increasing his prestige in the eyes of his followers) but at the same time he was able to use the occasion to create a "biblical basis" for his own restorationist program through the "clarification" of obscurities in this difficult chapter.[66]

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have originated under different circumstances and with a different original point of reference.

65. This could not be said, however, of polygamy proper since that *was* tolerated under the law of Moses. This points up the difficulty of trying to describe Smith's activities prior to the revelation of April 1843 as "early examples of polygamy." This use of the word is really anachronistic.

66. Romans 7 is the most heavily reworked chapter in the whole of JST Romans.

Professional Myths about Latter-day Therapy

Stephen Jay Hammer

AS A SOMEWHAT MINOR CONSUMER of professional counseling and psychotherapy I would like to offer some comments on Mark Koltko's essay, "Latter-day Myths About Counseling and Psychotherapy," which appeared in the winter 1992 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (pages 32-43). Koltko discounts six common myths regarding psychotherapy among contemporary Latter-day Saints:

**Myth of invincible righteousness:* Mormons who live their religion don't need therapy.

**Myth of In-House Therapists:* Church leaders should handle all our counseling needs.

**Myth of the Ungodly Therapist:* Psychotherapists are anti-religious.

**Myth of the Safe Basement:* Normal people don't talk about things like *that* with strangers.

**Myth of the Vulnerable Testimony:* Psychotherapy undermines faith.

**Myth of the Moral Powerboat:* Normal people should be able to solve their own problems under their own power.

He concludes, "When appropriately pursued with a carefully chosen and skilled professional, therapy can be a powerful way to reach a higher level of responsibility, capability, and spirituality" (42).

While I concur with this conclusion, for a client to make a careful choice of a skilled professional requires considerable insight—insight that is often least accessible when in the midst of emotional turmoil and pain. From my reading and observations as a client some of Koltko's myths have a basis in fact and deserve to be reconsidered in developing such insight. In addition, therapists have their own myths that generate mists of darkness on the journey to the tree of life.

The Myth of Myth

I sometimes hear "myth" used to connote a ridiculous story actually believed or thought to be possible by naive people. Because some myths have a way of showing up as more fact than fancy—as in the story of Troy—I prefer to consider a myth as an undocumented story purporting to represent reality which has not been demonstrated as either true or false; it is a hypothesis. Some myths may be accurate or quasi-accurate representations of reality; others may not. When myths are discredited they become fables.

Koltko suggests that some LDS views of counseling and therapy are fables. On the basis of reason and his experience and observations, he replaces those "LDS misunderstandings" with "facts." I propose that some of those facts need to be towed back into the harbor of mythology, while rescuing some of his myths from the graveyard of fables.

The Myth of "Professional" Therapy

I cringe when I hear the phrase "get professional help" in the context of therapy. When driving the freeways of Los Angeles I regularly hear local radio therapists advise people in distressed relationships. If a spouse (or sibling or employee) is not willing to "work on the relationship"—defined as "get professional help"—then obviously they don't care enough about the relationship to continue in it and it's time to break it off. The implication is that "professional" is synonymous with "competent," "effective," "good," "worthwhile." I am surprised by the arrogance of such statements.

That the issue is much more complex and unsettled is evidenced by widespread discrediting of each other within the therapy professions: Freudians vs. Jungians; Rogerians vs. rational emotive therapists; behavioralists vs. transactional analysts; psychiatrists vs. psychologists; family systems vs. individual work; and others. The differences are not trivial: short-term vs. long-term (and expense); childhood roots vs. current behavior only; freedom vs. responsibility; feelings vs. rationality; individual vs. couple or family; drug vs. drug-free; non-touching all the way to sexual intercourse with clients[1]; humanistic vs. metaphysical; Christian vs. "value free."

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1. Even M. Scott Peck, personally one of my favorites for espousing Mormon-like views, asserts, "Moreover were I ever to have a case in which I concluded after careful and judicious consideration that my patient's spiritual growth would be substantially furthered by our having sexual relations, I would proceed to have them. In fifteen years of practice, however, I have not yet had such a case, and I find it difficult to imagine that such a case could really exist" (Peck, *The Road Less Traveled: A New Psychology of Love,*

The more I have investigated various schools of theory and visited with practitioners, the more I have admired the depth and complexity of the subject. Unfortunately many professionals in this field vastly overestimate their competence. An "advanced degree" often means "dogmatically steeped in a disdain for approaches other than one's mentor, even when that is interdisciplinary"; "experience" means "making the same mistakes over and over"; and "recognized" is "doing it in the company of others of like mind."

Practitioners and clients alike are more at ease when "professional" is defined as "expert and competent," and everybody that is degreed, licensed, experienced, or recognized qualifies. But it is closer to reality to take the word professional at its more generic level: "engaged in an activity as a means of livelihood or gain."[2]

The Myth of Therapeutic Technology

Koltko says, "Therapy is a set of technologies, a set of techniques and methods, and a special relationship between the therapist and the client" (35). But *a* set of technologies and methods does not exist, and *a* definition of what that "special relationship" is or ought to be does not exist. Each of these areas is subject to differences of opinion among experts and lay people alike, and not without considerable passion on differing sides. The art of therapy often masquerades in a jargon of technology which primarily acts as a buffer between vulnerable practitioners and the complex uncertainty of reality.

The Myth of Therapeutic Benefits

Blanket urging of therapy by counselors is a marketing technique to generate primary demand for a product. It usually takes the form of "Look how much better off you would be if you used, or had more of whatever" without naming a specific brand. This type of marketing becomes most effective when people can be convinced that they need the class of product and that they are somehow deficient—or deficient in providing for their children, etc.—if they do not use the product. Shaming the consumer into using and continuing to use services is one at which the counseling profession is expert.

I use the word "shaming" because there is a tendency in the helping professions to speak of cures thus labeling someone struggling with emo-

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Traditional Values, and Spiritual Growth [New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1978], 176). Of course some feel they have had such a case.

2. *Random House College Dictionary* (New York: Random House, 1973), 1057.

tional pain, or sometimes those not struggling with emotional pain but who "ought to be," as diseased. Many therapists speak of people needing counseling and people being cured, as if there was something fundamentally and basically wrong with them if they experience normal even though painful stress in life.

Of course that is not the point, therapists say. The point is that clients can be helped to work through their problems more effectively thereby enhancing their lives. That argument can be made for almost any good or service, and enhancement isn't the same as *need*. We would all be delighted with a bigger house, nicer clothing, help around the house, better car, someone to regularly stroke us and hold our hands, etc. It is not a matter of indifference when a therapist adopts a long, expensive treatment to better someone's life while a client's mission or college education fund crumbles. When the costs of owning a new car outweigh the benefits, one does not speak of the decision to buy a new car as beneficial. The costs of therapy, financial and spiritual, can be substantial and ought to be considered carefully when evaluating whether therapy is a net benefit.

The Myth of Non-Judgmental Therapy

The first statement I encountered in two experiences with therapy was, "In here we don't talk about shoulds." My values were swept out the window in the "neutrality" of scientific therapy, and it was done with one enormous value judgment that there should be no shoulds. I also learned a politically-correct terminology. There are no good or bad behaviors or feelings; instead they are "appropriate" (shoulds) and "inappropriate" (should-nots), approved by the therapist.

Professionals often profess to conduct non-judgmental and value-free therapy. But such therapy is permeated with powerful value judgments. Some of the common ones I have heard, and their gospel-oriented counterparts are:

Therapy Values	*Gospel Values*
Trust your feelings.[3]	Seek not after your own heart

3. Carl Rogers exemplifies this philosophy: "As the workshop proceeds, there is a shift of value choices made by participants. Values that are based on authority, that derive from sources external to the person, tend to be diminished. Values that are experienced tend to be enhanced. What the person has been told is good and valuable, whether by parents, church, state, or political party, tends to be questioned. Those behaviors or ways of being that are *experienced* as satisfying and meaningful tend to be reinforced. The criteria for making value judgments come more and more to lie in the

	(Num. 15:39). He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool (Prov. 28:26). The heart is deceitful above all things (Jer. 17:9). The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee (Obad. 1:3).
You can't help how you feel![4]	Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart ((Lev. 19:7). Incline in your heart unto the LORD God of Israel (Jos. 24:23). And according to his faith there was a mighty change wrought in his heart (Alma 5:12). Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind (Matt. 22:37).
You must find yourself before you can help others.[5]	He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake

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person, not in a book, a teacher, or a set of dogmas. The locus of evaluation is in the person, not outside.

"Thus, the individual comes to live increasingly by a set of standards that have an internal, personal basis. Because he or she is aware that these standards are based on ever changing experience, they are held more tentatively, less rigidly. They are not carved in stone, but written by a human heart" (Carl Rogers, *A Way Of Being* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1980], 194-95). What Rogers says about internalizing our values rings true. Few would disagree that we ought to strive to live by internalized values. But do we strive to live by what we have already sometimes carelessly or helplessly internalized, or do we seek a higher self? Do our values happen by chance or can we choose "that which goeth into the heart?" There is a difference between internalizing eternally rich values and simply living by what happens to already be within the heart.

4. When an experienced, well-educated LDS marriage counselor explained that my wife did not love me anymore and there was nothing *she* could do about it because we can't help how we feel, I was confused and stunned. I noted in my journal a month later, "I don't think I am buying the idea that love just 'happens to us.' I feel like we can choose to love, to care, and to forgive." This doctrine together with two years of prior therapy with a psychiatrist who taught my wife that it is critical to her health and depression to "trust your feelings" seemed to make progress in our marriage impossible. It was as if she had no choice.

5. The thought, "*before* you can love your neighbor as yourself you have to love yourself," has almost become an article of faith among people in general. I hear it often. M. Scott Peck says a similar thing, "One must find one's self before one can lose it" (97). Often we interpret this to mean that we are justified in pursuing a multitude of self-centered, self-esteem activities while neglecting interpersonal responsibilities so that

	shall find it (Matt. 10:39).
"You can find identity only in work that is of real value to society—work for which, usually, our society pays."[6]	For the love of money is the root of all evil (1 Tim. 6:10).
	But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you (Matt. 6:33).
You must be free . . . of rules, roles, restrictions, and guilt.	Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty (2 Cor. 3:17).
	And he gave some, apostles; and some prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers. . . .
	That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive (Eph. 4:11, 14).
Stand up for yourself.[7]	Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God (Eph. 5:21).

A vulnerable, suffering client can still sense support for values or lack thereof in the therapist. It's like crossing a rope bridge: you can feel when the rope sags a little or firms a little under your feet. Values are in the therapy but the therapist keeps them a secret. Though the client may sense those values, because they are only vaguely present it is sometimes difficult for the client to distinguish that subtle external source from his or her own internal feelings. Such therapists maintain control over value development in the client while denying that as a bridge it moves at all.

Even if a therapist could be clinically pure in neutrality, "valueless"

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some day we will be able to give back from a position of strength. Is this similar to saying that even though I have a job, I can't donate to the fast offering fund until I get rich?

6. Betty Friedan, *Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1983), 346.

7. This feels so true I find it hard to argue against it. "All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it, to act for itself, as all intelligence also; otherwise there is no existence" (D&C 93:30). What can be more core to a Latter-day Saint than eternal individuality and autonomy—the eternal me? Surely it must have an appropriate place in the therapist's arsenal. But it is a tool that requires much care, caution, skill, and balance. I keep thinking of how so much of the core of the Lord's ministry and mission revolved around the principle of submission, ultimately focusing on the miracle of the Creator submitting himself to his creation: a model of at-one-ment—not only for humanity with God, but for humans with humans, and for man or woman with his or her self.

counseling would not be neutral. I recall a scene from the play *A Man For All Seasons* where Thomas More goes before a tribunal within lofty halls of justice to defend his right to live. He stands accused of disapproving the king's marriage, and therefore of treason, *by his silence.* He counters that the court cannot construe it thus, for under the law, "Silence gives consent."[8] Either way, all knew that in the face of such an issue, silence could not be neutral. There are situations in therapy where a client listens and feels for the slightest hint of insight, believing that the issue under consideration is too great for neutrality; in those immense halls of therapeutic intimacy silence is not neutral.

Koltko suggests that a question such as "Have you ever wanted to have an affair?" is neutral (38). Given our sexual nature, such a question goes beyond the silence of neutrality. To a client who is free-falling through emotional space desperately grasping for reality, a "valueless" nudging into the corridor of sexuality is at the very least a suggestion and more likely a recommendation.

The Myth of the Harmless Therapist

Similarly many therapists out of concern for imposing on the client's freedom, or who feel a lack of competence to direct clients in the intimacy of the therapeutic relationship, or who are afraid that open and honest disclosure of their personal views will terminate the client relationship, attempt to solve this problem by being non-directive or non-interventionist. Large schools of practitioners patiently and expensively create a climate of safety, awaiting the moment of "transference," insight, or trust. Meanwhile clients bounce their heads off their emotional walls. Koltko likens therapy to using a surgeon (35). But could any brain surgeon justify month after month, year after year of weekly, expensive consultations on the basis of establishing trust before getting down to the messy and painful actual work for their patient?

This "do no harm" approach to therapy can create a huge problem for the client—emotional dependency. In the name of freedom and autonomy the low-profile therapist creates in the client a subtle but powerful dependency on the intimacy of their relationship. As time passes, this relationship becomes the most powerful and intimate relationship in the client's life, possibly displacing the development or maintenance of other intimate relationships.

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8. Robert Bolt, *A Man For All Seasons,* in *The New Theatre of Europe: An Anthology,* ed. Robert W. Corrigan (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1962), 127.

The Myth of the Caring Professional

M. Scott Peck in his book *The Road Less Traveled* describes effective therapy in familiar terms:

> commitment is the cornerstone of the psychotherapeutic relationship. Before the patient can risk major change he or she must feel the strength and security that come from believing that the therapist is the patient's constant and stable ally. For this alliance to occur the therapist must demonstrate to the patient, usually over a considerable length of time, the consistent and steadfast caring that can arise only from a capacity for commitment. . . . It is no different in a marriage.[9]

This is an interesting and strange philosophy. In order for a patient to be healed the therapist must essentially become equal to a spouse in the client's life. Therapy focuses on creating a viable intimate relationship with a stranger. Isn't it interesting that spouses are expected to accept such intrusions into their private relationships simply because the third party is paid for his or her services and claims expertise? In fact many spouses are probably not oblivious to that intrusion; they *feel* the displacement even if they cannot label the feeling. Regardless of special titles and vocabulary projected by the therapist, the underlying feeling is as if their loved one, engaged in deeply intimate therapy, is having an affair. That the third party is a professional is no more significant than if the affair were with a prostitute instead of a lover.

Peck further describes what it takes to get a discharge:

> I've made a commitment to you. I will work with you as long as is necessary, whether it takes one year or five years or ten years or whatever. I don't know whether you will quit our work together when you're ready or before you're ready. But whichever it is, *you are the one who will terminate our relationship*. Short of my death, my services will be available to you as long as you want them.[10]

Again, the therapist becomes the primary "committed," loving, supportive character in the client's life—that is, until the client runs out of money. Then how does the therapist's commitment compare with that of a lackluster, untrained, boring spouse, family member, or ordinary church member? This style of idealized, artificially structured intimacy competes for emotional space with the realities of daily living and the intimacy of those that can bear commitment far beyond checking accounts. It can and

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9. Peck, 118.
10. Ibid., 143.

has been argued that such a style often does more harm than good, all in the name of caring professionalism.[11]

I have often thought that this type of therapy contrasts with that of the Savior:

> Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed, *and walk* (John 5:8).
> And he said unto him, Arise, *go thy way*: thy faith hath made thee whole (Luke 17:19).
> She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: *go*, and sin no more (John 8:11).
> But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life (John 4:14).

Even the Lord himself, upon whom we depend and with whom we are intimate, seeks at every turn to empower us, his children, and while so doing to strengthen our commitments to family and community.

The Myth of Invincible Therapy

"To seek a cure for these illnesses [mental or emotional difficulties] through personal spirituality alone while ignoring other resources is to seek after signs or miracles" (Koltko, 34). The extension of this argument is that refusing "professional treatment" is to seek after signs or miracles. Perhaps I could try selling my construction services on that premise—no "do-it-yourselfers" in the kingdom of God.

The Myth of "Outside" Therapists

Koltko proposes that church officials and therapists work together: "[I]t is a matter of collaboration between a bishop and a therapy professional. One does not take the place of the other; they each speak to different aspects of a person's experience, and ideally they do so in harmony" (36). This is a well-conceived ideal. But how many therapists advise clients to counsel with their religious leaders? And how many counselors confer with bishops, exchanging information? I think it would be a rare therapist who would do so, legalities aside.

It is a serious problem, however, that bishops are essentially our only

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11. "The core of a good marriage is protected by an outer layer of loyalty and privacy. It is no small thing for a third person to intrude. . . . The goal should be to get in and get out as quickly and cleanly as possible" (Carlfred Broderick, *Couples: How to Confront Problems and Maintain Loving Relationships* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979], 213).

authorized intimate in-house counselors in the church. It is unfortunate because they have so much to do and so much to offer. I know they foul up sometimes, but I am astounded at the wisdom and good that bishops offer in minimal time, limited circumstances, and no expense. My own experience is that when I finally humbled myself sufficiently to counsel with my bishop (together with his wife) about severe struggles I faced after spending hundreds of hours and thousands of dollars with professionals, that the comfort and wisdom of one or two meetings exceeded all the other counseling time I had spent, even though the bishop had referred the counselor in the first place.

Bishops referring to counselors can be fraught with difficulties. I actually think it is more difficult for a bishop to choose a good referral than to give good counsel, possibly because it is almost impossible for him to evaluate a referral and get feedback. Church leaders I have talked to typically get little or no feed-back regarding referrals they have made, whether to independent counselors or to LDS Social Services. They have little or no idea of how matters are being handled and whether or not they meet any ideals of inspiration or professionalism. I have often wondered if it would be helpful to develop some system of "consumer reports" in wards and stakes for LDS users of counseling services so that members and church leaders alike could make more informed choices.

The Myth of the Godly Therapist

Koltko disputes the "myth" that psychotherapists are anti-religious (36) with demographic surveys. But 41 percent of psychotherapists surveyed attending church regularly does not refute the myth. While 77 percent agreed with the statement, "I try hard to live my life according to my religious beliefs," 28 percent reported that "Notions of God . . . are illusory products of human imagination." LDS therapists can also be so enmeshed in the wisdom of the world that they downplay the role of religion in their lives and particularly their therapy in the name of professionalism. Such hypersensitivity to religion can actually make LDS counselors less gospel-principle-oriented than non-LDS counselors.

From personal experience I can say that blaming religious commitment and commitment to family responsibilities and values for emotional struggles and believing that freedom from those values and commitments is the path to mental health is still alive and well in the counseling profession among both LDS and non-LDS professionals. Counselors are not necessarily immoral or irreligious people, but for many their professional training has desensitized them to their own religious principles and morals.

A Kind Word

I have found my probings into psychology and relationship publications over the past several years fascinating, stimulating, and largely satisfying. I am astounded, however, at how often writers in these fields develop impressive findings from well-done research studies and then advocate political agendas exactly contrary to their findings. I am amazed when researchers suggest that the traditional family is no longer suited to the problems of today, while admitting we don't have a substitute for it.[12] They do not seriously consider that many of today's problems may exist as the natural consequence of abandoning some traditional family commitments, and no further "revision" of traditional family commitments will cure that. They seem to insist on a soft landing when they have jumped without a parachute. I wonder how these "scientific studies" impact our "objective therapists." But the research findings and descriptions of therapeutic approaches continue to fascinate and sometimes amaze me, and it seems as though more writers have returned to gospel principles in recent years.[13]

I had many positive experiences with therapy and related studies. A therapist with whom I worked for a brief three months was marvelous. She was not LDS and openly gaped at religious surprises she encountered with me. She spontaneously expressed deep personal convictions about some of the challenges I was facing. She worked on the basis of a limited,

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12. After reading eleven excellent chapters in a book describing the heartaches and difficulties children face in divorce, I was astounded at the author's final chapter. Her views seemed totally disconnected from her study: "It is past time, then, not only to accept that the family has many new forms, but to deal with the resulting problems head-on. . . . Misplaced nostalgia governs the efforts of many among us who would turn the clock back to simpler and more rigid times" (Linda Bird Francke, *Growing Up Divorced* [New York: Fawcett Books, 1983], 273). She then argues for more government support of single parenting and financing of care of children by non-parent professionals—directly contrary to the needs for nurturing and family closeness she has spent eleven chapters documenting. But her most astonishing proposal is: "If divorce is handled well, the child may not only survive the aftermath gracefully, but even benefit from it in some ways. 'If we can provide children with healthy divorce and healthy extended families, remarried families, step-families, they can have lots of people in their lives, get ten times as much love and really do very well,' says Nancy Weston, director of the Divorcing Family Clinic at the Center for Legal Psychiatry in Santa Monica, California. . . . 'They become enriched, they have more people that love them, they learn more what life is really about, and they're not nearly as protected. . . . There are a lot of positive things that can grow out of a well-handled divorce'" (281).

13. My current favorite for a blend of LDS values with powerful individual and couple therapy is Harville Hendrix, *Getting the Love You Want: A Guide for Couples* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

goal-oriented time frame, and we concluded our work together as much upon her satisfaction with where we had gone as mine.

By the time I found her I was grounded in study and prior therapeutic experience so that I knew more about what I wanted from the therapy, how to evaluate whether I was getting it, and how to retain my core values while doing so. I don't know if my experience would have been as positive in the darkest days of my vulnerability. I am confident that in those dark days with other counselors I was too vulnerable to their prejudices and attacks on core values. I have since come to see those attacks as the product of dogmatic and bigoted training—equal to any from religious quarters. How do clients of just average education fare, awed by the credentials of their healers and aware of their helplessness?

In a world becoming more dedicated to self-centered, self-actualizing, self-fulfilling personal growth above all else, it probably is helpful or necessary to get professional help from time to time. Much of the nurturing we used to get spontaneously from one another, in volunteer community service and family affiliations, is no longer available. But the claim that counseling professionals are experts, value-neutral, and working for a client's best interest based on well-established and universally-accepted scientific principles is a myth that needs to be challenged.

Many therapists urge people to get into counseling as though all therapies lead to productive growth, as revival evangelists urge all people to get into a church, any church, as if all paths lead to heaven. In considering counseling services I have found myself feeling much like I imagine Joseph Smith felt in considering the possibilities before him:

> While I was laboring under the difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists [therapists], I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter and fifth verse, which reads: If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.
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> Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did; for how to act I did not know, and unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, I would never know; for the teachers of religion [professionals] of the different sects [therapies] understood the same passages of scripture [principles] so differently as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible [science].
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> At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. I at length came to the determination to "ask of God," concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally, and not upbraid, I might venture (JS-H 1:11-13).

Perhaps Latter-day Saints should not be too surprised if the answer that comes is similar to that for Joseph:

> My object in going to inquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects [therapies] was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the Personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right (for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong) and which I should join.
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> I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the Personage who addressed me said that all their creeds [statements of belief, principles] were an abomination [defilement, pollution] in his sight; that those professors [public teachers] were all corrupt [abounding in errors]; that: "they draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof" (JS-H 1:18,19).

My fear is that as Latter-day Saints we may unduly come to rely on professional counselors who are becoming "those professors," teaching for doctrine the commandments of men and women. I don't mean that Latter-day Saints shouldn't utilize professional counseling and therapy. Careful use can be beneficial. But I am suggesting that counseling does step into the realm of spiritual life and into our souls, where gospel-centered values are the ultimate therapy, and the Latter-day "myth" of gospel-centered values takes precedence over the myth of professional therapy.

Freedom of Conscience: A Personal Statement

Lavina Fielding Anderson

[Editors' note: The following essay is drawn from remarks at a prayer service held at the White Memorial Chapel in Salt Lake City on 22 September 1993 and from a presentation prepared for a panel discussion on "Humanist and Mormon Views on Freedom of Conscience," 24 September 1993, also in Salt Lake City. Lavina Fielding Anderson was excommunicated from the LDS church for "apostasy" on 23 September 1993.]

WITHIN THE LAST MONTH, six Latter-day Saint scholars in Utah, representing both liberal and conservative ends of the spectrum, have been served with notices by their ecclesiastical leaders to appear before church courts, called "disciplinary councils," to answer to charges of apostasy or conduct unbecoming a member of the LDS church. Within the last two weeks, beginning on 14 September 1993, one of the six has been disfellowshipped, four have been excommunicated, and the sixth court is scheduled for the morning of the 26th. The church denies that it is conducting a purge.

I am one of these September Six. The issue over which my disciplinary council was held could have been history, as it will be in the case of D. Michael Quinn, or feminism, as it was in the cases of Maxine Hanks and Lynne Kanavel-Whitesides, though probably not theology, as in the cases of Paul Toscano and Avraham Gileadi. Instead, the cause of action happened to be ecclesiastical abuse—church leaders who exercise unrighteous

dominion over members. If I may appropriate a phrase from another context, let me provide, as a thumbnail definition of ecclesiastical abuse, what Paul Edwards terms the Sumo Wrestling School of Administration, which he defines as "throwing your weight around while trying to cover your rear."[1]

Ecclesiastical abuse occurs when a church officer, acting in his calling and using the weight of his office, coerces compliance, imposes his personal opinions as church doctrine or policy, or resorts to such power plays as threats and intimidation to insure that his views prevail in a conflict of opinions. The suggestion is always that the member's faith is weak, testimony inadequate, and commitment to the church lacking.

Seven factors characterize most abusive encounters:

1. A difference of opinion is not simply a difference of opinion but is treated as a revelation of moral inadequacy on the part of the member. If the difference of opinion stems from scholarship on the member's part or the application of professional tools to an aspect of Mormon studies, the officer seldom has the technical expertise to discuss the point at issue. Frequently he shifts the grounds of the discussion to the dangers of promulgating any perspective but the traditional one and insists that there is something bad or wrong about holding alternative views.

2. A request for help on the part of a member is seen as an invitation to judge the member's worthiness on the part of the officer.

3. No matter what the content of the initial issue, *any* issue can escalate with terrifying quickness into a power struggle in which the ecclesiastical officer demands compliance because of his office and accuses the member of not sustaining his leaders and/or of apostasy. These charges, in turn, lead to threats to confiscate temple recommends, to release the member from callings, and to conduct disciplinary councils.

4. If the member protests such actions and refuses to yield to the officer's power, then the very act of protest or the expressed desire to continue the discussion is seen as evidence of the charges. The officer feels justified in refusing to explain the reasons for taking the action and unilaterally terminates the discussion by citing his authority. The member, rather than having a problem, has become the problem.

5. If another ecclesiastical leader, such as a stake president or an area president becomes aware of and involved in the situation, the original leader almost always controls the flow of information to this second leader. The opportunities to present biased information, reframe the issue as one of disobedience, and portray the member as a trouble-maker are

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1. Paul M. Edward, "A Comment on the Writing of Ethics," *Distinguished Author Lectures: 1988-1989, Volume I, 1988-89,* ed. Roger Yarrington (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1989), 13.

legion. The first leader seldom suggests a group discussion or meeting that involves a mediator or a referee; rather, he is usually able to use the weight of the second officer's office and power to reinforce his own in the effort to force the member's capitulation.

6. The member feels unjustly treated. Feelings of helplessness, betrayal, anger, and depression frequently follow. Expressions of "increased love" seldom if ever follow "rebukes" from abusive ecclesiastical officers, only additional warnings about conformity that increase the sense of unfairness and powerlessness.

7. If the member in pain withdraws from church activity to protect himself, herself, and/or the family from this assault upon their spiritual well-being, the withdrawal is seen as evidence of the member's lack of worthiness, not as a cry for help or as a symptom of abuse in the system.

I published a long article in the spring 1993 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* documenting over a hundred cases of ecclesiastical pressure directed primarily at scholars and historians. Since then, over a hundred ordinary members of the church have come forward with their own experiences of injustice, usually suffered in silence, bewilderment, and anguish. Ecclesiastical abuse is not a social or a political problem for me. It is a spiritual one—a matter of conscience. I consider myself to be a believing and orthodox Mormon. Hence, I speak from the center of my religious tradition, using the language of my religion. Two scriptures have run repeatedly through my mind: "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not" (Isa. 53:3). That is what has happened to so many of the people I have talked to—decent, ordinary members of the church have been despised and esteemed not. And the second one, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matt. 25:40). Ecclesiastical abuse spoke directly to my conscience and I answered it.

It is a topic I have thought about carefully and prayerfully for two years, ever since the statement of the joint council of the First Presidency and Twelve against symposia. I certainly knew it was risky, since the church has a long history of shooting the messenger that brings unpleasant news. I never received any spiritual guarantees that I would be safe or that the church would welcome the news and change quickly, but I did receive over and over again the assurance that it was the right thing to do. That assurance has been the single most important factor in the strength I have felt at every step of this process. It has been striking to me that in the scores of letters I have received expressing love and support, the person who spoke most directly and most insightfully to the issue of conscience was not a Mormon at all, but a Catholic friend, who said: "I have in my life done

a few costly things for the sake of my conscience, and I am proudest of them. May it be so for you."[2]

As I gathered with a few friends on the evening of 23 September 1993, while my disciplinary council was underway without me, we ate popcorn and guacamole dip, exchanged the latest rumors and news, and watched *A Man for All Seasons.* Fred Buchanan, who had been working in his yard and felt compelled to join us, drove over to the house and walked in, his face pale and stricken with sadness. As he tried to express his sympathy for me, I said, "How many times in our lives do we get to take a stand on a question of conscience? So much of what we do is choosing degrees of political correctness or balancing ethical standards against social constraints, or being 'reasonable' or 'realistic.' I feel *lucky.* This is a privilege that doesn't come to everyone." I did not realize, until I said that words, how deeply I meant them and felt them. I also did not realize until I received the notice of excommunication the next morning that, no matter how well prepared I was or how carefully chosen my commitment, the blow would be so heavy.

I believe that the issue is a struggle for the soul of Mormonism. Against a religion that has increasingly become a multiplication of forms and observances, catechisms and orthodoxies, the exuberant expansiveness of Mormon theology pits itself with vitality and vigor. Both the gospel of Jesus Christ and Mormon doctrine teach love as the basis of human relations, liberation from limitations of all kinds, and an absolutely irreducible respect for human dignity and freedom. Ecclesiastical intimidation, silencing, and punishment violate these principles in every way. And it is the principles that will ultimately triumph—cracking, crumbling, and sweeping aside practices that have their basis in fear, not love.

I have been thinking lately about metaphors for the church. I am becoming increasingly uncomfortable with military metaphors that compare the church to an army, with corporate views, or with the mechanical model that treats a member like a defective toaster that can be unplugged and thrown away while a new one is plugged in. I prefer different metaphors—the church as community, as family, despite its dysfunctional moments.

I find myself returning with new appreciation to the apostle Paul's metaphor in 1 Corinthians of the church as a body. I have always thought of this metaphor in the simple, straightforward, seminary way where the body is diversity, not only diversity in the callings we have in the church but also diversity in our personalities and gifts. I have been thinking lately of what the body does for a member in pain. A couple of weeks ago, when

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2. Freda M. De Pillis to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 20 Sept. 1993.

I started to pick up a hornet on the window-sill that I thought was dead and it pointedly remarked that it was not, for instance, my body did not say, "Boy, what a stupid finger. Chop it off! We'll have to get a new one." No, my body gave that finger top priority and immediate attention. The feet carried that finger to the sink and the other hand poured ammonia over the sting. The eyes were stinging in sympathy. I would have been on my way to the refrigerator to make lunch, but my stomach suspended all distress calls for the next few minutes to give full attention to the finger. And then, a few minutes later when the crisis was over, both hands, even the still-shocked finger, helped make the sandwich that the stomach wanted. Even though the crisis was over, there was still a tender place on the finger, and the other fingers returned to it frequently during the day to rub it and make it feel better.

And even if a member of the body is so damaged, so diseased that it must be amputated to save the life of the body, and even if the body compensates by learning extra dexterity and skills, the body still goes throughout the rest of its life acknowledging its crippledness, mourning its incompleteness.

We are a crippled and a crippling body of Christ, not functioning very well some of the time and apparently bound in an insane way on functioning worse. I call on us to reject this metaphor and instead think of the healthy body, in touch with all its parts and members, tending and nurturing all of its parts with the whole, in turn, being nurtured by those parts. I say that there is a place in the church for all of us because there is room in the grace of Christ for every human being in the world. Mother Teresa says that Christ would have died for you if you were the only person in the world who needed his redemption. The church may say that I am not its member, but I affirm, even in the teeth of excommunication, that it is still my church.

Paul makes another point, which I will read in the New International Version: "Those parts of the body that seem to be weaker are indispensable, and the parts that we think are less honorable we treat with special honor. And the parts that are unpresentable are treated with special modesty, while our presentable parts need no special treatment." Being placed on probation, disfellowshipped, or excommunicated has always represented shame, separation from the body of the church, dishonor, and diminishment.

But that does not necessarily represent people's experience. For some, the severing of ties with the church represents freedom and exhilarating spiritual growth. Among such are one of my dearest friends from college and a missionary companion. I am convinced that their choices were right. For a second group, such judgment represents a a humble choice, part of a necessary repentance, like surgery to correct an infected fingernail. And

in a third group of cases, it is brutal amputation, without anesthetic, producing wounds that remain unhealed.

Some are called to judge, but thankfully that is not my job. I am through drawing lines between sheep and goats, between the clean and the unwashed, between those acceptable to God and those acceptable to the church. I am a feminist, an intellectual, and an orthodox, believing Mormon. I am not a danger to the Church of Jesus Christ. Homosexuals have long been the most stigmatized group of Mormons. I am through believing that they are. I say that there is room for all of us. Perhaps Elder Boyd K. Packer has done the church a favor by his labeling of feminists, homosexuals, and intellectuals. Perhaps the shock of such rejection from an apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ will make church members realize that more likely dangers are its misogyny, anti-intellectualism, and homophobia. Perhaps we will ask even more troubling questions about its materialism and its emphasis on hierarchy.

Karl C. Sandberg points out that the terminology change from "church court" to "disciplinary council" may have unexpected significance:

> "Courts" depend on a body of law and interpretation of the law, since very few cases are exact replicas of previous ones. The law is cumbersome, but it is written down and says that like cases must be treated in the manner of like precedents. It is the ultimate protection for the individual.
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> To "discipline," on the other hand, is "to train by instruction and practice, especially to teach self-control to; to teach to obey rules or accept authority . . . ; to punish in order to gain control or to enforce obedience; to impose order on" (*American Heritage Dictionary*). . . . Every organization needs to exercise discipline (maintain order) to accomplish its purposes. The question to be raised here and to be reviewed periodically is this: does the shift away from "court" to "discipline" connote a shift away from the law, which protects the individual, to control and enforced obedience, which protect the institution? It seems to me to be an open and fruitful question.[3]

In 2 Timothy 1:7, the apostle Paul encourages the young bishop, Timothy, with these words: "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." On 23 September 1993, fifteen good and decent men, sincerely desiring to do the will of God, sat in judgement on my membership. If any of them had read this scripture, I wonder how they would have interpreted it. I know how it speaks to me. It is a call to me to behave with courage, with kindness, and with integrity.

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3. Karl C. Sandberg, "Mormonism and the Puritan Connection: The Trials of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and Several Persistent Questions Bearing on Church Governance," 8 Sept. 1993, 12-13, privately circulated.

Yet in the case of the September Six, ecclesiastical officers have exercised, not godly power, but unrighteous dominion. Kindly and loving as individuals, they have collectively acted in punitive and unloving ways. Instead of manifesting sound judgement, they have stereotyped, demonized, and spurned.

When the histories of this period are written, I think historians will conclude that the church was wracked and rent by a spirit of fear, acting out a nightmare that took the form of scapegoating six of its own. In some ways, what is happening has very little to do with we six as individuals. Masks casting hideous shadows have been placed over our real faces. We have become monsters, externalized expressions of internal terrors. But this time will pass. The fever will break. The troubled sleeper will awake. The vitality and sanity of Mormon doctrine and theology will curb paranoid practices and work out healthier organizational forms.

I have made many mistakes of my own and have contributed to the mistakes of others, but I know in my bones that it is no mistake now to call for a return to the gospel of Jesus Christ, to call for greater love, forgiveness, and reconciliation in our community. Healing can only occur in and be extended from whole individuals, not from those who are codependent on an abusive institution. Ecclesiastical abuse must be addressed and solved. Certainly some organizational and structural changes will do much toward providing a sorely missing system of checks and balances. But the real protection of members lies in their own sense of empowerment, in an individual sense of duty to God rather than to the institution, and in the primacy of individual conscience.

FICTION

Lost on Both Sides

Don McDermott

I SUPPOSE WE ALL SHARE THE SAME SPACE at one time or another. One can search out these spaces, as I have. Outside Paris I spent an afternoon mulling about in Malmaison, Napoleon and Josephine's love nest. In French *mal* means bad or ill. The house—*maison*—took its name from the fact that before Josephine lived there, it had been an institution for the sick or crazy—I don't know which. She obviously was not bothered by the fact, though I might have been. The jilted Empress did commit suicide there later, but her problems were personal and in no way connected to the house's previously unhappy history. I remember the master bedroom which she had decorated to resemble an opulent, Franco-Arab tent—the trappings of a marital life assembled together with Persian rugs and Greco-Egyptian furniture. But it is simply a museum now. There were no tragic images trapped in the space, no conversations of passion and state still vibrating in the nooks and crannies like tidal pools. And there's really no predicting here—ghosts, phantoms, are scarcely ever where you could expect to find them, and like cops, they're never really there when you need them.

I had spent close to a week driving through near-well impassable roads to reach her—her, in this case, being a leggy brunette with the good looks and demeanor of a spoiled pom-pom girl. Perhaps you have met her type, a psychology graduate who thinks she can read your psychotic little imps like a Rolodex—and sometimes she can. In my case, you see, it was indubitably my mother. Approaching thirty-five and unmarried—never been married. Daphne believes that I must hate my mother, though I don't, clearly I don't; no one's perfect, of course, but I love my mother. "Then why do I feel the continual need to prove it to her," Daphne probes. If being kind and careful so as not to offend, calling at the same time every week, spending available holidays in her presence, if this is proving something . . . well, then I don't know. Daphne hates her's. She was practically an abandoned child—but I told her that between abandoned and practically abandoned is a measurable gulf. No, her mother is absolutely the worst and her latter-day attempts to make it up to her only rub salt in the wound.

The cute decorations in Daphne's apartment, the painted Dutch ducks, the wreaths of dried flowers, the pastel drapes, it's all her mother's handiwork. The walls and windows would be barren otherwise. There's no arguing with her in this mood, and I confess to her—somewhat dishonestly—that I hate my mother too.

Nevertheless, I will travel to the Bay Area to see my folks at Christmas, but before that, I will spend a few days with Daphne. We'll shop. Eat out a lot. We'll open her presents. She hasn't one for me, but that's okay. She's on public assistance and I'm not. I have a good job—for the moment anyway. Perhaps I make her sound worse than she is. If she were really a bitch, would I be working so hard to fall in love with her?

In the back of my car I have a pillow and a down-filled comforter. I don't like sleeping on alien sheets with somebody else's blankets over me. I certainly don't want to place my head on an unfamiliar pillow. I don't think I'm neurotic. You wouldn't either if you considered all of the heads that might have laid their oily surfaces down on hotel pillows, or if you but consider the uses to which that pillow may have been put. Decency forbids that I should say more.

For several nights I had been driving the highway between Provo and South Salt Lake. I have an old college chum who puts me up in an extra bedroom which is only occupied by his two daughters on Thursday and Friday nights. It's Thursday and rather than getting a hotel, Daphne says, "I have a key to Nicolette's apartment; John stayed there when he was here visiting Tyler. Why don't you go over and use her place?"

I'm tired. We've been arguing about whether I have the capacity to really love anyone—whether I can make a commitment, and all because of my mother, she thinks, though I believe it's because there was an election and my contract wasn't renewed—that's city managing for you—and I don't want to take on the responsibility of a woman who wants to be a mother of nations and her son who wants to grow up just like his daddy—at least, not until I secure another position. I mean, wouldn't it be silly for her to marry me and lose her public assistance just at the time that I lose my job and need someone to support me? That last part is a joke, I tell her. I don't want someone to support me. Her last husband John did, she tells me. She's almost always had to work. Now she wants to be supported, and she wants to have another baby while she still can. I could say more about that but it's personal.

So, I'm tired, and although it seems simple enough for me to just fall asleep—with or without her permission—on the couch, I get up and go out for my blanket and pillow. Daphne is searching for the key and will meet me at the car. When one is fagged, there's something really disagreeable about getting on the winter coat and mittens and going out into the raw air to retrieve a frozen pillow and down comforter. Still, it must be done as

Daphne will not have me sleeping on her couch. How will it look to her neighbors, she complains. She is too concerned about appearances, I think. Obviously, I'm not. In my opinion, people who are, are either hypocrites, or not really having much fun. Daphne falls into the latter category I suppose. But there's no point in arguing now. I argued this out with her long distance over the phone already. I told her that her neighbors are, for the most part, disreputable—and this according to her. The lad downstairs swipes bikes, disassembles them, rearranges the parts, and no one recognizes them when he sells them back to kids in the neighborhood. The people to her left are drug-smoking heathens. Clearly, Daphne can't be worried about violating the moral codes of the neighborhood; what she's worried about, I think, is losing her unimpeachable righteousness. She's a pearl in a pig sty—and I think she likes to rub it in a bit.

Also, there's the matter of her ex and Tyler. She won't let her ex sleep on the couch anymore when he comes to visit. Ty gets ideas that maybe things are back to where they used to be. And that is an odious prospect. I've never met John, but he's supposed to be a useless lump of flesh and a lout. And if daddy can't stay on the couch, where does this guy from back east get off sleeping on the couch? Of course, all this makes sense. She has a point. But I don't do it for the neighbors or her reputation. Believe it or not, I do it for Tyler, though clearly the kid hates me.

I follow her over to Nicolette's through the clouds of whirling powder that melts on my face and drips down my collar. It's not a huge apartment complex, but large enough for similarities to be confusing. The two-bedroom apartment is in the last stages of holiday desertion. A bargain basement tree leans as though exhausted against a corner. There is a week of newspapers and shoppers guides on the living room floor. The apartment is dank and chill, but I've stayed in worse. I drop my bag, blanket, and pillow in the middle of the entry and walk her back to her apartment which is perhaps 100 yards away.

On the way back I try Nicolette's key in a couple of the wrong doors. An entry light goes on. I stand there like a fool—but more foolish I think to run like a failed intruder. I know someone is watching me from the other side of the fisheye in the door. For a moment, I feel odd and vulnerable at the thought of being watched, scrutinized by presences that can only be imagined. I think, if they aren't going to open the door at midnight, maybe I should try to explain that I've lost my way, but who wants to shout in the windy hallway at one a.m. I pause before the door for a few moments to let whoever get a good look at me. I try not to act like a criminal, but I am reminded of a police lineup. Then I turn slowly and go to another identical entry way, wondering if the police are on their way. This time, the door opens before I can get the key out. It's still another heavy-set woman, the apartment manager; a big furry animal pushes through her legs and heads

for the snow. I try to explain, but she actually knows the story already and points to the door directly across the landing.

It's an easy mistake to make. Provo is full of these apartment complexes. Their exteriors are uniform if not universal. I had lived in innumerable apartment complexes across town myself fifteen years earlier; they all had the same appearance. Doors are doors. Two-bedroom apartments are two-bedroom apartments.

Funny, I think, as I get undressed in the back bedroom, that I should be back here after so many years. I had spent seven years at the church university including my M.S. One would have thought that would be enough. I hadn't been popular with the administration. As a teaching assistant, my own civic government students had turned me in for "criticizing the Brethren" when all I had said was that perhaps those "fine old gentlemen in Salt Lake" should see a movie before they condemned it—as in the case then of *Saturday Night Fever*. My bishop had tried to expel me for not attending church on a regular basis. Actually, my attendance had not even been on an irregular basis.

Now, years later, I had returned to Zion to find what had been so backward and provincial, quaint as a horse buggy or hooped-skirts. I didn't like all the rules, but they hadn't done me any harm, I suppose. And they did keep young people—though not me—out of trouble. Last summer I had returned for a visit—to dredge up some old memories—and had stumbled upon what I thought was this most remarkable girl-woman hanging around the free phone in the Wilkinson Center. From a distance, I pegged her for a freshman. She was impatient, and I wanted to lend her a quarter just to meet her. But what would I be doing with a teenager? What she was, I opined from the phone conversation that followed, was an anorexic woman disguised in the sort of garb one would buy at the Teen Depot at Wal-Mart. She had been to a single adults thing and needed to check in on the baby sitter. We went out a few times, I spoke to her about love; then, my vacation over, I had to hightail it back to Michigan where among the barren crags, I "mete and dole unequal laws unto a savage race."

Now, five months later, and after a ten-day visit which she spent with me in Michigan, it's time to reckon our differences. To this purpose, the holidays have been of little use. The fact of losing my political appointment had made me vacillate—though I have to admit that there's always been a convenient excuse. I had managed to avoid the important dialogues. Tomorrow, early, I must drive to California to visit my parents.

I pull the bedding off the bed. The sheets look none too fresh. I think of Nicolette, whom I have met, and then John, whom I haven't, easing their heavy carcasses onto the mattress. I decided to lay myself down from side to side, rather than the traditional head to toe. The bed, like the apartment, has that feeling of long-time cold. The chill penetrates to the very skeleton

of the bed. But I wrap the comforter about me and in a few moments, I am cozy and asleep.

I wake later that evening. There's a knocking on the door. Then I realize it's the bedroom door. I must confess to a bit of mental confusion, but my perceptions are sharp. My skin feels porous and acutely the chill in the air, the darkness, and a sensation of heavy anxiety. I turn about look over a shoulder—towards the door. It's only a matter of feet away. There. Standing in the hall is a tall form—a man, I think. How long has he been there—I don't know, but it is staring down rather intently on me, glaring in fact. My heart is going wild and expands like an emergency life vest—it fills my entire chest cavity; it is beating desperately, as though it were a man tossed on a violent sea, frantically bailing water from a swamping dingy. Though the windows are blinded, only slivers of moonlight coming in, my eyes clearly delineate the outlines of a light brown topcoat, which is open and showing off a sort of waistcoat of a similar color, sandy-colored hair, short or pulled back, the basic shape of an oval face, the downward turn of the head towards me. It doesn't react. Finally, I say, for I can think of no other explanation of why someone would be in the apartment or rapping at yon chamber door, "Oh, you must be John—John?" I think maybe he's come back to town for another visit. Maybe, though it is not the sort of judgment I would admire, Daphne has given him the key—as she did me—and sent him over to share the apartment.

"You must be John," I say, and when he says nothing, I think, if it's not John, the abusive John who is going to kick my ass, it's a burglar. Whichever it is, I am not going to be caught flat on my back—I won't be the only one who'll be surprised, and I, with not the slightest twinge of lethargy or diminished ability, spring to my feet and lunge at the figure. A galloping beat or two later, I am standing before the door, my hand has somehow found the light switch. I am apparently alone—the air is still charged with ambiguity. The fear is still there, coming from myself. But there is something else—not my own.

The difference between the two moments is so complete that I think I must have dreamt it. Still, I am wondering why I am standing by the door, and not still in bed. And how did I find the light switch—as though I had used it a million times. For several minutes I pace about, trying things out, taking account of things. The rooms are all empty—though the furniture looks now to be awkwardly arranged as though by a maniac—one chair faces directly upon a blank wall, a side-table is now too far from the armchair to be of service; more even than this, the furniture seems to block natural pathways and create inventive hiding places. It all appears to be just *almost* the way I left it before retiring to bed, and frankly, I feel just a bit giddy at the thought that I might be going insane.

Then it occurred to me that it was not my insanity which really shook

me but another's. And it wasn't, I realized then, a sort of physical threat with which I was confronted, but an insane mood bred of terrible longing and isolation. Certainly, these emotions were not mine, but even so, they did threaten, if I may use that word again, threaten to infect me unless I could, by some rational process of deduction, explain the apparition as some sort of cognitive mistake on my part—a momentary optical error.

So I go back and turn the bedroom light off and on. The blackness is really something. I lie back on the bed and try to imagine what I could possibly have seen that would take on the likeness of a man in a topcoat. The door frames a blank hall wall. And there is scarcely enough light to make out a door frame, let alone a fully dressed figure.

Now, I had never seen a ghost before. When I was a young man I had imagined, once again when I was sleeping in a strange house, faces looking in from the windows. But they were, after all, second-story windows. Since then I had fought against my fears with a heavy dose of skepticism. In fact, my entire adult career had been built on scientific rationalism. Do you know what it is like to have the bridgework of an entire philosophy of life, crumble to its foundations because of one little visitation? I didn't know what troubled me more, the uninvited guest or that I may have been living in a sort of enlightened blindness. To admit the reality of spirits is to admit the possibility of angels, and devils and God and Judgment. When I think about it, I realize that this is what Utah is all about. It's all about the hidden world—the secret life behind things.

I haven't led a life of crime, but there have been omissions—lots of omissions. Things I should have said, like the truth, but didn't because no one asked for volunteers. And there were times when I was solicited to say things which I should not. I had not been to church since I had spoken in sacrament meeting about "The Role of Personal Revelation in My Daily Life." Besides, I had found the Mormon church's whole post enlightenment, materialistic-metaphysical system, with and without its hypocrisies and internal contradictions, too heavy an emotional burden. I just want life to make sense and to feel relatively good about myself—just that, instead of the ecstasy and self-loathing I used to bounce between like a pinball.

After a few minutes I picked up the phone. She told me it was 2:30 in the morning. I said, "I'm sorry. Really. I don't know how to say this exactly"—I had never said such a silly thing in my entire life, but there it was—"I think I've seen a ghost." There was a long pause. "Listen, could I come over and sleep on your couch?"

"You're serious?"

"This would be a stupid joke if I weren't. I know it sounds crazy, but . . . "

"Why don't you just go back to sleep?"

"Because I've seen a ghost," I say. "Don't you understand? I can't sleep here."

"Look," Daphne says, "ghosts can't hurt you. They don't hurt people. They just show up."

I couldn't believe I was talking to a human being—let alone someone who was supposed to care about me. I said, "No, you look, I've seen a ghost, and I don't want to sleep here. You think that's abnormal? I don't know anybody who'd want to sleep in a house with a ghost."

"But it's just an apartment . . ."

"Okay. Forget I bothered you—just forget it!"

"What are you going to do?" she asked as I hung up. I started packing my things. By the time I had them out to my car, I was prepared to get in and just keep driving. I started the car engine and her porch light went on. In a moment she was motioning me to come in. Once again I took the blanket and pillow from the back and trudged to her door. When I got there she gave me a look of surprise at seeing the blanket. "Were you going to leave with the key?" she asks.

I toss it at her and turn away in fury, but she calls me back again. "Listen, I was kidding about the key." She looks quizzically about me. Then she asks if I think the ghost could follow me over to her place. I say that I don't know anything about ghosts—I don't know. Maybe, but I always thought they just hung around the same place. "Okay," she says tentatively, "I guess you can stay here," and turns towards her room.

In the morning I overhear her telling Tyler that I slept on the couch because "He thinks he saw a ghost." I have to get on the road if I am going to get to my folks' place at a decent hour. My mother thinks all fatal accidents happen after 10 p.m. But I tell Daphne before I go that she is thoughtless, and I throw in insensitive to hammer the point home. I think there's something wrong with her. She tells me that she has lost a lot of respect for me because of the ghost thing. I should have just gone back to sleep instead of being such a "big chicken"—to use her words, though they would seem more apt coming from Tyler.

Several days later in California, I get a phone call from Daphne. She wants to know if I will be coming back. She says she thinks she was insensitive. Her psychologist says it's because her mother was insensitive and that she can't forgive weakness in people she is supposed to be able to rely on for protection. The apology is gratifying, but, I think, what's she going to think when we're married and I refuse to get in fisticuffs with someone who steals a parking spot or flips us the bird on the highway? I'm going to be a big disappointment, I think.

By the time I return the next week, my ghost is a sort of celebrity in the building. Tyler asks me to describe my ghost over and over again, as though I might be forgetting some detail that would solve some puzzle.

Actually, I have done, in the hiatus, a good deal of thinking about the ghost myself. It is curious that the figure I describe bears no likeness to anyone I know in particular. Also, I think maybe I had buried deep in my subconscious, a fear of confrontation with John. He's a big guy I know, from Daphne's description—about 270 pounds. But the ghost who I thought, by the dim light of reason, might be John wasn't big and chunky, but rather slight. Hey, spirits lose a lot of weight someone jokes.

Maybe it's Nicolette's secret lover, I told Daphne. Nicolette, too, is fulsome. Daphne laughs at the characterization because, although Nicolette, Daphne's one true ally in the building against the incursion of deviance doesn't take lovers either, there is something very sexual about her, something about her weight that makes her not less sexy, but more, if you get my drift. Daphne is amused with my speculation about how disappointed the ghost must have been to find me there in the place of Nicolette. I tell her that actually the conversation with the ghost went something like this: "You must be looking for Nicolette?" "Yea, verily," he moans and rattles a chain. "She didn't tell you? She's visiting relatives. By the way, how can you possibly be interested in such an obese lover?" "It's not the corporal body that a ghost is interested in," he explains, "but her spirit within, and believe me, her spiritual body is skinny and very sexy."

But the manager is the most curious about the report. She comes over to Daphne's with her furry animal and asks me as many questions as Ty. But there's no one she can think of that would fit that bill, she replies. She has been the manager in that building for seventeen years. In all that time, she never heard tell of any man dying or being murdered in that apartment—"though there was this young girl," she concludes, "and it's not like you saw woman."

She says she was a pretty thing, and so I ask the next question, being always morbidly curious about the untimely death of maidens. "Her name was Kristy Brown," she says, and my heart dropped into my socks.

I hadn't thought about Kristy Brown in years, and this is odd because for several years, I thought about her a dozen times a day. That's adolescence for you. I ask a few questions and verify that I had, indeed, known the girl who had occupied the apartment sixteen years ago.

For years after her death, in fact, to this day, I am unable to hear the old Herman's Hermits song without thinking of Kristy.

> Mrs. Brown you've gotta lovely daughter—something, something, something—are something rare. Things have changed, she doesn't love me now, she's made it clear enough, it ain't no use to cry.

Or something like that. One rarely ever knows all the words in Rock

'n' Roll lyrics. Kristy Brown had been my *belle idéale* in high school. She was a year ahead of me, and she had exuded a life force that always left me breathless. I remember how in the middle of exchanging pleasantries after church, she would suddenly lift her arms above her head, arch her back supinely, and smile as though the stretch had been the best tonic. Then she would pause in what she was saying as though to query, "Was that as good for you as it was for me?" Even so, I had kept my distance for fear of tipping my hand and failing outright. When I stepped up to the plate, I wanted to be ready to hit a home run. I was underclass and not in her league. But I had this idea that she really cared for me and hers was a constant teasing to get me to leap that chasm between us, the chasm of age, high school clique, and social class. Let's face it, her father was the "Eggman" of the Bay area—he owned some of the largest chicken farms in the state and, to boot, a church patriarch. Mine was inactive and an encyclopedia salesman. Our worlds never met, except at church. But I fully intended, once I was at BYU to renew the acquaintance. It would be a new ball game then.

The manager repeated what she remembered, and I filled in the holes. Kristy had gotten in a car with a bunch of kids for the drive home at Christmas. A short distance outside of Provo, the car had skidded on a patch of ice, and rolled over twice before righting itself. No one seemed hurt. All were happy to be safe and had decided to start their journey anew the following morning with another car. Minutes after returning to her apartment with some friends, Kristy fainted. Then she stopped breathing. Later they found a bruise on her forearm. They also found a small splinter of bone in her brain.

Daphne seemed fascinated by my narrative. My details were exact and telling. In her mind, I think, Daphne put us together, and she couldn't help admiring—and perhaps envying—the picture I painted of a girl who had it all, including a funeral whose numbers pushed the doors open to fill both the chapel and the cultural hall. I told how at the funeral, an apostle had spoken and how several had hinted that Kristy had been taken to God to prevent her from getting into any real trouble. God, I suppose, became then a sort of a romantic competitor. Now there was an unbreachable class distinction. It had made me furious at the time that people had to make this out as though it were actually a blessing for her, but I understood too that everyone who knew her loved her—in spite of the fact that everyone knew she had smoked dope and was probably no longer a virgin.

"Yeah, well, that wasn't all," the manager said. "She had a guy living in her apartment. I would have thrown him out myself had I not felt so sorry for him."

"You mean after the funeral?" I asked.

"No, no, before that. She had a runaway Mormon missionary living with her," she said, smiled and shook her head. Daphne was flabbergasted.

"The guy had run away from the mission home. He had nowhere to go, no money, just one suit to wear all the time, and Kristy let him stay until he figured something out. I don't think she had sex with him—they didn't act that way together—but then again, I suppose she might have. She was a busy girl that way."

Somehow Daphne got it into her mind that the ghost was the unhappy spirit of the runaway missionary, and like a dog with a bone, wouldn't leave the notion alone.

"Yes, I wondered that myself," I added, wondering what had become of him, too, though I had no reason at all to assume that he too had taken or lost his life.

"Oh him, he just went somewhere," the manager shrugged. "That's another story entirely."

It was amazing to me to be talking about her after all these years. Amazing for me to realize that she had slept in that apartment while I had finished high school. And to think, I would never have known. It made me wonder briefly about the other places I have been. But my mind kept coming back to Kristy and that apartment.

"As a matter of fact, you're not the first to complain of queer things happening in that apartment. Once a tenant complained that the kitchen table reared up on two legs and flopped over on to its back like a dying cockroach. Another tenant complained that a poster of a temple would keep falling down. Even when she would switch it with other pictures. They'd always stay up, but not the one of the temple. But those are only a few complaints over what—sixteen years?"

I had not confessed to anything but a casual acquaintance. Finally, Daphne asked, "So you were friends, or did you, like, go out with her?" There was something strained in her tone.

"Neither," I said, and that was the truth, "but what if I had?"

"Doesn't seem like a very good person—that's all," Daphne said.

"What are you talking about—you didn't know her."

"It's pretty obvious—isn't it? Okay, that she smoked drugs and slept around might be forgiven, but to ruin a missionary—that's really wrong. And if she slept with him—what with the promises that he made in the temple—I'm sorry, I think that's really evil."

I had to suppress my anger. I didn't know why I was getting so angry. I should have been flattered, I thought even at the time. Daphne was showing a little jealousy, but it really annoyed me to think that years later, a young girl who had given such delight to her friends and acquaintances, should be vilified in a shoddy little public assistance rental by a priggish divorcee who had never even met her. Finally, I said, let's change the subject, but we didn't change the subject, we just stopped talking and

watched something or other about Stalinist purges on the Discovery Channel.

Later Tyler came out and did something that somewhat surprised me. He crawled on to my lap, and while I stroked a cowlick, he felt the bicep in my right arm. It was a nice feeling. Daphne was a bit surprised too. He talked to me about some Canadian money that his mother had brought home from a trip we had made to Canada, and he asked me if I could send him some Canadian postage stamps.

Daphne put him back to bed, but his coming out really seemed to cast a glow on things. Daphne sat beside me again and told me she was sorry about lots of things. She couldn't really explain it. She freely admitted that she had never treated anyone as badly. The insights flowed so easily that it was almost as if she were talking about someone else's behavior—no doubt something she had learned from her psychologist. The indifference and criticism, she thought was a sort of defense reflex. She honestly couldn't help it, she said, and I got the impression that she had no intention of trying, for she shifted the focus from herself to me, and the commitment she had been waiting for. "You must really care to put up with so much?"

"I must," I replied, feeling more doubtful than ever. "You know," Daphne said later, "you don't need to go back up to Bob's tonight."

"You mean, Nicolette's?"

"You wouldn't want to sleep there again—not after the ghost business?" She studied my face looking for a clue, a recognition in my eyes that she had already made.

"Oh that, I don't really believe in ghosts," I said nonchalantly.

"But you say you saw it . . . "

"A hallucination."

"The business about not staying here, I don't suppose it matters anymore. You could stay here—on the couch, of course. Why not? You've done it already, and Tyler didn't have a fit or anything."

"It's nice of you to offer, but all the same, for appearance's sake," I said, assuming a posture blatantly hypocritical. "If it's still okay with Nicolette, I'll just stay at her place again."

Daphne sat up on the couch now, less cuddlesome. "Why, you wouldn't rather stay here with me? After all, you complained when I wouldn't let you before. Now, you think it's all right, but I'm telling you, you don't have to!"

"I don't know what you are getting so excited about. I'm just trying to respect your previous wishes. Wouldn't you rather I did for Tyler's sake, and frankly, a bed is a bit more comfortable than a couch."

"So you're complaining about the couch or—what, you want to sleep in my bed or nothing?"

No, I told her, I was implying nothing more than simply a bed at Nicolette's was more comfortable than the floor at Daphne's.

"I thought you were afraid?"

"I thought you hated that in men?"

Her eyes drifted about the room and settled on several inanimate objects as though they had suddenly come to life and required her attention; then just out of the blue she said, "All right, all right—Go to hell then."

Was it the very idea that after a major concession on her part I refused to accept her hospitality? Was that what set her off or something else? That was pretty much the end of that conversation, and the relationship. That evening before I left for Bob's I went over to the manager's for a brief moment. I told her that I had left an electric razor inside and asked to borrow the key. As I opened the front door I heard the door in the bedroom kiss the doorjamb. My heart changed tempo. I paced my way back in the dark, scared in a way, but almost sick with nostalgia. I pictured her in every room, and I wondered if it were merely my imagination, or was it a fusing with hers, her fashioning for me a vision or two of how she wanted to be remembered. I pushed open the bedroom door which had not been closed shut. The room was pretty much as I had left it. I sat on the bed for several moments. I wanted to say something, but I felt silly talking in the dark. All I could finally force to my lips was "God, Kristy . . . what a mess I've made of things. And now here we are lost on both sides."

As I closed the front door on my way out, I heard once again the bedroom door kiss the frame as the night air pushed against the vacuum.

A Shifting Stance

Erich Robert Paul. *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Reviewed by David H. Bailey, a computer scientist at NASA Ames Research Center in Mountain View, California.

THIS IS NOT JUST ANOTHER BOOK ON science and Mormonism. Mercifully absent, for example, are inconclusive and dubious attempts to harmonize different scriptural versions of the Creation with each other and with modern scientific research. Also absent are attempts to apologize for various LDS doctrines in light of trendy scientific theories.

The premise of this book is that Mormonism from its inception has not only distanced itself from mainline Catholic and Protestant movements in classical areas of doctrine, such as the nature of God, the fall of Adam, and predestination, but it has also fashioned a unique, positive scientific philosophy, in keeping with the best tradition of Greek rationalism. The author proceeds to discuss this philosophy in an ambitious and authoritative work.

From our modern perspective, where most mainline Christian churches have made their peace with modern science, it may be difficult for us to appreciate fully the freshness of the approach taken by early LDS writers. Largely for this reason nineteenth-century Mormonism was free of the strife between science and religion that marred other movements of the time. Typical of nineteenth-century LDS writers was George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency, who wrote in 1882, "[T]he Bible . . . was not written to teach men science by scientific methods," and another writer who declared, "[T]rue science is as divine in its sphere as religion." A third progressive thinker was B. H. Roberts, one of seven presidents of the Seventy, who noted that the name "Adam" means "many" and then argued that pre-Adamites implied in the theory of evolution could be comfortably accommodated in LDS thought.

Robert Paul describes the intellectual environment of Joseph Smith's time, pointing out that the country was alive with discussions about a plurality of gods. Many were discussing Thomas Paine's challenge to Christianity: "From whence, then, could arise the solitary and strange conceit that the Almighty, who had millions of worlds equally dependent on his protection, should quit the care of all the rest and come to die in our world, because, they say, one man and one woman had eaten an apple? And, on the other hand, are we to suppose that every world in the boundless creation had an Eve, an apple, a serpent, and a redeemer?"

On page 113 Paul summarizes the themes of early Mormon science. These include notions that matter is eternal, that millions of worlds are needed for God's offspring, that there is a hierarchy of gods and a corresponding hierarchy of worlds, that Kolob is the central controlling sphere, that every world needs

an Adam and a redeemer, that resurrected humans will minister to other worlds, and that there is communication among worlds. Paul documents in detail how these and other concepts were taught by nineteenth-century church leaders, including Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, and Richard R. Lyman. Paul, for perhaps the first time in modern LDS literature, describes in detail Orson Pratt's scientific writings, including his "law of planetary motion" and his book *Key to the Universe.* Pratt's mathematical writings on the solution of cubic and quartic are also mentioned.

Paul then discusses changes in the LDS philosophy of science during the twentieth century. Beginning with the First Presidency's "Origin of Man" statement in 1909, LDS leaders started to withdraw not only from their earlier free-wheeling speculations but also from their generally positive stance toward secular science. This trend intensified with publication of Joseph Fielding Smith's book, *Man: His Origin and Destiny,* and with the incorporation of this literalist philosophy in Bruce R. McConkie's popular *Mormon Doctrine.* Paul also describes material in recent LDS Church Education System manuals that favors a 7,000-year age of the earth and questions the scientific age of 4.5 billion years.

Paul is quite direct in stating the dangers of such teachings. Not only does this philosophy run afoul of increasing well-established scientific results, but "when neoliteralist Mormons adopt these ideas, they must realize they place themselves squarely into the evangelical Christian camp." One positive development mentioned by Paul is a 1987 *Ensign* article by Morris Petersen, professor of geology at Brigham Young University, on fossils and the age of the earth.

One final topic Paul deals with is the search for extraterrestrial life (SETI) and the anthropic principle of cosmology. Many scientists have speculated on these topics, of course, but recently NASA has initiated a serious effort to search the radio frequency spectrum for signals from distant intelligent societies. Paul discusses in detail, again probably for the first time in LDS literature, the Drake equation that estimates the probability that life exists elsewhere in our galaxy. Paul mentions how scientists, once optimistic about such a possiblity, are now increasingly pessimistic or at least neutral. Paul points out that if SETI explorations continue to come up empty-handed, this may pose a serious problem for Mormon cosmology which has embraced pluralism in such an essential way.

Paul concludes that Mormonism needs to divest itself of any obligation to natural theology: "Properly conceived, science is not, and should never become, an intellectual partner of theology—including Mormon theology. . . . One can say that genuine faith can only be sustained outside the dimension of historical and scientific evidence."

If there is a weakness in Paul's book it is that it understates the strength of the current neoliteralist movement in the LDS church. In my opinion, this trend deserves more attention than Paul has devoted to it. For if it continues much of the discussion in Paul's book may be moot. In addition, many young LDS scientists who already experience a degree of pain and ostracism for their scientific beliefs may be further marginalized by the church. Finally, the church may lose credibility among educated people generally.

One example of this modern-day

literalism is Boyd K. Packer's 1988 talk at Brigham Young University entitled "The Law and the Light." In this speech, Elder Packer stakes out a position sharply opposed to certain fields of modern science, such as evolution. Although the published version of this speech is prefaced by a clearly worded disclaimer, it is being cited by some as justification for an antagonistic stance toward modern science. In Paul's book, this influential talk was given only fleeting mention in a note.

In spite of this, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* is a much needed and very well executed piece of modern Mormon scholarhip. I heartily recommend it for thinking Latter-day Saints.

A Question of Perspective

Marjorie Newton. *Hero or Traitor: A Biographical Study of Charles Wesley Wandell.* Independence, MO: Independence Press, 1992.

Reviewed by Lance D. Chase, professor of history, Brigham Young University—Hawaii.

MARJORIE NEWTON'S 60-PAGE BIOGraphy of Charles Wesley Wandell, *Hero or Traitor,* inaugurates the John Whitmer Historical Association's scholarly monograph series. Those who have read her prize-winning *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Austrailia* will be especially interested in Wandell who could be considered a founder of both the LDS and RLDS churches in Australia and the RLDS church in Tahiti.

Born in 1819, Wandell joined the LDS church in New York in 1837. He served as a Mormon missionary and in the church historian's office in Nauvoo, Illinois. When the majority of Saints went west after Joseph Smith's death, Wandell remained behind, becoming inactive in the church. By 1849 he was in California where he renewed his Mormon church activity. Two years later he and John Murdock opened Australia to Mormon missionary work, and by 1853 Wandell led the first group of Australian Saints to Utah. He lapsed again into inactivity upon his return to California but later filled positions of responsibility in the LDS church. He subsequently lived in Beaver, Utah, and Pioche, Nevada, by which time he was again inactive in the church. He then moved to California where by March 1873 he had begun his association with the RLDS movement. The following November he and missionary companion Glaud Rodger sailed for Australia, stopping in Tahiti where they converted apparently abandoned LDS members to the RLDS church before continuing their work in Australia in 1874. By March 1895 Wandell was dead and his body was buried in Sydney.

While Newton was hampered by a lack of primary documents on Wandell—his journals were lost in a fire—her careful work is in evidence. She uncovers discrepancies pertaining to Wandell in the work of Juanita Brooks and Robert Cleland and discusses Wandell's own inconsistencies in his attempts to explain his disaffection from the RLDS church. "Minor character"

though Wandell may have been, the 3,933 RLDS in Tahiti today and the 3,755 in Australia attest to his ongoing influence.

RLDS historian Roger Launius explains in his foreword that whether one sees Wandell as hero or traitor depends on one's religious perspective. Newton, a member of the LDS church, rightly describes her subject as an enigma, which is how she also leaves him. Both she and her readers are left to ponder the influence Wandell's mining interests had on his religious life, the role the temple played in his disaffection from the LDS church, how plural marriage and his own two civil marriages impacted his faith, and what part the democracy-versus-theocracy issue had on his final decision to become part of the RLDS movement. Finally, can an increasing neurosis explain Wandell's dissatisfaction with his first church and his difficulty getting along with the California members of his new one? While it would be gratifying to have more answers than we are given in her book, Newton has acquainted us with the significance of these issues in the life of Charles Wesley Wandell.

There are some minor flaws in *Hero or Traitor*. For instance, Newton tells us Wandell was born in Courtland in northeastern New York. But there is no town by that name there now, and the one which used to exist near present-day Peekskill was spelled Cortlandt. Also Newton tells us Wandell lived in Pioche, Nevada, for four and a half years but has him moving there in 1866 and leaving in 1873, seven years later.

Furthermore, Newton quotes J. N. Rawling as saying, "[T]he Utah Church before 1890 did not regard the parties to a plural marriage as committing sexual sin . . . provided such a marraige complied with strict conditions and was performed by the First Presidency or their consent" (33). Since Newton does not correct Rawling we can only infer her position on the matter. But B. Carmon Hardy in *Solemn Covenant* argues that on three separate occasions LDS church president John Taylor said authority to perform plural marriages had been delegated to hundreds of men and that such ceremonies could be performed almost anywhere. "Plural marriages," said Hardy, "both with and without the sealing ordinance continued to be performed almost anywhere" (53-54). The strict conditions and consent described by Rawling and allowed to stand by Newton are idealized versions of actual plural marriages as practiced by LDS.

Finally, Newton's conclusion appears somewhat naive when she writes, after trying to resolve what may have been a difference between Wandell's private and public persona on plural marriage: "if we accept that Wandell knew polygamy was practiced by church leaders in post-assassination Nauvoo and in Utah and yet steadfastly denied that it was an official doctrine of the church, we must assume that he held the church and its post-assassination leaders to be in apostasy" (34). Mormon delusiveness relative to its private practice and public position on plural marriage is well documented from Joseph Smith to Joseph F. Smith. Nor is "lying for the kingdom" a phenomenon of the religious only in modern times. Consider Abraham and Pharaoh when the latter asked the identity of the prophet's wife in Genesis 12.

But this is perhaps quibbling. Newton is a thoroughgoing professional. Her writing that there "is overwhelming evidence that Joseph did indeed reveal 'the principle'" contradicts the public position of the RLDS church and demonstrates the courage of the historian to

discuss the ever-present discrepancy between church leaders' pronouncements and church members' beliefs and practices in all churches. It also demonstrates the commitment to scholarship of the John Whitmer Historical Association in inviting Newton to initiate its monograph series and in publishing views (concerning Joseph Smith and plural marriage) which are not those of many RLDS church members or their church. Both historian Marjorie Newton and the John Whitmer Historical Association deserve praise for this biography.

Non-traditional Christianity

Daniel C. Peterson and Stephen D. Ricks. *Offenders for a Word: How Anti-Mormons Play Word Games to Attack the Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1992.

Reviewed by Massimo Introvigne, Center for Studies on New Religions, Torino, Italy.

ALTHOUGH HUGH NIBLEY HAS OFten argued that there is no such a thing as a Mormon theology (theology being intrinsically incompatible with continuous revelation), a number of Nibley's followers have produced what in any other religious tradition would be classified as theological apologetics. Many defenses of the LDS faith have challenged the core thesis of Evangelical counter-Mormonism that Mormons are not Christians. Some may think that the Mormon argument has been summarized astutely enough in Stephen E. Robinson's *Are Mormons Christians?* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991) and little remained to be said. Robinson's book, however, is primarily theoretical, while Peterson and Ricks's *Offenders for a Word* guide us into the underworld of contemporary anti-Mormonism.

A history of twentieth-century anti-Mormonism remains to be written, and this is not the main purpose of Peterson and Ricks's book. However, both the text and footnotes are extremely interesting for students of the anti-Mormon movement. The authors appear to be aware of the recent scholarship on this subject and of the difference between a secular anti-Mormon and a sectarian counter-Mormon movement, the latter being divided into the classical camp chiefly represented by the late Walter Martin and by Jerald and Sandra Tanner (which regards Mormonism as a heresy) and a more recent fringe, at times seemingly lunatic (including Ed Decker and William Schnoebelen), which prefers to see Mormonism as a product of the Devil, the "true" author of Mormon revelations.

Offenders for a Word consists of two sections. In the second (195-212) the authors survey the use of the derogatory word "cult" and deny that Mormonism is a "cult" in the common sense of the term. They persuasively show that the term "cult" has become almost meaningless, a weapon against one's enemies rather than a scholarly concept, and that the term is no longer used by serious academics on religious movements. They could have added that some mainline churches are now joining scholars in

urging members to avoid using the word "cult" altogether. The Roman Catholic church devoted its Consistory of 1991 (the largest gathering of cardinals in the history of the church) to the two issues of abortion and new religious movements, regarded by the Pope as the "pastoral priorities of the 1990s." The general report of the Consistory, authored by the Nigerian cardinal Francis Arinze, suggested that the word "cult" has no scholarly meaning and should be abandoned in favor of "new religious movement."

The largest portion of Peterson and Ricks's book (55-191) is devoted to listing and refuting reasons normally given by Evangelical counter-cultists why Mormons should not be regarded as Christians. Some of these reasons—coming from the lunatic fringe of counter-Mormonism—are easily refuted, and the authors have no problem in showing that—should these arguments be accepted—not only the LDS church but older, traditional, and well established denominations could also be regarded as "non-Christian." At least a dozen of the arguments reviewed and refuted are simple variations of the general theme that Mormons are not Christian because they do not subscribe to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Although ecumenical dialogue has clarified that Catholics and Protestants are less distinct from one another on this point than many may believe, Peterson and Ricks are right when they argue that by counter-Mormon standards Roman Catholics would probably be branded as "non-Christian" as well. And indeed they are: in the most extreme fringe most anti-Mormon authors are also fanatically anti-Catholic. Even if Roman Catholics were not excluded, other members of Eastern pre-Calcedonian churches or other obviously Christian groups would be.

The authors' most serious problem lies with the Mormon concept of God and godhood. They deny that the theory that "As God is, man may become" is not Christian by quoting the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of *theopoiesis* (76), where it is often repeated that the ultimate aim of the human beings is indeed to become God. The authors may have added that this theory is of increasing interest to some Roman Catholic theologians (see François Brune's book whose significant title is *Pour que l'homme devienne Dieu*, 2d ed., St-Jean-de-Braye: Dangles, 1992). The problem is, however, that in these theologies *theopoiesis* is interpreted through the Greek philosophical categories of participation and analogy, while—as Peterson and Ricks point out—Joseph Smith had little use for Greek metaphysics. If the Mormon "As God is, man may become" is reduced to the classical *theopoiesis* of the Eastern fathers of the church, it clearly becomes a variation of an accepted theme in a respected Christian tradition. Although interesting, this would become a non-literal interpretation of deification as taught by Joseph Smith. Peterson and Ricks admit that it is still more difficult to reconcile with traditional Christianity the idea that "As man is, God once was": "it is quite true," they write, "that . . . no ancient Christian text seems to teach that God the Father was once a man, or that he advanced from that condition to his current status"; it was left to Joseph Smith to reveal this "wonderful mystery" (89). They add that "for all practical purposes" God is "ungenerated" *from the point of view of humans*, and is revealed as "once a man" only if considered on a greater cosmic scale. Some readers may find the treatment of this crucial issue as too short, and many non-Mormons will probably

feel that the "God once a man" theme is indeed more difficult to reconcile with classical Christianity.

Are Mormons Christians? As a long-time Roman Catholic student of Mormonism, I have often replied by referring to Jan Shipps's thesis of a "new religious tradition." If pressed for an answer I believe that Mormonism is Christian primarily because of the personal relation it teaches between Jesus Christ and the individual and the collective religious experiences of Latter-day Saints. I would however qualify my opinion by noting that some themes in Joseph Smith's 1844 King Follett discourse are difficult to reconcile with any brand of classical Christianity. Ultimately, however, I ask the inquirer whether the question is capable of being answered, since there are literally hundreds of definitions of "Christian" and "Christianity," most of them denominationally biased and none of them accepted by any significant scholarly consensus. This is the point Peterson and Ricks make on pages 1-32 of their book, and it is a good point.

Although their book is clearly written for faith-promoting and apologetic purposes, *Offenders for a Word* shall be read with interest both by scholars interested in the varieties of contemporary anti-Mormonism and by non-Mormon Christians who are sincerely interested in understanding the beliefs of the Latter-day Saints. Readers may conclude that the authors understate their case when they argue that the only "coherent criterion" to determine whether groups and movements are Christian is whether "they sincerely say they are" (191). Another criterion they mention—the "commitment to Jesus Christ" (27)—when assessed from the point of view of the psychology and the sociology of religion through a careful survey of both the historical and the contemporary LDS community is a more meaningful criterion to judge whether Mormonism, or any other religious movement, is "Christian." By the latter standard, Mormons are indeed Christians—perhaps nontraditional Christians, from the point of view of theology, but they are, from the point of view of a psycho-sociological evaluation of the daily religious experience of the Mormon people, more traditionally Christian than even they themselves sometimes believe.

Anti-Christian Fundamentalism

R. A. Gilbert. *Casting the First Stone: The Hypocrisy of Religious Fundamentalism and Its Threat to Society.* Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element Books Limited, 1993. 184 pp.

Reviewed by Michael W. Homer, attorney, Salt Lake City, Utah.

R. A. GILBERT'S BOOK, *CASTING THE FIRST STONE,* is one of an increasing number of written responses to uninformed attacks by Fundamentalists against new religious movements and any other religious group which does not fit within the Fundamentalists' "uncompromising version of the Christian faith" (16; see, e.g., Karl Keating, *Catholicism and Fundamentalism, The Attack on "Roman-*

ism" by "Bible Christians" [San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988], and Daniel C. Peterson and Stephen D. Ricks, *Offenders for a Word: How Anti-Mormons Play Word Games to Attack the Latter-day Saints* [Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1992]). These critics are fundamentally dogmatic and feel absolutely justified by the Bible to attack every "cult" they believe deviates from essential Christian theology even if many of their descriptions and characterizations of the beliefs and practices of these "non-Christian" religions are either distortions or ignorant.

Although many of Gilbert's examples are from the more lunatic fringe of the Fundamentalist community he also chronicles distortions utilized by less strident groups and shows that Fundamentalist targets are not limited to new religious movements (such as Mormons, Jehovah Witnesses, Unification church, Hare Krishna, etc.)—they also attack older, established movements such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Roman Catholicism (81, 173). Gilbert, who is one of the world's leading experts on Freemasonry, also cites numerous examples of Fundamentalist assaults on the Craft, and shows how even fringe Fundamentalists find non-sectarian allies in their war of intolerance in groups with belief systems as narrow as theirs (i.e., scientists) (63) or others who know a good story when they see one and are as willing as the Fundamentalists to play fast and loose with the facts (i.e., the media) (56-57).

The current "good story" is the recurring claim that cults are satanic, that there is a worldwide satanic movement, and that there is widespread satanic ritual child abuse. Although recognizing "that child abuse exists cannot be denied, and the dedication of those who seek to rescue children from abuse and to heal their damaged psyches cannot be praised too highly" (146), Gilbert effectively argues the lack of any credible evidence that such abuse is the result of widespread rituals, inspired by either Satanists of Satan-inspired cults. Gilbert also makes the point (quoting an F.B.I. investigator) that: "There just flat out aren't enough missing people to account for all the ritual murders that police officials . . . believe are occurring" (167). Of course Gilbert's point is that facts have little to do with most of the criticism made by Fundamentalists on these and other issues. Although Gilbert does not discuss recent allegations made in this context against Mormonism by the anti-Mormon/counter-Mormon milieu, some of those who are attacking other groups are Mormon haters as well and their names, tactics, and arguments have a familiar ring. Even though there is not a shred of evidence to support Fundamentalist claims that worldwide Satanism exists or that Satanism-inspired ritual abuse actually occurs, Gilbert describes how these themes perpetuate themselves, based on exposés by ex-members (43) and on secondary sources which long since have been disproven but which rise again with each new generation (106).

Finally, Gilbert asks whether such criticisms, by those to whom tolerance is unacceptable and who misrepresent by error and deceit the religious practices of other groups for their own ends (by making emotionally charged allegations involving children, Satanism, brainwashing, sexual abuse, etc.), should be ignored as they continue to cry wolf. Gilbert concludes that it would be extremely dangerous to our religious liberties and to the historical record to fail to respond to these "nominally Christian enemies of tolerance" (170).

Gilbert's book is important for students of Mormonism not only because it

places the continued assault on the "Christianity" of Mormonism by Christian Fundamentalists in a broader context but it also serves as a reminder that comparative religious studies should be premised on facts and understanding rather than intolerance and misrepresentations.

Bean Counting

Michael J. Noble

She adds up all the names
people have given her over the years:
"vain, difficult, cold."
Someone once told her that
people are expendable to her.
She recites this phrase for the 100th time.
I wonder if she believes it.

She argues that her list is qualitative
and mine quantitative because
I number the times
she's touched me without provocation
and the times we've taken-out
instead of eaten-in.

I defend my car analogy once again
but she still doesn't like love
as a luggage-burdened Volkswagen
in the slow lane
or lust as a Ferrari speeding
out of control.
One more smart-ass comment
sets her off, but I don't check myself.
I rush through all the reasons why
I'm mad and right.
She requires proof, but I know when I speak,
my evidence breaks apart.

Her list for me;
mine for her.
"I won't be your patriarch,
protector, provider, etc."
This gives us some common ground.
She says she won't be my mother,
my angel, or my baby.
I smile and take into account
the fact that once again
I'm giving in.
From now on,
I'll learn to count in quiet.

CONTRIBUTORS

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ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHER

The photography of Elfie Huntington typically "focuses on people in real-life situations," says curator Cary Stevens Jones in her exhibit catalog, *A Woman's View: The Photography of Elfie Huntington (1868-1949)*, sponsored by the Utah Women's History Association and toured by the Utah Arts Council from 1988-93. Three important elements, "geography or sense of place, autobiography, and metaphor," converge in Huntington's work "to form a powerful, personal vision," says Jones. Huntington "photographed community rituals, picnics, parades, men going to war, July Fourth celebrations, sleigh riding, and harvesting. She also portrayed [Springville,Utah's] darker side-drunks collapsed in the streets, fights breaking out, and preachers rolling into town in boxcars to warn sinners of impending doom." Although she was deaf because of meningitis, Huntington refused to be considered handicapped. "She was a complex woman with the capability and courage to confront defects in society and in herself...who in her intensity to describe the fringe of society gave us many unsettling visual experiences. She intended to go beyond surface appearances, to expose the illusions of youth, of harmony, of well-being, of innocence by looking straight ahead with the camera." Jones says Huntington's work is separated from "the purely historical or geographical photographs that dominate nineteenth-century photography" because of its deliberate use of metaphor. "She saw Springville as a stage," says Jones, "from which to make larger comments about life...In her driving quest to evoke, suggest, and communicate complex thoughts and feelings, she established herself as one of the most creative and innovative photographers of her time."

Dialogue is pleased to present the work of Elfie Huntington in this issue and expresses gratitude to Cary Stevens Jones, Director of Hippodrome Galleries at FHP Healthcare in Salt Lake City, Utah, for her efforts in preserving and promoting the work of this exceptional artist and for giving *Dialogue* permission to reproduce these images and statements from her catalog. (See original work in Huntington-Bagley Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.)

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DIALOGUE
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