DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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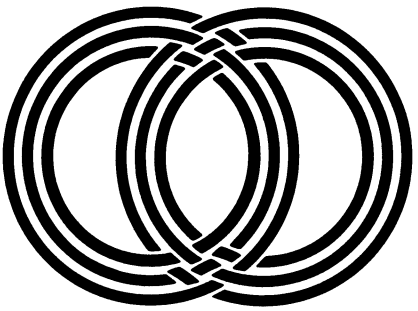

DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, VOL. 28, NO. 2, SUMMER 1995

CONTENTS

LETTERS iv

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

SATAN'S FOOT IN THE DOOR: DEMOCRATS AT BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY — *Paul C. Richards* — 1

COMING OF AGE? THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS IN THE 1960s — *Roger D. Launius* — 31

FREEDOM AND GRACE: RETHINKING THEOCRACY — *Janice M. Allred* — 61

THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY: PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON MORMON INTELLECTUAL LIFE — *O. Kendall White, Jr.* — 83

CONSECRATION, STEWARDSHIP, AND ACCOUNTABILITY: REMEDY FOR A DYING PLANET — *Larry L. St. Clair and Clayton C. Newberry* — 93

FAMINE RELIEF, THE CHURCH, AND THE ENVIRONMENT — *Donald L. Gibbon* — 101

SCRIPTURAL STUDIES

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND JESUS — *Stephen J. Patterson* — 111

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WHY DO SOME PERCEIVE THE CHURCH TO BE A CULT? INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PERCEPTIONS VERSUS REALITY — *M. Lou Chandler* — 121

PATHOLOGICAL CULTISM AND PUBLIC POLICY — *James E. Salisbury* — 135

FICTION

RAPTURE — *Johnny Townsend* — 153

POETRY

SATURDAY: ONE VERSION (FOURTH WEEK OF AN UNIDENTIFIED ILLNESS) — *Dixie Partridge* — xvii

BECAUSE LAST NIGHT WAS FRIDAY NIGHT — *Holly Welker* — 30

TONI'S SONG — *Paul Swenson* — 58

REPLY TO: "YOU ARE A SPIRITUAL PERSON" — *Carol Clark Ottesen* — 82

GHOST MONTH — *Holly Welker* — 100

SLANT SONNET FOR MELISSA — *Linda Sillitoe* — 120

BRIDES OF THE AFTERNOON — *Paul Swenson* — 149

CEREAL POLYGAMY — *R. A. Christmas* — 161

HOW THINGS LOOK FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LAKE — *R. A. Christmas* — 162

THE FREEWAY — *Lee Robison* — 174

REVIEWS — 163

THE TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATIVE BIBLICAL CRITICISM — *Scott Kenney*
Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion
By Philip L. Barlow

CAN YOU CHANGE? — *Marybeth Raynes*
Born That Way? A True Story of Overcoming Same-Sex Attraction with Insights for Friends, Families, and Leaders
By Erin Eldridge

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS — *Jessie L. Embry*
The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism
By Grant Underwood

LISTENING TO EACH OTHER — *Florien J. Wineriter*
Religion, Feminism, and Freedom of Conscience: A Mormon/Humanist Dialogue
Edited by George D. Smith

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS — 177

ABOUT THE ARTIST / ART CREDITS — Inside back cover

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FORTHCOMING IN

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought

FALL 1995

"Dancing through the Doctrine:
Observations on Religion and Feminism,"
by Cecilia Konchar Farr

"Dissent and Schism in the Early Church:
Explaining Mormon Fissiparousness,"
by Danny L. Jorgensen

"Changes in LDS Hymns:
Implications and Opportunities,"
by Douglas Campbell

"Pillars of My Family: A Brief Saga,"
by Lydia Nibley

"Near-sex Experiences (Confessions of a Mormon Girl),"
by Karin Anderson England

"Divine Dialogue and the Lord's Prayer:
Socio-rhetorical Interpretation of Texts,"
by Vernon K. Robbins

"Terry Tempest Williams's *Refuge:*
Sentimentality and Separation,"
by Laura L. Bush

On Wednesday, 9 August 1995, a scholarly symposium open to the public will mark the 50th anniversary of the publication of Fawn McKay Brodie's *No Man Knows My History.*

Morning and afternoon sessions at the University of Utah will feature papers by Newell G. Bringhurst, Roger D. Launius, Mario S. De Pillis, Lavina Fielding Anderson, Mauricio Mazon, and Todd Compton, who will examine the work from a variety of critical perspectives—historiographical, literary, psychological, and religious.

An evening panel of the participating scholars and commentators Sterling M. McMurrin and Leonard J. Arrington will form the opening plenary session of the annual Sunstone Symposium at the Salt Lake Hilton.

Organizers are Linda Newell and William Mulder, with support from the Utah Humanities Council, the University of Utah Humanities Center, and the Sunstone Foundation. Every session will provide for audience response.

THE

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A Fundamental Change of Heart

I want to comment on Catherine Hammon Sundwall's letter in the fall 1994 issue, itself a comment on Michael Quinn's outstanding article, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts" (in the summer 1993 issue). I disagree with many of Ms. Sundwall's fundamental premises and with many of her conclusions.

I first want to make my own biases clear so that my agenda is not hidden. I think I am a believing and practicing Mormon. But unlike many other Latter-day Saints, I never warmed to President Benson. This is partly because I could never accept his ultra-conservative politics (I am on the moderate-to-liberal end of the spectrum), and partly because I found his religious writings and speeches permeated with the same authoritarianism that characterized his politics; a good example is his speech, "Fourteen Fundamentals in Following the Prophets."

This authoritarianism was and still is anathema to me. I respected President Benson because of the office he held, but I never loved him in the same way I did President Kimball, whom I consider a prophet very much in the Old Testament and Book of Mormon traditions—certainly the greatest our century has so far seen—and who personified kindness, gentleness, meekness, and love unfeigned. I still miss President Kimball greatly.

As to the legacy that President Benson will leave Mormons and Mormonism, I think the jury is still out. Lavina Fielding Anderson chronicled in *Dialogue*'s spring 1993 issue the sad tale of the institutional church's increasing repression of dissidents or "alternative voices"—real and perceived—during the 1980s and early 1990s. This culminated in the excommunications of the September Six and other more recent disciplinary actions against persons who dissent or who are perceived as heterodox or liberal.

I don't know that we can attribute these anti-Christian actions to President Benson directly. But I do believe the authoritarian values he articulated in his political and religious statements both fostered a climate in which Mormons willingly scapegoated their own on the altar of supposed orthodoxy and gave aid and comfort to those who actually performed the sacrifices. Of course, President Benson was not the only church leader to voice such sentiments. But he did set an example that others willingly followed. And because of his high position in the hierarchy, his statements had a great deal of credibility. On the other hand, the extreme right's wholesale take-over of the church that some commentators foresaw upon President Benson's ascension thankfully never came to pass. Islands of moderation remain, although they may be under siege.

I now hope that President Hunter's call for reconciliation will herald a new era, help us to heal the wounds that have divided our house against itself over the last decade, and finally bring the unjustly disenfranchised back into the fold. I will return to these themes later.

There you have my biases. Ms. Sundwall's conservative and institutional biases color her analysis of Professor Quinn's article, though she never admits them except to say that she too considers communism to have been an "Evil Empire," echoing President Ronald Reagan's overheated rhetoric of the early 1980s. She then

goes on to credit this "Evil Empire" mindset and President Benson in particular with cracking the foundations of communism and believes that Benson's extremism was justified on this basis. Again, I think the jury is still out. But I wonder if the verdict will support her version of the facts. It is on this particular portion of her letter that I wish to comment the most.

Professor Eugene England argues convincingly in his recent *Sunstone* essay, "What Covenant Will God Receive in the Desert," that communism in Eastern Europe collapsed from the weight of its own bloated and sterile ideology, finding itself impotent in the face of internal pressures it could not understand, contain, or refute. He believes, and I agree, that the existence of a significant American political or military contribution to the demise of Eastern European communism is open to debate.

History appears to support this interpretation, although conclusions are still tentative. Twice America confronted communism on the battlefield, once in Korea and once in Vietnam. The result was inconclusive in the former case and a debacle in the latter from which we have yet to heal. American diplomatic history from the 1980s onward is replete with story after story of our propping up corrupt, repressive right-wing dictatorships and tampering with democratically elected governments, sometimes fatally, all in the name of anti-communism—the leaders we supported might have been bastards, but at least they were "our bastards." In so doing, we squandered whatever credibility and goodwill we had. The Vietnam conflict showed the impotency in our foreign policy.

Yet another example is in the recent rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East, particularly in Iran. America was so preoccupied with the bogey of communism that for decades we propped up a hereditary despot against the will of his people. Ultimately, America suffered a humiliation sufficient to bring down a U.S. president when the Ayatollah Khomenei and his followers turned vicious against our people and property in Iran.

During the 1980s under Reagan and Bush we funded one side of an insane arms buildup that allowed us to annihilate the world many times over. The only result of this was to leave America with a choking debt burden that will haunt our posterity for decades. This is part of Reagan's dubious legacy to America, the legacy of those who sought to bring down the "Evil Empire" by force of arms.

In all this it's doubtful we appreciably slowed the spread of communism anywhere in the world. But even more serious, as Professor England points out, has been the spiritual decline that accompanied our bankrupt foreign policy and the massive arms buildup over the last decade. As Gene said, "God has sent leanness into our souls." Nor was this unforeseen. President Kimball warned against just this occurrence in his stunning prophetic essay, "The False Gods We Worship" (*Ensign,* June 1976). America ignored him. Now we pay the price.

Sadly, many Mormons of my generation have embraced this political and military agenda and made it part of the church's agenda, ignoring Christ's teachings to "love our enemies," just as President Kimball foretold. (In my own limited experiences, my readings of his 1976 sermon to priesthood quorums and Sunday

school classes were usually met with defiance, angry silence, or an impassioned plea to defeat "godless communism" by whatever means necessary, especially armed might.) The Mormon equating of extreme conservatism, laissez-faire capitalism, wealth, political power, social status, and righteousness are well documented.

Today we reap the bitter harvest of our godless fascination with weapons of destruction and military force as a legitimate instrument of foreign policy. Our youth, who call themselves Generation X—nameless and faceless—murder themselves and others in our streets and schools with guns and knives. (Zion, especially Salt Lake City, is not immune. Two young boys recently shot and killed each other in the parking lot of a Salt Lake supermarket simply because one stared too long at the other and the latter took offense. Murders among teenagers are at an all-time high.)

Worldwide, terrorists kill innocents in the name of political expediency. Battles rage unchecked in Africa, the Middle East, and Southern and Southeast Asia. All the while, America pumps billions into weapons development and procurement, forcing schools to raise funds for the sacred task of educating our children by selling cookies. We foul the environment, despoiling our Mother Earth, yet governments permit the use of state-sanctioned violence against environmentalists and indigenous peoples who attempt to halt the rape of our planet and save our precious resources. This, too, is part of the Reagan legacy, a belief that all disputes can best be resolved by force and that the ends justify the means, however reprehensible.

As Americans, our commitment to armed might has increased but our commitment to social justice has waned. Now the homeless crowd our streets and shelters. Physical abuse of spouses and sexual and physical abuse of innocent children, those who ought to be most dear to us, increase year by year. Drug and alcohol abuse, greed, unethical business and legal practices, gambling, and sexual immorality run rampant as we seek without success to heal the hollowness in our souls with money, things, and ephemeral pleasure. Sadly, this is the most pernicious part of Reagan's legacy, and the very lie that Satan perpetrated on Cain: the secret of Master Mahan, converting human life into money.

What does all of this have to do with Quinn's article? Just this: The virulent anti-communism Elder Benson and others preached in the 1950s and 1960s happened within the context of America's ongoing spiritual and ethical decline. The beliefs that communism was the source of all our ills and that conservative politics alone could save us, to which Elder Benson contributed nationally and among the church, set the agenda that Reagan and his ilk followed unchecked. It became the lodestar of American foreign and domestic policy in the 1980s. But these policies, coupled with our fanatical devotion to military technology as the savior of the West—displacing the person and atonement of Jesus Christ—and our false confidence in the authority and wisdom of the few to set policy for the many, failed us miserably, leaving our country financially, morally, and spiritually naked.

Now that communism has been revealed for the empty shell it was, we search for new enemies to fight, to

blame, to scapegoat: There must be some cause why we are not fulfilled, and that cause must be found and brutally eliminated. In Mormonism's case, we have turned our anger on ourselves, blaming "alternative voices" and the heterodox—real or perceived—among our members for the unease we feel. So we decide to rid ourselves of the so-called unorthodox among us—they are pariahs.

But the true cause of our malaise, as Shakespeare pointed out so long ago, is not external: it is in ourselves. Each one of us, individually and collectively, must undergo a fundamental change of heart. We must repent with broken hearts and contrite spirits; forswear our pride in technology, wisdom, wealth, and armed might; renounce unrighteous dominion and war; proclaim peace; and return battered and broken to Christ, who is the One who will heal us with his stripes and who has solemnly covenanted with us on the cross and through his prophets that he will do so. Only thus can we be whole again, in our souls and in our church.

Professor Quinn ably chronicles one facet of the rise and temporary triumph of Mormon anti-communism, ultraconservatism, and authoritarianism. Contrary to Ms. Sundwall's assertions, this fits within the overall context in which it occurred. Just as happened to our country, the rise of authoritarianism and the need to scapegoat perceived enemies has left our church floundering spiritually. Quinn shows some of the roots of that problem.

This work is thus a necessary foundation on which other historians and political scientists can and will build as we seek to understand the sociological, political, and religious forces that betrayed us in the latter half of the twentieth century and left us frightened, angry, hateful, and spiritually bankrupt, both in and out of the church. (I disagree that there is something intrinsically demeaning or unworthy in assembling data and chronicling facts. It's a necessary first step to meaningful analysis, as any historian, scientist, or lawyer will attest.) In this case, the story Professor Quinn has assembled is not pleasant, but it is absolutely essential for us. Thank you, sir, for doing so. May we learn from your efforts, so that we are not condemned to live out this history again. And may God have mercy on us.

Postscript:

The sacrament meeting topic in the Woodruff 2nd Ward, Idaho Falls Ammon West Stake, on 20 November 1994, was "gratitude." After two girls read their talks from the *New Era*, the main speaker arose. He is an ordinance worker at the Idaho Falls temple, recently retired as southern California coordinator of the John Birch Society. For the next thirty minutes, we were regaled with his concept of gratitude. Foremost was the result of the recent election, in which, as he put it, "God took matters into his own hands" by engineering the defeat of many liberals at various political levels, signaling the eventual downfall of "President Clinton and her husband" and the coming of a new day in American politics. He took up his remaining time promoting the extreme right-wing agenda and showing how there was no meaningful difference between ultraconservative politics and the gospel.

It was as blatant a violation of the

Brethren's oft-repeated dictum that our worship meetings should be politically neutral as I have ever seen, and I include many Elders' quorum meetings where the primary topic of discussion has been the evil of the IRS. Sadly, at the end of the service the speaker was surrounded by a large crowd who appeared to have agreed with everything he said and wanted to congratulate him on his political and religious acumen. I was so offended by the whole performance, I left the chapel midway through the talk and did not return to church that day. (Had I stood to bear my testimony of the divine nature of liberalism or the mission of Teddy Kennedy, I doubt my reception would have been so warm.)

I recount this story mostly because of the way the speaker established his credibility in beginning his talk: Everything he was going to tell us, he said, was based upon talks that then Elder Ezra Taft Benson had given to various gatherings of the John Birch Society that the speaker had attended over the years. And Elder Benson, as everyone knew, appeared at these Birch Society meetings and said what he said there under the direct guidance of, by the explicit direction of, and with the blessings of, the First Presidency of the church. All in all, it was a very effective tactic and brought our speaker a great deal of authority from the outset. I suppose nobody but myself had read Quinn's article, and realized that these statements might not be as true as the speaker wished they were.

Alan E. Barber
Idaho Falls, Idaho

A "Political" Theory of the Atonement

Dialogue readers were richly benefitted by Lorin Hansen's masterful article on "The 'Moral' Atonement" (Spring 1994). I don't think I've ever read such an exhaustive (or persuasive) presentation of the history of Christian thought over time of the nature and meaning of this central doctrine.

I realize that not being a lawyer I'm perhaps obtuse about fine distinctions, but regarding the difference between Origen's (not Origin) Ransom notion and Anselm's Satisfaction theory, it seems to me that as the First Presidency once said about whether in being given the priesthood one should first have the priesthood conferred and then the office or vice versa, "It is a distinction without a difference." A ransom is by definition payment to satisfy an expectation or demand.

Regrettably, despite thirty-one pages devoted to the topic, and citation of President John Taylor's *Mediation and Atonement* (which is the standard Mormon work on the topic and, contrary to Hansen's opening assertion, far more than a "simple definition and statement of general purpose"), Hansen cites not one line of *Mediation* and devotes very little space to the Government (or might one say Political) theory of the Atonement—or relating the Political theory to the Moral theory of the Atonement with which he winds up his discussion. Even a casual reading would show that President Taylor, with great spiritual and philosophical insight, closely related the two in a manner unique to Christian teaching and

largely absent from contemporary Mormon orthodoxy (which, as Roger Launius argues in an earlier article in the same issue of *Dialogue,* has become heavily contaminated with traditional Christian neo-Platonism).

Certainly Martin Luther's crude notion of "wrathful urge to punish and annihilate a sinful world and parallel urge to forgive and to bless" hardly comes into Mormonism's concept of the need for, nature of, or effects of the Atonement. And while the Moral Atonement notion of Fiddes, White, and Wheeler (at least as presented by Hansen) comes closer than earlier apostate Christianity to a reasoned exposition, I was disappointed that Hansen did not quote one word of President Taylor's *Mediation and Atonement* argument which formulates in somewhat poetic but majestically persuasive terms, a more complete Restoration view of why Jesus had to die.

President Taylor, heroically anticipating the contributions of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, contemporary Chaos Theory, and Bell's Theorem, saw reality as probabilistic, i.e., a choice determined rather than based on Newtonian determinism—which still rules the backwaters of science (primarily the social sciences).

Taylor drew upon the peculiarly Mormon notion of a finite God existing in the same universe with other uncreated intelligences of Nature—stars, mountains, seas, and gardens—which were organized into higher forms by him. In their higher states this native intelligence may even be organized into humans and other living creatures. Such intelligence is coeval with God, not his creation ("Man also was in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth was not created or made, neither indeed can be" [D&C 93:291]). This extends the need for and reach of the Atonement far beyond any traditional scope of debate or speculation. Thus, in President Taylor's terms, God is seen as the Governor of all the intelligences of the universe, not just of man, ruling by persuasion and justice rather than fiat—a Great Catalyst, speeding up the evolution of natural processes rather than as First Cause. The great purpose of creation: "Men [in the form of highly organized intelligences] are, that they might have joy" (2 Ne. 2:25)—and, moreover, that "they might act and not be acted upon." The Atonement is thus a triune phenomenon involving God, Man, and Nature—not something imposed on either Man or Nature.

As Taylor argues, Nature, which, following the initial creative (organizational) act by Jehovah (Jesus) had been in full harmony with God's will and purposes, reverted to quasi-chaos when Adam (with Jehovah one of the co-deities of the organization) and his wife Eve, God's elect children, deliberately broke his law. By this act, Nature was offended, seeing one of the Creators break the law by which all had agreed to be bound, and through universal rebellion, death—chaos in slow process—came into the world, requiring a voluntary act by one "like unto God," willing to sacrifice himself, though himself without sin, to redeem his sinful brothers and sisters.

Only in this manner could the rebellious intelligent matter of nature be persuaded to trust God once again, realigning itself with his farsighted, eternal purposes—permitting the rebellious elements (of which post-Adamic man's earthly tabernacle now consists) to reunite with man's

now-experienced spirit, to permit a glorious resurrection as a result of regained respect and obedience to the desire of the perfect Jesus, sinless Son of God, to extend his saving grace to his less perfect brethren.

Thus, viewed in John Taylor's terms, Jesus did not die to satisfy an arbitrary concept of justice, but as a calculated and unavoidable strategy of remediation and moral suasion to win rebellious Nature back into compact with God and his fallen children as outlined above. Compare this to the traditional story of the politics behind the War in Heaven.

Projected into the experience of the material world, redemption is thus seen more as a politics of high morality, albeit a curiously Mormon materialist, quasi-pantheistic politics, than as primitive magic, or even the doctrinal mystery accepted by traditional Protestant or Catholic theology.

While some may argue that there's more poetry than mathematics in President Taylor's formulation, it is nevertheless miles ahead of Origen or Irenaeus, and light years ahead of such traditional Christian philosophers as Anselm, Abelard, or Jonathan Williams—or for that matter such modernists as Campbell, Caird, Bushnell, Fiddes, White, Wheeler, Hartshome, Cobb, Ogden, Williams, or Pettinger—in giving intellectual content to the Atonement.

David B. Timmins
Bucharest, Romania

More on A. C. Lambert

Carlyle Lambert takes me to task in the fall 1994 issue for saying that his father, A. C. Lambert, was forced to leave BYU. Well, Carlyle was a youngster at the time, and he didn't know that his father's driving ambition for many years was to become president of BYU. I knew A. C. as a student and later as a neighbor and close friend. He did everything right to qualify for the position. However, at the same time his passion for historical research caused him to secretly write articles and book-length manuscripts of the arcane, obscure, suppressed, sensitive, and unknown aspects of Mormon history and doctrine. His closet writing became known, and he was forced to resign from BYU.

His daughter, Ruth, much older than Carlyle, furnished me with much of the material for my article, which *Dialogue* has accepted, on A. C.'s half century's literary output. He was the most prolific and least published author of Mormonism.

Sam Taylor
Redwood City, California

Hope for Us All

I have not missed an issue of *Dialogue* since reading one for the first time thirteen years ago. I have often written letters in response to various articles I have read but only in my own mind. To release a letter with my name on it would have meant to me that I was putting the most precious thing in the world to me at risk—my membership in the church. As a convert of nineteen years, it didn't take me long to understand that feminism and intellectuals were walking a very thin line in our church. I have never considered myself a feminist. I am not even an intellectual in the real meaning of this term. However, I cannot

turn my back on the thirst for knowledge that my heavenly father blessed me with.

I have read many provocative articles in *Dialogue* but never felt so overwhelmed by anything as I did on reading "Matricidal Patriarchy: Some Thoughts toward Understanding the Devaluation of Women in the Church," by Erin R. Silva, in the summer 1994 issue. I was so moved by the obviously clear understanding of the very depth of a woman's soul. I felt every fiber of my being laid bare by Silva's work. It wasn't until I reached the end of the article that I understood the force of his words. Erin R. Silva is a man. I had been so certain this was written by a woman that I found myself discounting so many areas of his abilities. I now realize that even women discount other women. If Erin R. Silva, a male, can reach such profound depths of emotion to truly understand the devaluation of women in the church, there is hope for us all. I have never felt such a powerful explosion of truthfulness as he has exhibited with such eloquence. If I have jeopardized my position in the church by taking this position, I will ask my husband and children to understand and keep loving me. This time I can't help but speak.

Thank you so much for publishing these wonderful works.

Shari Taylor
Los Osos, CA

Gifted Individual or "Quick Study"?

I'd like to contribute some supplementary information to Dan Vogel's article "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," which appeared in the fall 1994 issue. In footnote 56, Vogel cites the report of an interview with David Whitmer wherein Whitmer refers to conversations he had in 1828 with individuals in Palmyra who claimed to have seen the place at the Hill Cumorah from which the Book of Mormon plates had been taken. Vogel's additional citations of W. W. Phelps and John A. Clark together with an earlier footnote (52) of Lorenzo Saunders's comments in the 1880s with respect to his visiting the Hill Cumorah on 23 September 1827 and having seen nothing unusual leave some ambiguity as to what part of the hill Whitmer was referring and whether anything had actually been recovered there by Joseph Smith.

Fortunately, collected reports of additional interviews with David Whitmer recently published in the book *David Whitmer Interviews*, edited by Lyndon W. Cook, clarify this matter. For convenience I'll reference citations to reports of interviews with David Whitmer to pages in this reference work as DWI:page number. The following citations show that both David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery saw a stone box on the Hill Cumorah in the 1828-30 period:

> (1) "On the road he [Whitmer] found the community teeming with excitement over the alleged treasure, and heard several persons threaten to kill the finder unless he divided his wealth with them. When asked how they knew such a treasure had been found, several asserted that they had seen the receptacle from which it was taken by Smith. . . . Whitmer and Cowdery . . . were conducted to the hill where they personally viewed the receptacle in which Moroni, at the begining of the fifth century, had concealed the history

of his fathers" (DWI:172-73).

(2) "I saw the stone which formed the box or receptacle in which the metallic plates were found, on the hillside, Commarah" (DWI:143).

(3) "It was a stone box, and the stones looked to me as if they were cemented together. That was on the side of the hill, and a little down from the top" (DWI:23).

(4) "Three times has he [Whitmer) been at the hill Cumorah and seen the casket that contained the tablets, and the seer-stone. Eventually the casket had been washed down to the foot of the hill, but it was to be seen when he last visited the historic place" (DWI:7).

Thus, David Whitmer confirms Joseph Smith's story of the stone box on the Hill Cumorah. The reference to Oliver Cowdery having been present with him on at least one occasion lends additional credibility to Cowdery's description of the stone box in his last letter (no. VIII) to W. W. Phelps in the October 1835 *Messenger and Advocate.*

Additional interesting observations by David Whitmer in his interviews include the setting for the dictation of the Book of Mormon during June 1829 at his parents' house (the cabin in which the church was organized in April 1830) in Fayette, New York. David claims (1) that Joseph Smith dictated with the seer-stone in the crown of a hat and his face partially covered by the hat (DWI:55, 123-24); (2) that the gold plates were not present during the dictation (DWI:188); (3) that "Smith was at no time hidden from his collaborators, and the translation was performed in the presence of ... the entire Whitmer household and several of Smith's relatives besides" (DWI:173); and (4) that Joseph Smith had "no book or manuscript, before him from which he could have read as is asserted by some that he did, he [Whitmer] having every opportunity to know whether Smith had Solomon Spaulding's or any other person's romance to read from" (DWI:139-40).

Thus, David Whitmer effectively removes Joseph Smith from behind any barrier separating him from his scribe and also takes the Bible from his vicinity as a possible reference work. This is obviously at some variance from the picture of Joseph dictating from behind a curtain or blanket (this method was apparently used only in 1828 with Martin Harris, who is the source for this story) with a Bible at his side to compare with similar passages in the Book of Mormon. Since the bulk of the approximately 1/3 of the book of Isaiah found in the Book of Mormon was dictated at the Whitmer home, there are only two ways in which Joseph could have obtained this material in order to dictate it: he either committed it to memory (together with the words in the King James Version that are italicized as these words represent a large part of the differences in the Isaiah passages between the two books) or he received it supernaturally as he claimed. Add to the Isaiah material the dictation of a lyrical psalm (2 Ne. 4:16-35), two extensive allegories (1 Ne. 8; Jacob 5), numerous examples of Hebrew poetic style and idiomatic expressions (Hebraisms), as well as a symmetric arrangement of story elements in the structure of 1 Nephi, and you either have an extremely gifted individual with an extraordinary memory and a highly creative mind pulling all sorts

of fascinating material from a hat—or a prophet. If Joseph spent as much time searching for buried treasure as has been alleged, he must have been an extremely "quick study" with respect to internalizing biblical text, linguistic structure, and style if he is to be explained on a naturalistic basis. His contemporaries, however, if they were alive today, might have considerable difficulty recognizing this portrayal as the "Jo" Smith they knew.

John H. Wittorf
Columbus, Ohio

Follow the Leaders

Jack Harrell ("Letters," Fall 1994) in his cry from the heart inadvertently but succinctly states the core problem in the Mormon church: if Eileen Davies ("Letters," Winter 1993) is correct about the leaders moving even further from Jesus and if Joseph Smith was correct about dissidents being on the high road to apostasy, then where stands the individual who experiences unrighteousness from leaders? The answer is that the quote used in good faith by Jack, if read in context in *History of the Church*, 3:385, tells us that Joseph was addressing his Twelve Apostles on Tuesday, 2 July 1839, at which time Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith were ordained apostles and a number of the Twelve were going overseas on missions. Joseph said, "I then addressed them and gave much instruction calculated to guard *them* against self-sufficiency, self-righteousness, and self-importance." The prophet was talking to and about the Twelve. And with good cause. Ten of the Twelve turned against Joseph. Only Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball didn't raise their hands against him. In that instance you wouldn't want to be following those ten dissidents, would you?

Joseph said, "If I told you who I am and what I know you would kill me." Indeed.

On Tuesday, 3 November 1835, Joseph received a revelation (HC, 2:300) addressed to the Twelve, "Behold they are under condemnation, because they have not been sufficiently humble in my sight, and in consequence of their covetous desires, in that they have not dealt equally with each other in the division of monies which came into their hands."

On Monday, 11 September 1843 (HC, 6:29), at a meeting of the Twelve, Brigham Young said, "I know that men who go through the world with the truth have not much influence; but let them come with silk velvet lips and sophistry, and they will have an influence. It is your privilege to be discerners of spirits. . . . No power can hide the heart from the discerning eye."

That is the key to surviving the man of perdition and the false prophet in the church: personal godly revelation, and that is what both Joseph and Brigham pounded the members about: obtaining personal godly revelation.

But something was clearly lacking in at least three of the most senior Twelve and President Spencer W. Kimball in more recent days when self-confessed forger/murderer Mark Hofmann conned them for years as to his true character and intentions leading to two cruel murders, families ruined, so-called experts unfrocked, leaders lying, and the church made to look silly. Brigham, where were you then? It's a weak man, an insignificant

"leader," who has to rely on draconian, follow-the-leader-at-all-costs, quasi-military discipline to boss the chook-farm. No wonder the Lord in D&C 121 makes it clear that the men, not the women, in the church are bound to lose the power of the priesthood due to unrighteous dominion. No wonder the man of perdition and the false prophet are going to soon make their end run and drag the great many along with them into the pit.

Laurence F. Hoins
Nowra, Australia

Grateful for Courageous People

In his recent letter to *Dialogue* (Winter 1994) John Emmett claims to be a person with a "balanced and personal appraisal of the church and everything associated with it." He then proceeds to admit that "there will also be a diversity of opinion about God, the Restoration, and the church." However, Brother Emmett undermines both of these statements in his critique of Lavina Fielding Anderson's essay, "Freedom of Conscience: A Personal Statement."

First of all, no one is completely balanced or neutral in their approach to any issue. We all come with the personal baggage of our own beliefs, world view, cultural influences, personal experiences, and so on. This is obviously true of Brother Emmett, who posits a decidedly legalistic approach to life in general and Mormonism in particular. For him, the lines are clearly drawn, with moral traffic lights flashing to let us know when we have crossed them. But this view does not allow for the diversity of interpretation which Brother Emmett claims to accept.

According to Brother Emmett, Lavina cannot possibly be a "believing and orthodox Mormon" because of the views she expresses in her essay. But the fact is that Lavina's beliefs, her service in the church, and her actions are all very orthodox. So actually the question that Brother Emmett ought to ask is why and how does a believing and orthodox member of the church come to hold views like those expressed in Lavina's essay? Furthermore, why does Brother Emmett think he has the right to judge Lavina's beliefs as unorthodox? Surely, as Mormons we must be suspicious of any attempts to impose creedal tests or even tests of orthodoxy on one another given the fact that Joseph Smith was reviled, and finally martyred, for his own unorthodox ideas and beliefs.

The orthodoxy litmus test which Brother Emmett applies is that of belief in the Restoration. It seems that while Brother Emmett admits that there will be a variety of opinions on this matter, there is only one acceptable view of the Restoration. This stand, in and of itself, undermines Brother Emmett's position as a balanced observer. He has a definite preference for what Paul Toscano, in his book *The Sanctity of Dissent*, identifies as the modern Mormon view of the Restoration. This view holds that the Restoration's primary purpose was to give us a priesthood structure which provides a "fail-safe conduit to God" (Toscano, xii). But others, such as myself, believe that the Restoration "was meant to re-establish the truth that our relationship to God is individual, personal, direct, and passionate. Our apostles, prophets, and leaders were meant not to give us rules, but to call us to Christ" (xiii). Just because Lav-

ina or I or anyone else does not believe in the Restoration in the same way Brother Emmett does, this does not mean we do not believe in the Restoration. It also does not mean that we ignore the "Lord's chosen." For me, the "Lord's chosen" are those who testify of Christ and who speak with the power of the Holy Ghost, whether they hold the office of apostle or primary pianist; whether they are a child or an adult, a man or a woman, Mormon or Catholic.

Because we are all the "Lord's Chosen," I find myself particularly offended by Brother Emmett's suitcase analogy. In his opinion we should not be concerned by the 200 cases of ecclesiastical abuse documented by Lavina, because it is like worrying about one lost bag of luggage among a thousand that have arrived safely. Clearly, there are several problems with this analogy. First, Christ obviously does not deal in numbers. It is he who told us that the good shepherd would leave the ninety and nine to find the one lost sheep. Second, a piece of luggage is not analogous to a human life. Luggage can be replaced, but pain from ecclesiastical abuse can have emotional, spiritual, physical, and psychological effects on not only the person abused but also on their spouse, family, and friends.

Finally, Brother Emmett reminds us that life is not fair. Of course life is not fair. But does that mean we do nothing when we encounter injustice in the world? Do we ignore our covenants to bear one another's burdens because life is not fair? Do we turn the other way in the face of starvation, war, and torture because life is not fair? Do we silently allow unrighteous dominion to take place in the church of our beloved savior because life is not fair? It is exactly because life is not fair that I am grateful for courageous people like Lavina Fielding Anderson.

Deborah Rossiter
Provo, Utah

Saturday: One Version (Fourth Week of an Unidentified Illness)

Dixie Partridge

Tired of enclosure, I sit near what view
of trees and sky my house will give.
Across the back fence, my neighbor
who can hardly walk
lowers herself painfully to a white deck chair.
She closes her eyes, turns her thin face
toward the sun, and is still.
From my glass doors, why do I feel
an unwilling seer?
So often beauty and pain are too equal a mix.
Our fears and sorrows leak out,
deposit on the memories of others,
negatives that may or may not come to light.
And what does the past teach us
but to see the future already bearing
such layers.

I hear my youngest son drop his bike
and come in from piano lessons,
stop at the fridge—his next hours
beginning to take shape in the sky of his mind.
Perhaps he is already surrounded
by the scent of his treehouse—
redwood above raspberries.
Or perhaps he is simply standing up straight
against his mother's daily fevers
and the mid-life glooms I hoped were hidden.

And why do I feel the need
to make up an ending to my neighbor's day—
that image of her struggle into the chair
demanding something. . . .
A flock of birds lifts,
as if one body, from the birch:
my son is in the treehouse.
I want suddenly to join him, but
excuses are necessary—brownies,
the mail, maybe some word
from his siblings who left him stranded here
while they finish college and their lives.

Strange, how all the years of planning and doing
have led to a moment that seems pre-filmed.
The woman next door still lies in the spring sun,
not moving. I slide open the door and listen—
legs like paper. . . .
And I see myself from my neighbor's view:
in a shuttered light, ready to step out.

Satan's Foot in the Door: Democrats at Brigham Young University

Paul C. Richards

> *If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. . . . If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.*
>
> —John Stuart Mill[1]

BEFORE ANYONE TAKES UMBRAGE AT THE TITLE of this essay, let me explain that it is extrapolated from the following letter that appeared in the Provo *Daily Herald* on 20 October 1992 (B-4):

> "BYU Students for Clinton" the sign blared at the Salt Lake airport at Clinton's departure. Excuse me!
>
> Is this the same pro-abortion, pro-gay rights, pro-excessive government, pro-immorality Clinton who has endeared himself to so many people with like values?
>
> Why would a BYU student support such a man for president? Bill Clinton stomps on every value that the LDS church and BYU stand for. . . . If

1. John Stuart Mill, "Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion," *Essays on Politics and Society*, ed. J. M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 229.

> abortion, homosexuality, and immorality are on Clinton's agenda, why would a morally upright person want to support him? What also must a teacher or teachers supporting Clinton be teaching students at BYU?
>
> BYU should clean house. There are thousands of "liberal" arts colleges around to take the malcontents at BYU. Before Satan gets both feet in the door at BYU let those on the Lord's side stand up and be counted so that truth can prevail.

Although the letter caused me to wonder about the differences between "liberal" arts colleges and "conservative" arts colleges, I dismissed it as just another mindless ad hominem attack so characteristic of political frays.

Then the day after the 1992 national elections I was intrigued by reports of sobbing despair and gloom-and-doom fatalism on the BYU campus. One student was overheard saying he was signing up for an overseas LDS mission so that he would not have to witness personally the fall of the United States. Others did not understand how God could let the true party lose, except that in these latter days his prophecies of Armageddon must come to pass.[2]

As I sought Clinton supporters to see how they felt, I was referred to "those liberal Mormon Democrats"—not just Democrats but always "those liberal Mormon Democrats." I've lost track of how many times I was asked if I planned "to talk to both of them."[3] One minor official, when told of my intentions, raised one eyebrow, gave me a nervous, angled glance, and visibly acted as if I were unclean or about to become

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2. BYU's College Democrats heard so many negative comments during the election that they decided to make light of them. In a column titled "Donkey Humor" published in *The Conservative Edge* (Jan. 1993, 6), the students said:

> For the past few months we have noticed that everyone has something to say when we tell them that we're Democrats. Many have told us their theories on how imminent destruction will surely follow when Clinton takes office. We have put together our favorites and listed them here for your enjoyment.
>
> —The nation will be destroyed in a Rush Limbaugh led uprising of people who refuse to be ruled by femi-nazis.
>
> —"The Lord will quicken His work for [Clinton's] sake."
>
> —God will smite America for electing an atheistic adulterer.
>
> —Clinton is the anti-Christ.
>
> —The election of corrupt leaders is one of the signs of the times.
>
> —The voice of the people chose evil over good in the recent election.
>
> —The communist takeover is now complete.
>
> And our favorite:
>
> "My uncle's neighbor picked up a hitchhiker who said that he had to have his year supply ready before January 21. The hitchhiker got out of the car and when my uncle's neighbor looked back, the hitchhiker had disappeared!"

3. I also lost count of how many times I heard the joke about Republicans holding mass meetings in auditoriums while Democrats held theirs in telephone booths or janitors' closets on campus.

so. I was beginning to feel what it must be like to be a Democrat at BYU.

Yes, I found both of them and many, many more. Indeed, they are in sufficient numbers and in positions of such authority that the author of the above-quoted letter would undoubtedly conclude Satan not only has both feet in the door but has long since led BYU carefully down to hell.

More than forty people were interviewed for this essay. I talked to outsiders, students, faculty, administrators, Democrats, independents, and even a few Republicans (as insurance for my soul).

Outsiders expressed surprise that Democrats even exist, much less hold high administrative positions at the school. I explained that Democrat Robert K. Thomas was appointed by staunch conservative Republican Ernest L. Wilkinson, himself a former Democrat, to serve as the first director of the Honors Program in 1959 and as BYU academic vice-president in 1968. Thomas continued in the latter post throughout the 1971-80 presidency of Dallin H. Oaks, a moderate Republican. Most of the academic vice-presidents and many of the associates since then have been Democrats.[4]

To their credit, their political affiliation was barely known. Wilkinson, on the other hand, was known to use his position as president and quasi-LDS general authority[5] to promote his political ideologies. A 1962 pro-Wilkinson editorial in the *Daily Universe,* in all candor, stated: "Most of us who have been around for a while realize that President Wilkinson is a conservative Republican. . . . We know these things because he has told us many times."[6]

Prior to the 1951-71 Wilkinson reign, politics did not have a high public profile at BYU, with perhaps one exception in 1919 when the entire school came down on the Democratic side in the League of Nations controversy. Some sixty faculty and spouses and most of the student body petitioned Utah Republican senator Reed Smoot to drop his opposition to the league, to no avail. Smoot, feeling his vote had damaged his effective-

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4. Todd A. Britsch, current academic vice-president, is the subject of a story that circulates among Democrats. It seems Bob Moody, a Provo attorney, wanted Britsch to run for a local office. He said he had a great slogan—a sure-fire winner: "Vote for Todd, he's a son of a Britsch." Britsch declined. Peter L. Crawley interview, 23 June 1993.

5. During his presidency Wilkinson simultaneously served as administrator/chancellor of the Unified Church School System from 1953 to 1964. Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University, A School of Destiny* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 555-56.

History professor Doug Tobler (a Republican) was called to the high council in a BYU stake during Wilkinson's administration, but one student would not sustain him. The stake president met with the student who said his roommate had taped a class where Tobler had been critical of Wilkinson's 1966 student spy ring. The student thought Tobler was "speaking out against one of the brethren." The stake president cleared things up, and Tobler took his seat on the high council. Douglas F. Tobler interview, 14 July 1993.

6. *Summer Universe,* 21 June 1962, 2.

ness as a member of BYU's board of trustees, offered to resign, but university president George H. Brimhall, himself in favor of the league, refused the offer.[7]

Franklin S. Harris, a Republican,[8] served as BYU president from 1921 to 1945, four years longer than Wilkinson's storied tenure, and is widely recognized as having firmly established the university's place in the world of academe. He was so quiet politically that when he declared his intentions to run for the U.S. Senate in 1938, the *Y News* stated, "Because he has never shown a great activity in political affairs, President Harris' candidacy comes as a surprise to many members of his Brigham Young University family."[9]

Ironically, Harris was accused in 1936 of leftist leanings because of his earlier travels in Russia. His successor, Howard S. McDonald, also of political low profile, was criticized for implementing "socialized medicine" at BYU because of a mandatory $10-per-student health care fee.[10]

Prior to 1891, most Mormons in Utah territory belonged to the People's Party while their "gentile" neighbors belonged to the Liberal Party.[11] As a result, Brigham Young Academy was probably more unified politically than any time since.

From 1891, when Mormons were divided equally between the Republican and Democratic parties,[12] until 1951 when Wilkinson became president, politics at BYU for the most part quietly followed trends in the state. Back then BYU was not a big, internationally recognized showplace of the church and therefore was not considered a political pry bar. Nor was it assumed, as unfortunately is now the case, that anything said on campus represented church political views. As Wilkinson's own BYU history states, "There was a tradition among Utah universities against political leaders addressing college student bodies, especially during political campaigns."[13]

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7. James B. Allen, "Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Autumn 1973): 77-98.

8. Conversation with Chauncy Harris, son of Franklin S. Harris, 25 June 1993.

9. Wilkinson and Skousen, 302.

10. Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 192.

11. See Jan Shipps, "Utah Comes of Age Politically: A Study of the State's Politics in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 91-111; Richard D. Poll, "The Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory, 1866-1890," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (May 1958): 111-26; and J. Keith Melville, *Conflict and Compromise—The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Politics* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Printing Service, 1974).

12. See Eugene England, "On Saving the Constitution, Or Why Some Utah Mormons Should Become Democrats," *Sunstone*, May 1988, 22-30.

13. Wilkinson and Skousen, 600.

That was soon to change, and along with the overall trend toward Republicanism in the state,[14] being a Democrat at BYU was, and to some extent still is, a lonely experience.

Although all Democrats I interviewed were willing to talk, a few expressed fear of being quoted. One told me, "There are risks involved. I have to ask myself, 'Should I be interviewed?'" Another, citing the current academic freedom and rank advancement turmoil on campus, said, "On top of whatever else we are, we can't afford to be publicly Democrat." This was not, by the way, one of the principals in the turmoil.

Given this atmosphere, not all sources in this essay are identified. This weakens the paper but also is a sober reminder that the two-party political system is suffering from malaise in certain quarters at BYU.

Democrat Alf Pratte, an associate professor of communications, while working out in a BYU gym the day after Bill Clinton's victory, expressed "hope for the future." "People around me were shocked," Pratte recalls. "'Come on, you're not serious,' they said." A few refused to converse further. Afterward two in the group sidled up to Pratte and admitted they had voted for Clinton but felt they couldn't tell their colleagues. "It was almost like they were closet homosexuals," Pratte laments.[15]

Linda Brummett, manager of BYU's general book department, is not afraid to speak out because, as she says, "I never learned to be terribly discreet." She claims there are more Democrats on campus than people realize, but many are "chicken." "They have learned the best way to survive is to never bring it up," she says.[16]

In spite of fears, no one I interviewed knew of anyone who had been denied advancement at BYU as a result of being a Democrat. Actually, it was more dangerous for Republicans than Democrats under Wilkinson, as political scientist Ray Hillam, one of the victims of the infamous 1966-67 student spy ring, attests.[17] "My sin wasn't being a Democrat; it was worse. I was considered a traitor because I was a liberal Republican." Most of the victims of the spy episode were Republicans. As political scientist Lou Midgley points out, "Wilkinson wanted Republicans, but he wasn't happy with the ones he got."[18]

Hillam was targeted because (1) he served as advisor to BYU's

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14. See Ronald J. Hrebenar, "Utah: The Most Republican State in the Union," *Social Science Journal* 18 (Oct. 1981): 103-14; and Thomas G. Alexander, "The Emergence of a Republican Majority in Utah, 1970-1992," unpublished paper written for a series of essays on western politics to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

15. Alf Pratte interview, 25 June 1993.

16. Linda Brummett interview, 22 June 1993.

17. Ray C. Hillam interview, 25 June 1993. For information on the student spy ring, see Bergera and Priddis, 207-17; and D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 32, 50-55.

18. Louis C. Midgley interview, 1 July 1993.

United Nations Club and supported the admission of Red China into the United Nations, (2) he was "disloyal" because he supported Sherm Lloyd instead of Wilkinson in the 1964 Republican primary bid for the U.S. Senate, and (3) "Wilkinson didn't think I liked him, and I didn't," Hillam says.

The highly respected J. Keith Melville, a Democrat and now professor emeritus of political science, fared better under Wilkinson but not without a scare. Following provisions of the so-called "Second Political Manifesto,"[19] which requires BYU personnel to get clearance before seeking political office, Melville obtained permission from acting BYU president Earl C. Crockett to run for Congress in the 1966 race. Wilkinson was on leave at the time running for the U.S. Senate. After suffering a humiliating loss to Frank Moss, Wilkinson returned to find Melville preparing to run. He called the professor to his office and asked who had granted permission. "I don't know that he liked the image of one of his faculty members running on the Democratic ticket," Melville says. Most Democrats on campus were in the closet, and Melville was one of the first to go public. When Melville explained he indeed had permission, Wilkinson asked how he was going to finance the campaign. Melville replied he would do the best he could and then had the temerity to ask if Wilkinson would like to contribute to his campaign. Wilkinson brought his fist down on his desk and exclaimed he wouldn't contribute one cent to "that Socialist party." In spite of this and a continued high profile in the Democratic party, Melville completed a distinguished career at BYU without handicap. He notes, however, that it seemed easier for Republicans than Democrats to get permission to run for office.[20]

The closest I came to finding rank advancement interference by Wilkinson, based on possible political leanings, was a story told to me in 1985 by the late Martin B. Hickman, a Democrat who served seventeen years as dean of social sciences. Hickman said a certain "Professor X" was up for promotion, but Wilkinson wouldn't approve the advancement because he didn't like the letters the candidate had written to the *Daily Universe.* Mystified, the professor said he had never written to the *Universe,* "not one letter." The dean so informed Wilkinson.

Time passed. One day a Wilkinson research aide approached the professor in the library saying he had been searching everywhere for the letters. Might the professor have the originals in his files? Obviously Wilkinson was still hot on the trail. After finally realizing he had the wrong man, he approved the advancement of Democrat Thomas G. Alexander, now Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Professor of Western American

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19. As contrasted to the church political manifesto of 1896. See B.H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 6:334.

20. J. Keith Melville interview, 24 June 1993.

History. Alexander made it, but I wonder what happened to the author of those letters.[21]

Some time later Wilkinson called history department chair Ted Warner to solicit nominations for a committee assignment. Warner's suggestions included Alexander, to which Wilkinson responded, "No, no, not Tom. He's a socialist." Apparently Wilkinson was upset because Alexander, in a paper delivered in a college colloquium, said Republican senator Reed Smoot had favored protective tariffs and environmental legislation. Wilkinson later called Warner back to explain that he didn't feel Alexander was a socialist but a number of general authorities would think so.[22] Alexander did not get the assignment, but, considering how faculty feel about committee work, being viewed as a socialist probably was an advantage.

Wilkinson tried to infuse conservatism into everything, but was not always successful. Larry Wimmer, professor of economics and a Democrat now turned political agnostic, says his department for many years had used a popular Keynesian textbook titled *Economics* by Paul A. Samuelson. About 1968 the faculty felt it was time for a change and chose an alternate work. Unaware of the decision, Wilkinson, an anti-Keynesian, memoed the department saying Samuelson's text should not be used on campus. The faculty met, reversed its decision, and continued to use the old textbook.[23]

It may not have been dangerous to be a Democrat, but the atmosphere was so thick with post-war, communist-threat paranoia that anyone left of extreme right-wing Republicanism felt marginalized. Merle Tanner-White, computer science undergraduate coordinator, says she was shocked when she came to BYU near the end of the Wilkinson era and found a total lack of political diversity. "There was one opinion about everything, and if you didn't have it, you weren't part of the system," she recalls. What was worse, she had been viewed as a conservative in New York but in Utah was labeled an ultra-liberal. "It was freaky," she says.[24]

BYU's political reputation extended far beyond campus. Garn Coombs, chair of secondary education and faculty advisor to the College Democrats, was told by colleagues back east that he would never get a job at BYU unless he lied about his politics. Coombs came prepared to be truthful, but to his surprise, Wilkinson never asked.[25] He got the job.

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21. Martin B. Hickman interview, 19 Mar. 1985; Thomas G. Alexander interview, 13 July 1993.
22. Alexander interview.
23. Larry T. Wimmer interview, 28 June 1993.
24. Merle Tanner-White interview, 30 June 1993.
25. C. Garn Coombs interview, 17 May 1993.

Bill Evenson joined the physics faculty in 1970. As a Democrat, he was highly offended when Wilkinson brought a prominent Republican speaker to campus and put BYU's imprimatur on what Evenson terms "egregious political favoritism." Evenson went to a respected senior faculty member, also a Democrat, and asked, "Do I really want to be at a place like this?" His friend said he too had once considered leaving and had even secured another position but got called as a bishop so he stayed. The friend said he had told Harold B. Lee in an interview that he supported church leaders but sometimes could not agree with Apostle Ezra Taft Benson's right-wing politics. Lee, one of Benson's strongest critics,[26] said many didn't agree and not to worry about it. That conversation together with the arrival of Dallin H. Oaks, who "brought a breath of fresh air to the campus," convinced Evenson to stay.[27] He has since served as an associate academic vice-president and dean of physical and mathematical sciences. Another Democrat in high places.

"There was an enormous change under Dallin H. Oaks," Wimmer agrees. "He made almost no changes in personnel but enormous changes in the climate. It was kind of surprising to those who think structure is the determinant."[28]

Martin Hickman felt the same. "I think the day Dallin Oaks became president of BYU is probably the greatest day in BYU's history since Maeser opened the door of the first classroom. Dallin turned us around. It may be unfair to say this about Ernie, but Ernie took politics far more seriously than he took anything. Dallin took the church more seriously than he took anything."[29]

In his inaugural address Oaks said, "Brigham Young University has no political objectives, only intellectual and spiritual ones. . . . our attitude toward matters purely political should be that characterized by Thomas Jefferson, whose first inaugural address counseled that 'error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.'"[30]

Maurice "Mike" Marchant, retired from the School of Library and Information Science and a former chair of the Utah County Democratic Party, says after Oaks came Democrats started coming out of the closet. They felt good about the new administration.[31]

Oaks established the following policy:

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26. See Quinn, 47-48, 57-58, 69-73, 81.
27. William E. Evenson interview, 1 Feb. 1993.
28. Wimmer interview.
29. Hickman interview.
30. Dallin H. Oaks, "Response," in *Addresses Delivered at the Inauguration of Dallin Harris Oaks as Eighth President of Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, Friday, the Twelfth of November, Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-one* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), 22.
31. Maurice P. "Mike" Marchant interview, 6 May 1993.

> Candidates for office are not to use the facilities of the University to obtain lists of names, or any information (except for library research) for use in a political campaign. Campus mail is not to be used to distribute campaign literature or to promote votes. University supplies, equipment and personnel are not to be used in connection with the political activities of the candidate.[32]

Also, personnel in university–wide, policy-making positions could not simultaneously hold political posts. Two vice-presidents withdrew as delegates to the Republican state convention as a result of the policy. Deans and directors were advised "to be extremely sensitive when speaking on certain matters since a personal view might be considered by some as University policy."[33]

Clearly this was a radical new direction for BYU. In addition, Oaks called for a moratorium on the use of the terms "liberal" and "conservative" on campus[34] and attempted to lessen schisms between the religion faculty and other disciplines. He and his successor, Jeffrey R. Holland, who also was serious about maintaining neutrality on campus, made enemies in the process—not among faculty in general but among a small, conservative, insider clique of religion teachers. Just as insider trading is outlawed on Wall Street, so should insider sycophancy be outlawed in the church. It makes life miserable for BYU presidents.

The biggest politically-based fiasco of the Oaks years occurred in 1977. It demonstrated that in spite of attempts to be neutral and create an atmosphere where various ideologies could be discussed in a gospel-centered atmosphere, the university was still very much captive to the right-wing politicization that had infected the church since the 1950s.

Wayne Holley, a BYU alumnus, was chair of the Utah Communist Party. His nephew was a student of Ray Hillam and wanted to know why, if BYU had academic freedom, Holley couldn't speak at the university. Hillam, chair of political science, saw no reason why not (he now admits this was "bad judgment") and made arrangements for Holley to debate with Keith Melville's American political thought class and LaMond Tullis's political ideologies class. Unbeknown to the professors, church officials had earlier tried to excommunicate Holley, but that action had been stopped by Hugh B. Brown.[35] Melville says he invited Holley because he had confidence that students could entertain and discuss issues without being propagandized. Tullis, a Republican, had already had

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32. *University Handbook,* 11.54 (7 Dec. 1972).

33. Deans and Directors Council Meeting minutes, 7 Oct. 1974, 2, copy in my possession.

34. Oaks, "Response," 22-23.

35. Hillam interview.

a conventional Republican, a conventional Democrat, and Basil Dunn of the John Birch Society speak in his class and thought it appropriate to hear from a Communist. "Tame, little, old Wayne Holley," as Tullis now describes him, was hammered by the students. Tullis says he has learned that one of the best ways to evoke political rationality is to expose students to radicals. "I found that it pushes students to the center; that students see the wild-eyed views of the extreme right and left as impractical."[36]

Probably nothing would have happened had not Holley, in a speech at a Salt Lake City high school, mentioned that he had spoken at BYU. Word got around, and BYU was called to task. What followed has been described as "Black Thursday" or "Bloody Thursday" at BYU. Although the Holley incident involved only a few political scientists, some forty faculty from history, economics, and political science, apparently all problem areas, were called to a 10 a.m. meeting Thursday, 7 April 1977, and told that Oaks was their advocate with the board and would do all he could to further academics at the university. But they could not expect to rock the boat until it capsized and then count on being rescued. Oaks said there was a point beyond which he could not be of help to them.[37]

Five days later Apostle Ezra Taft Benson addressed the student body in a devotional, saying: "There is no excuse for any BYU instructor to grant a forum to an avowed Communist for the purpose of teaching communism on this campus. It may be done on other campuses in the United States, but it will not be done here."[38]

Hickman, recounting the debacle eight years later, said, "Sometimes we stumble into things. If I'd known who the guy was and all of the ramifications of his visit to the university, I wouldn't have approved because I knew that he would use his visit not simply to inform our students but to validate his position. Dallin just fought some battles for us. It's incredible to me that anybody could have been that bold and brave."[39]

Oaks's bravery most likely cost him his job. He had backed his faculty for nearly a decade in resisting pressure from Wilkinson and Salt Lake City to hire conservative Richard Vetterli in the political science department. Oaks's hand finally was forced in 1979 when the Board of Trustees directed him to hire Vetterli over the faculty's objections. Oaks was "released" without explanation in May of that school year.[40] It is interesting that Vetterli, who was thought to be a right-wing plant, went on

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36. F. LaMond Tullis interview, 24 June 1993.

37. Hickman interview; Bergera and Priddis, 222-23.

38. *Salt Lake Tribune,* 13 Apr. 1977, A-11.

39. Hickman interview.

40. See "Quick Change of Presidents at BYU: Was It a Hurry-Up Job?" *Utah Holiday,* Aug. 1980, 11-12; and Bergera and Priddis, 224-25.

to gain the respect of his faculty colleagues, produce solid scholarship, and shield the university from certain factions in Salt Lake City.[41] But that's another story.

Several Democrats and Republicans I interviewed say Oaks's efforts toward political neutrality were well intentioned but somewhat quixotic. As one says, "The Oaks administration changed the tone but not the substance much. If Republicans had an advantage earlier, they still did." Another says, "Republicans were being given opportunities on campus that were not extended to Democrats." And another: "There was not a lot of feeling that Democrats were welcome on campus. The Republicans had plenty of money, plenty of support, and no trouble getting high-profile speakers."

Oaks's successor, Jeffrey R. Holland, had to deal with just such an imbalance in October 1980 during the Utah gubernatorial campaign. Utah's first lady Norma Matheson represented her husband, Scott, in a student-sponsored forum with Republican challenger Bob Wright. Prior to the event both parties had been sent a letter that said: "Be aware that this is not a debate and should not be viewed as such. We ask that you direct your comments in favor of your own position rather than against that of your opponent."[42]

But this was Republican territory. When the student moderator said, "This is not a timid audience, attack the governor," Wright did. When students heckled the first lady and cheered him, Wright played along. Finally, during what was supposed to be a two-minute, uninterrupted closing statement by Mrs. Matheson, she was jeered and had to cut her comments short. She left the stage in tears. Later she said that during the whole campaign, she had never been treated so poorly. It was ugly and painfully embarrassing, not only for BYU but its sponsoring church. The story appeared in newspapers across the country.[43]

Michael Allen, now on the history faculty, was president of College Democrats at the time. "I gave the closing prayer but I didn't feel good about it," he says. "It didn't seem like an event that should be graced with prayer."[44]

The dean of student life issued a statement saying BYU "simply will not tolerate disrespectful or rude conduct in a campus gathering,"[45] and

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41. Hickman interview and conversations with various faculty.

42. Letter from F. Grant Hulse, Political Week Committee, ASBYU Academics Office, 15 Oct. 1980, copy in my possession.

43. See, for example, *The Evening Sun,* Baltimore, 24 Oct. 1980; *Akron Beacon Journal,* 24 Oct. 1980; *San Jose Mercury,* 24 Oct. 1980.

44. J. Michael Allen interview, 22 June 1993.

45. Statement by David M. Sorenson, Brigham Young University news release, 22 Oct. 1980.

ASBYU officers wrote a letter of apology to Mrs. Matheson. It said, in part, "We express our deepest regret at the lack of respect shown by some to you personally and as the First Lady of Utah. We appreciate your participation on our program and particularly acknowledge your total compliance with the stated guidelines."[46]

Wright overplayed his home-court advantage, and Mrs. Matheson, who was not debating, ultimately won the debate. Wright's handlers attempted to recoup their losses by issuing a news release a week later quoting Wright as saying the BYU administration:

> has taken the responsibility for the students and issued me an apology for the way I was treated during a debate on campus last week.
>
> The rudeness displayed by a few students was offensive to both Mrs. Matheson and me.
>
> . . . I am appreciative to the BYU Administration for realizing this and offering their apology.[47]

I am not aware of an apology issued to Wright, but one never knows what kinds of behind-the-scenes conversations might have gone on. In any event, Wright's people probably figured BYU wanted to avoid further public controversy and therefore would not respond to his statement. They were right. All along BYU felt a public statement from anyone higher than the student officers would imply support from BYU and by extension the church for one side or the other. This unfortunate paralysis resulted in Mrs. Matheson's never receiving an appropriate public apology from BYU. But there was cheering among Democrats and some Republicans when Wright lost, and it was the only bright spot for Democrats in an otherwise politically dismal year. The question remained: "What would have happened had Democrats employed such tactics?" The answer was obvious.

The Wright-Matheson imbroglio marked the beginning of a number of events that kept the nine-year Holland administration on edge as it attempted to walk the tightrope of political neutrality. Democrats were coming out of the closet and speaking up—some quite vociferously.

The most visible was Omar Kader, a Utah-born son of Palestinian Muslim immigrants who came to the United States in 1932.[48] Kader, a young Omar Sharif look-alike, knew what it meant to be a minority on two counts—one as a Palestinian among Mormons and the other as a Mormon among Palestinians. He has described himself as spokesperson

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46. Letter from Jeffrey A. Duke, ASBYU President, and Thomas L. Peterson, ASBYU Academic Vice-president, 23 Oct. 1980, copy in my possession.

47. "Consider the Difference, Vote Wright," News Release, 29 Oct. 1980.

48. Omar Kader interview, 9 May 1993.

for most, if not all, Arab-Palestinian-Muslim-Mormon-liberal Democrats.

Although his parents were Eisenhower Republicans, Kader turned to the Democratic party because of its stand on civil rights. Democrat Hugh Nibley often visited the family to practice Arabic and took the young man under his wing. Kader joined the church at age twenty-four.

"I eventually realized that the people I really admired were Democrats," Kader says. "They were open and charitable. It was the Republicans who were telling us to sell our farm and asking if we wouldn't be happier elsewhere. They wondered why we didn't go back to my parents' homeland."[49]

The belief that contention is of the devil is often invoked among Mormons to stifle opposing viewpoints, but Kader did not fall victim to that silencing technique. His experiences as a minority person taught him the necessity of speaking up—of arguing forcefully. He was a barnstormer whose outspokenness offended even some within his own party, but whether you loved him or hated him, he made it clear that Democrats were beginning to take a more aggressive stance vis-à-vis the Republican juggernaut.

This became obvious at the time of the Wright-Matheson fiasco. Kader, who was faculty advisor to the College Democrats and an assistant to the dean of social sciences, confronted Wright as soon as the prayer was over and said if Wright thought he could get away with that type of abuse at BYU, he was full of a certain smelly substance. This caused Wright to complain to a general authority that a BYU professor had used profanity against him. Kader was made a bishop a short time later.

Evidence of a more aggressive Democratic party, this time at the county level, resurfaced a year later. Local headlines read, "County Democrats Criticize 'Y' Policy," "Demos accuse Y. of enforcing its policy on politics unevenly," and "'Not American Way,' Democrats Charge BYU Treats Them Unfairly."[50]

The flap occurred when Bill Evenson resigned as chair of the Utah County Democratic Party after being appointed director of general education at BYU. Holland, in a letter to Michael T. Miller, chair of the Utah State Democratic Party, had earlier explained:

> Because of our relationship to and sponsorship by the LDS Church we feel that it is extremely important to maintain a policy of strict neutrality with regard to political parties. This includes having our major University officers step aside from political roles during the time they are serving in major

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49. Ibid.

50. Provo *Daily Herald,* 17 Sept. 1981, 3; *Deseret News,* 18 Sept. 1981, Utah County edition; *Salt Lake Tribune,* 19 Sept. 1981, B-8.

> administrative positions. We apply this policy across the board to Republicans, Democrats, or any other political group.[51]

The Democrats weren't buying it. They said, in essence, BYU had made Evenson an offer he could not refuse to deprive their party of his strong leadership. Paul Baxter, a life-long Democrat, said in a news article, "BYU has always done everything it could to eliminate the influence of the Democratic Party in Utah County. This is not new but is a tradition which this new president is continuing."[52]

Democrats hooted at the idea BYU was being fair, pointing out that it allowed four faculty members to serve in the state house and senate. BYU countered that these people were not employed in university–wide, decision-making positions. Besides, the university had three Democrats in high administrative posts who were directly involved in Evenson's new appointment, and it did not seem likely they would participate in the neutering of their own party.

Democratic leaders published the following statement: "Institutions which convey the impression that their employees must voluntarily abridge their constitutional rights by refraining from participation in the political process in order to protect their employment or professional advantage, do not represent the American way of life."[53]

The university's well-intentioned attempts at neutrality became such a wrangle that it made the Wilkinson era look good. At least back then nobody questioned BYU's neutrality—there was none to question.

Evenson says he never thought the university manipulated his appointment in order to weaken the party. He notes that a church official called after hearing of his resignation and wanted to know what was going on. It was apparent that church leaders too were concerned about political neutrality.[54]

That November the administration braced for further challenges when five BYU personnel—Democrats Omar Kader and Stan Taylor, and Republicans Ray Beckham, Lee Farnsworth, and Howard Nielson—were among those who tentatively threw their hats into the ring for the new third district seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.[55] Holland sent a memo to all faculty, staff, and administrative personnel on 8 January 1982 in anticipation of a race involving so many BYU people:

> As we enter another election year, we encourage all within the BYU

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51. Jeffrey R. Holland to Michael T. Miller, 31 Aug. 1981, copy in my possession.
52. *Deseret News*, 18 Sept. 1981, Utah County edition.
53. *Daily Universe*, 22 Sept. 1981, 1.
54. Evenson interview.
55. *Daily Universe*, 19 Nov. 1981, 1.

community to seek and enjoy appropriate participation in the political process. However, because of its relationship to and sponsorship by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University maintains a policy of institutional neutrality with regard to partisan political activity. In order to insure that private opinions and actions of faculty, staff, or administrative personnel are *not* interpreted as those of BYU, I call your attention to several items drawn from university policy on this subject:

1. Personal expressions of political support should not list or imply BYU affiliation.

2. Personal political opinions or expressions of support for candidates may never be transmitted on BYU stationery.

3. BYU classes and other institutional gatherings may not be used to advocate support for specific candidates, parties, or political programs unless authorized by the President.

More detailed policies apply to those at the university who wish to run for public office and are outlined in the University Handbook.

The purpose and function of a university demand that the members of its internal community be exemplary men and women in all matters of honor and integrity. All BYU personnel are urged to remember this special responsibility as you exercise your constitutional privileges.[56]

Later that year the First Presidency issued a political neutrality statement.[57] Things were looking hopeful. Then everything fell apart.

In the primary campaign between Republican contenders Nielson and Beckham, Democrats discovered that several students in one of Beckham's communications classes were working on his campaign. It was a standard requirement each year for students in this class to get involved in a business, government, or campaign project, and a few that year had chosen to help with their professor's campaign. To his credit, Beckham had received permission from his department chair for the student involvement and had made provisions for grading to be handled by other professors to avoid a conflict of interest.

Ann Barnes, chair of the County Democratic Party, and several other Democratic leaders accused Beckham of violating university policy and asked Holland to investigate. Early in September the president responded with a letter to Barnes, essentially clearing Beckham of intentionally violating BYU policy and stating that everything had been put right. But in trying to show the Democrats that the university was going out of its way to be scrupulously fair, the letter explained too much. It contained loaded words such as "disappointment," "error in judgment," and "injury" that could be used as political ammunition against Beck-

56. Memo from Jeffrey R. Holland to all university personnel, 8 Jan. 1982, copy in my possession.

57. LDS Church First Presidency statement, 1 July 1982, copy in my possession.

ham.[58]

The temptation was too great. The letter, although viewed as private by Holland, was released to the media. Some blamed Nielson's people. They denied it. Others charged the Democrats who, thinking they probably couldn't win in the general election, felt Nielson was more to their liking than Beckham.[59] They also denied releasing the letter. However, one respected Democrat I interviewed said he did not know who had done it and did not want to know but thought the leak had to come from one of the original recipients of the letter. In any event the university, which had been trying so ardently to be politically neutral, was now charged with having damaged Beckham's campaign.

In its defense, BYU claimed it had been under "pressure" to give Democrats a letter.[60] Democrats countered with a three-page, somewhat self-serving news release:

> We can sympathize for the extreme pressure President Holland is under. However, it does not come from the Democratic Party. It is an internal problem within the University. It comes from President Holland's efforts to get the July 1, Church policy taken seriously. Violations of a policy from the First Presidency of the LDS Church within the University undoubtedly cause him great pressure.
>
> The State and Utah County Democratic Party support the Church's statement of July 1, 1982 and will continue to do as President Holland has requested. . . .
>
> We wish President Holland well in his continued campaign to insure that the Church and University policies of fairness and impartiality apply to all parties and candidates.[61]

BYU was caught in a no-win situation. When administrators tried to smooth trouble in one area, it erupted elsewhere. This was especially hard on a president who desired so much to be friends with everyone. BYU was learning the facts of political life—it's impossible to be squeaky clean.

After Nielson won the primary, his people produced a campaign video showing him speaking to a BYU class taught by Lee Farnsworth, a Nielson campaigner.[62] It appeared that Republicans thought BYU was not serious about its policies. Nielson consented not to use the video after BYU officials protested.[63]

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58. Jeffrey R. Holland to Ann Barnes, 2 Sept. 1982, copy in my possession.
59. Evenson interview.
60. Provo *Daily Herald*, 13 Oct. 1982, 1.
61. Press release from Michael Miller of the State Democratic Executive Committee and Ann Barnes of the Utah County Democratic Committee, 12 Oct. 1982, copy in my possession.
62. Provo *Daily Herald*, 7 Oct. 1982, 1.
63. *Daily Universe*, 7 Oct. 1982, 3.

The roller coaster ride continued. In late September 1982 the administration contacted county and state leaders of both parties to reiterate BYU's policies about not campaigning on campus and to ask that the opening of BYU's newly expanded football stadium on the 25th not be used for political purposes. Democrats complied, but Senator Orrin Hatch's people handed out campaign balloons in front of the stadium prior to the game. Not a good day for BYU. It appeared the university was still granting favored party status to the Republicans, but that was not the big issue. BYU lost to Air Force, 38 to 39.

Democrats claimed a victory on 19 October when Arizona Republican senator Barry Goldwater canceled his speech one hour before he was to appear on BYU's Political Week program. Democrats had protested against allowing a nationally-known Republican to speak on campus during an election year when no comparable Democrat had been scheduled. The *Daily Herald* reported: "A spokesman for BYU declared today that Senator Goldwater 'canceled because of the illness of his wife. That's all we have to say about it.'"[64] For Democrats, that last sentence spoke volumes.

That same month Nancy Stowe Kader was responsible for a move that significantly boosted Democratic morale at BYU. Kader is an excellent organizer, an articulate advocate of Democratic causes, and was considered by some to be even more effective than her husband Omar. As Utah County campaign manager for Ted Wilson's U.S. Senate bid against incumbent Orrin Hatch, she placed a half-page ad in the *Daily Universe* that stated: "The following private citizens of Utah, exercising our full faculties, acknowledge our intent to Vote for Ted Wilson for the U.S. Senate and encourage all our friends to do likewise."[65]

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64. *Daily Herald,* 19 Oct. 1982, 3.

65. *Daily Universe,* 28 Oct. 1982, 15. Signers were, in order of listing: Maurice P. Marchant, Clayton M. White, James E. Faulconer, C. Garn Coombs, Cardell K. Jacobson, Joseph R. Murphy, Donald Q. Cannon, Carol T. Smith, John F. Hall III, Thomas F. Rogers, Mark L. Grover, J. R. Kearl, Russell N. Horiuchi, Philip R. Kunz, Thomas G. Alexander, Dwight Blood, John L. Sorensen, J. Lynn England, Robert C. Bennion, Ronald L. Urry, Samuel C. Monson, Marjorie Wight, Roy K. Bird, Richard A. Hansen, James R. Barnes, Blair and Margie Holmes, Hugh Nibley, David L. Evans, Todd A. Britsch, Anthony W. Ferguson, Jean Anne Waterstradt, Merle Tanner-White, Joseph R. Murdock, Malcolm R. Thorp, Stan A. Taylor, Marvin S. Hill, Evan T. Peterson, Samuel R. Rushforth, Ethel C. Phipps, D. Eugene Mead, Omar Kader, Jack D. Brotherson, David J. Dalton, Delora P. Bertelson, Edward A. Geary, Marion J. Bentley, Paul H. Thompson, Dennis Kenji Shiozawa, Paul R. Thomas, Thomas H. Brown, Glenn R. Williams, Elouise M. Bell, Ford L. Stevenson, Neil L. York, Eugene England, Alan F. Keele, James R. Christianson, Stan L. Albrecht, Douglas M. Campbell, Roger C. Flick, Reba L. Keele, Donald H. Howard, George S. Tate, Robert E. Riggs, John F. Seggar, Kate L. Kirkham, Duane E. Jeffrey, Elizabeth Holloman, James L. Farmer, William S. Bradshaw, Zane G. Alder, J. Clifton Fleming, Ted Lyon, Peter L. Crawley, Wayne W. Clark, Sante Matteo, John B. Harris, Stanley L. Welsh, Richard C. Poulsen, David E. Bohn, Reid N. Nibley, and Norma S. Davis.

Russian professor Tom Rogers, who later served as LDS mission president in St. Petersburg, Russia, was one of 83 signers and recalls, "I felt especially fortunate to be aligned with some of the most revered faculty at BYU."[66] Mike Marchant also was pleased to be in the company of such "quality scholars." Earlier when applying for a position in the School of Library Science, Marchant went to friend Reid Nibley and asked if he would be the only Democrat on campus. Reid replied, "Well, there's my brother Hugh."[67] Now there was more than just a handful of publicly identifiable Democrats at the school. This was a star-studded list of top scholars, many of whom held, or later would hold, chair, dean, and vice-presidential positions at the university. Hardly an "undesirable element in American society," as Wilkinson is alleged to have said,[68] although a few of them and a couple of newer faculty, who happen to be Democrats, have been implicitly accused of being an undesirable element in BYU society.

Not to be outdone, Republicans placed a full-page ad in the *Universe* four days later containing names of 139 Hatch supporters.[69] That did not bother the Democrats. They boasted an excellent showing considering they were outnumbered about four-to-one.

In 1988 in what must have seemed like reverse discrimination, Democrats were given cause to believe Republicans sometimes got the short end of the stick at BYU. Arch-conservative Evan Mecham, Arizona's first Mormon governor and a man who believed he was "divinely guided" in office,[70] had been impeached 4 April and was facing a recall election and criminal charges in connection with alleged campaign fund violations. As what *Newsweek* called "Arizona's Holy War"[71] developed, College Republicans invited Mecham to speak at BYU so students could see a more balanced picture of Arizona politics.[72] The club's faculty advisor refused to approve the invitation because of BYU speaker's policy that states:

> The speaker must not in his personal life (as reflected in the news media and common understanding of the public) have committed acts of immorality, dishonesty, or other conduct that would make it inappropriate for the Church Educational System to feature him as a speaker and thus as a person

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66. Thomas F. Rogers interview, 5 May 1993.

67. Marchant interview.

68. *Deseret News*, 18 Sept. 1981, Utah County edition. The full quote from Democrat Grant Wightman reads: "I remember as a local labor union official how former President (Ernest L.) Wilkinson denounced us to the BYU students as an undesirable element in the American Society."

69. *Daily Universe*, 1 Nov. 1982, 12.

70. *New York Times*, 13 Mar. 1988.

71. *Newsweek*, 1 Feb. 1988, 28.

72. Provo *Daily Herald*, 17 May 1988, 2.

whose life and advice are an appropriate model for students in an educational system with our ideals.[73]

Although the press was not particularly pro-Mecham, it took BYU to task for not inviting him to speak. "BYU, a fountainhead of learning, should welcome Mecham," read the headline in an *Arizona Republic* column. The *Phoenix Gazette* editorialized, "This is academic freedom at BYU?" and the *San Antonio Light* said, "Mormon university bars Evan Mecham."[74] I have more than forty news clippings from across the nation that voice similar sentiments. Even Steve Benson, whose *Arizona Republic* cartoons had lambasted Mecham, drew a cartoon showing a BYU worker adding an eleventh commandment, "No Mecham," to BYU's other ten: no smoking, drinking, drugs, Pepsi, long hair, beards, short skirts, sex, fibbing, cheating.[75] But with an LDS spokesperson saying, "It would be inappropriate for the Church to intrude on Arizona politics,"[76] BYU was not about to invite Mecham to campus. As Robert McDougall, managing editor of the *Daily Herald,* interpreted it, "[A]n invitation to campus would be seen by many as an act of absolution, an embrace from the university, and by implication, the Church, for one of its faithful."[77] On the other hand, Mecham supporters claimed the BYU snub was tantamount to convicting the man before his trial. Mecham was cleared of all criminal charges in June, and BYU put out the welcome mat.

Another bright spot on the Democratic horizon was the 1990 Bill Or-

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73. BYU form, "Request for Approval of Off-Campus Speaker," n.d., copy in my possession.

74. *Arizona Republic,* 22 May 1988, C-2; *Phoenix Gazette,* 20 May, 1988; *San Antonio Light,* 19 May 1988. Associate academic vice-president F. LaMond Tullis explained BYU's position as follows:

> For the record, Evan Mecham has not been "banned" from the campus of Brigham Young University. Pending the conclusion of his trial, the University has declined to offer him a public forum here. The administration's position is both clear and reasonable: no one legally indicted on criminal charges is given a forum; once the legal process is settled, invitations may be extended on their merits.
>
> Contrary to representations being made, the University did not invite and then withdraw an invitation to Mr. Mecham. A student group extended an invitation and made press announcements that have been construed as University sanctioned. The University's refusal to confirm the students' invitation has been interpreted as impugning Mr. Mecham's character. Quite the contrary. BYU respects the legal process and abides by the generally accepted norm that a person is guilty only when so proven. In the meantime, we decline to offer forums while court proceedings are underway (letter to various editors from F. LaMond Tullis, 20 May 1988, copy in my possession).

75. This and other Mecham cartoons are reproduced in Eduardo Pagan, "Razing Arizona: The Clash in the Church over Evan Mecham," *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 15-21.

76. *Newsweek,* 1 Feb. 1988, 28.

77. Provo *Daily Herald,* 29 May 1988, 6.

ton victory over Karl Snow, a BYU administrator who had taken leave to run for the 3rd Congressional seat being vacated by Nielson. Democrats had smugly watched as the Republicans self-destructed in a bitter primary race between Snow and ultraconservative John Harmer, and then as Harmer people continued to attack Snow in the general election. What was particularly sweet for Democrats was a last-ditch effort by Snow's advisors in Salt Lake City who, thinking they understood the mindset of Utah County, ran a full-page ad in a local paper pointing to the fact that Orton was single while Snow had a large family. The ad was offensive and backfired.[78] Maybe Republicans weren't so predicable after all.

Throughout the Holland years, the university continued to emphasize political neutrality, and the tradition appeared to be continuing under the new president, Rex E. Lee, whose administration published a six-page neutrality statement on 1 October 1989. The BYU community was hopeful that their new president would bring a more independent leadership to the school. He was financially well off, highly successful as an attorney, and had been U.S. Solicitor General in the Reagan administration where he had argued some fifty cases before the Supreme Court. He had the mystical aura that "church-broke" bureaucrats stand in awe of, he had been out in the real world. Lee was quick of mind, sometimes refreshingly—sometimes offensively—flippant, and thrived on the give-and-take of a good argument. Above all, he seemed fair—an every man's and every woman's advocate, for he had argued contrasting views in his numerous court cases. Democrats felt good because he included several of their party in his administration—the academic vice-president, several associate vice-presidents, and BYU's legal counsel.

Thus it came as a bitter surprise to Democrats and others that Lee would allow the university to be pulled into a highly partisan George Bush political rally in July 1992. It had all the trappings of a political convention—none of an academic forum. BYU people led the cheers, and the crowd acted as if it were at a basketball game against the University of Utah. A *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial described it well:

> For all their effort to host President Bush in a politically neutral manner, BYU authorities were steamrolled when the politicians descended on them. Mr. Bush, in fact, was a reasonably affable guest; it was the Utah contingent that lacked self-restraint. . . .
>
> Implying that Democrats are illiterate—"I was a Democrat until I learned to read and write"—Sen. Hatch indulged a low-brow sort of wit. And by saying in so many words that Democrats' '92 president-vice president nominees . . . have never held a real job, Sen. Garn also compromised whatever lofty commentary he might have otherwise delivered.[79]

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78. *Daily Universe*, 8 Nov. 1990, 1.
79. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 July 1992, A-10.

Various BYU alumni, faculty, and the state's Democrats pronounced themselves "scandalized, appalled or downright angry," the editorial said. "BYU found itself perceived as having taken a GOP position in the current presidential campaign." "Moreover, BYU officials are now awkwardly offering Democrats equal opportunity. To do what, also issue stultifying insult from the university's premises?"

Insult was added to injury when Democratic Congressman Bill Orton, who had recently supported Bush legislation, was not invited to the stand. Just as well—it was a circus. In the space of two hours BYU had retrogressed more than two decades. The university had been prostituted by those who had little regard for its educational mission, and Democrats felt they were in a cruel Twilight Zone time warp. "If we tried to do the same at a Clinton rally, there'd be a hue and cry so loud we'd never hear the end of it," one Democrat now laments.

Actually all the hoopla did not do the Republicans that much good. Utah County, which is about 80 percent Republican, gave only 56.76 percent of its votes to Bush. Ross Perot garnered 22.7 percent, Clinton received 13 percent, and James "Bo" Gritz got 6.8 percent. And, not to rub it in, Democrat Bill Orton won a second term in office.[80]

One positive result, as explained by a student working the College Democrats' booth two winters ago, is that club members feel they are getting better treatment from BYU. "They [administrators] all know what happened and are going overboard to be cooperative," he said.[81]

Just how many Democrats are there at BYU? It is difficult to determine, but an informal *Daily Universe* poll conducted in 1992 indicates that 50 percent of the faculty consider themselves Republican, 28 percent say they are either independent or not affiliated with any party, and 22 percent say they are Democrats.[82] That comes to about 300 Democrats among a total of some 1,400 full-time faculty—definitely enough for a foot in the door. If the same percentage holds among BYU's nearly 33,000 full-time students, there could be as many as 7,000 Democrats in the student body, although this is not likely.

The perception among people I interviewed is that the social sciences, fine arts, humanities, biology and agriculture, some of the hard sciences, honors education, and, surprisingly, law and management probably have more Democrats than other disciplines on campus. Marchant says he was always amused at the number of Democrats in law because Wilkinson had wanted so much for the school to be conservative so it could save the Constitution.[83]

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80. Utah County Election Information System, 1992 General Election, Official Election Returns by District, 9 Nov. 1992, copy in my possession.

81. Conversation with unidentified College Democrat volunteer, 14 Jan. 1993.

82. *Universe,* 23 June 1992, 1.

83. Marchant interview.

Education, religion, continuing education, and non-academic administrative areas were perceived as being strongly Republican while engineering, physical education, and nursing did not seem to have any particular political earmarks, though most speculated they were Republican.

In the political science department, where politics is king, Republican Lou Midgley says the split is probably about even, though he is not sure. He points out, however, that the highest profile Democrat at BYU is exit pollster David Magleby, chair of the department and a regular consultant to BYU's administration.[84]

Marchant says at one time it was thought that at least half of BYU's deans were Democrats, but apparently no one was brazen enough to ask. It was not an issue or condition of employment.

However, I did discover one instance where politics was discussed in a hiring interview but not by a Republican. Lyman Smart was an English professor and prominent Democratic leader who eventually became chair of the state Democratic Party. In 1963 he served on a department committee that interviewed Richard Cracroft for a faculty position. He boldly asked Cracroft what his political leanings were. Cracroft, trying to duck the question, said his brother Paul had served as an aide to Senator Wallace Bennett. "Never mind that, what about you?" Smart asked. Cracroft responded that he had Republican inclinations. "Don't you know that being a Republican in an English department is like being a black in the Ku Klux Klan?" Smart retorted. Cracroft was hired and eventually became a Democrat. He says English faculties across the nation are generally Democratic but quickly asserts that he and many of his colleagues are "moderate" Democrats. "We tend to keep our profiles a bit low when Democrats come out with things we aren't thrilled about," he says.[85]

Some of the people I interviewed said being a Democrat at BYU may be tolerable, but off campus in the meeting houses and neighborhoods of Happy Valley it's another story.

Tim Slover, an assistant professor in theater and film, recalls as a sixteen-year-old going out with another student to distribute literature for U.S. presidential candidate George McGovern. It was a devastating experience, especially for his female partner who was not LDS. Members of the church tore up their literature, swore at them, and exhibited a vituperative, paranoid mindset that had his companion in tears a number of times. "It marked me at that young age," he says. "I came to feel that hot rhetoric and lack of logical argument were characteristics of conservatives." He has since learned that such traits are exhibited by the extremes

84. Midgley interview.

85. Richard H. Cracroft interview, 21 July 1993.

in both parties.[86]

Alan Keele tells of Democrats in his neighborhood having to obtain a court injunction against a BYU employee who would stand on the sidewalk in front the polls and greet people as they came to vote. He would shake their hands and say something like: "Now brother, I hope you realize which is the true party and what responsibility you have as a church member to vote correctly. I'm sure you know that one party is sanctioned by the church and the other is not. Be sure to vote for the true and inspired party."[87]

Gary Lambert of the French faculty says when he moved to Orem in 1969 a neighbor said, "I just thought I'd let you know that this ward is entirely Republican, and we are really proud that we have 100 percent." Lambert, an independent, smiled and thought to himself, "Not any more."[88]

Donald Q. Cannon, associate dean of religious education, says his daughter came home upset one day when a neighbor verbally abused her for wearing a Clinton button. He demanded to know how she could be a Democrat when her father was a professor at BYU and she had been raised in Orem.[89]

Nancy Kader, while serving as chair of the county Democrats, found Provo's July 4th Freedom Festival somewhat paradoxical. This highly touted celebration of America's freedoms and Constitution would not allow political candidates to ride in the parade unless they were incumbents. Such regulations were necessary to keep the parade from becoming a political free-for-all, but since most elected officials were Republicans, Republicans got most of the exposure. "Democrats were a minority and we were being discriminated against," Kader says. "We couldn't change the system because it was Republican controlled but fought back by slipping in Democratic candidates to ride with Gunn McKay."[90]

Garn Coombs has not been shy about speaking up in church meetings when, for instance, the gospel doctrine teacher reads from John Birch literature or promotes a particular candidate. The class usually sticks to the gospel after polite objections are raised, he says. Once he walked out of a high council meeting when a council member giving the spiritual message read from a congressman's newsletter. The stake president brought Coombs back, and a like incident never occurred again.[91] Per-

86. Tim Slover interview, 25 June 1993.
87. Alan F. Keele interview, 7 May 1993.
88. L. Gary Lambert interview, 2 Aug. 1993.
89. Donald Q. Cannon interview, 7 May 1993.
90. Nancy Kader interview, 19 July 1993.
91. Coombs interview.

haps if Democrats spoke up more often there would not be so many stories to tell about conservatives who, unchallenged, seem to take for granted that everyone thinks as they do.

Actually, there are Democrats who are speaking up. I found them among the students at BYU. Frankly, it was surprising to see how active they are, though small in number, and what they have been able to accomplish.

Bryan Waterman, who is now a graduate student at Boston University, was prodded into Democratic activity as a freshman when fellow students asked him to hang a Bush-Quayle poster in his window. He declined, saying he wasn't a Republican. "What are you then, a Communist?" was the reply. He knew then he had to do something. He later became an editor of the *Student Review* and used that position to promote education and debate on political issues.[92]

Brian Dille, a senior in political science and a vice-president of College Democrats, was reared in a conservative Republican, mostly Mormon, town in southern Idaho. He was told by seminary teachers that Democrats are bad, that you could get closer to God if you were conservative, and that one could not be a good member of the church and be a Democrat. It may seem strange, but it was at BYU that he came to the realization he sided more with Democrats. He wanted to be a voice for those without a voice.[93] "My Mom tells me she didn't raise me to be a Democrat, but in reality, she did. She taught me not to discriminate, to be open-minded, and to respect others," he explains.

Dille says more than 600 students signed up with College Democrats in the fall of 1992, but the problem was keeping them active. Some, having been raised as good Mormon Republicans, saw the club as a dissident, underground organization and joined to display their youthful rebelliousness. They usually were not serious about politics. College Democrats do not have funds for parties and socials like Young Republicans, but the few who turn out for business meetings, between ten and twenty, are a powerhouse in their own right. And, miracle of miracles, they interact well with Young Republicans and the ultraconservatives on campus.

Dille and others I interviewed say as BYU becomes increasingly selective about admissions, the demographics of the student body are shifting. More and more students are coming from outside the Mormon Republican strongholds of Utah, Idaho, and Arizona and are better educated, less provincial, and more aware of world problems than students generally were in the past. They are more open-minded, they are think-

92. Bryan Waterman interview, 22 Apr. 1993.
93. Brian Dille interview, 28 June 1993.

ing more for themselves, and they understand the difference between politics and religion. "They are more sophisticated and not as willing to buy into the idea that you have to fit a certain political mold to be an active member of the Church," Dille says.

As evidence of this, he recalls speaking at a campus Soap Box forum to challenge the letter that is cited at the beginning of this essay. "I said it was ridiculous to be judgmental about a person's spirituality based on politics, and I got a standing ovation."[94]

Student Democrats write newspaper columns and letters to the editor on a regular basis. One especially articulate column by Dille, Sara Jones, John Radford, and Heather Wynder appeared in the off-campus *Student Review* before the 1992 elections. Two excerpts follow:

> A major roadblock to making informed decisions is the practice of buying into partisan stereotypes. These abound on both sides of the aisle, with the redneck-racist-uneducated-frenzied-patriot-Republicans pointing fingers at the pinko-commie-bleeding-heart-liberal-intellectual Democrats who point back.
>
> . . .
>
> We can safely speak for all BYU Democrats who have, at one time or another, faced the horrified friend who has just learned we are Democrats. "But," they say, "how can you possibly be in favor of killing babies?" Our answer is that both parties have extremists. Being pro-choice or supporting gay rights is no more a requirement for being a Democrat than is being isolationist or supporting David Duke a requirement for being a Republican. There is room for reason in the center of both parties.[95]

College Democrats organized and gained BYU approval for a pro-choice, pro-life debate on campus, and they set up non-partisan student seminars in the fall of 1993 for prevention of racism, discrimination, gender bias, and sexual harassment. Dille explained: "If all Republicans can do is poke fun at Democrats and use clichés to defend their position, they are going to have difficulty in the real world where they are a minority. Rational debate between us actually strengthens Republicans and helps us all, no matter what party we are in."[96]

Another sign of emerging political health at BYU was the rise of *The Conservative Edge,* a "Politically Incorrect" off-campus newspaper, founded by student Nick Zukin. He believed BYU should be more liberal in its policies. "BYU puts too much emphasis on suppression of contro-

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94. Ibid.
95. *Student Review,* 28 Oct. 1992, 5.
96. Dille interview.

versy and debate," he said.[97] That doesn't sound like a typical BYU conservative, but his attitude is being expressed by increasing numbers of students.

Zukin invited College Democrats to take a full page in each issue of his paper to voice their opinions. Democrats had "The Left Page" opposite "The Right Page," where Zukin and his staff hold forth.

As Zukin explained:

> We invited the College Democrats to contribute for two reasons. One, there is really no place they can go to engage in debate on the issues other than here. Two, we are pretty much convinced that our position on the issues cannot suffer from comparison with theirs—and if it can, then we need to wise up. The Forum page is truly a debate. If we lose, we lose. It is a risk we feel we ought to take.[98]

And how do Democrats feel?

> The primary reason we feel we should be a part of this paper is that the BYU community needs a forum to discuss political matters.
>
> BYU begs for a rational forum of discussion. . . . In the absence of such a forum, most political discussion and arguments occur over the cafeteria table and in the halls of the library. In such an environment arguments are seldom well thought out and the "winner" is usually the loudest proponent. Worn-out partisan cliches are sometimes the only tool used to persuade.[99]

A friend recently had a conversation with someone who thought BYU is right in trying to rid itself of "undesirable" faculty because students are not mature enough to be exposed to diverse issues and ideas. If the above exchange between young conservatives and Democrats is any indicator, it sounds as if students can handle diversity far better than their elders.

Among the people I interviewed, some of the most cogent reasoning in support of strengthening the Democratic influence on campus and in the community came from Republicans.

Hal Miller, at the time dean of general and honors education, is a registered Republican and former Goldwaterite who says he has become more independent with time. "I found myself moving away from those who want clear demarcations and battle lines. I am more inclined to resist identifying differences," he says. Miller has situated himself more with those who are slow to condemn, adamant about remaining open, willing to discourse about differences, and striving to see the merits of people

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97. Nicholas A. Zukin interview, 23 June 1993.
98. *The Conservative Edge*, 5 Mar. 1993, 9.
99. Ibid., 8.

and arguments that, at first blush, seem repugnant. "I am loath to be absolutistic," he says. "I believe we should consider carefully and make judgments thoughtfully and on the merits. And we should allow and encourage all others to do the same."[100]

Nominal Republican Dick Poll, former history professor at BYU and Western Illinois University, now deceased, said he wished Utah County had a two-party system. "I believe in the two-party system because only when you have vigorous interaction will you have the best government," he said. "Antipathy toward politics because of antipathy toward government is prevalent everywhere but nowhere more than in Utah County."

Poll cited Goethe: "'Nothing is more terrible than to see ignorance in action,'" and commented, "There is a lot of ignorance on the part of church members in regard to politics." He explained that success-oriented, middle-class Mormons put themselves, their families, their jobs, and their church way ahead of their citizenship responsibilities. Their allegiance to the Constitution is superficial—an emotional, slogan-based, knee-jerk sort of patriotism.[101]

Kent Harrison, a professor of physics, is a soft-spoken but powerful advocate for equality and human rights. He is active in the Republican party. When I referred to the letter about Satan's foot in the door, I could sense his blood pressure rising. Harrison says that type of thoughtless diatribe makes him want to climb the walls. As argument against it, he quotes John Stuart Mill, as cited at the beginning of this paper.

"I think it's wonderful and essential that Democrats have a voice at BYU," he says. "I am delighted when I see a variety of opposing views at BYU even though it makes some people uncomfortable. If some get upset, tough. Republicans need to be brought up short once in a while because we don't have all the answers. All parties are groping, and there are good ideas on all sides. I shudder when I hear talk among Republicans of creating a veto-proof legislature."

Harrison refers to the current furor on campus and says regardless of the merits, he is pleased to see students and faculty speaking out on behalf of what they believe. It's healthy and it's vital to the strength and growth of any serious academic enterprise that is striving for excellence.[102]

The Democrats I talked to are highly intelligent, sensitive individuals who are thoroughly dedicated to their church, school, and nation. I sensed among them a feeling of betrayal because of the treatment they receive at the hands of a majority that claims to be Christian and whose pioneer heritage ought to have taught them what it means to be a minority.

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100. Harold L. Miller, Jr., interview, 30 June 1993.
101. Richard D. Poll interview, 24 June 1993.
102. B. Kent Harrison interview, 28 June 1993.

They feel betrayed by the politicization of the church and God. As one independent told me, "People who put deity on their side and then say that what God thinks is based on what they think are traveling down the wrong path." It is a form of taking the name of God in vain.

They feel dismayed over tendencies toward a one-party church and one-party university but take heart in the fact that in spite of its seeming power, the radical right has failed in its long-standing attempts to fully polarize either the church or the university.

They are amused by BYU's condescending attitude toward Democrats. "They put up with us so they can tell the world there is diversity at BYU," one student told me. "Give me a break," he says. "Anyplace else it wouldn't be an issue."

Given what has been described as a Torquemadian atmosphere on campus, some Democrats feel a bit uneasy these days. That's not to say that Democrats are the cause of the current controversies. But it does appear that people involved in social activism, anti-nuclear-weapons demonstrations, peace gatherings, minority awareness movements, Amnesty International, women's rights activities, liberation theology, and anything else that pushes the establishment's buttons usually are liberal and naturally identify more with Democrats than Republicans.

Because education tends to make people more liberal in their disciplines and outlooks on life, it is viewed in certain conservative circles as a dangerous thing. Democrats, being the "liberals" that we all know they are, thus fear what this means for conservative BYU and for their future as educators at such an institution. As one faculty member told me, "We as a culture are being taught to think for ourselves less and less."

Democrats have benefitted somewhat from BYU's political neutrality policies, but they wish such policies weren't necessary. How refreshing and how much more truly educational it would be if students could be exposed to a variety of political views without worrying about whether the Mormon population at large sees any particular view as being church sanctioned. BYU is such a jewel in the church's crown that it has to cater more to its public image than to its students' needs. This means that much energy goes into maintaining a façade of benign tranquility, and speakers like Washington columnist Jack Anderson, who is too controversial,[103] get turned away. At the same time BYU officials wonder why they get such poor attendance at the university's forums.

It should be noted that faculty actually can and do expose students to a variety of viewpoints, but they have to do so quietly and stay out of the public spotlight. Obviously, BYU is not a healthy place for postmodernists.

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103. Marchant interview.

The birth of partisan politics at BYU came under Ernest Wilkinson who could be likened to a well-meaning but strict, overly-protective, highly-opinionated parent who attempts to shield his children from the truth about Santa Claus. From Wilkinson to the present are the teenage years, marked by attempts to carefully screen the presentation of opposing viewpoints. It's as if the teenagers are allowed to go to certain preselected movies as long as they are accompanied by adults. Will the BYU political scene reach adulthood? Many think not, but it could happen if church members came to understand that what goes on at BYU is an educational process and not some religious sign indicating which way God wants them to vote. It is fascinating that BYU has so much power—too much for its own good. How much more effective the university could be as an educational institution if Mormons looked more directly to church leaders for guidance instead of trying to interpret church policy, doctrine, and temperature through the actions of the university.

Yes, Democrats do exist at BYU, and no, they are not Satanic. Their presence on campus, though not always appreciated, has strengthened the university in many ways. For the sake of the nation, the Constitution, freedom, democracy, the two-party system, the church, and especially BYU, may all bleeding-heart, intellectual, liberal Mormon Democrats thrive and prosper. And may all BYU closet Democrats come out into the open. You've got company. And you are needed.

Because Last Night Was Friday Night

Holly Welker

Because last night was Friday night
I had to search to find a quiet place
and when I found it I wanted to leave it
though I wasn't even working off a mean gin drunk.

I wasn't even wondering what I could do
with a letter opener shaped like a dagger
but not sharp. And still without permission
my hands would cover my face.

Two of my sisters cut their hair.
Perhaps this means I'm next.
Two of my sisters are in California
and the third turns twenty-two soon.

My brother and I dance to thrashy music,
the lyrics could be: *books, guns, burn,*
the subject matter cheeses, imported-shoes.
My brother dances with me only if I don't speak.

This is what I would like to tell him:
in two days I lost two men.
This is how I lost them:
love lust hate.

Coming of Age? The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the 1960s

Roger D. Launius

THE 1960S IN THE UNITED STATES was a decade probably best described as tumultuous, confrontational, bewildering, but also uniquely exalting. During the period a long-standing national culture appeared to crumble, and conflict on a myriad of levels became common. At virtually every level of human interaction—political, economic, social, cultural, military—proven formulae were cast aside in favor of other, although not necessarily better, approaches.[1] In many respects the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints of the 1960s mirrored the general tumult, if not the details, of the larger American society. For reasons similar to those prompting change in the United States, the Reorganization also wrestled, seemingly for the first time, with questions which fundamentally altered its structure and pattern of behavior. It was for the Reorganized Church a coming of age whose impact will be permanently embedded in the core of the movement. It represented a growth of maturity as well as a loss of innocence. As such it was both the best and worst of episodes through which the Reorganized Church has passed. This essay explores some of the themes and trends that are representative of the transformation of the Reorganization during this era.

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1. Anyone wishing to pursue the reorientation of American society in the 1960s should read Milton Viorst, *Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960s* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979); Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984); William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971); and Godfrey Hodgen, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1976).

Perhaps the central theme of American religion in the twentieth century has been its encounter with modernity—the changes to the sets of priorities, assumptions, and values present in recent society largely in cultural response to emerging concepts in science, technology, economics, politics, philosophy, and the overall *weltanschauung*. The response to modernity, according to Martin E. Marty, fundamentally changed the landscape of American religions. He wrote that religious institutions changed depending on how they "embraced, rejected, or cautiously accepted the modern world—by aggressively advocating modernity or uneasily accepting it, by self-consciously preserving older ways in the context of modernity or by transforming traditions through a stance of antimodernism, or, finally, by attempting to pass beyond or through the modern to a more basic religious stance unaffected by it."[2] While Marty was concerned specifically with reactions in the early twentieth century, the Reorganized Church began to wrestle seriously with the issue of modernity in the 1960s. This concern took several twists in the decade, but by the end of the period the Reorganized Church had embraced modernity and was beginning to make a home for itself as a denomination among and not apart from the nation's mainline Christian churches.

Fundamentally, the Reorganized Church's changes of the 1960s were a response to and in many ways an embracing of developments of American society after World War II.[3] The experience of war, the acceptance of responsibilities on the world stage, the rapid development of technology in the form of communications and other benefits, the economic good times of most Americans, the breakdown of traditional ideas and the development of new paradigms, and a host of less tangible events all fundamentally affected the Reorganization.[4]

American Social Ferment

The unrest in the United States during the 1960s has been discussed in detail in many places. The Reorganized Church participated in this process probably as fully as most other religious institutions. Indicative of the recognition of social concerns, at the 1964 World Conference the

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2. Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion: Volume 1, The Irony of It All, 1893-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), flyleaf.

3. A useful discussion of how the Reorganization has developed in the twentieth century can be found in Barbara Higdon, "The Reorganization in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972): 94-100; Roger D. Launius, "A New Historiographical Frontier: The Reorganized Church in the Twentieth Century," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 6 (1986): 53-63.

4. This shift has been demonstrated in numerous cases. See Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1965); Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1955).

body of Saints passed a resolution directed toward affecting the world around them: "*Resolved,* That this Conference urge the First Presidency with such assistance as they may require from the quorums, councils, and orders of the church, to prepare or cause to be prepared statements of principle to submit to future World Conferences for the guidance of church members in meeting current social, economic, and moral problems . . ."[5] Although concern for the wider issues at play in society was present before this time, this action focused more fully than ever before the church's attention on the issues of inequality, inexactitude, and incoherence in American society. That it was, at least in part, a response to the turmoil around them seems apparent. Apostle Clifford A. Cole remarked that this "was a period when many persons were becoming disillusioned with the idea that science could solve humanity's problems. Many felt that the economic, political, and social structures of society were no longer adequate." In this environment it was incumbent upon the church to seek a new balance, and Cole and other leaders moved out on several fronts to do so.[6] The church expended resources and used its publications to consider these issues and how the Saints might make the world a better place. The decade was probably the most enlightened period in the church's recent history for concern about moral and social issues, and activism in all manner of concerns among the Saints, albeit with mixed results, became increasingly common.

In March 1966 the First Presidency published a statement on "The Church and the Social Order," which responded to some of the issues of the era and offered a guide for the actions of Latter Day Saints. A moderate statement, it nonetheless suggested that "The church exists among men and for men. It can never shut the world out," and that the members must be about good works to raise the level of society. It also noted that "the social order is the kingdom of God: the realm in which the will of God is done on earth as it is done in heaven, where the will of God becomes the will and directing force of men." The presidency suggested that the Saints should work to eliminate such "spiritual disorders as greed, jealousy, and resentment." It commented on several specific areas then being considered in the social ferment of the era: the responsibilities of the church and members in the social order, guidelines for Christian social action, the importance of the family not just as an entity but as a place where critical needs of both a spiritual and physical nature can be met in total safety, sexual ethics, the responsibilities of citizens to support the government, the rule of law, the issue of war and peace, and the racial

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5. *Rules and Resolutions* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), World Conference Resolution (WCR) 1045.

6. Clifford A. Cole, "World Church: Our Mission in the 1980s," *Commission,* Sept. 1979, 43.

crisis.[7] At every point the presidency recommended greater efforts to educate rather than legislate on social issues, calling "for maturing of understanding through study and service under the guidance of the Holy Spirit."[8]

The church's periodical, the *Saints' Herald*, continued to discuss many of these important social issues throughout the remainder of the decade.[9] W. Wallace Smith, president of the Reorganization, really began this effort in his World Conference sermon of 1966, "Our Hope and Our Salvation." Typically a "State of the Church" address, in this presentation he devoted considerable attention to the social questions being raised and urged the church to meet the needs of the generation. "Platitudes and pleasantries are not sufficient to meet the needs of our generation," he said, and commented that the Saints must offer leadership in bringing good to the world.[10] Thereafter a series of articles on "Social, Moral, and Religious Issues" began appearing in the *Saints' Herald* to consider specific problems in society: inequality, welfare, civil rights, science, and a multitude of other topics drawing the church into the larger debate taking place in America.[11] In addition there were numerous special issues treating various aspects of the social issues of the world.[12] These and other efforts of a less tangible nature helped reorient the church by the end of the decade from what it had been called by a *Time* reporter, "a fossilized, forgotten

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7. First Presidency, "The Church and the Social Order," *Saints' Herald* 113 (15 Mar. 1966): 186-89, 198-99.

8. First Presidency, "Editorial Comment on the Church and the Social Order," ibid. 113 (15 Mar. 1966): 185.

9. This had been present before 1966, but it took off after the First Presidency's emphasis. See Roy A. Cheville, "Mormonism on the Move," ibid. 111 (1 Jan. 1964): 10-12; Richard B. Lancaster, "The Contemporary Christ: The Relevance of the Doctrine of the Resurrection," ibid. 111 (15 Mar. 1964): 186-87; Raymond R. Broadfoot, "The Restoration Church in the Space Age," ibid. 111 (1 Apr. 1964): 221-22, 235; First Presidency, "Our Position on Race and Color," ibid. 110 (1 Aug. 1963): 506; Paul A. Wellington," The Restoration Attitude Towards Race," ibid. 110 (15 Nov. 1963): 770; William D. Russell, "Martin Luther King: Satan or Saint?" ibid. 110 (1 July 1963): 434.

10. W. Wallace Smith, "Our Hope and Our Salvation," ibid. 113 (15 May 1966): 330-33, 343.

11. James Tice, "The Poverty Program—Its Relationship to Zionic Ideals," ibid. 113 (15 Apr. 1966): 260-62; G.R. Westwood, "The Dilemma in Human Values," ibid. 113 (1 Aug. 1966): 522-25; Cecil L. Eubanks, "The God of History Is on the Move," ibid. 113 (15 Aug. 1966): 548-49; Gerald Gabriel, "Inequality in a World of Plenty," ibid. 113 (15 Sept. 1966): 618-20; Mark Dievendorf, "Welfare—Boon or Burden?" ibid. 113 (1 Oct. 1966): 659, 670; Verne Sparkes, "Sinful Man and the Civil Rights Dilemma," ibid. 113 (15 Oct. 1966): 690-91, 701-702; Jack Soldner, "The Importance of Purpose," ibid. 113 (15 Nov. 1966): 766-67, 780; Eldon S. Ratcliffe, "Change," ibid. 113 (1 Dec. 1966): 801, 813.

12. As examples, see "The Vietnam Involvement" issue, ibid. 113 (1 Feb. 1966); "The War on Poverty" issue, ibid. 113 (15 Apr. 1966); "The Church and the World" issue, ibid. 113 (1 Aug. 1966).

sect," into a more dynamic institution that was concerned with much more than just itself.[13] While the strides made were always moderate, without this gradual reorientation there is some question that the organization would have been able to survive the tumult pressuring it from without and within.

Economic Development

During the years following World War II the Reorganized Church's membership, at least in North America where more than 90 percent of members still reside, participated in a rapid rise in economic status. This advance in economic position was especially manifest in the 1960s. In large measure, however, this resulted from the general growth of the American economy and the changes this wrought in society. Because of this, the years since World War II marked a period of gradual transition of the institutional church from a largely rural and working-class constituency to a more white collar, urban, middle-class membership. Prior to this time the Reorganized Saints particularly appealed to the poor and working classes of industrial Western civilization as "have nots" were attracted to its zionic message and its socially egalitarian system. F. Henry Edwards summarized this historic position in the Reorganization:

> Because the church was poor, proselyting was chiefly among the poor. Local missionary enterprises were almost never adequately financed, and in many urban situations the best housing that could be secured was a home, an upper room, or a storefront. Hundreds of honest, thrifty, and industrious but poor people joined the church but, with few exceptions, neither their resources, their education, nor their experience elsewhere qualified them to manage the business of the church as a means to freedom and power.[14]

As a result those serving the church on a full-time basis had been virtually destitute, with the church providing to appointee families exceptionally small allowances to supplement what the family could produce for itself. This approach had tended to reinforce itself as poor appointee ministers from the general church's devout but economically poor rank-and-file worked largely among people they knew best, other economically disadvantaged individuals. Poor begat poor in a seemingly endless circle. This was an uncomfortable if generally tolerable situation as long as the Saints, the appointee missionaries, and the church's missionary pros-

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13. "The Other Saints," *Time*, 29 Apr. 1966, 74.

14. F. Henry Edwards, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1973), 6:614.

pects, and expectations remained pretty much equal.[15]

This situation had obviously changed by the 1960s. Even as the church tried to maintain the image of a working-class institution it was an increasingly inaccurate assessment as time passed. For instance, a study in the late 1960s revealed that 56.65 percent of all church families sampled had a gross income of $8,000 or more—43.63 percent had incomes over $10,000—when the comparable median family income for the United States in 1970 was only $8,734.[16] This placed the United States' membership firmly in the middle class. Moreover, in the early part of the twentieth century most Reorganized Church branches met in rented quarters or in members' homes. By the 1960s most branches in the United States had their own facilities, many worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. In addition, the church's budgets in the period, even when adjusted for inflation, show remarkable growth, as shown in Table 1. Table 2 contains a list of the rise in tithes and offerings for the 1960s. From these observations, it is apparent that by the 1960s the church in North America was no longer constituted largely of lower- and working-class families.

Table 1. Reorganized Church Expenditures

Category	*1960 Amount*	*1960 %*	*1970 Amount*	*1970 %*
Ministerial	1,480,130	61.86	2,945,003	61.11
General Admin.	670,115	28.01	1,189,373	24.68
Education	193,600	8.10	581,446	12.07
Historical Properties	22,900	.95	54,000	1.12
Miscellaneous	21,850	.91	49,200	1.02
Total	2,392,655	100.00	4,819,023	100.00

(Source: Statistics Department and Data Records reports in World Conference Reports and Minutes published for conferences, RLDS Library-Archives.)

Table 2. Reorganized Church Tithes and Offerings

Year	*Contributions*	*Percent Increase Over Previous Year*
1960	$2,709,750.02	—

15. This circumstance is pointed up in Albert L. Loving, *When I Put Out to See: The Autobiography of Albert Loving* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1974), the recollections of a longtime appointee minister.

16. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, *Report of the Commission on Education*, Apr. 1970, 64, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, MO; *Information Please Almanac* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 42.

1961	$2,871,804.85	6.0
1962	$3,225,958.50	12.4
1963	$3,387,413.45	5.0
1964	$3,566,290.11	5.3
1965	$3,829,069.46	7.4
1966	$3,940,925.17	2.9
1967	$4,407,145.89	11.8
1968	$4,565,122.70	3.5
1969	$3,928,214.03	-15.3

(Source: First Presidency to Appointee and others, 26 Mar. 1969, First Presidency Records, RG9, f77, RLDS Library-Archives; World Church Conference Reports, 1970.)

As the church membership transitioned from the lower to the middle class during the latter half of the twentieth century, it brought a similar transition into the ranks of the full-time ministry. Through the 1950s even in the rare instances when they could afford to do otherwise the church's appointees were expected to live miserly. To emphasize its thrifty use of contributors' tithing the church published by name all appointee expenses and family allowances in the *Conference Daily Bulletin* until 1958. Not even the general officers, including the First Presidency, were immune from such publicity.[17]

During the 1960s, however, the church began making significant efforts toward providing more substantial support for its leadership and their families. As contributions permitted, and they permitted better than ever before in the decade, the institutional church gradually improved its appointee family allowances and instituted attractive fringe benefits such as excellent medical care, college tuition reimbursement for dependents, and a generous retirement plan. The effect of these actions was to place the standard of living of appointee families squarely into the American middle class. To demonstrate the rise in the appointee standard of living, between 1956 and 1964 full-time church personnel salaries and other stipends rose 43 percent per appointee, as shown in Table 3. In addition, in 1968 church appointees received an average annual allowance per family of $7,746.72, near the national average, with another $3,448.28 paid by the church for travel, moving, retirement, and other expenses. This meant that the church paid an average of $11,195 per appointee.[18] Moreover, if the wife was employed, an increasing likelihood of modern life, her earn-

17. I can recall appointee missionaries in the American southeast in the early 1960s visiting our area and my father taking them out to buy a new suit or paying to have their automobile repaired and especially slipping them a $20 bill with the instruction that this was extra and should not be reported as contributions to the church.

18. "Appointee Compensation," 1968, Walter N. Johnson Papers, P67, f6, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

ings began to be considered during the decade on top of the husband's church allowances, giving many appointee families a family income well into upper–middle–class standards.

Table 3. Reorganized Church Cost Per Month for Appointee Allowances, 1956-64

1956	$341.91
1957	$383.99
1958	$375.99
1959	$367.17
1960	$402.08
1961	$413.08
1962	$442.84
1963	$456.72
1964	$488.80

(Source: "Appointee Compensation and Policies," n.d. [1965], Walter N. Johnson Papers, P67, f6, RLDS Library-Archives.)

A change in appointment policy was accelerated by and in turn probably itself accelerated this trend. For the first time employment with the church was economically rewarding enough to attract the best educated and most capable men the church had in its ranks. Always before the necessity of earning a living for a family prohibited some exceptionally talented people from serving full time. Increasingly, better educated and more capable people began to fill the appointee ranks. They brought a wider perspective to their work than had earlier generations. Many also came into appointment with considerable financial resources to augment their church incomes. The result placed the church's appointee leaders in a position of substantial financial health, with a concomitant stake in maintaining stability and respectability in the surrounding society. In addition, it set in motion a rise in careerism in the institutional church, and since that time the development of full-time bureaucrats has expanded with all the attendant advantages and drawbacks of such a system.

This new-found wealth perhaps did not cause but certainly abetted a greater openness to Protestantism and accommodation to modern society than was ever present in the church before. As W. B. Spillman wrote,

> The more wealth one has, the less likely one is to promote policies that may threaten it; the more integrated one is within society, the less motivation one has to radically alter it. As the church and its leaders moved securely into the North American middle class, it naturally began to see tension and apartness from society as potentially damaging to its newly acquired status and bureaucratic stability. The church found itself with an increasing interest in maintaining stability and peace with the surrounding culture.

In short, the Reorganized Church moved from a sect to a denomination as it reconsidered its place in the world. Whereas "it once saw its mission and destiny apart from, and in many respects, inimical to society as a whole, the church in the latter twentieth century began to see the benefits of cooperation and increased accommodation to societal standards and demands." The church as a body began to be more open to the influences of the society around it, and in the process it moved into the mainstream secular world of the United States. That is not to say that this was an inevitability, only that it was the course the Reorganization chose for itself. It also does not say that other factors were not at work which prompted the church in that direction as well, a subject to which we now turn our attention.[19]

Theological Reformation

Concomitant with the economic development issue in the church, and closely related to it, was a radical theological reformation in the Reorganization. Beginning in the 1950s and truly felt in the 1960s, Reorganization liberals emerged to engage in the steady dismantling of what had been a traditional Reorganized Church theological consensus. That consensus had been built on the tensions between the desire to remain faithful to the stories, symbols, and events of early Mormonism, on the one hand, and the yearning for respectability among and hence openness to Protestantism, on the other.[20] These tensions had been held in creative balance prior to the 1960s when leading church members began to challenge all manner of beliefs about the movement's history and theology and steadily moved from a position which argued that the Reorganized Church was the only *true* church to one asserting that the Reorganization was only one *true* church among many.[21] This theological and historical reformation struck at the very core and essence of the Reorganized

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19. W. B. Spillman, "Dissent and the Future of the Church," in Roger D. Launius and W. B. Spillman, eds., *Let Contention Cease: The Dynamics of Dissent in the Reorganized Church* (Independence, MO: Graceland-Park Press, 1991), 276-77.

20. Alma R. Blair, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormonism," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1973), 207-30; Clare D. Vlahos, "Moderation as a Theological Principle in the Thought of Joseph Smith III," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 1 (1981): 3-11.

21. Howard J. Booth, "Recent Shifts in Restoration Thought," in Maurice L. Draper and Clare D. Vlahos, eds., *Restoration Studies I* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 162-75. For further evidence of these changes, compare the *Position Papers* (Independence, MO: Cumorah Books, 1975), or *Exploring the Faith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970), with William H. Kelley, *Presidency and Priesthood: The Apostasy, Reformation, and Restoration* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1908), and Joseph F. Luff, *The Old Jerusalem Gospel* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1903). On the Reorganized church's reformation, see Larry W. Conrad and Paul Shupe, "An RLDS Reformation? Construing the Task of RLDS Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 92-103.

Church's origins and reasons for existence since the 1850s.

The theological reformation was initiated long before it began to be apparent in the Reorganization, and in some respects it paralleled developments in many American Protestant churches with mainly a difference in timing. For instance, Frederick Madison Smith, president of the Reorganization between 1915 and 1946, set in motion policies that eventually helped diminish the church's historic sense of theological uniqueness by encouraging the use of the tools of modern behavioral science and management theory in church work. His emphasis on education, training, and professionalism undermined the fundamentals on which the church was based. Under his successor, Israel A. Smith, president between 1946 and 1958, the church increased reliance on secular education as a path to greater professionalism. Israel Smith accepted the Department of Religious Education's plans to broaden the preparation of its staff and Sunday school teachers. He also created the School of the Restoration to provide specialized leadership training for ministry, but this school offered much more than pastoral training and leadership seminars as its students were encouraged to study seriously church history and theology in light of outside scholarship.[22]

This set the stage for the same type of debate over authority, structure, and theology that had been played out in the mainline Protestant denominations in the early decades of the twentieth century.[23] The seeds of theological debate were harvested during the presidency of W. Wallace Smith, 1958-78, the time during which these questions began to emerge in a serious way in the Reorganization. But although Wallace Smith did not begin the theological reformation, clearly his policies allowed it to prevail. One of these actions was his choice of key leaders in the Reorganized Church's quorums. For example, at the October 1958 General Conference when Smith was ordained prophet, he named a well-read and thoughtful apostle, Maurice L. Draper, as his second counselor. At the same time Smith called men of similar characteristics, Clifford A. Cole and Charles D. Neff, to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Roy A. Cheville, a University of Chicago-trained theologian, as Presiding Patri-

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22. On the careers of these men, see Larry E. Hunt, *F. W. Smith: Saint as Reformer* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1982); Paul M. Edwards, *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Frederick M. Smith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1988); and Norma Derry Hiles, *Gentle Monarch: An Administrative Biography of Israel A. Smith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1991).

23. See Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954); Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Willard J. Gatewood, Jr., ed., *Controversy in the Twenties: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Evolution* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1969); Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion, Volume 1*; George R. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

arch.[24] All were important agents of change.

The educational impetus present in the church brought by these men, as well as by others who entered the appointee force near the same time who were generally better educated than the church's rank-and-file, clearly set the stage for radical reformation in Wallace Smith's presidency. Increasing numbers of key staff members had graduate, usually theological, degrees, and they encouraged others to broaden their vistas in similar fashion. For instance, several staff people at church headquarters in Independence began to take graduate courses at the Saint Paul School of Theology, a Methodist seminary in Kansas City, when it began operation in 1959.[25]

Formal theological training of church staff members had a liberalizing effect on the materials developed for Sunday school and on the articles published in the *Saints' Herald*.[26] These trends were apparent at least as early as the fall of 1960 when the Religious Education Department published an Old Testament course for senior high students. Written by Garland E. Tickemyer, the course embraced an evolutionary and mythological view of the Old Testament. Tickemyer, who had written a master's thesis on Joseph Smith's process theology at the University of Southern California and was then president of the High Priests' Quorum, approached the subject from the standpoint of higher criticism, and this publication excited controversy in the church. Some congregations refused to use them, and certain members of the Quorum of Seventies vocally opposed Tickemyer's interpretation of the Bible.[27]

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24. *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970 ed.), Sec. 145. This revelation was given in April 1958. On the personalities of these men, except Cheville, see their Oral History Memoirs in the Reorganized Church Library-Archives. On the historical development and responsibilities of the Presiding Patriarch, see Reed M. Holmes, *The Patriarchs* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1978).

25. Richard B. Lancaster and Clifford Buck graduated from Saint Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Missouri, in 1965, the first Reorganization graduates of the Methodist-sponsored seminary. Both men were church appointees assigned to the Department of Religious Education at the Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

26. This issue, and the fundamentalist backlash from it, is explored in an outstanding article: William J. Knapp, "Professionalizing Religious Education in the Church: The New Curriculum Controversy," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 47-59. See also, Donald D. Landon, "A Question of Means or Ends: The Debate over Religious Education," *Sunstone* 10 (1986): 21-23, which provides a defense of efforts to modernize the church's curriculum by a key participant in the process.

27. Garland E. Tickemyer, *The Old Testament Speaks to Our Day* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1960-61), four quarterlies for senior high students. On Tickemyer's theological ideas, see his "A Study of Some Representative Concepts of a Finite God in Contemporary American Philosophy with Application to the God Concepts of the Utah Mormons," M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1954. These ideas have been boiled down and perhaps added to in Garland E. Tickemyer, "Joseph Smith and Process Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Autumn 1984): 75-85.

A change in editorship at the *Saints' Herald,* the church's official periodical, also opened a new channel for the expression of intellectual ferment. The outgoing editor had fully exercised his license and rejected articles if they were "not in harmony" with traditional Reorganization teachings. The new editor, Roger Yarrington, did not see his editorial role as that of a protector of the traditional faith and allowed a much wider divergence of ideas to be presented. Because of this there were several liberal articles in the *Saints' Herald* in the early 1960s. Probably the two most controversial were written by James E. Lancaster and Lloyd R. Young. Lancaster, in an historical article called "By the Gift and Power of God," concluded that the Book of Mormon was translated by Joseph Smith through a "seer stone," which Smith used by looking into it in the bottom of a hat while the plates were under cover on a nearby table.[28] This was contrary to what many Reorganized Latter Day Saints believed about Joseph translating the golden plates through a spectacle-like Urim and Thummim.[29] Lloyd R. Young's theological article, "Concerning the Virgin Birth," questioned the historical evidence for Mary's virginity at the time of Jesus' birth using the tools of modern scholarship.[30] Letters protesting these articles streamed into Herald House, the church's publisher. In similar fashion and with equally provocative reactions, several book-length publications from the church's press began to reflect more liberal ideas during the early 1960s as well.[31]

In the same period the church's only institution of higher learning and a traditional place of Restoration theological inquiry, Graceland College, hired new faculty members to teach religion, philosophy, and history. Each of these new faculty was young, had been trained in secular educational institutions, and was somewhat liberal in his beliefs. They began to reexamine Latter Day Saint theology and history critically with the tools of their disciplines, and their more liberal emphases quickly showed in their teaching. Church officials often heard criticism of these faculty for undermining the faith of students in the

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28. James E. Lancaster, "By the Gift and Power of God," *Saint's Herald* 109 (15 Nov. 1962): 798-802, 806, 817; reprinted with minor revisions in the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983): 51-61.

29. An example of the traditional Reorganization understanding is that of Clair E. Weldon, "Two Transparent Stones: The Story of the Urim and Thummim," *Saints' Herald* 109 (1 Sept. 1962): 616-20, 623.

30. Lloyd R. Young, "Concerning the Virgin Birth: Comments on the Doctrine," ibid. 111 (1 Feb. 1964): 77-78, 94.

31. See, as examples, F. Henry Edwards, *For Such a Time* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1963); Roy A. Cheville, *Spirituality in the Space Age* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1962); William R. Clinefelter, *The Covenant and the Kingdom* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1964).

1960s.[32]

All of this would have come to nothing had not the broadened approach to understanding the Reorganization's theology and history found an audience among the church hierarchy of the 1960s. This was especially manifest in three important developments in the latter part of the decade. The first was a series of three private seminars in 1967 with the eighteen members of the church's Joint Council of the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric conducted by theologian Paul Jones and religious historian Carl Bangs, both of whom were members of Kansas City's Saint Paul School of Theology. These individuals gave a new slant to familiar problems in the Reorganization by defining them in the context of Protestantism.[33] The seminars incorporated symbols and explanations from the larger Christian community rather than emphasizing traditional concerns of the Reorganized Church. One important part of these men's emphasis was the lessening of the standard "true church" concept of the Reorganization, stressing that any church was "true" only to the extent that it reflected the spirit and personality of Jesus Christ.[34] Some church members, not surprisingly, were appalled by these seminars which contradicted the Doctrine and Covenants (34:4) direction to go forth into the world and to "teach" and not "to be taught." As one delegate told the 1970 World Conference: "These other schools have nothing to teach us" since the Reorganization already possessed the "fullness of the gospel."[35]

Second, the development and presentation of a set of theological papers, called "Position Papers," in 1969 for use in developing new Sunday

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32. These younger faculty included Lloyd R. Young, Paul M. Edwards, Robert Speaks, Leland Negaard, Robert Bruce Flanders, and Alma R. Blair. Speaks and Negaard had graduate degrees from two of the leading Protestant theological seminaries in the United States, the University of Chicago and Union Theological Seminary in New York respectively. Robert Flanders, a Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin, especially excited the ire of the more traditional Saints by suggesting that, among other things, Joseph Smith, Jr., had instituted the Mormon practice of polygamy. See Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). Seventy A. M. Pelletier wrote an open letter to the Joint Council of the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric in 1967 which said that "The only book I have every openly criticized is Flanders's *Nauvoo, The Kingdom on the Mississippi.* I have heard of some of our leaders praising it and a couple even going so far as to say, 'This book will do more to break the Smith Dynasty than anything ever written.' I take objection to such statements" (Pelletier to All Members of the Joint Council, 29 May 1967, Walter N. Johnson Papers, 1905-80, P67, f17, Reorganized Church Library-Archives).

33. Donald D. Landon, *A History of Donald D. Landon While Under General Conference Appointment, 1951-1970: An Oral History Memoir* (Independence, MO: Department of History, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1970), 94.

34. Knapp, "Professionalizing Religious Education," 49.

35. William D. Russell, "Reorganized Mormons Beset by Controversy," *Christian Century,* 17 June 1970, 770.

school curriculum sources also signaled a theological shift among the church's leadership. Most of these papers had been written by Department of Religious Education staff members, but some were the products of members of the First Presidency and the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.[36] They annihilated many of the traditional theological conceptions of the Reorganization and presented an interpretation of the church as a mainline Protestant denomination. As one example, in a paper on the Book of Mormon the author viewed the book as a work of fiction written by Joseph Smith as an expression of religious speculation.[37]

Third, in 1970 the Reorganized Church published its most significant theological work of the reformation era, *Exploring the Faith.* Written by committee over a ten-year period, an interesting development in itself, *Exploring the Faith* placed the Reorganization squarely within the mainstream of American religion. It deemphasized the Reorganization's most unique aspects and stressed those more characteristic of "orthodox" Christian denominations. The foreword to the book pointed up the central concern of the authors: "Historical and traditional points of view needed to be expanded in view of contemporary religious experience and scholarship." It particularly played down the Reorganization's historic "one true church" claim. In so doing, it pointed out how the Restoration fit into a larger Christian mosaic. Without question, this book was a significant attempt to systematize the theological reformation taking place in the church.[38]

No doubt the exposure of young men of influence in the church's hierarchy to seminary education had a significant and perhaps unplanned effect. In undertaking advanced training a whole new world of religious inquiry was opened to these church officials, and, like the frog who jumped from a well into the sea, they realized after a lifetime of experience limited to the Reorganization that a broader vision was possible and probably necessary for the advance of the church. A schism among the membership developed at that point as educated elites began to move

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36. Many members of the Department of Religious Education were liberal, especially for the Reorganization in the 1960s. Most had also been educated in Protestant seminaries. Verne Sparks was a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in New York; Geoffrey F. Spencer and Wayne Ham were graduates of Saint Paul School of Theology, Kansas City. They had already begun to comment on the theology of the church and press for a more non-Mormon interpretation. See Verne Sparks, *The Theological Enterprise* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1969). Ham did much the same by taking seriously the claims of other religions in *Man's Living Religions* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1966).

37. Wayne Ham, "Problems in Interpreting the Book of Mormon as History," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Sept. 1970): 15-22.

38. *Exploring the Faith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970). This book's individual chapters had been published in the *Saints' Herald* in the 1960s as a means of informing the church membership about the ideas it contained.

the church in a direction not understood by some of its appointees and by many of its members. For instance, a church survey of appointees conducted in the late 1960s confirmed that broad theological training created a serious rift between these people and others without the background. The study concluded that there was "a very clear difference between appointees in general and those persons in the church who are seminarians or who hold a seminary degree. Generally the B.D. and seminarians are more liberal in theological orientation and overall perspective. They tend to be more critic[al] of the institutional church, see a greater need for education, particularly of appointees, and are more ecumenically oriented."[39]

This dichotomy began to be seen quickly in the church's appointee force in the latter 1960s. Many field ministers, especially members of the Quorum of Seventy, began to rebel against what they perceived as a deemphasis of Restoration distinctiveness, the very things that made the Reorganization what it was, and the resultant drift toward ecumenism. Al M. Pelletier, one of the most dynamic Seventies in the church during the decade, was an old school Reorganization member. Most of his education and training had been independent or under one of the church's other appointee ministers. He had no use for the shift from exclusivity within the institutional church that he began to see in the 1960s. In 1967 he complained in an open letter to the Joint Council about "several items in publications and church school materials which are unscriptural." He continued:

> As far as the liberals, it is most unfortunate that we are divided into schools of opposition today. The church I joined years ago was comprised of Latter Day Saints. I still try to be one. I believe and teach and preach what is in our *Church History, The Inspired Version, The Book of Mormon,* and the *Doctrine and Covenants.* Every time I teach these things I'm speaking out against any liberal who denies the authenticity of some of these things. I cannot help this but can only follow the admonition given in scripture, to teach the fullness of the gospel as taught within the scriptures which are to be a "law unto the church." These teachings accompanied by my personal testimony will continue to consume my time and energy. I believe in this church and tell it to the world. I do not preach any doubts. I am sorry that some both preach and write about their doubts.[40]

Significantly, Pelletier left the church in the early-1970s in part over the theological reformation taking place. In one explanation of this theological reformation, *Saints Herald* editor Roger Yarrington recently commented, "The church has changed, is changing, but not its central beliefs

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39. *Report of the Commission on Education,* Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Apr. 1970, 116. See also Knapp, "Professionalizing Religious Education."

40. Pelletier to Joint Council, 29 May 1967.

which, when addressed to a changing world, are still vital and are still being taught, believed, and lived."[41]

The International Context

It would be inappropriate to suggest that the theological reformation of the 1960s was executed entirely by well-educated "young turks" who wanted to remake the Reorganization into a Protestant denomination, although I would suggest that such individuals were largely responsible for it. In part, however, it was fueled by the church's expanding missionary work in non-Christian cultures. Church leaders sent into those areas in the post-World War II years determined that traditional Reorganization missionary techniques were ineffective. The usual missionary approach, they argued, was to demonstrate how the Restoration brought about by Joseph Smith, Jr., was correct and true to God's dictates and then to convince investigators that the Reorganized Church was the "true" successor to Smith's prophetic legacy. It was a defensive approach built on the destruction of other religious claims, especially those of the Utah Latter-day Saints. Apostle Clifford A. Cole and other appointees asserted, however, that these techniques were next to meaningless in societies where people were not already converted to Christianity.[42] Cole explained that a refocusing of ideals was necessary to meet these new conditions. He told a meeting of High Priests in 1971 that

> we are shifting from an emphasis on distinctives—that is, on the ways we are different from other [Christian] churches—to a concern for teaching the whole gospel of Jesus Christ and winning persons to committing themselves to Him. Prior to the last two decades our missionary emphasis was highlighted by . . . [an approach toward explaining that we were not Mormons and on materials] on such subjects as apostasy, stories of Joseph Smith and the founding experiences of the Restoration movement, and life after death. Since that time . . . [the emphasis has shifted] indicating a concern for ministry to people and a desire to bring them not only to the church but to Jesus Christ.[43]

Because of its increased financial resources brought on by the economic well-being of its North American membership and because of the

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41. Roger Yarrington, "Changes in the Church," *Saints Herald* 137 (Sept. 1990): 10.

42. Charles D. Neff, "The Church and Culture," ibid. 119 (Dec. 1972): 13-14, 51-52. See also Cole, "The World Church: Our Mission in the 1980s," 42; "The Joseph Smith Saints," *Life*, 2 May 1960, 63-66; Charles D. Neff, "The Problem of Becoming a World Church," *Saints Herald* 121 (Sept. 1974): 554-57.

43. Clifford A. Cole, "Theological Perspectives of World Mission," *Saints Herald* 118 (July 1971): 11.

general movement of Americans beyond national boundaries in large numbers in the post-World War II period for the first time, during the 1960s the Reorganized Church opened mission work in twelve new non-English speaking countries, more than doubling the number of those nations in which the church was operating (see Table 4). Previously, the church had not opened work in a non-English speaking nation since 1875, when it sent missionaries to Scandinavia. This effort took place following the creation in 1958 of a Missions Abroad Committee to foster international activities. This committee used contacts with American Reorganization members serving overseas with the military, other government agencies, or businesses to build small enclaves of Saints. Virtually all of the foreign missions of the Reorganized Church were founded as a result of an individual member's contact with people of the area.[44]

Table 4. Reorganized Non-English Missions Opened in 1960s

Nation	*Year Mission Opened*	*Membership After First Year*	*Membership in 1970*
Japan	1960	0	96
Okinawa	1960	0	46
Korea	1960	0	254
Mexico	1964	244	340
Peru	1965	41	62
Brazil	1965	27	42
Nigeria	1966	5	762
India	1966	186	607
Philippines	1966	44	198
Haiti	1968	154	221
New Caledonia	1968	46	87
Fiji	1968	7	7
Total			2,720

(Source: Statistics Department and Data Records reports in World Conference Reports and Minutes published for conferences, RLDS Library-Archives.)

Without question, the Reorganization's structure and belief system was altered as a result of its contact with non-Western civilizations but probably not to the extent that many have asserted. What changes that came about were mostly incremental and generally of a minor nature, such as the adoption of symbols and slogans aimed at recognizing the world role of the institution. For illustration, in 1960 the church officially

44. This expansion has been best described in Maurice L. Draper, *Isles and Continents* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1982).

adopted the term "world" in place of "general" for identifying its conferences, headquarters, etc., because it "is more meaningful and descriptive in our world-wide evangel than the term 'General' . . ."[45] Some influences were more substantial to be sure, but genuinely significant non-western influences are difficult to uncover. The most obvious case in this category was the change the church had to make in 1966 when the first baptisms of polygamists in India took place. From its inception the Reorganized Church had staunchly opposed plural marriage. When Reorganization missionaries began baptizing polygamists in India they raised a paradox to this time-honored resistance and created a huge controversy.[46] The hotly debated official position on this issue hammered out in the late 1960s allowed polygamists membership in the church, provided they took no additional wives after baptism.[47]

This issue was only formally resolved through a 1972 pronouncement of "divine will" by W. Wallace Smith, which said in part:

> Monogamy is the basic principle on which Christian married life is built. Yet, as I have said before, there are also those who are not of this fold to whom the saving grace of the gospel must go. When this is done the church must be willing to bear the burden of their sin, nurturing them in the faith, accepting that degree of repentance which it is possible for them to achieve, looking forward to the day when through patience and love they can be free as a people from the sins of years of their ignorance (D&C 150:10).

Even with this declaration many Reorganized Church members hesitated accepting polygamists into the movement. More than a hundred years of religious belief mitigated against it and probably the matter died down after a while only because the polygamists were halfway around the world. If they had been living in Independence, Missouri, and remained an active part of the church the issue might not yet be settled.[48] Clearly the missionary effort beyond the west forced change upon the church.

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45. *Rules and Resolutions*, WCR 1021.

46. On the Reorganization's traditional approach to polygamy, see Richard P. Howard, "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A Preliminary Analysis," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983): 14-28; Alma R. Blair, "RLDS Views of Polygamy: Some Historiographical Notes," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 5 (1985): 16-28.

47. See Maurice L. Draper, "Polygamy Among Converts in East Asia," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Dec. 1970): 85-88, which contains a positive statement of the Reorganization's approach to the issue by a member of the First Presidency; Verne Deskin, "You Are Involved in Polygamy," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Dec. 1970): 89-92, a critique from a conservative church member; and Editorial Board, "The Polygamy Debate in the Church Today, "*Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Dec. 1970): 107-109; Draper, *Isles and Continents*, 136, 191-95, 258.

48. This was one of the many volatile issues that came up at the Reorganization's 1970 World Conference. Russell, "Reorganized Mormon Church Beset by Controversy," 769-71.

Even so, the nature and extent of the change attributed to non-western contact far outweighed what can be justified by the evidence. First, it was not a foregone conclusion that the Reorganization would be fundamentally altered because it moved into foreign missions. Other churches have made that same move before and their bedrock religious distinctives have remained intact. The most obvious example from the modern era would be the Utah Latter-day Saints who, while having their own difficulties on the international scene, have retained their distinctive identity in spite of interaction with other cultures. Second, many of the early converts to the Reorganized Church in these new areas were already Christian and entered membership in the Reorganization because of the traditional "true church" argument made by the movement's missionaries. This has been repeated in numerous accounts of baptisms overseas, as the candidates were disgruntled over answers provided in their various Christian churches and began searching for alternative positions. Indeed, many of the people joining the church in such places as Latin America and Africa during the decade were former Latter-day Saints who had become disenchanted with Mormonism; it was a replay of the Reorganization's traditional source of converts. In this environment there was little impetus for basic theological change. Third, if the church changed fundamentally because of the conversion of non-western members, as many members of the leading quorums have suggested, the numbers of converts have been so insignificant—only 2,720 in 1970—that it is rather like the tail wagging the dog. It raises a question about the validity of democracy and the principle of "common consent" in the church for such a small number to restructure the church so thoroughly. It seems, instead, that the church was already in the process of theological change as it entered the foreign mission field in a substantive way, and this missionary endeavor provided added impetus and a rationale for the changes already at work.[49]

The Organizational Imperative

All other factors affecting the Reorganized Church in the 1960s led logically to the expansion of the organizational structure of the church. The increasing budgetary base of the era made possible the expansion of missionary and other service efforts, but the structure to oversee this effort also had to be devised. This involved the creation of new offices, the development of new procedures and materials, and the management of the overall activities of the organization. It also brought a proliferation of

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49. Accounts of these missionary conversions, demonstrating that many were from Christian non-westerners, can be found in Draper, *Isles and Continents*.

career church officials and a resultant bureaucracy with all the attendant pluses and minuses of this approach. This process can be traced in any developing organization, as it moves from a simple "vest-pocket" operation run by a handful of people who have an intimate knowledge and wide latitude to accomplish goals to a large organization with rules and procedures. It is essentially the process of bureaucratization and the Reorganization experienced it *par excellence* in the 1960s.

The increasing complexity of the organizational structure of the movement during the era bespeaks the rapid development of the institution. For example, moving from a relatively small and simple organization at the beginning of the decade by 1969 the church had established eight commissions reporting to the Quorum of Twelve—Ministerial Personnel, Cultural Crisis, Research in Evangelism, Communications, Congregational Life, Zionic Community Development, Education, and Field Organization—many of them with several departments beneath them. All were located at the church headquarters and staffed with personnel working on a variety of projects. The Presiding Bishopric also had six financial management offices, some also with subdivisions: Building Management, Accounting, Administration, Legal, Central Development Association, and Farm Management. Outside the headquarters were field jurisdictions divided into missions abroad, stakes, metropoles, regions, and districts, each with several congregations. Many of the larger jurisdictions had full-time appointees serving in them as administrative officers or missionaries.[50] Not surprisingly, during the decade the amount of funds dedicated to administration and overhead for church functions grew. In 1960 34 percent of the church's budget was directed toward administration, education, and other overhead expenses. The rest went to missionary work. A decade later 41 percent went to overhead.[51]

In addition, there were significant efforts on the part of the First Presidency to reorient the church in new directions from an administrative perspective. In 1966 it sponsored the preparation of a study which eventually was issued as the *Objectives of the Church*. It was a six-point statement of long-range objectives involving clarification of theology, evangelism, stewardship, the zionic quest, pastoral care, and, most important for this discussion, administrative decentralization.[52] The First

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50. Booz, Allen, and Hamilton, "Study of Organization and Management Practices," Oct. 1969, unpublished study located in Reorganized Church Library-Archives; Garland E. Tickemyer, "The Regional Administrator," 25 Nov. 1963, unpublished paper located in Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

51. Statistics Department and Data Records reports in World Conference Reports and Minutes published for conferences. These are available at the Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

52. *Objectives of the Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1966).

Presidency commented to the leadership of the church that those objectives had been adopted because it had "become evident that in many ways the church had become ingrown, and the spirit of the evangel had weakened. Growing out of these tendencies, there were definite indications that the church was not really addressing itself to the needs of the world." The presidency added that "it appeared that our thrust had become quite defensive in view of the problems arising out of the martyrdom of 1844, and the subsequent fragmentation of the church."[53] While one must be careful not to see this as the sum total of the road map for the future, in retrospect many of the theological and organizational issues that later emerged were raised in it.

Although the issue of administrative decentralization was later dropped as a long-term objective, presumably because it was truly a procedural rather than a basic part of the church's mission, it had serious repercussions in the church of the 1960s. At its core was a desire, especially resulting from expansion into new foreign regions and the sometimes far-reaching cultural differences that were involved, to allow local and regional leaders a wide range of freedom to make program and execution decisions. This approach supposedly allowed administrative officers close to the situation to respond more effectively to current issues.[54]

Along with this decision went the formulation of a single-line authority structure for the church, which established the First Presidency as the counterpart to the president and CEO of a corporation, with the Quorum of Twelve acting as the head of the sales force, and the Presiding Bishopric serving as corporate treasurer.[55] This reorganization was validated by a study of church organization and management completed under contract for the church by the Booz, Allen, and Hamilton Corporation. President W. Wallace Smith recalled in 1981 that the study accomplished its goal by helping "to streamline administrative responsibilities in the church."[56]

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53. First Presidency to Elders of the Church, Jan. 1968, Walter N. Johnson Papers, P67, f19.

54. Maurice L. Draper, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Before and After 1960," unpublished address delivered at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa. This approach toward management was codified in a 1970 World Conference Resolution. See *Rules and Resolutions*, WCR 1097. See also Phillip M. Caswell, "The Methods and Benefits of Decentralization," 4 Nov. 1966, unpublished paper written for a class in Church Administration offered by the School of the Restoration, copy available in Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

55. Clifford A. Cole, "An Oral History Memoir," 1985, 179, unpublished manuscript, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

56. W. Wallace Smith, "An Oral History Memoir," 1981, 196, unpublished manuscript in the Reorganized Church Library-Archives. The report, Booz, Allen, and Hamilton, "Study of Organization and Management Practices," is available in the Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

This decentralization effort led to a serious battle in the church hierarchy during the era, one in which the repercussions are still being felt. One central issue revolved around the responsibilities of the Presiding Bishopric to manage the financial affairs of the church. The Reorganization had nearly been forced to declare bankruptcy during the Great Depression of the 1930s and in that crisis had given virtually unrestricted power to the bishopric to manage resources as it deemed appropriate. Over the years this power of the purse also allowed the Presiding Bishopric to control the program of the church, a usurpation of authority chaffed under by the First Presidency and the Twelve. This began to be especially ticklish when the church moved into foreign missions in the early 1960s. The president of the Quorum of Twelve recalled that "There was some little strain between the members of the Council of Twelve and Bishopric at that time because the Presiding Bishopric was still trying to find ways in which they could even remotely . . . hold title to property."[57] The bishopric held a virtual veto power over the expenditure of funds for missionary activity, although the Twelve were charged with conducting the missionary program. Wallace Smith recalled that on some occasions when the bishopric did not agree with a specific program activity, it would tell its financial officers in the field: "Well, don't pay any attention to the Stake President; he's just an administrator, and you can work independently in regard to the finances."[58] Several apostles, especially Cole, Neff, and William E. Timms, all of whom were heavily involved in foreign missions, pushed throughout the early 1960s for the assignment of specific sums to various missionary fields—a decision which the Presiding Bishopric would be consulted in—and then to allow the apostle in charge of the field to disburse it as needed. These men were joined in this effort by Maurice L. Draper and Duane E. Couey of the First Presidency.[59]

Throughout the latter 1960s this controversy was played out inside the church's bureaucracy. While the details of the political process are almost impossible to ascertain presently because critical sources are restricted, the Joint Council meetings of the 1960s were lively as these issues were discussed. Harold W. Cackler, a member of the Presiding Bishopric at the time, recalled that his order underwent a systematic assault by the Twelve and Presidency, indicating that the other quorums would decide issues in advance and at the Joint Council meetings "the vote would be twelve to three on issues left to the Twelve and Bishopric." He also believed that consistent efforts were made to lessen the importance of the Bishopric through the appointment process of men who were

57. Cole, "Oral History Memoir," 165.

58. Smith, "Oral History Memoir," 175.

59. Interview with L. D. Harsin, 15 Jan. 1991, Independence, Missouri; E. Boyce Rogers, "Sections 149 and 149A: Conflict and Compromise," unpublished paper in my possession.

more in sympathy with the other quorums or were of less ability in the political process.[60]

This administrative issue, truly a part of the decentralization effort as well as a more common bureaucratic turf battle, came out publicly in the World Conference of 1968 when the bishopric rebelled over a document presented as divine will and refused to accept it in its present form. Although the revelation had many nuances, its most controversial section involved the designation of the office of bishop as a "necessary appendage" to the high priesthood and that holders of that office were to administer temporalities in support of the spiritual leadership of the church for the accomplishment of its mission. Clearly implied was an assumption that the bishopric was not to define program and policy but to finance it after defined by the presidency and the Twelve.[61] The opposition was vocal and adamant. The quorum of bishops refused to accept the document as inspired will because, among other critical concerns, it "relegates the office of bishop to that of a financial secretary."[62] In an unprecedented move W. Wallace Smith presented a clarifying revelation on the section which mitigated partially the earlier statement. This was accepted as God's will and both documents were included in the Doctrine and Covenants as sections 149 and 149A. It clarified the issue somewhat, but the problem was not finally resolved until the 1970s (some would say that it is still unresolved) when new personnel in the quorums agreed to bury the hatchet.

In the process of this administrative and organizational transformation the Reorganized Church established a reasonably well-defined bureaucracy. A transformation of headquarters and field structure in the church made the institution somewhat more efficient, although there have been valid criticisms of these efforts as a layering process removing senior leadership from the rank and file membership. Presiding Patriarch Roy A. Cheville pointed up this concern in 1969 in a letter on communication in the church to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles' secretary, Reed M. Holmes:

> Many [Saints] feel the "big boys" are quite apart and only come in for large gatherings. Some feel that some of us are now involved in committees and commissions that will hold us in Independence except for occasional sallies into the field. The needed and wanted contacts are calling for more than hand-shaking, for more than attending a reunion or an institute or a dedication meeting. Our people are needing to converse and communicate. They

60. Harold W. Cackler, quoted in Rogers, "Sections 149 and 149A."

61. Doctrine and Covenants 149; World Conference Transcript, 1968, 106, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

62. World Conference Transcript, 1968, 107.

> need to feel that they may inquire freely and state their concerns and be heard.[63]

He urged a conscious effort to return to some of the informality of an earlier era when the system was not so complex and access was directly available to all. This was not a successful effort, and it became increasingly clear as the 1960s progressed that the Reorganized Church was becoming a modern, far-flung, complex institution.[64]

From Sect to Denomination

All of these factors accelerated a dynamic that had been present in the Reorganized Church for many years, the shift from a sect to a denomination. Although definitions of "sects" and "denominations" are debatable, most agree that sects represent relatively small religious groups sharing beliefs and practices in relative contradiction to the majority of society. The principle ingredient in the definition of a sect is not size, but rather its tension with the prevailing culture. It tends to attract people who, for one reason or another, do not feel part of the larger society. But it can be a richly rewarding experience for its members as they find a fullness in worship and social interaction with people of like perspectives. Denominations, on the other hand, have largely made peace with society and share its overarching values. While most religious entities have begun as sects, they cannot remain so forever. Indeed,

> over time, the privileged faction will tend to get its way. It will use its control of the religious organization to reduce tension with the surrounding society, for such tension will tend to hamper the privileged. That is, to the degree that the religious group is in tension with the external society, it will limit powerful members' ability to realize their full potential for success in secular life and it will reduce the supply and value of the direct rewards the religious group supplies to its members.[65]

In the Reorganized Church of the 1960s evidence of reduced tension and increased accommodation to society was not as dramatic, but it was present as never before. The First Presidency's support of ecumenical ef-

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63. Roy A. Cheville to Reed M. Holmes, 14 June 1969, Walter N. Johnson Papers, P67, f22.

64. Some of this complexity can also be grasped in the makeup and organization of the church's World Conferences. See M. Richard Troeh, "Divisions of the House," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 19 (Fall 1986): 59-83; M. Richard Troeh and Marjorie Troeh, *The Conferring Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1987).

65. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), 104, 872.

forts was only one of many theological indicators of social accommodation. The issues wrestled with, the positions developed, the increase in economic and corresponding social status for the church membership all fostered a move in the direction of greater incorporation into society. To a very real extent, during the 1960s the Reorganized Church made a shift from religious sect to denomination.[66]

The move from sect to denomination has not been an easy or especially pretty process. Early on it created a rift in the church that has only widened in the years since that time. The first serious challenge to the shift from sect to denomination came at the 1970 World Conference when those members unwilling to consider a broader vision for the work of the organization attempted to circumscribe the effort. Operating through the church's political process they mounted a campaign to defeat what they believed was creeping ecumenism in the movement in the name of the traditional conceptions that they believed had been restored to Earth through Joseph Smith, Jr. From their perspective, the restored "truth" could not be changed. On every score the conservatives lost that contest. As reported in the *Christian Century*:

> In the '60s the RLDS Church seemed to move slightly closer to mainstream Protestantism. Greater contact with Protestant scholarship has led to a de-emphasis in some Mormon teachings and greater stress on central Christian themes. At the 1970 conference in Independence those who favor the trend won an important test—for the Old Jerusalem Gospel faction tried hard to reverse that trend and failed.[67]

While transitioning from sect to denomination was a logical and probably a necessary step for the Reorganization, signaling as it did a move into a more mature state for the church, it also bespoke the ambivalence of modern society and the casting away of traditional spiritual uniqueness. The movement from sect to denomination, accordingly, also brought with it a corresponding loss of traditional identity.[68] Although present to some degree before, because of the alterations and shift from sect to denomination in the 1960s there was a loss of that trajectory that

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66. Booth, "Recent Shifts in Restoration Thought"; Maurice L. Draper, "Sect-Denomination-Church Transition and Leadership in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," M.A. Thesis, Kansas University, 1964; Douglas D. Alder and Paul M. Edwards, "Common Beginnings, Divergent Beliefs," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 18-29.

67. Russell, "Reorganized Mormon Church Beset by Controversy," 771.

68. This analysis is based on a critique of Reorganization theology written by Larry W. Conrad, whom I thank for his insights into this area. See Larry W. Conrad, "Dissent Among Dissenters: Theological Dimensions of Dissent in the Reorganization," in Launius and Spillman, *Let Contention Cease*.

linked present with past and propelled the church into the future. At the risk of oversimplifying, the Reorganization has never been just right thinking and doing; it has been most importantly *feeling* that God was with it just as God was with the prophets and apostles of old. To be a Reorganization member was not just to accept a set of books, a priesthood system, a leadership structure, a theology, though those have always been important symbols for the Saints. To be a Reorganization member has meant *feeling* in one's bosom the spirit of God's power. It has been deeply experiential. The members have personally asked of God and prayed for greater light and wisdom, have heard inspired preaching of miracles and God's promises to his faithful, have sung with heartfelt thanks "I have found the glorious gospel that was taught in former years," have felt the warmth of the Holy Spirit as elders anointed and laid on hands for healing, have hoped that the love and peace felt during administration would someday pervade the entire world community as the kingdoms of this world were transformed into the kingdom of God. To be a Reorganization member has been most of all to *feel* deep within that one has been linked with God's people from every age and to know the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit in one's own life and journey.[69]

The deep sense of spiritual vitality that has enjoyed such a strong tradition in the Reorganized Church winnowed away during the transition from sect to denomination in the 1960s. While the generation of Reorganization members who brought forth these changes did so for good and just and Christian reasons, it has been unable to replace the Reorganization identity of the pre-1960s period with any other that can be agreed upon by the membership. Looking at the experience from twenty or more years later, the coming of age of the movement meant that the church both gained and lost at the same time. It was an episode very much like the larger transformations of society during the same period. During the 1960s in the United States a younger generation of people filled with high expectations set out to remake the world. They were partly successful, but somewhere in the process lost their innocence and their vision of the future and their efforts degenerated. Instead of remaking the world most ended up accommodating to it and trying to beat it by its own rules.

Conclusion

The movement of the church into foreign missions, its rise in income and economic position, the development of an organized bureaucracy, the increasing ecumenism, the concern with social issues beyond the

69. Larry W. Conrad to Roger D. Launius, 15 Jan. 1990.

church as never before, and a series of other changes arising during the decade all suggest a coming of age for the Reorganized Church. It progressed from a sect to a denomination with a vision broader than itself and it has rarely looked back. Whether the age drove the changes, prompting the church to react, or whether the church took the initiative and could have chosen to ignore what was taking place around it is a moot point. The Reorganization's traditional openness to Protestant religious influences probably aided in its willingness to move toward greater ecumenism. Several years ago Clare D. Vlahos described what could only be considered a tightrope upon which the Reorganized Church had tread since the 1850s as it both sought "to be reasonable to gentiles and legitimate to Mormons."[70] In the 1960s the church began to abandon its traditional goal of "legitimacy" to Mormons in favor of a greater reasonableness to other elements of Christianity. That step was probably not conscious and undoubtedly those who began the process did not anticipate that it would extend as far, too far according to some, as it has. The turbulent era of the 1960s set the stage for the continuation of the shift from sect to denomination that has been so much a part of the Reorganization in subsequent years. For good or ill, the course marked in the 1960s has been followed into the 1990s. It was a critical decade in the maturation of the movement, a tumultuous, confrontational, bewildering, and also exalting time in which the Reorganized Church fundamentally altered its structure and pattern of behavior.

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70. Clare D. Vlahos, "Images of Orthodoxy: Self-Identity in Early Reorganization Apologetics," in Maurice L. Draper and Clare D. Vlahos, eds., *Restoration Studies I* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 176-86, quote on 176.

Toni's Song

Paul Swenson

She prays in the shower, lifts
her face to the streaming water
god, to the shining metallic head

that resembles the flower of sun
in God's garden. We saw that image
together in a painting, projected

in the dark. Later, I noticed that
same, immense sunflower growing
behind a fence, its effulgent rays

arcing onto red Toyotas and yellow
Mazdas in a pancake house parking
lot. Dalmatian seat covers that

distinguish her little white car
yelped to me before I saw her face
behind the wheel one morning. She

squealed unexpectedly to the curb
at Kinko's, tow-headed son in tow.
Showed me a hint of that freedom

we felt the night that Lifespring's
living waters ran a little slow and
we escaped together. "I have to go,"

she said, passing the guard at the
door, "and he (meaning me) has to
go with me." She changed in the

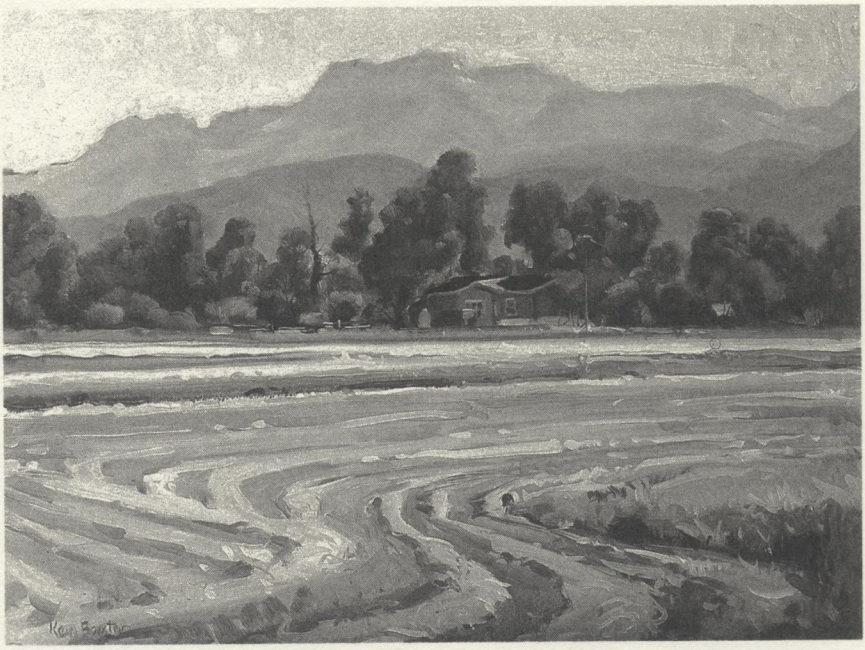
ladies' room, then zoomed us to
Sugarhouse, where I watched her
seduce a birthday boy and guests

with her Rent-a-Crazee show. One
noon, dressed to the nines as
a cop, she popped into my office

for lunch, tripped on a stair,
and prostrated herself at the feet
of the receptionist. We made an

inauspicious exit and dined nine
stories up at Nino's. It's not so
odd as powerful that she swims

the breaststroke in the Mormon main-
stream. Prays in the shower, lifts
her face to the streaming water god.



Freedom and Grace: Rethinking Theocracy

Janice M. Allred

IN THE EARLY 1960s a series of psychological experiments was conducted at Yale University to study the act of obeying. The researcher, Stanley Milgram, devised a simple experiment in which a person would face a conflict between obeying orders and following his conscience.[1] The question to be answered was how far the subject would go in carrying out the experimenter's instructions before he would refuse to perform the actions required of him.

In Milgram's experiment, two people came to the psychology laboratory ostensibly to take part in a study of memory and learning. They were told that the study considered the effect of punishment on learning. One of them was chosen to be the teacher, the other the learner. The learner was told that he was to learn a list of word pairs and whenever he made an error he would be punished. The teacher was told that he was to read the word pairs to the learner and then teach them to him by punishing him with an electric shock of increasing intensity whenever he made an error. There were thirty switches to administer the shock labeled from "15 volts-Slight Shock" to "450 volts-Danger: Severe Shock."

The teacher was the real focus of the experiment. The learner was an actor who actually received no shock at all. However, to convince the teacher that he was actually experiencing pain he grunted at 75 volts. At 120 volts he complained verbally and at 150 volts he demanded to be released from the experiment. If the teacher continued, the victim's protests became increasingly vehement and emotional. At 285 volts his response was described as an "agonized scream." If the teacher hesitated to apply the shock or questioned the experimenter or expressed doubts about continuing to inflict pain on an unwilling subject the experimenter ordered him to continue. The purpose of the study was to discover when and

1. Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

how people would defy authority when it required them to go against the widely accepted moral principle prohibiting the infliction of suffering on another human being who is neither harmful nor threatening.

The results of the study were surprising both to the experimenter and to almost everyone who learns of the experiment. To compare people's expectations of what would happen in such circumstances to what actually happened, Milgram explained the details of the experiment to a large audience consisting of psychiatrists, college students, and middle-class adults of varying occupations. They were asked to reflect on the experiment, record how they themselves would respond, and then predict how others would respond. Each person said that he or she would disobey the authority at some point and further predicted that almost everyone else would not go beyond the point where the victim demanded to be released from the experiment. The actual results of Milgram's experiment were that over 60 percent of the subjects continued to administer shocks up to the highest level labeled "Danger: Severe Shock." Of those who disobeyed, fewer than half did so by the 150–volt level—the point at which everyone predicted that almost everyone would refuse to go on.

These experiments and their results demand that each of us examines his or her own ideas about authority and ponders the question, debated inconclusively by ethical philosophers, "What should one do when the commands of legitimate authority conflict with the demands of one's own conscience?"

The popular Mormon version of this question usually goes something like: "If the prophet (or some other church leader) commanded you to do something wrong, should you obey him?" Some Mormons refuse to consider the question; they refuse to grant the premise that the prophet could command something wrong. A significant number of Mormons respond to the question by shifting the moral responsibility for their own actions to the leader. They reason that since God has commanded them to obey the prophet, God will not hold them responsible for any action they commit under his direction; indeed, they will be commended and blessed for obeying the prophet, while he must bear the total blame for any wrongdoing caused by his commands. There are also a significant number of people who argue the liberal position that individual conscience should take precedence over authority when they come in conflict.

It is interesting to compare Mormons' thinking about our version of the obedience dilemma to the response of those asked to think about Milgram's obedience experiment. Milgram's audience overwhelmingly assumed that disobedience was the morally correct choice in such a circumstance and further assumed that nearly everyone would agree. In the circumstances they considered, the obligation to obey the experimenter arose only from a commitment to help in the experiment and the

moral principle they were asked to go against was a very strong one. For Mormons, however, the obligation to follow the prophet is generally considered to be a commandment from God, while the action against conscience we are asked to consider committing is left completely abstract.

One of the most striking aspects of the Milgram experiments is the difference between the expected and the actual results. The people asked to think about the experiment did not see it as a moral dilemma. All agreed that as soon as it became obvious that the learner was experiencing pain the experiment should be stopped. Milgram explained the discrepancy between people's judgment about what ought to be done under such circumstances and what people actually did by analyzing the social forces at work. People underestimate the strength of these forces and do not realize that under the pressure of circumstances people do not see themselves as moral agents faced with a moral choice. As Milgram stated:

> This is, perhaps, the most fundamental lesson of our study: ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become patently clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority.[2]

Consider a slightly different version of the Mormon obedience dilemma. "If your church leader asked you to do or not do something and the spirit told you the opposite, should you follow your church leader or the spirit?" At best this is a conflict between a general commandment from God and a direct command from him. It seems to me that the fundamental principles of the gospel require us to follow the spirit. Of course, it is possible to be mistaken about what is and what is not from the spirit of God, and I believe that we should always seriously consider the possibility that we might be mistaken. However, to take the position that we should in this case follow the leader assumes that we must be mistaken or are at least more likely to be mistaken than our church leader. But perhaps focusing on who is right causes us to overlook a more important question: "What does it do to me psychologically and spiritually to go against what I feel is right?" For me the most disturbing part of thinking about the Milgram experiments was the image of a person sitting in a chair, deliberately, without any physical compulsion, hurting another person, not wanting to hurt that person, even feeling pain himself at his actions, but continuing to go against what he feels and knows is good because he feels obligated to do so.

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2. Ibid., 6.

The present model we have of church government is authoritarian. In this model authority derives from priesthood office which confers the right and power to make decisions and issue commands in the name of God through revelation from God to the group of people over whom the office grants stewardship. Priesthood offices are conceived of as hierarchical: the prophet is at the apex of the pyramid and receives revelation to govern the whole church. His counselors and the apostles function as a body with the same power over the whole church. The church is then divided into smaller and smaller units with a priesthood leader—an area president, a stake president, a bishop—presiding over each unit. The model prescribes that only the bishop deals directly with individual members; leaders on all other levels receive instructions concerning their stewardships from the leaders one step above them and give instructions to those one step below them. This is referred to as "proper priesthood channels."

This model of church government is thoroughly authoritarian. Because priesthood offices are only conferred on males, church government is also intrinsically sexist, which contributes to the elitism of the authoritarian structure. Although I will not address the gender issue directly in this essay, it will be obvious that because the principle of free agency and the gospel of Jesus Christ make no distinction between men and women, church government should also make no distinction. Priesthood authority is legitimized for Mormons because it is felt to be theocratic—that is, from God. Leaders at every level are believed to be called by God to receive revelation concerning their stewardships. The principles of confirmatory revelation and common consent also serve to legitimize the authority of church leaders. Confirmatory revelation means that members should seek and are entitled to receive the witness of the spirit that their leaders are called of God. Some Mormons, but not all, also believe that they are entitled to receive confirmatory revelation for any particular directive from a church leader. The principle of common consent means that members have the privilege of accepting or rejecting anyone who is called to serve as a leader over them. These principles legitimize the authority, but they do not make the system any less authoritarian.

In this essay I hope to show that authoritarianism is incompatible with the gospel of Jesus Christ, specifically that the principles of freedom and grace require that we find a way of being a community of Saints that is not authoritarian.

The scriptures teach that God gave us our freedom and that it is indispensable to the purposes of mortality. Lehi said, "And to bring about his eternal purposes in the end of man . . . Wherefore the Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself" (2 Ne. 2:15-16). The scriptural meaning of freedom is being an agent to oneself. "I gave unto man that

he should be an agent unto himself" (D&C 29:35). Agency is the capacity to act, so being an agent to oneself, or free agency, is the capacity to carry out or act on one's own desires, goals, and purposes. It is interesting to note Milgram's definition of what he calls the "agentic state": "the condition a person is in when he sees himself as an agent for carrying out another person's wishes."[3] He defines an authority system as a "minimum of two persons sharing the expectation that one of them has the right to prescribe behavior for the other."[4] In an agentic state a person "feels responsible to the authority directing him but feels no responsibility for the content of the actions that authority prescribes."[5] Freedom is widely recognized to be a condition of moral responsibility. Does being subject to authority relieve us of moral responsibility?

"And it must needs be that the devil should tempt the children of men, or they could not be agents unto themselves; for if they never should have bitter they could not know the sweet" (D&C 29:39). "And it is given unto them to know good from evil; wherefore they are agents unto themselves" (Moses 6:56). And "Men are free according to the flesh" (2 Ne. 2:27). These definitions of free agency recognize the inner self that desires, proposes, and chooses; an environment that supplies enticements to both good and evil; and a body that mediates between the two.

Evil is both a condition for and a consequence of freedom. To be free we must have knowledge of good and evil and we must exist in an environment which provides both good and evil enticements. And being free, we will also sometimes choose evil. If we value freedom we must accept the inevitability of evil; we will be injured by others and we will injure others. This is an inevitable consequence of granting free agency to human beings.

One widely recognized paradox of human freedom is that freedom cannot be absolute. Because choice moves from the many to the one, freedom requires a principle of limitation or law. The relationship between freedom and law is complex. Rules restrict behavior, but some behavior restricts other people's freedom, so in order to preserve everyone's freedom we must put limitations on freedom. A free society must have laws which restrict certain kinds of behavior, and these laws must be willingly obeyed by most of the people. However, since there will always be some who take advantage of the voluntary restraint of others to pursue their own gains, society must do something to compel obedience to its laws. This compulsion cannot mean prevention of disobedience because this would require a kind of supervision which would be both impractical and inimical to freedom. A free society enforces its laws by punishing of-

3. Ibid., 133.
4. Ibid., 143.
5. Ibid., 146.

fenders.

Freedom depends on the existence of natural law. In exercising my agency I modify external reality to conform to my desires through the medium of my body. Without the existence of orderly natural processes it would be impossible for me to have any idea of what would happen if I performed any action, and without a knowledge of physical reality I would be unable to carry out my purposes. All kinds of knowledge from common sense to psychological principles enhance my freedom.

The knowledge which the scriptures teach is essential in fulfilling the purposes of mortality is the knowledge of good and evil or the moral law. Moral law, like the law of the land, imposes duties and obligations which are considered to be binding on us independently of our consent. However, there is no formal procedure for determining the content of moral law. Legal rules are enforced by formal punishment while moral rules are regulated by social pressure. Social pressure includes such things as informal expressions of disapproval, reminders of what the moral principles involved in a certain situation are, reasoning about possible consequences of certain actions, inducing shame and guilt, and severing social relations. It is essential that a free society maintain the distinction between moral rules and legal rules. A free society should also distinguish moral ideals from moral obligations. Moral ideals are supported by praise rather than sanctions.

We must relate to authorities in each of these areas of law. How can I do so without relinquishing my agency? Authorities make, enforce, and interpret the law of the land. When I submit to these authorities I am not becoming an agent of their particular wills; I am submitting to the process of law in which I as a member of the group have a voice. I can choose to disobey these laws either as an act of willful disregard for the rights of others or as an act of resistance against laws which I consider unjust. If I disobey I am subject to punishment by authorities.

In the realm of natural law nature or reality itself is the authority. In learning physical skills we must submit to reality. It would be silly for some authority to punish us for making errors. In order to acquire or perfect a skill it is necessary to make errors or fall short of standards in order to learn. A coach or teacher can help us, but it is not necessary for her to punish our failures but merely to point them out. In submitting ourselves to the discipline of a teacher we are not giving up our agency but using it to achieve our goals. By studying the findings of authorities in various fields of knowledge I can increase my own knowledge and ability to act. I maintain my own agency here by adopting a critical attitude toward their methods, reasoning, and conclusions and exercising my right to accept or reject any of these. As I publish my own conclusions I subject them to the same critical process. In a free society a person is allowed to hold and ex-

press false ideas and even harmful ones. Ideas are changed through discourse, not punishment.

What authorities do we recognize in our relationship to the moral law and to what extent do we submit our will to them? Both the law itself and other people act as authorities in getting us to obey moral rules and principles. To what extent do we think about right and wrong in planning our goals? Do we mostly act on our feelings or on our notions of right and wrong? Do we act out of a sense of duty? Do we mostly try to please those around us or ourselves? Philosophers, psychologists, and religious leaders may all act as authorities on ethical questions, but the people closest to us—parents, spouses, other relatives, friends, co-workers—exert the greatest influence on us through various kinds of social pressure. Although moral sanctions are not formalized as legal punishments are, they can be just as effective in compelling behavior; ridicule, rejection, disapproval, and withdrawal of social interaction are types of social pressure which attempt to control others. Other forms of social pressure seek to influence rather than compel.

It is important to understand the distinction between compulsion and influence. Compulsion tries to get someone to do something against her will; influence attempts to change her will. Compulsion sets up an arbitrary consequence for disobeying its demand which will injure a person or cause him pain. Influence points out possible consequences of actions and uses reason and persuasion to convince someone to accept its ideas. Compulsion tries to subvert agency by pretending that its victim has no choice. Influence respects the other's agency and reminds her that the choice is hers. Compulsion is compulsion whether or not its demands are obeyed. If I refuse to obey a command backed by threats it is correct to say that I was not compelled, but the threat itself was compulsion.

A free society has laws forbidding physical compulsion. Paradoxically, these laws themselves are enforced by physical compulsion. The principle involved is that by using force on another person the offender has forfeited his right not to be forced. Moral or social compulsion, however, must be allowed in a free society. This is not because it is right or good but because a free society must allow a large area of freedom. Indeed, a free society is based on the premise that freedom will yield morally superior people who will voluntarily obey the laws of the land and also voluntarily embrace and live by moral principles. Influence, not compulsion, is the best way to deal with the problem of moral compulsion. Perhaps this can best be understood by analogy to the principle of free speech.

The right to freedom of speech is, perhaps, the most fundamental right of a free society. This means that people are allowed to hold and express wrong beliefs and opinions as well as right ones; it means that the

state itself cannot rule on which beliefs are right and which are wrong. This does not mean that a free society has no interest in truth or in ways of determining truth as it applies to particular public problems. But it subscribes to the idea that there is no final truth and that truth is most likely to emerge from a free and critical exchange of ideas. This means practically that opinions will converge through the process of reason and persuasion or, in other words, that influence is a more powerful principle of unity than compulsion. It recognizes that a person's beliefs arise from a complex interaction between his experiences and his own reasoning and other mental processes and they can only be changed by influencing these processes. Compulsion only tries to change behavior while influence affects the whole person.

Similarly, freedom as a moral value implies a morality based on principles and values instead of rules. Such a view of morality will give a lot of attention to motives and the development of inner characteristics because it recognizes that actions flow from character, that the inner person is the locus of will, desire, value, and choice. Bad actions flow from inner flaws, and since influence is the way to change the inner person, a free society will rely on the power of influence to develop the moral characters of its citizens.

I have said that compulsion affects behavior while influence affects the inner person. I believe this is true, but I also believe that there is an important way in which compulsion does affect the inner person. Milgram describes how many of the subjects of his experiment did not feel that they had a choice. They did not see themselves as moral agents with the power to refuse to perform an act which went against their moral feelings. They attributed all moral responsibility to the experimenter. Just like the Mormons who maintain that church leaders will bear the full responsibility for any wrongdoing that results from their wrong commands, these people were unable to see that they made the choice to yield their moral responsibility to another person. What does it do to a person psychologically and spiritually to go against her own feelings of what is good and deny any responsibility for doing so? Although no physical compulsion was exerted by the experimenter many subjects felt compelled to follow his orders under the pressure of the social forces being exerted.

Authoritarianism is the use of compulsion by authorities to force compliance with their orders and adherence to their ideas. Authoritarian systems are legalistic in their prescriptions and fundamentalist in their conception of truth; that is, they focus on details of behavior and are unwilling to seriously entertain the possibility that their ideas might be wrong. Although we live in a free society, authoritarianism pervades it. Many parents are authoritarian as are many teachers, public officials,

public servants, and friends. How can people develop the inner resources and the sense of moral responsibility required to exercise their free agency consciously and responsibly when they are subjected to authoritarianism in so many ways?

The definition I have given of freedom is the common-sense and libertarian one as well as the scriptural one. Philosophical and psychological critiques of this notion of freedom focus on its uncritical notion of the self. They argue that the self does not create itself but is shaped by environmental and genetic forces. Since the self does not choose its own desires, what good is a freedom which only allows expression of those deterministically produced desires? Furthermore, the libertarian notion of freedom emphasizes the rational, choosing, conscious mind and assumes that this part of the self controls our actions, but psychological studies have confirmed the power of the unconscious and other irrational parts of the self in determining our actions. Some Mormon philosophers have argued that the Mormon doctrine of the eternal or uncreated existence of the primordial self supplies a firm foundation for the principle of freedom; since the self is uncreated and self-existent, whatever it is is a product of its own choices and responses to outside influences. This is a thorough-going determinism, although it is a self-determinism. How is it possible for us to become something other than what we already are at least in embryo? The principle of freedom is fundamentally the principle of change and the kernel of freedom in each of us is desire. In desire we recognize our own lack. We desire something outside ourselves; we desire to bring it in to transform ourselves. The kernel of freedom is that we are able to look at ourselves and disapprove of what we see. The existential experience of the self is as a given that we did not create. We realize that we did make some choices, but they seem relatively unimportant in comparison with the solid reality of what we are, how we experience ourselves.

Without grace, the idea of free agency can become a tool of oppression. Because we have our freedom we have moral responsibility; therefore we can be blamed and punished for whatever we do wrong. This can actually be a hindrance to our moral and spiritual development. Free agency by itself lacks the power to transform our inner nature and it is impossible for human beings to meet the full demands of the moral law. I will briefly indicate three reasons for this.

The first concerns the nature of moral law itself. What is its source? God? Tradition? Human reasoning? How can we tell the difference? There are many moral rules, principles, and values. Which are most important? Which rules apply in which situations? What do we do when rules conflict? What do we do about cultural differences in morality? How do we interpret the principles? The moral law is interpreted so dif-

ferently by so many people that it should be obvious that obeying it involves a great deal more than simply using our free agency to choose the right. The moral law cannot fully disclose to us the nature of righteousness, which is only fully revealed in the person of Jesus Christ.

Human limitations in knowledge and power also prevent us from fully meeting the requirements of the law. If we try to do what will bring about the greatest good, we are limited by our inability both to know what is good and to know the full consequences of any action. Our egocentricity makes it impossible for us to act without taking our own needs into consideration, that is, in some sense preferring ourselves. Limitations in power mean that there are many good things that we are unable to do because of limited inner and outer resources.

Human solidarity provides the third reason for our inability to live the law perfectly. I am not an isolated individual but part of many different groups and I share the moral responsibility for the actions of those groups although I am unable to fully determine them. I cannot exonerate myself from environmental crimes by recycling some of my garbage and I cannot escape responsibility for economic injustice by donating food to the shelter for the homeless. It is also true that what I am has been greatly influenced by others and that I in turn have greatly influenced the character formation of others. How can I separate my responsibility from yours?

The doctrine of grace recognizes our inability to meet the full demands of the law (which is referred to as original sin or our fallen nature), and it also takes into account our willful disobedience. Lehi says, "And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever" (2 Ne. 2:26). God redeems us through grace, and it is through grace that freedom as the power to change is made possible. As the means by which we are redeemed from sin grace is synonymous with the gospel. The principles of the gospel are faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. It is important to understand grace in all these aspects. First, the grace of God is his unconditional love for us which is manifest in the Atonement. To explain the love of God an angel showed Nephi a vision of the birth, life, and death of the Redeemer. Because of his unconditional love for us God himself came down among us to redeem us from the Fall. He loved us first so that we could love him. He became like us so that we can become like him. Jesus did not make the Atonement for us because of our righteousness but because of his.

Some people have objected to the idea that God's love is unconditional, maintaining that unconditional love is meaningless. "If God loves me no matter what I am or do," they argue, "then he does not see me and love me in all my particularities but only some abstract concept of a hu-

man being with no individual qualities." Love for such a nonentity is, indeed, meaningless, but this is not the meaning of unconditional love. This view fails to distinguish the grounds of love from its particular manifestations. Unconditional love is the foundation for, the condition of, particular love. God loves us in all our particularities because his love does not depend on our possessing certain qualities or meeting some standard of excellence.

Another misconception about unconditional love is that since it does not demand that we change in order to receive love it does not care whether we change, although it is obvious that we are in need of many improvements. To undo this misconception we need to think carefully about Jesus' injunction to love our neighbors as ourselves. Usually we assume that by "love" Jesus means just that which we sometimes feel for our neighbors—a feeling of attraction or affection or approval. We think that he means we should try to feel this for everyone all the time. This is difficult because everyone has some unattractive qualities which we disapprove of. In fact, we realize that there are many things in ourselves that we dislike so we end up concluding that we also need to work on loving ourselves. But Jesus is trying to get us to think about love in another way. What is the essence of the love that we feel for ourselves? It is not dependent on our possessing any particular qualities or measuring up to any standards; we love ourselves just because we are ourselves. We try to avoid people we dislike, but we cannot stay away from ourselves. We cannot not be ourselves. We are absolutely committed to ourselves. We must feel what we feel, think what we think, experience what we experience. Therefore we hope for good things for ourselves, including changes in ourselves. God's unconditional love for us means that he is absolutely committed to us. Nothing can separate us from the love of Christ.

We experience ourselves as subjects; that is, as thinking, feeling, desiring beings who are able to choose according to our desires. Because God's love for us is unconditional it does not demand that we change; it grants us our free agency, that is, it allows us to be subjects. To love the other unconditionally I must respect his freedom. I must allow her to be a subject as I am a subject. This means that I cannot use compulsion to control her. I must address him in his subjectivity with reason and love. Thus, grace, as the unconditional love of God, is inextricably connected with freedom.

To have faith in Jesus Christ is to accept his unconditional love. This frees me from the great burden of having to prove my worthiness, of having to justify my existence. Paradoxically, being accepted as I am with all my weaknesses and sins makes it possible for me to change. Since I am not required to be perfect, I can open myself to the process of repentance.

In the gospel sense repentance means the change of heart that comes through faith in Jesus Christ. This repentance requires that we first see and experience the goodness and love of God and that we view our own sins in contrast: our pride, envy, fear, our inability to love, our failures, and our ignorance. As we experience our own lack of goodness we desire to receive the goodness of God. This desire opens us to receive his redeeming grace and to experience a change of heart. It is the grace of God that makes this change possible. Our desire is called forth by the vision of God or goodness, something outside us, and we use our agency to receive God's redeeming love which has the power to change our wills.

Through the ordinance of baptism God offers us the opportunity to enter into a new relationship with him, a covenant relationship in which we obligate ourselves to always remember him, to do his will, and keep his commandments. Jesus promises to forgive our sins and give us his spirit. By entering into a covenant with us God shows respect for our free agency. He wants us to obey him because we want to and choose to. The covenant with Jesus is a covenant of grace, not a contract of equals. In it we exchange our sins for his righteousness. We promise to keep his commandments, but he gives us the power to do so. This power is called the spirit of the Lord or the power of God, and it is given through the ordinance of the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Through faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, baptism, and receiving the Holy Ghost a person is justified, that is forgiven of his or her sins, and enters into a state of grace. The state of grace is also referred to as being alive in Christ or being born again. In a state of grace we will not be judged for our sins and we will not be punished for them, but grace will be extended to us as we try to keep the commandments and develop in ourselves the attributes of Christ through the transforming power of his spirit.

It is important to understand the principle of freedom in relationship to living in grace or by grace, which is also called the process of sanctification. First, we will examine the change of heart which is effected by repentance. In the scriptures a person who has not experienced this change of heart is referred to as being in a fallen or carnal state, while a person who has repented is said to be in a spiritual state. Because these terms imply that the spirit-body dualism is at the root of the distinction between good and evil, which I do not believe is true, I will not use them. Instead I will call these two states pride and grace. I want to make it clear that whether or not a person is in a state of pride or grace does not simply depend on whether he or she is a member of the church or even a Christian. Baptism is probably the least important step in entering grace. Faith in God or love, the willingness to see one's own sins or errors and try to change them, a commitment to obey God or follow truth or love others,

and a receptiveness to truth or others can also put one in a state of grace. Also it should be understood that most of us experience both pride and grace in varying degrees at different times in our lives, and although our course in life generally tends toward either pride or grace, we may also experience dramatic reversals.

I define the condition of pride as a person's being in the wrong relationship with God and others and grace as being in the right relationship with God and others. This right relationship is most succinctly stated in the commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy might, mind and strength; and in the name of Jesus Christ thou shalt serve him." And "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (D&C 59:5-6). In the state of pride we are bound by our egocentricity. We objectify others, trying to manipulate and control them, and we see ourselves as the only subject. Because we are unable to understand or accept God's unconditional love, we expend our efforts in trying to prove our superiority. We are able to love the Lord only when we have first experienced his unconditional love for us which allows us to esteem ourselves simply because we are loved by him and to realize that every other person, because he or she is also loved unconditionally by Jesus, is equally valuable as a human being. The right relationship with Jesus is seeing ourselves as totally dependent on him for the spiritual powers we need to overcome death and sin and the right relationship with others is to see ourselves in a new relationship with them because of our covenant to serve God.

The definition of free agency is the power to act according to our own wills, to fulfill our own desires and carry out our own purposes. In baptism we commit ourselves to do the will of God and keep his commandments. Do we thus use our agency to give up our agency? Do we give up our own will and desires in becoming God's servants?

If we think about our own will, our desires and purposes, we realize that they are neither simple, constant, harmonious, nor unrelated to the desires and purposes of others. We have to deal with the problem of means and ends: undesired means leading to desired ends and desired means leading to undesired ends. We are sometimes unsure of what we really want. We discover that attaining goals we worked hard to achieve does not satisfy us as we thought it would. We may want to do what is right, but not know how to sort out all the moral rules, principles, and values we have been given or what relevance they have to a particular situation. We all desire happiness, but what thoughts and actions will lead to it? How is our happiness related to the happiness of others?

If our own wills are so complicated, it seems to me we ought to approach very humbly the task of knowing the will of God. God has declared, "And this is my work and my glory, to bring to pass the im-

mortality and eternal life of man" (Moses 1:39), and Jesus said, "Inasmuch as ye do it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matt. 25:40). In a state of pride the self does not understand its connection to God and others, and its will is thus self-centered. In grace a person must retain the primary desires to experience, act, give, and receive, otherwise he is not a human being. But these primary desires are put in a new context where they are constantly in a state of tension with a secondary desire, the desire to do the will of God; they are transformed by being put in the right relationship with Jesus and others. Submitting my will to God does not mean emptying my will of all content and then waiting for instructions from God to tell me what to do. It means that I open myself to love and truth and take into consideration the commandments of God and the needs of others as well as my own as I use my agency, allowing my will to be transformed by the power of God's spirit.

To understand what it means to live in grace or use our free agency while in a state of grace we need to consider the question, "How does God command us?" The first commandments, of course, are the commandments of justification—faith, repentance, baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. They are given to us by the word of God through his servants. Once we have accepted them, kept them, and are in a state of grace, the primary way God communicates with us is through his spirit. Nephi taught this clearly: "If ye will enter in by the way, and receive the Holy Ghost, it will show unto you all things what ye should do" (2 Ne. 32:5). In the process of sanctification we must learn to live by the spirit.

"The spirit" has at least three meanings in the scriptures. One is the Holy Ghost who is a personage of spirit and a member of the Godhead. Another is any spirit being who acts under the direction of God to give revelation. The third meaning of spirit is that force, power, intelligence, or substance which emanates from the person of God and fills the immensity of space and permeates all things. The gift of the Holy Ghost involves both an endowment of this spiritual power and the privilege of receiving the ministration of spirits from time to time. The primary way the spirit speaks to us is in our minds and hearts. The Lord said to Oliver Cowdery, "Yea, behold, I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the Holy Ghost, which shall come upon you and which shall dwell in your heart. Now, behold, this is the spirit of revelation" (D&C 8:2-3).

Because the spirit speaks to us in our minds and hearts it is often difficult for us to distinguish our own inner voice from the voice of the spirit. Sometimes this seems like a defect in the method of revelation. But this attitude misunderstands God's purposes for us. It is not simply to use us as servants to carry out his commands. If that were the case, then a clear voice obviously outside of us telling us exactly what to do would be a superior method of commanding us. But God wants to bring to pass

our eternal lives—to help us make ourselves into beings like him. This requires that we be separated from him. The authority of God is so great that if he commanded us in his own unmistakable voice we would be unable to resist him. Because the voice of God is within us it invites us to study it out in our minds; we may receive it as ideas and develop it as skills of reasoning, understanding, and intelligence. Because the spirit of God also speaks to our hearts it also expands our ability to love; it invites us to develop such attributes as justice, mercy, patience, and receptiveness to the feelings of others. The spirit can be compared to the milk which a mother feeds her baby from her own body which the baby's body then receives and transforms into its own body.

Of course, revelations may also be objective in the sense that they clearly originate in a supernatural source outside of us. Although such revelations are important, we must still assimilate and interpret them in our hearts and minds if they are to be meaningful to us.

Joseph Smith taught that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy"[6] and that "No man can receive the Holy Ghost without receiving revelations,"[7] so we ought to be open to receiving the truths of God from all our fellow saints. We should also understand that because everyone is given the spirit of the Lord to enlighten him, anyone who speaks the deepest truths of her heart is speaking with the voice of God. God also speaks through ecclesiastical leaders, but they do not have the authority to issue their own commandments. To guard against this possibility they should be strictly accountable to relate the manner in which they received their revelation. Did an idea come into the leader's mind? Did he experience a burning in the bosom? Did he hear a voice or see a vision? Was he visited by an angel? Church authorities should not presume to speak to us in a more authoritative manner than God himself. We must subject their revelations to the tests of truth and the confirmation of the spirit within us.

The word of God is also given to us in the scriptures and other inspired writings. Here it most obviously assumes the form of written commandments; some are specific rules to obey, others are given in the form of principles to live by, values to incorporate, and attributes to acquire. The principle of grace is often seen in opposition to the law, works, or commandments. I am not able to fully address the question of the relationship between grace and works here, so I will give a simple answer and then try to indicate briefly the meaning of the law in grace.

We are saved by grace so that we may do works of righteousness, but as finite human beings we can never meet the full demands of the law. In

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6. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968), 269.

7. Ibid., 328.

grace we exchange our sins for Jesus' righteousness and he is judged and pays the penalty. The purpose of grace is not to permit us to live in our sins but to enable us to overcome them and be like Jesus. Those in a condition of pride tend to emphasize rules and regulations and observable behavior. Because they must prove themselves worthy it is very important for them to have ways of measuring whether or not they are meeting the standards. Grace recognizes that the law cannot fully disclose righteousness, but that it is an important guide for us as we try to become like Jesus. When we live in a state of grace we must reflect upon our actions, scrutinize our behavior and motives from a moral point of view, think about the consequences of our actions, and ponder deeply the nature of righteousness while knowing that as finite beings we will always fall short of the perfection required by the law. We must use the spirit within us and the powers of discernment and intelligence we have developed as well as the promptings of the Holy Ghost to understand and interpret the commandments of the law.

Grace is fundamentally a gift and living in grace and freedom requires that we understand and participate in gift-giving. Several features of gifts should be noted. These are ideal qualities; actual gifts may involve some of the characteristics of obligations, contracts, and coercion. (1) A gift is freely given. I choose to give, what I give, and to whom I will give. Some obligations such as promises and contracts are made voluntarily, but once assumed they are considered binding. Although I may choose whether to meet an obligation, I cannot choose whether I have the obligation. (2) A gift is unconditional, that is, the giver does not require that any kind of payment be made to her. The gift itself, however, may impose conditions for its full use. Contracts typically impose conditions on both parties. (3) A gift is given primarily for the good of the one on whom the gift is bestowed. Of course, giving gifts has its own rewards but the giver's attention is focused on the recipient's needs. (4) A gift is given through, by, and because of love. This must be the case if the gift is truly unconditional. The source of all gifts is Jesus' unconditional love. When we accept and are filled with this love we are able to love others unconditionally and we desire to give gifts as an expression of this love. (5) Finally, a gift invites reciprocity. In a contract each party gives and receives something. An attempt is made to make the terms as specific as possible so that the exchange is fair and equal. A gift can establish a connection between the giver and the receiver in which the roles of giver and receiver are continually being reversed.

Because grace recognizes that it is impossible for us to meet all the obligations of the law and does not require us to do so, it opens up the possibility of giving gifts. Under the law there is an infinite obligation which I as a finite being can never meet. Unconditional love is the source

of grace and living in grace means giving to and receiving from both God and others. This allows us to freely choose which gifts to give and receive under the influence of the spirit. This does not mean that those in a state of grace have no obligations. They have the legal and social obligations prescribed by the countries they live in and the societies they belong to as well as any personal obligations they freely incur. It does mean that grace opens up a space for a freedom which is more than the mere right to choose whether or not to meet our obligations.

From this discussion of freedom and grace it is possible to establish several convergent principles which are in direct opposition to the basic features of authoritarianism.

(1) The individual human being is the most basic value. Free agency means that the individual is recognized as the locus of desire, value, and choice. In grace God's love given unconditionally to each person and made manifest through his death on the cross makes each person equal to God himself. In authoritarianism the most basic value is order, truth, or an ideal such as justice. Because these values are seen as absolute, that is, as existing apart from human beings, and are defined, maintained, and implemented by compulsory means, they are static and oppressive.

(2) No human being is more important than any other. Neither freedom nor grace gives any reason to prefer one person over another. Authorities are essential to authoritarian systems both to establish orthodoxy (since truth really isn't independent of human beings) and to order society. Because authorities have greater responsibilities and more privileges they are more important in authoritarian systems.

(3) Responsibility rests in the individual. This responsibility should be seen primarily as directed toward the future rather than interested in the past. It is more important to see individuals as active agents than as sources of blame. Grace frees us from blame and punishment and enables us to choose under the influence of the spirit. Authoritarianism gives the responsibility to make decisions, give commands, and control the affairs of the system to the authorities. Blame and punishment are instruments of control rather than a recognition of moral responsibility.

(4) The necessity of evil and error is accepted. Freedom is meaningless if we do not have the power to do evil as well as good, to make mistakes as well as get it right, and to believe false ideas as well as true ones. Grace recognizes that it is impossible for us to meet the full demands of the law and that we will sin in the process of sanctification. Authoritarianism attempts to eliminate evil and error through compulsory means. Paradoxically truth and goodness flourish in freedom and grace and wither and die under authoritarianism. Truth is dynamic and it emerges when all ideas are subjected to vigorous criticism and people are allowed freedom of belief and speech. Because love is unconditional in grace, it is

easier to acknowledge our sins and errors. Although Christians may not judge another person's standing with God, they may call each other to account for faults, offenses, and errors. However, they must finally freely forgive one another, remembering that Christ has forgiven each of them. Because holding wrong ideas and failing to obey rules and standards are punished in authoritarianism, people try to hide their mistakes. Hypocrisy, lying, and accusations are common. Because it is important to be able to judge people's worthiness, rules proliferate. People are not allowed to criticize authorities or the established authority.

(5) The happiness of people is more important than the perfection of society. Neither freedom nor grace makes any attempt to define the perfect society. They only require that the principles of grace and freedom be honored in human associations. If they are, then happiness, an object of desire, will follow as a gift. Authoritarianism exists for the perfection of society. Since happiness is an inner state and authoritarianism is primarily concerned with the measurable and controllable, it rarely concerns itself with people's happiness except perhaps as an obligation for them to meet.

Utopias or perfect societies will be authoritarian if they insist on defining and establishing their perfection. We envision millennial Zion as the perfect society and the church as its forerunner. We assume that the organization of the church is basically the model for theocracy or Zion independent of secular authority. Many of us see Moses leading the children of Israel as a model for Zion with the political, economic, and religious spheres all united under and directed by ecclesiastical authority. The prophet receives the word of God and delivers it to the people. Only, of course, the people will be righteous and, unlike the Israelites, perfectly obedient.

However, both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young taught that the millennial Zion will not be an independent political unit, but that it will exist within a world government. This world government will be theocratic in the sense that it will be established by Jesus Christ and will recognize his will, but it will be a true republican government. Brigham Young wrote, "But few, if any, understand what a theocratic government is. In every sense of the word, it is a republican government, and differs but little in form from our National, State, and Territorial Governments."[8] Its main purpose would be to establish and maintain individual freedom and justice. The Lord declares that he allowed the Constitution of the United States to be established and maintained "for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles; That every man may act in

8. Quoted in Hyrum Andrus, *Doctrines of the Kingdom*, Vol. III, *Foundations of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), 366.

doctrine and principle pertaining to futurity, according to the moral agency which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment" (D&C 101:77-78).

The just and holy principle of free agency is never to be abrogated not even for the purpose of instituting true worship of God because God will not force us to obey him and true worship must be from the heart. Brigham Young also said, "This government will sustain all the religious sects and parties in the earth in their religious rights . . . not that the diverse creeds are right but the agency of the believer therein demands protection for them."[9] Since millennial Zion exists within this world government established to protect the individual rights of every person, we must assume that this protection also extends to the people of Zion. Zion, too, must be established on the principle of freedom and the protection of individual rights.

When we look to Moses and the Israelites as a model for church government we overlook Joseph Smith's teachings about their rejection of the gospel. The Israelites prayed that God would speak to Moses and not to them. In Doctrine and Covenants 84:23-24 we read that Moses "sought diligently to sanctify his people so that they could behold the face of God. But they hardened their hearts and could not endure his presence." Therefore the Lord took the holy priesthood away from them which administers the gospel and manifests the power of godliness to men and women in the flesh. They were left with the preparatory gospel "which gospel is the gospel of repentance and of baptism, and the remission of sins, and the law of carnal commandments." Missing from this gospel is faith in Jesus Christ and the gift of the Holy Ghost, which, as has been shown, is the principal means by which the Lord communicates to us in grace. Moses wished that "all the Lord's people were prophets" (Num. 11:39), but they refused the gospel of Jesus Christ. According to Doctrine and Covenants 1:19-20, one reason for the restoration of the church was so "that man should not counsel his fellow man, neither trust in the arm of flesh—But that every man might speak in the name of the God, the Lord, even the Savior of the world."

The gospel of Jesus Christ puts every person in direct communication with the powers of God. Speaking to the Nephites of his gospel of faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, baptism, and the reception of the Holy Ghost, Jesus said, "[T]his is my doctrine, and whoso buildeth upon this buildeth upon my rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them" (3 Ne. 11:39). And in Doctrine and Covenants 33:12-13 he says, "This is my gospel . . . and upon this rock I will build my church; yea, upon this rock ye are built, and if ye continue, the gates of hell shall not prevail against

9. Ibid., 380.

you." The church of Jesus Christ then has its foundation in the faith of the individual believer in Jesus Christ and his or her connection to him through the power of the Holy Ghost. "The kingdom of God is within you," Jesus told us (Luke 17:21). The Mosaic theocracy was that of a rebellious people who feared the living God. Insofar as we as members of the LDS church put our faith in such a model with such beliefs as that God will not permit the prophet to lead us astray, we will lose our connection to God. Those who demand certainty will revert to idols. This has been providentially manifest to us in the incapacitation of several of our prophets.

This is not to diminish the importance of the priesthood, for it "administereth the gospel and holdeth the keys of the mysteries of the kingdom, even the key of the knowledge of God. Therefore, in the ordinances thereof, the power of godliness is manifest. And without the ordinances thereof and the authority of the priesthood, the power of godliness is not manifest unto men in the flesh" (D&C 84:19-21). The primary responsibility of priesthood bearers is to bring others into contact with God, as the fifth Article of Faith declares, by preaching the gospel and administering its ordinances. We misunderstand the nature of priesthood if we see it primarily as the ecclesiastical authority to make decisions and command, control, and direct the church. The Lord's view of what it means to be the head of the church is different. "For I the Lord, the king of heaven, will be their king, and I will be a light unto them forever." The individual human being is the locus of decision-making, action, and reception of truth in the kingdom of God.

Priesthood is a channel for revelation, but no priesthood bearer has the right to obligate others to receive or accept his revelations simply by virtue of his or her priesthood. A priesthood bearer can offer gifts and exercise influence, but he cannot obligate others or exercise compulsion. As the revelation declares, "The rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven and . . . the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness." The powers of heaven are under the direction of the Holy Ghost and the principles of righteousness are the principles of grace. Priesthood cannot be used "to cover our sins" because those in grace freely confess their sins or "to gratify our pride" because pride is in opposition to grace or "to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of men in any degree of unrighteousness."

This is sometimes misinterpreted to mean that there can be righteous dominion or compulsion. However, the rest of the revelation makes it clear that compulsion is always unrighteous. "Everlasting dominion is without compulsory means," it declares. "In any degree of unrighteousness" means simply that although compulsion is always unrighteous,

some ways of compelling are more unrighteous than others. The power of the priesthood operates through the principles of influence—"persuasion, long suffering, . . . gentleness and meekness, and . . . love unfeigned, . . . kindness and pure knowledge" (D&C 121).

I have tried to show that authoritarianism is incompatible with the principles of freedom and grace and that a church founded on the gospel of Jesus Christ is connected to him primarily through his spirit in the hearts and minds of each member. Since the structure of the LDS church is authoritarian and the principles of freedom and grace are not clearly taught in the institutional church and since it is the nature and disposition of almost everyone in a position of authority to exercise compulsion, it is not surprising that the church exhibits so many characteristics of authoritarianism. Grace and freedom can exist in an authoritarian structure if people love each other, accept responsibility for themselves, and are open to the enlightening influence of the spirit; and authoritarianism can exist in egalitarian structures if people are centered in pride and try to manipulate and control each other. Nevertheless, power arrangements do greatly influence the way we relate to and value each other. As long as the church is governed in an authoritarian way, freedom and grace cannot flourish and people will be hindered in their spiritual maturation.

Reply to: "You Are a Spiritual Person"

Carol Clark Ottesen

Something wants spiritual
yet hesitates, not wanting to show a lack
of substance intellect
to not win at tennis or good looks
or socially be nil, lose keys, pray them back—
a blimp of spirit air, one rope barely attached to ground

Listen Descartes:
to split the body from the spirit is to take
the hair from the scalp mind from the brain
sex from my prayers God from the sandals
I have worn for years.

For I find I am a pattern on my kitchen floor bonded
to the sink marked on the woodwork riveted
to the ceremonious instinctual feeding of bodies wondering
about a bed of nails, cross again I know not what I do
kneeling to clean the floor nothing
rises past my plastic ceiling
duty has no wings words do not fly
but something does spins from the walls
brings the sky down rests on my sill
touches my body with purple and fine linen.

The Church and the Community: Personal Reflections on Mormon Intellectual Life

O. Kendall White, Jr.

BOUNDARIES DELINEATING THE DEGREE of inclusion in and exclusion from both institutional and cultural Mormonism are defined, negotiated, and redefined through the interaction of the church, community, and its intellectuals. This essay, based primarily on personal experience and reflection, examines the relationship between Mormon social organization and intellectual life. I believe my own experience has made it impossible for me to be included in the church. Further delineation between the church and the community, a distinction fostered primarily by intellectuals, enables me to conceive of myself as a cultural Mormon while also providing a social context in which I can feel at home. This was not always so, and one of my purposes is to discuss the renegotiation of these boundaries, arguing that a distinction between the church and the community is not only analytically useful but is increasingly becoming a pronounced feature of social reality in Mormondom.

CONFRONTING THE INSTITUTIONAL BOUNDARY

At this point I will describe two personal encounters with Mormon ecclesiastical authority in which the boundaries limiting intellectual diversity became apparent to me. Both followed a successful Mormon mission and occurred as I attended college. Since I had hoped to become a teacher in the LDS educational system, I emphasized religion and philosophy in my studies at the University of Utah. Well integrated into both the church and the university, I was excited about my new religious and

intellectual life. My relatively recent discovery of a liberal Mormon subculture made this a period of both expanding intellectual horizons and intense identification with Mormonism.

The first experience occurred in priesthood meeting. During a New Testament lesson I asked the instructor and fellow elders how they interpreted Jesus' admonition to the rich man to sell all that he had and give it to the poor. Was this text to be understood literally? Did it simply mean that we ought to be concerned about the poor? Or did it only apply to the rich man? My attempt to obtain the wisdom of others in formulating my own moral position came to an abrupt halt when a visiting stake high councilman insisted that "if the Lord wanted us to sell all that we have and give it to the *church*, then President Henry D. Moyle," whom he identified as a millionaire, "would have done so." My apparent impropriety in suggesting that the issue was the poor, not the church—that if the two were synonymous when Jesus spoke they certainly were not today—and my distraction of the instructor, preventing him from easily moving to his following point, led the high councilman to stop the discussion. Assuming that this was simply an abortive attempt to obtain insight about our obligations toward the poor, I left priesthood meeting disappointed but not surprised. I certainly expected nothing beyond what had occurred that Sunday.

My brother and I were late for priesthood meeting the following Sunday. As we stood at the door, deciding whether to enter or wait until Sunday school, we noticed a different rhythm from typical Mormon speech. In fact, someone was reading a prepared text. Upon hearing my name, we joined our brethren. The quorum president read about dissent during the previous meeting, informing us that "delving into the mysteries" was unacceptable and sustaining the authorities of the church was essential. I stated that though my question remained unanswered I never had any intention of derailing the instructor's lesson, but I was perplexed about the question of sustaining the authorities of the church. What had I said or asked that implied failure to sustain church authorities? What did sustaining the authorities entail? Did it require uncritical obedience, acquiescence to hierarchy, or did it permit loyal opposition?

Putting our academic studies on hold, two of my brothers and I undertook an aggressive perusal of Mormon history and theology on the matter of sustaining authorities. We did derail the course of priesthood lessons for the next three weeks, and the quorum was divided over the meaning of sustaining church authorities. I asked the instructor, a childhood friend, to allow me to join him should he be called in by the bishop or stake president, but he adroitly moved the priesthood sessions back on course as we left this issue behind.

Six weeks passed, and we assumed the debate, if not resolved, had

been abandoned. Then, with six stake high councilmen gracing our meeting, I assumed that the quorum presidency was being reorganized. However, the lesson ended ten minutes early, and the quorum president turned the meeting over to a high councilman who, upon lecturing us about the evils of dissent, led the instructor from the room to the stake president's office. My attempt to join him failed, and he was removed from his position after being asked if he "sustained the general authorities or, like Kendall, believed them to be in a state of apostasy."

The second experience transpired a year later. I was teaching the college-age Sunday school class. Again the New Testament was the subject, and the manual carefully framed the discussions and questions. Since it castigated biblical scholars, "higher" and "lower" critics, I asked class members if they were aware of biblical criticism. None had heard of either higher or lower criticism, but everyone chose to spend the next four weeks examining examples of each, the historical responses of Mormon authorities, and implications of such biblical scholarship for the Mormon posture toward the bible. I was asked by class members to identify my own views at the conclusion of our inquiry.

Upon entering the room for our final session, I found twelve to fifteen people instead of the normal three to six. Four or five of the new faces were people whom I did not recall having seen before, and some of the others were associated with the Stake Sunday School Board. Initially, I chose not to discuss my views, since understanding them depended upon the previous four weeks, but I nonetheless found myself doing so.

A class that normally lasted thirty to forty minutes continued for a couple of hours, with several people testifying to the truthfulness of the gospel and demanding that I do the same. When the session ended, a member of the Sunday school board escorted me to the stake president's office where his first counsellor offered me a position on the stake board with the responsibility of visiting other classes to guarantee that teachers had strong testimonies of the gospel. I was to ensure that others possessed the very quality I presumably lacked. When I indicated that I wanted to continue teaching the class, they assigned a newly returned missionary to accompany me, and three weeks later concluded that only one teacher was necessary. That was the last position I held in the church.

Institutional Boundary Maintenance

Two criteria for ensuring institutional loyalty and maintaining social control emerge from these experiences—the necessity of sustaining the authorities of the church and the requirement for a personal testimony of the truthfulness of the restored gospel. Since an authentic testimony recognizes the church as the institutional guardian of religious doctrine and

acknowledges its sacramental role, a testimony reproduces the hierarchical structure of the church in the consciousness of adherents and reinforces the principle of sustaining the authorities. In fact, a typical testimony acknowledges the president of the church as prophet, seer, and revelator and identifies Mormon apostles with the same authority, power, and position attributed to their ancient counterparts. Consequently, a testimony of the gospel and the principle of sustaining the authorities of the church combine to enhance institutional control and ensure personal loyalty.

Failure to sustain church authorities can be costly. Uncomfortable questions not only imply that one does not sustain church leaders and thereby lead to censure, but sustaining church authorities is required for an individual to enter the Mormon temple, receive his or her personal endowments, form an eternal family, advance in the priesthood, and for men hold ecclesiastical office. Virtually all of the cases with which I am familiar, where individuals have appeared before church courts for political dissent or expressing controversial ideas, include formal charges of failure to sustain church leaders.

Moreover, the ambiguity characterizing the sustaining principle often is used by local officials to strengthen institutional control. My own arguments in priesthood meeting for Mormonism's ideal polity as either a theocratic democracy or a democratic theocracy, depending on which principle is granted higher priority, fell on deaf ears as stake and ward officials insisted on purely autocratic solutions. Preoccupied with immediate concerns, including the ritualistic flow of the lesson manual, and apparently unaware of Mormon history, they dismissed implications of historical examples of democratic applications of the sustaining principle and insisted that no discussion of this matter, or disagreement with church officials on others, would be tolerated in the future. Having equated disagreement with disloyalty, they reaffirmed Mormonism's most extreme reading of the sustaining principle and its relationship to intellectual dissent—i.e., the 1945 Ward Teacher's message that "when our leaders speak, the thinking has been done."[1]

If sustaining the authorities is a mechanism of institutional control, then a personal testimony may be conceptualized as a means of cognitive control. As an affirmation of basic Mormon assumptions and governing principles, the personal testimony links the self to the institution by locating the individual within the institutional structure. Proclaiming that one knows that God exists, that Jesus is the Christ, that Joseph Smith was the prophet through whom the gospel was restored, and that the current

1. "Sustaining the General Authorities," *Ward Teachers' Message* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, June 1945).

president of the church is the prophet, seer, and revelator who governs with twelve apostles called by God is a personal, typically public, confession of one's subordination to church hierarchy. Having "borne," if I may be permitted a little Utahnese, such a testimony, individuals are placed in a precarious position. They have privileged the judgment of church officials over their own, and their testimony may come back to haunt them should they confront church authority.

It was this confession that was required of me when I was removed from teaching the Sunday school class. Had I acknowledged the superior judgment of church officials, including perhaps the author of the manual, over that of "higher" and "lower" critics of the New Testament, then I could have retained my position. In fact, one of the stake board members reassured me that my testimony was required to prevent others in the class from drawing inappropriate conclusions based on my limited presentation of biblical scholarship. Clearly, the issue was not the "limited presentation" but the fact that I "bore" no testimony to dilute or negate implications of biblical criticism. While employing language of the intellect, the testimony is a confession of faith. Its purpose, at least in this context, is to negate or deny knowledge, to put an end to discussion, and to limit intellectual curiosity. It clearly takes precedence over knowledge. As a ritual conclusion to my unacceptable departure from the manual and inappropriate discussion of biblical criticism, my testimony would have provided closure by reassuring fellow class members that biblical scholars constituted no threat to our privileged knowledge. Without that testimony, however, ambiguity reigned and I could not be permitted to teach the class.

These two encounters with the boundaries of institutional Mormonism combined in my rejection of the church's racial policy, and its sexual morality (especially the pronatalism), economic values, typical political positions, and theology convinced me that I did not belong. No longer could I consent to two fundamental principles of the church. I could neither sustain church authorities nor claim a testimony of the restored gospel which precluded authentic participation at the institutional level. With the exception of occasional correspondence with Mormon officials, a lingering intellectual and political interest in Mormon affairs, and some nostalgic musings, the church and I parted company, each going separate ways, with neither, I suspect, having any serious regrets.

The Mormon Community and Its Boundaries

Institutional Mormonism, the formally organized church, is not the Mormon community. The latter, which has expanded considerably since my priesthood and Sunday school days in the mid-1960s, now includes a

wide range of unofficial organizations sponsoring Mormon cultural and intellectual life. The liberal Mormon subculture, which I discovered during my youth, was a loosely organized network of underground discussion groups circulating papers and debating ideas. I still recall my elation upon learning about the anticipated publication of *Dialogue* and our subsequent speculation regarding its chances for success. Today, as *Dialogue* approaches its thirtieth anniversary it shares the spotlight with *Sunstone*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, *Exponent II*, and other publications. During the past year an invitation arrived to subscribe to a new Mormon journal, *The Wasatch Review International*, devoted exclusively to Mormon literary pursuits. Moreover, a number of Mormon academic associations sponsor annual symposia devoted to Mormon theology, history, literature, practice, and society. While the Mormon History Association increasingly enjoys the respect of other American historians, the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life recently established ties with the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion enabling cosponsored sessions devoted to the analysis of Mormonism at the latter's annual meetings. However, these associations primarily reach narrow academic audiences.

Certainly the most popular among Latter-day Saints and apparently the most threatening to ecclesiastical officials, at least currently, are the Sunstone symposia. Occurring several times a year and held at various locations throughout the country, they attract thousands of people interested in Mormonism. Despite ecclesiastical admonitions not to listen to "alternate voices" in 1989, efforts to intimidate participants in 1990, an official warning to church members to avoid such symposia in 1991, and the disclosure of a special committee that maintains dossiers on dissenting intellectuals in 1992, participation levels at Sunstone conferences remain high.[2] Even the recent controversy surrounding academic freedom at Brigham Young University, the failure of BYU to renew the contracts of professors Cecilia Farr and David Knowlton, and the excommunication and disfellowshipping of Mormon intellectuals following the 1993 symposium,[3] though clearly disturbing, do not portend the demise of Mormon intellectual life. In fact, they can be interpreted as evidence of a

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2. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Despite Church Warnings, 1,500 Attend Sunstone Symposium," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 Aug. 1992. For documentation of the intimidation of intellectuals by church officials, including those following Sunstone symposia through 1992, see Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 7-64.

3. Anderson, who was also excommunicated for publishing the above article (n2), reflects on her experience in "Freedom of Conscience: A Personal Statement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Winter 1993): 196-202. For details on the disciplinary action taken against her and five other Mormon authors, including reactions from the Mormon community, see "Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy," *Sunstone* (Nov. 1993): 65-73, and "Disciplinary Actions Generate More Heat," *Sunstone* (Dec. 1993): 67-68, also 68-71.

vibrant intellectual subculture among contemporary Mormons.

Obviously, I believe that the Mormon community is not coterminous with the Mormon church. The community is larger than the church, and its boundaries are expanding. While the community includes the church, I believe that the church has lost control of the community and no longer can dictate or define Mormon culture. That the church remains the most powerful force within the Mormon community may be beyond dispute, but it lacks the power, though perhaps not the will, to set the agenda and define the parameters of Mormon intellectual life. For today the Mormon community attracts a diverse population of intellectuals, is increasingly well organized, and may enjoy significant popular support. Discussion groups like those prevalent during earlier times still exist, but, unlike the past, their participants enjoy access to a fine array of publications and symposia to aid in their intellectual quest. It is this context that empowers intellectuals to become an increasingly important force in shaping Mormon culture and defining the Mormon community.

Recent responses of Mormon officials to the Sunstone symposia and attempts to intimidate participating intellectuals are, in my judgment, a concerted effort to reestablish the church's hegemony over the Mormon community. While any ensuing confrontation between church authorities and Mormon intellectuals is likely to cause considerable personal suffering and institutional embarrassment, as illustrated by recent events, it is too late for church authorities to regain control over Mormon intellectual life and thereby limit the boundaries of the Mormon community to the Mormon church. Mormon intellectuals simply enjoy too much autonomy and are too well organized; and Mormon ecclesiastical officials are too preoccupied with the church's image and an ongoing quest for respectability to assume the costs of such a confrontation.

The emergence of a robust Mormon community with considerable autonomy poses important implications for the recent debate over Mormon ethnicity and the relationship of people like me to Mormonism. For it is the community, not the institution, that provides the basis for defining individuals as a people. Most of Mormon history finds the church and community largely coterminous, with institutional affiliation providing the foundation for the Mormon social order and the convert's new Mormon identity. This new identity, as the argument for a Mormon ethnicity presupposes, assumed precedence over previous national and racial identities, as being Mormon became the most salient feature in the self-definition of the individual. European converts sang songs defining their native lands as Babylon as they set out to create Zion in the tops of the mountains. No collective referent was more significant in defining the self than one's new identity as Mormon. As long as the church and the community were coterminous, Mormon ethnicity depended upon insti-

tutional participation.

Mario De Pillis's recent article—"The Persistence of Mormon Community into the 1990s"—is an insightful analysis of Mormon community at the institutional level.[4] Based on premises similar to those above, De Pillis argues that during the nineteenth century, Mormon community—both as a sense of peoplehood and primary relations—depended on location or place. The doctrine of the Gathering required the migration of converts from their native lands to Zion, a specific place, to build a holy city in preparation for Jesus' return. Boundaries separating the Saints from others defined both Mormon identity and community. With their reentry into the American mainstream during the twentieth century, Mormons abandoned the Gathering and redefined Zion as a state of mind or "the pure in heart." With converts remaining in their native lands, the church entered an era of expansive growth. However, the internationalization of Mormonism posed new problems. How could a burgeoning bureaucracy maintain the community and identity characteristic of nineteenth-century Mormonism?

The answer, for De Pillis, is found in the social organization of the Mormon ward. As the local congregation, a ward's geographical boundaries, unlike the Catholic parish, are determined by the size of the congregation and the presence of sufficient talent to perform the requisite tasks. As wards grow to points where face-to-face interaction becomes difficult, or when they shrink to points where they cannot sustain various church programs, they divide into two wards or two wards merge into one, requiring the redefining of geographical boundaries. Instead of geography defining the size of the congregation, the size of the congregation defines geographical boundaries. Consequently, Mormonism preserves community by maintaining the critical mass necessary for a ward to function while limiting its size to facilitate primary social relations. As Mormonism approaches the twenty-first century, this system of wards enables the church to export Mormon identity and maintain community in diverse societies throughout the world. Though this is a significant contribution, De Pillis has defined Mormon community too narrowly. Identifying it with institutional Mormonism, he neglects those sources of Mormon culture emerging outside the church and their role in creating a broader Mormon community.

Today the church and community are not synonymous. Consequently, people may define themselves as Mormon without participation in institutional Mormonism. It is possible for someone like me, who cannot be an active participant in the church, to define myself, should I de-

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4. Mario S. De Pillis, "The Persistence of Mormon Community into the 1990s," *Sunstone* (Oct. 1991): 28-49.

sire, as a cultural Mormon. Since I am not theologically Mormon nor willing to abide by Mormon religious practice, I cannot participate in institutional Mormonism. Because of my theological position, I would confront sharper institutional boundaries today than I did during the 1960s. For I am agnostic with theistic or atheistic propensities, depending perhaps on what I had for breakfast, stories in the morning newspaper, or fear of the election of another Republican presidency. Consequently, I would not expect institutional Mormonism to welcome me into its fold. Though I may be critical of specific boundaries established by the church, I recognize that the vitality of institutions depends, at least in part, on their delineation of boundaries. The Mormon church cannot define its boundaries loosely enough to incorporate people like me and remain the Mormon church. Nor would I expect it to do so.

I do feel at home, on the other hand, in the Mormon community. This membership requires neither a testimony of the restored gospel nor that I sustain authorities of the church. Indeed, it does not even demand that I be a theist. In fact, I am not sure that it requires that I be LDS. For the Mormon intellectual community has introduced me to active participants who have been excommunicated from the church, RLDS scholars, and some non-Mormon Mormon-buffs who seem to feel as much at home as the active participants from Brigham Young University and the Mormon intelligentsia. Today the boundaries of the Mormon community are fluid, amorphous, and consequently terrifying to those controlling institutional Mormonism.

Conclusion

I have proposed the distinction between institutional Mormonism and the Mormon community for both descriptive and analytical purposes. While institutional Mormonism refers to the formal organization of the church, the Mormon community constitutes a much broader base of unofficial organizations and distinctively Mormon subcultures. These reflect the interests of Mormons with diverse institutional bonds. My brief description of the Mormon community, with boundaries defined by its intellectual subculture, illustrated the contrast between institutional Mormonism and the Mormon community. As this changing social reality alters options available to Latter-day Saints, it transforms the character of Mormonism itself.

The analytical value of this distinction rests on the insight it provides for interpreting and understanding the relationship of people like me to Mormonism, the light it may shed on the debate over Mormon ethnicity, and its implications for an explanation of the current conflict between church officials and Mormon intellectuals.

Consecration, Stewardship, and Accountability: Remedy for a Dying Planet

Larry L. St. Clair and Clayton C. Newberry

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS WE FACE TODAY is symptomatic of an ignorant, greedy, lazy, and often evil society. More policies, rhetoric, and money will not solve the earth's environmental problems. Only when we stop trying to cure the symptoms of the earth's environmental sickness will we understand more fully that real solutions require changes in our thinking and in our hearts and a significant sacrifice of current lifestyles. The issue is whether we will make the changes because of wisdom or be compelled to change because of environmental catastrophe.

Our reluctance to address seriously environmental issues is based on at least five fundamental misunderstandings of scripture. These misunderstandings are not merely academic or doctrinal; they are central to the perpetuation of life on earth and the spiritual and temporal edification of all of God's creations.

First, we have misunderstood the commandment to have dominion over the earth and subdue it. Often we have interpreted this to mean that we own the earth and thus have an unlimited right to plunder it and devour its resources for our pleasure. This interpretation shows itself in greed, self-justification, and rapaciousness, but its weakness is revealed in environmental pollution and resource depletion so dramatic as to jeopardize the very lives of future generations.

In contrast, the Lord intended the earth to be a revolving stewardship, to be passed from generation to generation. Each generation is to use the earth's resources to meet real temporal needs and justifiable wants, while consistently conserving and protecting the earth so that it might be maintained as a healthy, vibrant home for future generations.

The second misunderstanding stems from a misinterpretation of Doctrine and Covenants 104:17, "For the earth is full and there is enough

and to spare." Careful reading of the context of verse 17 reveals that this passage was never intended to justify wanton consumption of resources or to gainsay the problems of human population growth.

> For it is expedient that I, the Lord, should make every man accountable as a steward over earthly blessings, which I have made and prepared for my creatures. I, the Lord, stretched out the heavens and built the earth, my very handiwork, and all things are mine. And it is my purpose to provide for my saints for all things are mine. But it must needs be done in mine own way: and behold this is the way that I, the Lord, have decreed to provide for my saints, that the poor shall be exalted, in that the rich are made low. For the earth is full, and there is enough and to spare; yea, I prepared all things, and have given unto the children of men to be agents unto themselves. Therefore, if any man shall take of the abundance which I have made, and impart not his portion, according to the law of my gospel, unto the poor and needy, he shall, with the wicked, lift up his eyes in hell, being in torment (D&C 104:13-18).

Five times in this passage the Lord asserts his title to the earth, not ours, and specifies that his earthly resources are for the use of the Saints and the poor, not for the lusts of the rich and powerful. The Saints, as stewards over the earth's abundance, will prosper from generation to generation only if they take what they need and consecrate the rest for the poor, and are careful not to neglect or abuse the other creatures who share the earth with them (v. 13). This is the law of consecration upon which our presence on the earth and use of its resources are predicated.

The law of consecration in no way justifies today's levels of consumption, production, profit, riches, and accumulation. Many of us are forfeiting our inheritance in the kingdom through self-centered exploitation of air, water, minerals, animals, plants, other people, and in some cases entire communities. Our voracious consumption of earthly resources is a usurpation for which we will be tormented hereafter. As blessings are predicated on obedience to eternal law (D&C 130:20-21) and promises are suspended for disobedience (82:10), we uphold the rapacious and their political allies at the peril of our own temporal survival and spiritual salvation.

The third misunderstanding relates to our place in the natural world. We tend to see ourselves as a special creation with ultimate biological control, uniquely independent of and even transcendent to nature's laws. If difficulties arise through our use or misuse of the earth, we believe that human technology will solve the problem.

In reality natural laws are inescapable and govern all life on earth, including human life. For example, one law is that life needs air. If we pollute the air, all life forms will suffer poor health and higher mortality. Simply stated, noxious fumes are not good for living things—whether to-

bacco smoke, automobile exhaust, or industrial discharge: it is the law. On a global level the atmosphere is physically and chemically set to sustain life within a narrow range of temperature, precipitation, and sunlight. We will not have temperate climate with rain in season if we choose to destabilize the atmosphere with chemicals deleterious to the system God set up: it is the law.

The earth's resilience and capacity to absorb our environmental irresponsibility is limited. The earth will not, however, deal out its own abuse in response to our repeated violation of its laws: it is too similar to its maker to act revengefully. Rather, like a beast of burden overworked and abused, it will grow weak and sick, and finally, stripped of its vitality and resilience, it will simply lie down and die. Consider the prophesied catastrophes of a darkened sun and a bloodied moon, vapors of smoke, great pollutions, waves of the sea heaving themselves beyond their bounds, famines, thunder, fierce and vivid lightning, tempests, earthquakes, and hailstorms in the last days. These universal perturbations are symptoms of deep infection by violent, abusive mis-stewardship and evil more than simply divine punishment upon the wicked. For if, as Enoch observed (Moses 7:48), the earth itself suffers and cries out in pain over the evil inflicted upon it, can we expect that its life-sustaining systems should continue unaffected: "Woe, woe is me, the mother of men! I am pained, I am weary, because of the wickedness of my children."

Technology has beguiled us with the notion that we can save ourselves from the results of our own environmental abuse by manipulating the natural laws which govern the earth. Most technological advances are driven by profit and have been the cause of, not the solution to, environmental deterioration. In Satan's world funding for profitable technology, however dirty and destructive, will always outpace funding for research into technological solutions.

The fourth misunderstanding is that the Lord will solve all our problems, environmental and otherwise. In reality the Lord has made it clear that we are personally accountable for what we know and what we do with our knowledge. Consequences of poor management, greed, irresponsibility, and apathy will be visited upon us. The Lord has said:

> Whosoever perisheth, perisheth unto himself; and whosoever doeth iniquity, doeth it unto himself; for behold, ye are free ye are permitted to act for yourselves; for behold, God have given unto a knowledge and he hath made you free. He hath given unto you that ye might know good from evil, and he hath given unto you that ye might choose life or death (Hel. 14:30-31).

Thus if we choose to defile the earth, we must live with the stench, sickness, death, and ugliness of a ravaged environment, and will answer to the creator for desecrating his property. The Lord does not interrupt

free agency, and he suspends the consequences of poor exercise of agency only for the repentant. Again our options narrow down to either desecration or consecration. If we choose consecration, the fullness of a renewed, paradisiacal earth will be ours, and we will inherit all the Father has. If we choose desecration, we will remain under degraded conditions, and the Lord will weep over our loss.

The fifth misunderstanding of scripture responsible for environmental degradation—and possibly the most pernicious and perverted of all—is that worldly wealth, power, and influence are the rewards of faithfulness. Many consider TVs, VCRs, RVs, telephone answering machines, luxury cars, boats, and extravagant homes to indicate special divine favor. Some even invoke preexistent faithfulness to justify their temporal holdings and worldly power. None of this, however, has any basis in revealed theology. The Lord not only deplores financial and social disparity (D&C 70:14), but the pursuit of worldly wealth is altogether abominable to him. The Lord has said: "Seek not for riches but for wisdom, and, behold, the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto you, and then shall you be made rich. Behold, he that hath eternal life is rich" (D&C 6:7). False social, economic, and political systems, ignorance, apathy, insensitivity, and greed cause misery, class disparity, and environmental havoc. God is not responsible for these collective and individual failings. He commands us to be healed of all these ills through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, he has forever renounced the use of force to correct human defects and waits for us to come to sanity, either motivated by wisdom or compelled by human-induced catastrophe.

Indications of biologic catastrophe, or of a planet in peril, are all around us. Scientists are monitoring the disappearance of frogs, birds, predatory animals, lichens, forests, and other species one by one. The environment is unraveling before our eyes. The question before us is will catastrophe force us at an enormous cost in human and biologic life to make changes at some future time or will we prevent the disaster by political and individual action now?

Individually we must cleanse ourselves from the blood of the innocent earth. First, we must shed the false expectations and misunderstandings mentioned above and replace them with genuine comprehension. We must cease to regard nature and wilderness as enemies, and instead cultivate in our own hearts and in that of our children sensitivity for the environment. We must learn to respect all creatures, both plant and animal, and make a place for them in our lives, communities, and national parks and public lands. We may do this by observation and study, starting with the simple things around us. We can hang a bird feeder by the kitchen window and keep a bird guide close at hand. If we discover ants in the backyard, rather than kill them with insecticides and poisons, we

can teach our children that ants are good, having been pronounced good by God after creation's fifth day. Thus we may teach our children to appreciate the life which God created, as Brigham Young taught the Saints on two occasions during the cricket plagues: "Last season when the grasshoppers came on my crops, I said, 'Nibble away! I may as well feed you as to have my neighbors do it. I have sown plenty and you have not raised any yourselves.' When the harvest came, you would not have known that there had been a grasshopper there."[1] On another occasion he said:

> According to present appearances, next year we may expect grasshoppers to eat up nearly all our crops. But if we have provisions enough to last us another year, we can say to the grasshoppers—"these creatures of God"—you are welcome. I have never had a feeling to drive them from one plant in my garden, but I look upon them as the armies of the Lord.[2]

We must cultivate a sensitivity for the infinite and eternal beauty of the earth, deepen our reverence for God in his capacity as a creator, and follow his admonition in section 88 of the Doctrine and Covenants:

> Teach ye diligently and my grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; of things both in heaven and on the earth, and under the earth: things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass . . . that ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you, and the mission with which I have commissioned you (vv. 78-80).

As we begin to comprehend and appreciate the earth and its natural processes, we are better prepared to recognize dangers to any part of it. We are better prepared for involvement in the political process and in various community organizations which promote environmental accountability and stewardship. We are better prepared against deception when our elected officials lie to protect their corporate backers. Nevertheless, we must also recognize that Satan's false world has been imposed upon the earth, and in most instances his financial schemes and conspiracies determine the use of God's earthly resources. Very little has changed since Plato wrote that only scoundrels acquire public office. Often the good that we do is undermined by the bad that others are doing, especially when they are cunning, deceptive, well-financed, and politically

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1. *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: Latter-day Saints' Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 3:159.
2. Ibid. 12:121.

powerful. Perhaps the best we can do is to purify our own hearts and tend our own garden.

We must henceforth cease to regard the earth as a commodity belonging to us. It is a community of living things, including ourselves. As we begin to comprehend this, we will have a genuine desire to love, respect, and protect the earth.

We must reevaluate and bring our personal values in harmony with eternal principles.

We must acknowledge that free agency has temporal and spiritual consequences; it places upon each of us a responsibility which we cannot evade.

We must recognize that those with the greatest resources have the greatest responsibility to use them to care for the earth and all its inhabitants.

We must consider and act on our personal responsibility to protect the earth by changing patterns in our lives which diminish its life-sustaining capacities.

We must never allow ourselves to become casual in our use of the earth's resources, but receive everything from the earth in reverence and gratitude.

We must consume less, pollute less, discard less, conserve more, recycle more, and share more.

We must remember that our relationship to the earth must always be based on personal integrity. We must do what is right and not what is merely economically feasible or personally profitable. Anything less is irresponsible and exploitative.

We must cleanse our hearts of the influences of a world corrupted by greed, hate, evil, and selfishness. We must seek to find greater joy and happiness in virtue, truth, charity, kindness, simplicity, sacrifice, and gentleness.

Finally, because political and financial conspiracies will frustrate our most exhaustive collective efforts, we must pray for the safety of our earth home, relative to issues both global and local. "And when Enoch heard the earth mourn, he wept and cried unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, wilt thou not have compassion upon the earth?" (Moses 7:49)

After many years of plunder and abuse, we now find ourselves at a crossroads of understanding where we must choose between despoliation and nurturance, between desecration and consecration. Global catastrophe is imminent; only in Zion will there be safety. But Zion will not, cannot, be established with our present lifestyles of consumption, opulence, and pleasure: the luxury cars, the big boats, the ATCs of the young, the RVs of the retired, the big houses, and all such things must be sacrificed if we are to shoulder personal and collective responsibility for es-

tablishing Zion. If we fail to do so, we shall face the climatologic and biologic storms of a ravaged and dying planet alone.

On the other hand, Zion will not be moved and will be a place of spiritual and temporal splendor in perpetuity. It will be a place such as was described by Hugh Iltis: "If we love our children, we must love the earth with tender care and pass it on, diverse and beautiful, so that on a warm spring day 10,000 years hence they can feel peace in a sea of grass, can watch a bee visit a flower, can hear a sandpiper call in the sky, and can find joy in being alive."[3]

3. Quoted in G. T. Miller, *"Living in the Environment": An Introduction to Environmental Science,* 5th Ed. (New York: Wadsworth Publishing Co.).

Ghost Month

Holly Welker

In China, in August, ghosts are released
from hell for a month of fun. Late July
behind the gates, ghosts start queuing up,
raising their hands and swearing to the guards
they won't cause too much trouble.
From new moon to new moon while ghosts play,
one can't marry, move, or start a business,
one can only wait; and so each hot week
of Ghost Month drags by, an endless sweaty sigh.

In America, we banish ghosts to dank smelly
crevices and expect them to stay there.
When they do escape, who can impose
a September First curfew?
So many things we see or do—the search
for car insurance, the getting up and
lying down between damp sheets, the heat
and no mail—are not events, are only
malevolent presences, loud obnoxious
poltergeists, impossible to ignore.
How much better to burn a couple sticks
of incense in a chicken or an orange,
a way to tell hungry ancestors,
Look, I adore you, soon my life goes on.

Famine Relief, the Church, and the Environment

Donald L. Gibbon

IT'S BEEN COMING DOWN IN BUCKETS for two days. Everyone knows what will happen next: a great slug of water will come roaring down the narrow gullies, accumulating force and volume, finally becoming a full-scale flood crest as the water nears the city. Thoughtful people know that since the last flood the city planning commission has granted hundreds of permits to pave parking lots, put in gutters, build streets, cut forests, straighten river channels . . . and that as a result this one is going to be a real lulu!

The local Corps of Engineers District Operations officer knows the local stake president. He picks up the phone. "Hello, President Jones. This is Captain Williams. We've got a real problem building here. I need 200 men to help fill and place sand bags. Can you get them for me?" "Yes, I can, Captain Williams."

Within minutes the phone chain starts spreading from stake president to bishops to elders' quorum presidents to elders. Within the hour, men begin assembling, ready to work at the designated sites.

Many church members have either been a part of such a scenario or have read about it happening at many natural disasters. Preparedness is a major theme of the temporal welfare program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Working together was the means for survival for thousands of early church members and remains an important tenet of the church today.[1]

For many American church members disaster is a fairly remote reality. Nevertheless, electronic communication brings the horror of flood, famine, and war nightly into our livingrooms. How can we as concerned

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1. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1839-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953); and Garth L. Mangum and Bruce D. Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty: A History of LDS Welfare, 1830-1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

human beings respond effectively? We've all struggled mentally with the moral dilemma of how we might deal with improvident neighbors in time of disaster. How does the church interpret its responsibility to "do unto others," to "be its brother's keeper"?

Until recently the church's response was relatively ad hoc. President Ezra Taft Benson's role in post-World-War-II relief in Europe is well known. This was clearly a major and very public outreach. But by and large the church has worked within its own ranks, encouraging, supporting, helping in worthwhile but relatively inconspicuous ways. The Welfare Services Office handled whatever needed to be done within established channels.

That is until television made the suffering of the East African people so clear in the mid-1980s. Then a response of a different order of magnitude was called for by the membership. A call went out from the First Presidency for a special day of fasting to generate funds for East African relief. And suddenly in one day in January 1985 the church had over $6 million on its hands to help those devastated people. Now what?

Glenn L. Pace was assigned to investigate how best those funds could be applied to the problems, as the church then had little formal presence in that area of the world. He spent the next three or four months in Africa, learning about the scope of the problem, who the effective care-givers were, who needed help, what sorts of help would be most effective. Three agencies were singled out for cooperative projects: the International Committee of the Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, and Africare. The first two were concerned strictly with relief—keeping the people from dying today. Some two-thirds of the money raised went for the purchase and distribution of food, largely grain. Some of those funds went to purchase trucks, others to the expensive process of air-lifting food around rebel blockades. Deliveries were made to Ethiopia, Sudan, Chad, and Niger. The other third of the fast-offering went to a major irrigation project in the Wello Province of Ethiopia, under the guidance of Africare. This is development work, as opposed to relief, intended to help the people help themselves. This sort of approach to humanitarian aid is the major focus of the latter part of this essay.

Changes in the Church Welfare Structure

By now the church recognized the need to create a more permanent organization devoted to this kind of effort, and the Humanitarian Services Division was created in the Welfare Services Department. Glenn Pace had by then been called into the Presiding Bishopric, and Ike Ferguson was called to head up the new division. Another fast was called for November 1985, producing another $4 million. This time the purpose

was to raise funds for "relief and development work in Africa and other similarly distressed regions of the world." The new division had both its work cut out for it and resources with which to do that work.

The Humanitarian Services Division has four focal areas:

1. The well-being and health of women and children. This includes such areas as employment and literacy, as well as physical health.
2. Agricultural production, processing, and marketing (small-scale and family-oriented).
3. Family productivity and employment (enterprise development), and
4. Emergency response.

As a recent example of timely response to an emergency, the large-scale disaster brewing in northern Iraq after Desert Storm was quickly recognized. The Kurdish people needed help. Cooperating with the U.S. government, and working through a Middle-Eastern carrier, the church delivered 13,000 blankets to Kurdish refugees within days of the need becoming known. The church has delivered medical and hospital supplies through Catholic Relief Services and Worldvision. Few Mormons know that part of the church's welfare fund is being spent in this way, despite President Thomas S. Monson's talk to the priesthood at the April 1991 general conference.[2] No annual report is available for public review, though no effort is made to hide the Humanitarian Services Division's activities from anyone interested to look into them. This appears to be a shining example of "being in the world" and accepting community responsibility, one that would make members proud of the church's performance. In fact, members may now contribute directly to the Humanitarian Services Division on their local tithing/donation slips.

Many projects supported by the division emphasize the needs of women and recognize the role women have as the real but unheralded backbone of many cultures in "less-developed countries." For example, a recent project in Honduras carried out in conjunction with a local agency enabled several village women to set up a savings bank. The long-term purpose was to provide a source of capital for small ventures in the village. To achieve this, the women had to be taught how to evaluate credit-worthiness, how to keep track of principal and interest, how much could be used to re-invest in the business, and how much could be paid to the employees (themselves) for running the operation. The overall cost was $20,000; the result will be a village with an economic "generator," a group of people able to plan for the future with more certainty. This sort

2. Thomas S. Monson, "A Royal Priesthood," *Ensign* 21 (May 1991): 47-50.

of project has much in common with the approach of the Gramine Bank, started in Bangladesh, which singles out small, innovative projects with only local impact for special attention.[3]

Such small-scale projects are polar opposites to those of huge agencies such as the World Bank. In recent years protests have led many agencies to change their criteria for project funding. Such organizations are known for having supported such mega-projects as the one to build major roads into the Amazon basin, ostensibly to promote settlement and opportunity for Brazil's poor masses. But such projects actually destroyed major parts of the rain forest and wiped out indigenous peoples, while leaving most of the land in the hands of large landowners and still unsuitable for long-term farming. In addition, gold was discovered in the upper Amazon in 1987, and thousands of miners poured in, bringing urban disease with them. Almost 20 percent of local Yanamamo Indians were killed during the first four years after the road reached them.[4] Environmental reviews are now standard for almost all funding organizations, but they are only intermittently successful at blocking destructive projects.

An Alternative Model for Self-sufficiency/Development

It is possible to take an entirely different approach to relief work. Completely different principles can be applied, based on Tom Berry's "mutually-enhancing relationship with the earth,"[5] rather than applications of Western-style business principles or technologies.

Such an approach is used by the small private organization Land and Water Resources International (LAWRI) based in Lynnwood, Washington. The director, John McMillin, has almost fifty years of experience in famine relief. He began as a teenager, taking a ship load of dried fish from Peru to Europe for starving concentration camp victims. These were not just any dried fish, though. These had been caught and dried by fishermen organized by John's father, who himself had travelled the famine-circuit for years as a special ambassador for the United States in the Foreign Economic Administration. John is clearly a man who learned to think big at a young age.

In succeeding decades John worked all over the developing world,

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3. The information on the Humanitarian Services Division of the Welfare Services Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was obtained in telephone interviews with Ike Ferguson, director of the division, and his secretary, Renee Brady, in April and May 1991.

4. Personal conversations with Father Giovanni Saffirio, a Consolata missionary to the Yanamamo, April 1991.

5. Thomas Berry, *The Dream of the Earth* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988).

first trying to "stop the dying," as he put it, then struggling with the ultimate problem: how to get starving people to produce food for themselves. Out of his experience with hundreds of projects, McMillin has come up with an approach which has virtually no glitter. It begins with some of the worst, most abused soils on the planet (though usually not poisoned with toxic wastes, as in so many "developed" countries). It requires no "Green Revolution" special strains of rice or wheat. It requires no petroleum or big tractors, no chemical fertilizer or pesticides, no dams. What it does require is thorough application of the principles of organic farming at its best. The technique is called "intensive integrated agriculture and aquaculture," which means you grow fish and crops together in ways in which the wastes from one are feed for the other.

Sounds simple, doesn't it? In a way, it is. But there are problems. Many have the mistaken impression that indigenous peoples around the world have developed effective ways of farming for their own environments. By and large, this is not true in less-developed countries. Techniques passed down through the generations continue to be applied, far beyond the point at which local soils are able to respond and produce good crops. A typical example is the continual growing of maize in Mexico to a point where the essential trace nutrient zinc is completely removed from the soil. Future crops become progressively more stunted, erosion increases as plants become unable to hold the soil, and the downward spiral continues. Thus, one of the major problems with implementing the LAWRI approach is the need to break old habits.

The fundamental tenets of the LAWRI system are: first, composting everything in sight to develop soil amendments (to put organic material back into the soil, to give it both "tilth" and nutrients). All local waste vegetable matter is used, as well as animal wastes (and eventually, fish meal). And second, double-digging the soil to provide an opportunity for deep penetration of plant roots to help avoid desiccation in dry periods. Local plants are grown in raised beds close together to prevent sunlight from giving weeds a boost. The local area is scanned for plants to grow in companion relationships, to use natural resistance to pests between various species (for example, in temperate climates marigolds and garlic/onions may be used to help keep pests off tomatoes). Even the soil is checked to find strains of local bacteria which can speed up the composting process. In Godino, Ethiopia, such a "star" bacterium reduced composting times by as much as 30 percent. Trees are planted to provide wind breaks and slow down soil desiccation. And on and on, one good idea after another, all well known to conscientious small-scale farmers in many areas of the world who have paid attention to the output of such

organizations as the New Alchemy Institute,[6] the Rodale Press,[7] and the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, all tailored to the specific local environment.

The Godino project began several years ago, an outgrowth of efforts to find local organizations that could sponsor such an effort. Family Services, an Ethiopian self-help organization, was deemed to be such an operation, and with the director of that enterprise as local director of the LAWRI effort the project started. First twenty-nine hectares of land were bought in an area centrally located to three small villages. While water was not immediately adjacent to the site, there was a spring about a mile away which could supply drinking water and ideally irrigation water. The plan was to set up the general outline of the project—a series of raised beds interspersed with fish ponds, along with a living compound—then cycle through three sets of volunteers for training. These would include both Americans and Soviets, along with indigenous farmers. The Soviets were included as a continuation of a previous LAWRI project; other Soviet assistance was also supplied, including trucks and other equipment.

This plan was carried out until the Ethiopian civil war required all expatriates to leave the country. However, in the time the project ran a great deal of progress was made. Each day the volunteers spent their time in outreach to local villagers. Every family had a garden, and the outreach program was intended to show then how they could increase their yields by using intensive farming techniques. In general, people did learn and yields improved. But old habits die slowly: it isn't known yet if the training took permanently.[8]

On the demonstration side, where large beds were created and crops were beginnings to come to full growth, the project was only one quarter of the way to completion. Few of the fish ponds were finished, and the fish handling system was not yet perfected. But the basic structure was in place. A collateral plan to plant hundreds of thousands of trees had begun, with the creation of large beds of seedlings. Trees are

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6. See N. Wade, "New Alchemy Institute: Search for an Alternative Agriculture," *Science* 187 (1975): 727-29.

7. See, for example, J. I. Rodale, *Encyclopedia of Organic Gardening* (Emaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1973).

8. After a January 1992 trip to Godino to inspect the project, John McMillin reported that 80 percent of fruit trees were producing well (the remainder having been run over by people escaping from advancing troops); the double-dig beds were also producing heavily; the fish ponds were being used for storage and would have to be cleaned out; an important bridge built by the project had collapsed under the weight of a tank and has to be rebuilt. But there were no "white faces" on the project (a "visiting Mormon missionary from Kenya" worked hard there for a while but had left). And above all there was no sense of beholden-ness on the part of locals. This was their project.

an almost unheard of luxury in this and many other central and east African countries. They have virtually all been cut down or stripped of limbs for firewood. The vegetable beds and beds of fruit tree seedlings were also well along.

One of the exciting aspects of the LAWRI intensive agriculture-aquaculture approach is that it is easy to monitor its effectiveness. One test is to put the system up against the local farming techniques. In one such trial, a local farmer well-known for his quality results went head-to-head with a raised bed. The LAWRI approach out produced the local techniques, 1,900 kilograms of vegetable matter to under 1,000, with far less labor and even less water. And all of the waste vegetable matter that wasn't eaten by cows went back into the soil. That leads to the second way to monitor results: by measuring classical soil chemistry—pH, available minerals, organic content, and so forth. Most telling is soil tilth. With additional organic material, this soil which traditionally becomes brick-hard in the dry season and mud soup in the rainy season, becomes instead a manageable loam and nitrogen content soars.[9]

Principles for Long-Term Success

So finally what are the principles on which Mormon church famine-relief and development projects might be based?

A. The projects should be designed as if no outside technological assistance were going to be available for any extended period. They should quickly become locally self-sufficient. In the LAWRI Godino project this principle was violated by using seeds from the United States which would soon become unavailable: in fact, they have already done so. But they are conscious of this and intend to produce their own seeds on site. Other techniques to be avoided are ones based on petroleum fuels, synthetic fertilizers, or pesticides and herbicides.

In a humorous aside, the traditional "intensive" gardening system involves "double digging" the plot. You dig out a trench one shovel-blade deep along one edge of your plot, setting aside the soil. You then dig the soil up one more blade-depth, leaving the now loosened-and-aerated soil in place. You then move a shovel-width down your garden, dig a second trench, placing that soil into the first trench, double-dig the second row, move to the third, and so on through the entire plot. You finally put the set-aside soil from the first trench into the last one. All the while you have

9. This information is based on LAWRI annual reports on the Godino Project, on conversations with John McMillin, and on extended conversations with Noel Benson, a volunteer/liaison specialist on the Godino Project. McMillin can be reached at Land and Water Resources International, 19231 3336th Ave. W., Lynnwood, Washington, 98007 (206-743-3266).

been adding appropriate soil amendments (compost, manure, etc.) to the soil. This is the plan, and the LAWRI Godino project was prepared to do all this. They included a large number of fine shovels in the equipment brought for the project, forgetting that none of the local farmers wears shoes. It is virtually impossible to use a shovel to dig hard soil without strong boots. So the entire project had to be done with the crude mattock-like local equipment which makes it more difficult and less efficient.

B. Second, the projects should be capable of coming to fruition in relatively short time periods, at least in an introductory way. In other words, large-scale projects are out. This probably would include the million-dollar project in irrigation supported by the church's fast donations. The problem with large-scale, long time-frame projects is that they commonly are beyond the capabilities of locals to manage and control. They depend on outside help, either from urban areas of the country or abroad. And if a war comes along to interrupt them, they will languish and go to waste.

There are good examples of both of these problems in the Godino area. There in a shed, near the small plots made by the LAWRI project, are two large British combines meant by some prior project funders with a more traditional energy-and-technology-intensive approach to harvest local grain (a fairly low-productivity equivalent to wheat in our country). The combines have never been used. Not once. They couldn't be hooked up to the local tractors because of a mismatch in the hitches. Now the tractors can't even be used because there is no fuel. But the LAWRI project can go on, feeding people, producing food for them to sell to get currency, changing their lives, changing the local environment.

C. The projects should involve a "multiplier effect," primarily accomplished by teaching. They should not benefit only those directly involved. For example, in the Godino project much of the time for both Ethiopian and European staff was spent as "proto-ag-extension-agents" walking in nearby villages, chatting with locals about their gardens, sharing improved methods for accomplishing more, inviting them to see what was being done in the demonstration projects. And LAWRI is constantly searching for ways to fund an ambitious plan to set up training institutes on all five major continents to develop local management and training capabilities, to "get the US out of the loop," so to speak.

Anyone familiar with the history of these sorts of developments will recognize the principles as the core of "appropriate technology" and "small is beautiful."[10] Putting those principles into practice will prevent

10. See J. Leckie, G. Master, H. Whitehouse, and L. Young, *Other Homes and Garbage: Designs for Self-Sufficient Living* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1975); E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

the church from being led astray; using them as guidelines will help those who choose what types of projects to support to be of greatest use to those they are trying to help. Back to the village banking example mentioned earlier. This $20,000 project can change the lives of an entire village as the benefits of a stable local source of capital are felt. Attitudes change, the future opens up. The same applies if local agriculture can start producing a surplus without at the same time becoming a debt-producer, an energy-sink, or a source of poisonous chemicals.

One of the most exciting prospects for this urban-American Mormon church member is that these same principles apply in our own home wards and cities. Waste spaces can be made to produce food for the hungry. There is abundant land for such projects. People can contribute to their own well-being. When I was recently in Switzerland, I saw garden after garden in the tiniest spots: little openings between sidewalks adjacent to railroad tracks, for example, would have a dozen potato plants growing in them. We have space in our cities to use, if we only have the will to do it. Sadly, the church and its members seem to have abandoned one of our most wholesome traditions: local production projects. Ward and branch emphasis on food production at home is a vital part of self-sufficiency and preparedness. My hope is that we can return to this important bit of teaching and training.

We can teach the world's crowded peoples to feed themselves more effectively without turning the planet into a giant agri-business project. I believe it can be done. One of the most common condemnations of Mormons is that they ignore the ticking of the "population bomb" by encouraging large families. If we could show that if the world were well organized it could feed itself, we would do a great deal to enhance our acceptability among mainstream environmental thinkers, not to mention other religious groups. As it is, we appear irresponsible with our three-, four-, five-, or six-children families. Just think where we would be if we would "teach the people of the world correct principles, and they would feed themselves!"

The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus

Stephen J. Patterson

TO ENTER THE DISCUSSION OF CHRISTIAN ORIGINS today is to wander into a world of texts and traditions both familiar and strange. The story of how Christianity came to be is still communicated largely in texts familiar to us from the New Testament. However, more and more historians of earliest Christianity are appreciating the need to move beyond the traditional limits of the canon in exploring all of the sources available to us from this earliest period, regardless of how the later church came to regard them from a theological point of view. Among these early non-canonical texts, perhaps none is more important than the Gospel of Thomas.

THE DISCOVERY OF THOMAS

The Gospel of Thomas was discovered in 1945 among a collection of books called the Nag Hammadi Library, a name which derives from the town in Upper Egypt near to which this remarkable discovery was made.[1] Scholars had known of the Gospel of Thomas before this time, since ancient writers make occasional reference to it, sometimes even quoting a line or two. But the book in its entirety was lost. Around the turn of the century the famous British team of Grenfell and Hunt had discovered a series of papyrus leaves bearing fragments of this lost gospel, but without the complete text of Thomas to serve as a reference point, they had not realized the full value of their find.[2] The mystery was shat-

1. For an account of this fascinating discovery, see James M. Robinson, "The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *Biblical Archeologist* 42 (1979): 206-24, and "Getting the Nag Hammadi Library into English," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979): 239-48.

2. These fragments are known as the Oxyrhynchus fragments of Thomas. They were published originally by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in *LOGIA IHSOU: Sayings of Our Lord* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897) and *The Oxyphynchus Papyri, Part 1* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898).

tered in 1945 with the swing of a mattock that smashed the ancient clay jar containing our only complete copy of the Gospel of Thomas. In a swirl of ancient dust out tumbled a textual treasure.

Thomas: A Different Sort of Gospel

Thomas turned out to be a gospel quite unlike the gospels familiar to us from the New Testament. In contrast to the canonical gospels, Thomas has no narrative. It does not tell a story of Jesus' life. It contains only a few brief anecdotal stories. In it there are no stories of Jesus' birth, baptism, his preaching at Nazareth. There are no stories of his entry into Jerusalem, his arrest, crucifixion, or resurrection. Thomas consists, for the most part, of isolated sayings listed serially using the simple introductory formula "Jesus said . . . "

Thomas and Christian Origins

In recent years the Gospel of Thomas has become ever more important to historians of earliest Christianity. Why?

Even though Thomas is formally quite different from the canonical gospels, it does share with these gospels a good deal of content. In fact, about half of Thomas's sayings are paralleled in the three gospels known as the "synoptics": Matthew, Mark, and Luke. This means that Thomas relies on the same basic roots that gave birth to earliest Christianity as reflected in the New Testament. This raises the question: Can Thomas tell us anything about Christian origins that we did not already know?

Early in the Thomas debate many answered this question with an emphatic "no." They argued that parallels between Thomas and the synoptics indicate that Thomas made use of the synoptic gospels, pirating sayings from them and corrupting them to reflect the unorthodox theology of Thomas. For such, Thomas could be dismissed as nothing more than an heretical perversion of earliest Christianity.[3]

But the evidence for this view was slim, and the theories justifying this or that slight change in Thomas's version of a saying were fanciful. In recent years, in all but conservative Catholic and evangelical circles, this view has gradually given way to another. The parallels between Thomas and the synoptics are due to a common shared oral tradition, not Thomas's reliance on Matthew, Mark, or Luke. The evidence for this hypothe-

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3. This view is represented in the popular book by R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus. With an English Translation of the Gospel of Thomas by William R. Schoedel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday/ London: Collins, 1960). Over the years, many have gained their first introduction to Thomas from this book.

sis is as follows[4]:

1) Close, detailed comparison of sayings contained in both Thomas and the synoptics reveals that Thomas preserves them in a form that is more primitive than the synoptic form. In some cases the Thomas form of a saying shows signs of later development, but lying behind it is a form that is more basic than the synoptic form. In either case such evidence indicates that Thomas did not rely on the synoptic gospels but on traditions, whether written or oral, that antedate them.

2) Literary dependence of one text on another often shows up in the ordering of material. Remnants of the same order in both texts indicates some literary relationship between them. This is not true of Thomas and the synoptics. There is between them virtually no shared order.

3) If Thomas were later than the synoptics one would expect it to have a form reflective of this later time period. It does not. Rather, it is cast in the form of a sayings collection. Most scholars agree that Matthew and Luke used such a collection in composing their gospels. This early sayings gospel is referred to as Q. Its existence shows that Christians were using sayings collections before the synoptics were written. Later, however, this practice gave way to narrative forms such as we have in the New Testament. For whatever reason, the sayings collection fell from use—and probably from favor, as the disappearance of such an important foundational document as Q seems to indicate. Thomas belongs formally to that early period of collecting sayings of Jesus, a time contemporaneous with Q.

This evidence has convinced most current Thomas scholars that the Gospel of Thomas is basically independent of the synoptic gospels. This does not mean that the author of this gospel did not know the other gospels and that Thomas was completely unaffected by them. Indeed, there is evidence that the author of Thomas or the scribes who copied and preserved it did know the New Testament gospels and may have been affected by that knowledge. As for its composition, however, Thomas is not fundamentally dependent on the New Testament gospels. Rather, its roots are to be found in the same early oral traditions from which Mark, Q, and the rest of the synoptic tradition emerged.

For historians of earliest Christianity this finding has dramatic implications. First, it means that by studying Thomas, we will catch a glimpse of another branch of earliest Christianity that was heretofore unknown to us: Thomas Christianity. Second, it gives scholars another critical tool for approaching the question of the historical Jesus. The second of these re-

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4. The following remarks are a summary of my own more extensive treatment of the question in *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1993), 9-110. Many of the arguments offered here find their roots in a series of essays by Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

quires special explanation. But first a word about Thomas Christianity.

Thomas Christianity

Recent studies of the synoptic gospels and their antecedent traditions, like Q, have revealed an earliest phase in Christianity that was characterized by an intense social radicalism. This earliest phase is commonly referred to as the "Jesus movement," a term coined by the German scholar, Gerd Theissen, whose work initiated much of this current research.[5] The Jesus movement was characterized by itinerant wandering from place to place—thus: "Foxes have holes, and birds their nests, but human beings have nowhere to lay down and rest" (Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58; and Thom. 86). These early itinerants left behind family life, of which they had become critical—thus: "Whoever does not hate father and mother cannot become my student. Whoever does not hate brothers and sisters and take up a cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10:37-38; Luke 14:26-27; Thom. 55).

They became critical of common piety, distinctions of clean and unclean, and purity as a means of validating human worth and belonging: "There is nothing outside a person which by going in can defile" (Mark 7:15; Matt. 5:11; Thom. 14:5). They criticized the religious and scholarly community that upheld these socially constructed boundaries: "The Pharisees and the scholars have taken the keys of knowledge and hidden them. They have not entered, nor have they allowed those who want to enter to go in" (Matt. 23:13; Luke 11:52; Thom. 39:1-2).

They embraced the socially marginalized as God's blessed ones:

> Blessed are you poor, for God's imperial rule is yours (Matt. 5:3; Luke 6:20b; Thom. 54).
>
> Blessed are you who hunger, for you will be fed (Matt. 5:6; Luke 6:21a; Thom. 69:2).
>
> Blessed are you who cry, for you will be comforted (Matt. 5:4; Luke 6:21b).
>
> Blessed are you who are hated and persecuted (Matt. 5:10-11; Luke 6:22; Thom. 68).

And they characterized wealth as useless: "There was a rich person who had much money. He said, 'I will use my money to sow and reap

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5. See, for example, his book *The Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

and plant and fill my barns with the produce so that I shall lack nothing.' But that very same night he died" (Luke 12:16-20; Thom. 63). Or again: "If you have money, give to someone from whom you will not get it back" (Matt. 5:42; Luke 6:30, 34-35; Thom. 95).

But while this socially radical tradition is imbedded in the early Jesus tradition, it is also clear that by the time it was incorporated into the New Testament gospels it had lost much of its edge. So, for example, when a rich young man comes to Jesus in the Gospel of Mark but is sent away because he is unable to renounce his wealth and take up the itinerant life, we find this scenario: "And [the disciples] were perplexed, wondering to themselves, 'Well, then, who can be saved?' Jesus looks them in the eye and says, 'For mortals it is impossible, but not for God; after all, everything is possible for God'" (Mark 10:26-27; compare Matt. 19:25-26; Luke 18:26-27).

In synoptic Christianity the early social radicalism of the Jesus movement gave way to a form of belonging that did not require the rigorous demands of itinerancy and world renunciation. This was perhaps inevitable if the movement of Jesus' followers was to escape the fate of so many other peripatetic philosophical movements that fell into obscurity and eventually extinction.

By scanning the citations listed above, one can see that the social radicalism that characterized the early synoptic tradition is also found in Thomas. But unlike the synoptic gospels, one does not find in Thomas any evidence to suggest that in Thomas circles this early radical tradition ever gave way to a more sedentary accommodation of it. This means that both synoptic and Thomas Christianity have their origins in an early, socially radical Jesus movement. But while synoptic Christianity followed a trajectory that lead to settled, less socially radical community life, Thomas Christianity continued on a trajectory of itinerant social radicalism.

Thomas's Theology

The basic pattern we have just described, of one group continuing to pursue the social radicalism of the early Jesus movement while another began to settle down, reinterpreting the tradition to accommodate other, less radical ways of being a follower of Jesus, can be seen elsewhere in early Christian literature. It surfaces in the form of conflict, when local settled communities come into contact with wandering radicals. Naturally, the wandering radicals would have been held in esteem by those who had not been able to sustain or enter into its rigorous demands. At the same time, however, their occasional presence as they wandered through town might also have become something of a problem. In their absence, local communities would have found ways to organize them-

selves, with local leaders taking up roles as befit their needs. The resulting conflicts between local leaders and wandering radicals eventually forced readjustments in the way these early radicals were regarded and sometimes how they regarded themselves and their cause.

This was true of Thomas Christianity. As the itinerant life became less and less attractive, those who chose to pursue it found ways of raising the stakes so that its rigors did not seem such a high price to pay. For example, in the following saying, abandoning home and family has become more than a wise choice; it is a matter of life and death: "[1] Whoever does not hate [father] and mother as I do cannot be my [disciple], [2] and whoever does [not] love [father and] mother as I do cannot be my [disciple]. [3] For my mother [gave me falsehood], but my true [mother] gave me life" (Thom. 101).

Or again in the following statement one finds initially the simple praise of one who has embraced the solitary life of the wanderer: "Jesus said, 'Congratulations to those who are alone and chosen, for you will find the <Father's> Domain'" (Thom. 49:1). But as the saying continues, this basic idea is transformed. The solitary one belongs to another place and is bound to another destiny, a destiny of cosmic proportions:

> 49[2] For you have come from <the Father's domain>, and you will return there again." 50[1] Jesus said, "If they say to you, 'Where have you come from?' say to them, 'We have come from the light, from the place where the light came into being by itself, established [itself], and appeared in their image.' [2]If they say to you, 'Is it you?' say, 'We are its children, and we are the chosen of the living Father.' [3] If they ask you, 'What is the evidence of your Father in you?' say to them, 'It is motion and rest.'"

The idea that human beings belong to another place, another world to which they shall someday return because they share another, divine identity, is characteristic of the ancient religious tradition known as Gnosticism.[6] Gnosticism enjoyed a great flowering during the period of Christian origins, making its way into Judaism, early Christianity, and other new and old religious traditions of the time. As the price for maintaining the rigorous life of itinerancy became dearer, Thomas Christianity raised the stakes for its itinerant radicals, who now came to see themselves as living out their destiny as "children of the light," as the "chosen of the living Father." Gnosticism provided this branch of the Jesus movement with a religious mentality through which they could view their situation in a positive light.

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6. The best treatment of this ancient religious phenomenon remains that of Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1958).

THOMAS AND JESUS

So far we have seen that Thomas Christianity, like other forms of early Christianity, used contemporary theological paradigms to help it interpret its calling to follow Jesus. But this is only part of the picture. On the other hand, it also preserved and cultivated the tradition of Jesus' sayings. Even though Thomas Christians preserved these sayings as the revelations of a Gnostic redeemer, sent from God to remind lost souls of their true destiny, it is possible that in so doing they also preserved something of historical value as well. This raises the question: Can Thomas be of any help in the quest for the historical Jesus? More and more, scholars who regard Thomas as an independent rendering of the Jesus tradition are answering this question in the affirmative. In fact, Thomas has made a major contribution to what may be described as nothing less than a contemporary revolution in the way scholars reconstruct the original preaching of Jesus. Let me explain.

For most of the modern period of historical research on Jesus, the synoptic gospels, especially Mark, have formed the basis for scholarly reconstructions of what Jesus actually said. John has little that is of historical value, and so has played almost no role in the quest of the historical Jesus. The other two synoptic gospels, Matthew and Luke, depend on Mark for their basic outline of Jesus' life and destiny. Consequently, they cannot be counted on to offer a substantially different view of Jesus. They add nuance to Mark and appropriate Mark's narrative in the service of theological and ideological agendas that are their own. But the earliest and most basic synoptic account, that of Mark, has remained the most influential in giving shape to the way most scholars have conceptualized Jesus.

In Mark Jesus appears as an apocalyptic preacher, a prophet of the world's imminent judgment and destruction at the hand of God. For almost a century this apocalyptic Jesus has been the figure to whom most New Testament scholars have accorded the greatest historical plausibility. This view, suggested by the earliest synoptic gospel, was reinforced by evidence from elsewhere in earliest Christianity. Most importantly, the second synoptic source, Q (see remarks above), basically agrees with Mark in presenting Jesus' preaching as apocalyptic in message and tone. Moreover, Paul, whose letters are the earliest direct evidence we have for early Christian belief, also appears to have understood Jesus in terms of an apocalyptic scenario whose culmination he believed had drawn near. Thus, among the early sources there was virtual unanimity on this matter.

But when Thomas' sayings are laid alongside their parallels in Mark and the other synoptic gospels, one sees a most interesting pattern: the synoptic tradition seems consistently to bend various sayings and tradi-

tions in an apocalyptic direction.[7] This raised a question: Is it possible that later Christians, not Jesus himself, were responsible for providing Christian preaching with its apocalyptic orientation?

This suspicion has received apparent support in recent studies of Matthew and Luke's second source, Q. Current research on Q has shown that this document did not originally share Mark's apocalyptic orientation. Rather, it consisted originally of a series of speeches which Jesus delivers as one of Wisdom's chosen prophets. Only in a later, secondary redaction (editorial revision) did it receive its apocalyptic bent. Scholars now commonly speak of Q1 and Q2, the second of which alone bears the apocalyptic orientation many once thought of as pervasive in earliest Christianity.[8]

That leaves Paul. When we encounter him through his letters, relatively late in his career, he is certainly under the influence of apocalyptic thinking. Paul believes that the resurrection of Jesus signaled the beginning of the end, that his resurrection would lead to a general resurrection at the return of Christ, who will bring an end to history as we know it and render judgment on all, both dead and alive (1 Thess. 4:9-5:11). But in Paul's churches there were Christians who did not share these views. In 1 Corinthians, for example, Paul argues with certain folk who do not believe in the resurrection, but believe rather that in Christ the reign of God has already arrived (1 Cor. 4:8; 15:12-19). Their view is rather like that expressed in Thomas 113: "[1] His disciples said to him, 'When will the <Father's> imperial rule come?' [2] 'It will not come by watching for it. [3]It will not be said, "Look, here" or "Look, there." [4] Rather, the Father's imperial rule is spread out upon the earth, and people do not see it.'"

This saying also has a parallel in Luke, which many scholars argue stems from that earliest phase of Q we spoke of before: "When asked by the Pharisees when God's imperial rule would come, he answered them, 'You won't be able to observe the coming of God's imperial rule. People are not going to be able to say, "Look, here it is!" or "Over there!" On the contrary, God's imperial rule is right there in your presence'" (17:20-21).

Thus it appears that there is a early stratum of material imbedded in the New Testament itself, and confirmed by Thomas, which suggests that in the earliest phase of Christian theology Jesus was thought of as inaugurating God's reign already in the present moment, not in an imminent or distant future act of apocalyptic violence. The reign of God had be-

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7. For a detailed treatment, see my essay "Wisdom in Q and Thomas," 187-221 (esp. 208-14), in Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman, eds., *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993).

8. This is the conclusion of John Kloppenborg's influential study, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

come a reality already in Jesus' preaching insofar as persons who heard him chose to act upon his words.

Early Christians did not sustain this fervent belief very long. The world's resistance to their hoped for reign of God soon forced a rethinking of how their dreams might be realized. The fruits of this conflict are played out in all of our surviving gospels. The folk of Q and Mark turned to the violent scenarios of apocalypticism to shore up their hopes. The folk of Thomas turned to ascetic withdrawal from the world and focused their hopes on a transcendent realm far removed from this world, which they regarded as the material realm of death and corruption. Both abandoned that earlier notion, which stems perhaps from Jesus himself, that God's reign exists as a potential reality whenever human beings, as children of God, resolve to make it so. Though washed over with the transcendentalism of later Thomas Christianity, this idea survives in eloquent form in a Greek fragment of the Gospel of Thomas itself:

> [1] Jesus said, "[If] your leaders [say to you, 'Look,] the <Father's> imperial rule is in the sky,' then the birds of the sky [will precede you. [2] If they say] that it is under the earth, then the fish of the sea will enter preceding] you. [3] And [the <Father's> imperial rule] is within you [and outside (you). [4] Whoever] knows [oneself] will find this. [And when you] know yourselves, [you will understand that] you are [children] of the [living] Father. [5] [But if] you do [not] know yourselves, [you are] in [poverty], and you are the [poverty]" (POxy 654.9-21 = Thom. 3:1-5).

The Gospel of Thomas has turned out to be a very important document for those interested in the study of Christian origins. First, its own peculiar use of the tradition of Jesus' sayings has broadened our understanding of the diversity of early Christian belief. Second, and just as important, it gives us another window through which to view the earliest traditions surrounding Jesus. By comparing Thomas and the synoptic tradition, it has become easier to see the tendency of these important gospels to move in an apocalyptic direction, an orientation we once thought came from Jesus himself. If this now seems less likely, it is because Thomas has called this one-time consensus into question. The result has been the opening of a new chapter in the quest for the historical Jesus. This, perhaps more than anything else, will be the legacy of this gospel, once lost, now found, and never to be forgotten again.

Slant Sonnet for Melissa

Linda Sillitoe

This visit you talk of Merlin in both poem and prose,
and how he transformed Arthur to insect or mole,
teaching him how to become.
                And you, briar rose,
bright-petalled and wild, don't I watch you unfold
again and again, dropping bits of yourself without heed,
then offering a thief only a handful of thorns.

In seasons of water you enter the dolphin who sleeks
past in moonlight; then a falcon who waltzes the sun.
And always your song of the moment spirals and peaks
as if it is truly your last, as if you are one
and not minion; or as if you will deign to repeat
a monotonous chorus.
                Who, next visit, will come
as my daughter, carnate, incarnate; only the same
in the glimpse of Merlin flickering behind the flame.

Why do Some Perceive the Church to be a Cult? Inside and Outside Perceptions versus Reality

M. Lou Chandler

"THE ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MORMONS and Moonies is about 100 years." This from my car radio as I drove home one afternoon from the office. It was National Public Radio and someone was interviewing two experts on religious cults. The context was the stand-off in Waco, Texas, between cult leader David Koresh and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. "Here we go again," I thought, "another reference linking Mormonism to cults."

Several years ago I was invited to attend a luncheon sponsored by my company. It was a bring-your-own-lunch affair once a week initiated by a small group of employees who referred to it as the "Christian Fellowship Luncheon." I was told it was non-denominational and that it would be a nice break in the week, so I decided to go to it with the friend who had invited me. The first order of business that day was to go through the calendar and identify who was going to lead what discussions over the next few weeks. The head of the group addressed a fellow sitting next to me saying, "Bob, weren't you going to do something about the Mormons?" "Yes," Bob responded, "I suppose I could do that next week."

I was cautiously elated at the possibility that perhaps beside me sat another Mormon, that perhaps I wasn't the only Mormon in this international corporation after all, and I said to him hopefully, "Are you a Mormon?" He replied, "Oh no, we've been doing a little study of *cults* and I'm doing something on the Mormons." "Oh," I responded, utterly disappointed and insulted—trying hard not to appear utterly disappointed

and insulted. "Well," I said, "I'll surely be interested to hear that. Because, you see, I'm a Mormon, and it's not a cult." Bob's face instantly turned beat red and the leader of the group awkwardly changed the subject. Needless to say, the "Mormon cult" discussion never took place—at least not when I was there.

I had grown up in Utah, and this was my first real encounter with people who considered our church to be a cult. About that same time, I was called to be a Regional Public Communications Director for the Philadelphia Region of the church (which encompasses parts of three states), and as such I have learned all too well that it is by no means rare for the church to be linked with the word "cult," particularly in regions where the church is rather obscure. As I pursued this further, I found that practically every book on the subject of cults refers to Mormonism as a cult to a greater or lesser degree. Furthermore, interest in the subject is consistently high, at least it is in Pennsylvania. At the library I reported to the librarian that not one of the books on my list (from their card catalog) was on the shelf, to which she responded, "Oh, you're researching cults. We can't keep those books in stock—people just check them out and keep them. It's a hot topic." Fortunately, I had a trip to Utah planned where, interestingly enough, the subject of cults did not seem to be so hot a topic, and I was able to find most of the books I needed.

This is a significant issue for the church for the simple reason that people don't like cults, people avoid cults, people actually fear cults. Therefore any perception that the church is a cult carries the high potential of thwarting missionary work, which is no small concern because the first of the church's three-fold mission is to "Proclaim the Gospel."

Public Relations and Perception

Exploring missionary efforts from a different perspective, we find that President Spencer W. Kimball said, "When we have used our qualified [people] to help the apostles to open these new fields of labor . . . when we have used the satellite . . . and all of the media—the papers, magazines, television, radio—all in their greatest power . . . then, and not until then, shall we approach the insistence of our Lord and Master to go unto all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."[1]

The "qualified people" who understand how to use the media are generally people in advertising and public relations. And in those fields, the fundamentals of media relations (somewhat overly simplified) are as follows:

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1. Spencer W. Kimball, *Proceedings of Regional Representative Seminar* (Salt Lake City, 1974).

* Identify and analyze what the audience thinks about the product or issue.
* Determine what we want the audience to think about the product or issue.
* Assess what messages and strategies will change the audience's thinking in our favor.
* Execute messages and strategies using creative solutions.

As one might imagine, reality is irrelevant in this exercise. What really matters is perception. And having gone through this exercise repeatedly, I can say that the cult issue is high on the list of problematic perceptions of the church. In fact, in my region it was one of the top three problem areas for the church during my tenure doing regional public relations. (The other two were the perception of obscurity and the perception that the church is not a Christian religion.)

What is a Cult?

So what is a cult? The answer may be a bit nebulous, depending on the "expert" or lay person you happen to consult. Some of the more radical experts on the subject categorize practically all spiritual experience as cult-ish. Other more conservative cult experts define "cult" in more specific terms. The following is a summation of the more rational and agreed upon descriptors of cults, synthesized from various books and articles on cults[2]:

1. The existence of a "charismatic" founder or leader to whom members express total allegiance. This leader proclaims doctrine or "Truths" and determines rules for daily life that cannot be questioned. The leader may be considered a messiah or prophet.
2. Individual thought is discouraged. The groups are anti-intellectual. "Knowledge" is redefined as ideas dispensed by the group or its leader. A member is expected to surrender his or her intellect to unquestioned doctrine. (Former cult members report hav-

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2. See Willa Appel, *Cults in America: Programmed for Paradise* (New York: Holt Reinhart & Winston, 1983); Robert S. Ellwood, *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973); Joseph M. Hopkins, "Cult Specialists Assess Non-traditional Religions in the Mid-Eighties," *Christianity Today*, 9 Aug. 1985, 54; Joseph M. Hopkins, "Experts on Traditional Religions Try to Pin Down New Age Movement," *Christianity Today*, 17 May 1985, 68; J. Gordon Melton and Robert L. Moore, *The Cult Experience* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982); Gordon Melton, "Why Cults Flourish," *Whole Earth Review*, Spring 1987, 48; James and Marcia Ruden, *Prison or Paradise? The New Religious Cults* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); and Steven Strasser and Pamela Abramson, "Why People Join Cults," *Newsweek*, 3 Dec. 1984, 36.

ing gradually become incapable of making even the simplest of decisions on their own.)

3. Many cults regulate much or all of the follower's personal life including diet; use of tobacco, liquor, and drugs; sexual activity and the use of birth control; the choice of marriage partners; and whether, when, and how to bear children.
4. Cults manipulate members through the use of guilt. Any expressions of doubt or dissension are answered with helpings of guilt. (A professor of religion at Temple University, Rabbi Zalman Schacter, maintains that "Any group which equates doubt with guilt is a cult.")
5. Cult members are often isolated from the outside world; they are told that the outside world is evil and satanic and salvation can only come by remaining in the group. In connection with that, he or she is frequently given a new name and/or different or unique clothes and hair styles. And the cult discourages or forbids the follower to have ties with past psychological support systems—family, friends, therapy, etc. The follower is made to believe that all problems can only be solved by the group.
6. Cults claim to possess the one and only truth.
7. They typically believe in an impersonal God, undifferentiated from the universe or creation.
8. Many cults are anti-woman, anti-child, and anti-family. The aim is for all members to be child-like and submissive, so the responsibilities of rearing real children are inconsistent. And family bonds must be subordinated to loyalty to the cult which considers itself as a "higher family."
9. Deceptive recruitment techniques are typical. The potential follower may not be told what he or she is getting into and what will be required.
10. Cult members may live in poverty while leaders live comfortably or in luxury. The followers often work full time for the group with long hours and little or no pay. Some who work outside the group turn their salaries over to the cult.
11. Many have the philosophy that the ends justify the means. And they often feel that they are not subject to civil laws. There is frequently an aura of violence or potential violence.
12. Cults are often shrouded in secrecy and mystery. They keep new members in the dark, promising more knowledge as they become more involved. Some leaders are rarely, if ever, seen.
13. Most are small, often local, and short-lived (they have a significant problem with succession).

A few other extraneous but interesting statements on cults include:

* Some cult members say "they feel as though they've come home."
* They generally don't perform ritual ceremony openly, if at all.
* Science is often joined with traditional religious ideas to give it a more "modern" identity.
* Cult members are frequently searching for a "spiritual," "mystical," or "ecstatic" experience personally or vicariously through the leader.

Obviously, few, if any, cults measure up to each and every one of these descriptors. And I found it an interesting exercise to explore the extent to which the LDS church might measure up in the eyes of an outsider. Using a scale of 0 to 3 (with 3 being most applicable and 0 being not applicable at all), I made such an assessment of outside perceptions on the chart below. Others would undoubtedly come up with different ratings, based on personal experience with the church, but the ratings below are based on the expected perceptions of people exploring the church from outside the church.

1.	Charismatic founder or leader—determines doctrines and rules that cannot be questioned	3
2.	Anti-intellectual—individual thought discouraged	3
3.	Regulation of the follower's personal life (diet, tobacco, liquor, marriage, children, etc.)	3
4.	Manipulation of members through guilt	3
5.	Isolated from the outside (evil) world (new names, clothes, hair, etc.)	2
6.	Claim to possess the one and only truth	3
7.	Characterization of God as impersonal, undifferentiated from the universe	0
8.	Anti-woman, anti-child, anti-family	1
9.	Deceptive recruitment techniques	0
10.	Striking difference in lifestyle between members and leaders	0
11.	Ends justify the means, disregard for civil law	1
12.	Shrouded in secrecy and mystery	2
13.	Small, local, short-lived; problem with succession	2
	Average	1.8

After finishing this exercise, which rates the church as more cult-like than not, I was struck with the thought that if Jesus were on the earth to-

day, he would probably be considered a cult leader, even though many of these descriptors do not apply to him, just as many do not apply to the church. Further, it is an interesting exercise to measure such groups as Baptists and Catholics against these descriptors, and, though the answers would turn out somewhat differently, the total scores would probably be similar to those for Mormonism. Nevertheless, those other mainstream religions aren't described in the literature as cults—Mormonism is. One reason could be that they have stood a longer test of time, but after contemplating the subject, I am convinced that there is a lot more to this issue than that.

Beyond what the so–called "experts" think, it is even more important to take note of what the *non*-expert public thinks of cults. The LDS church periodically commissions Gallup polls and, from that source, we've learned that the public at large primarily considers cult members to be fanatical followers of a charismatic leader where mindless or blind obedience is expected. (A few secondary characteristics of cults identified in this poll included such things as doctrines that are not based—or not solely based—on the Bible, power over members' money, and not being Christian in nature.) In 1979 approximately 15 percent of respondents considered the Mormon church to be a cult. In 1988 that percentage had grown to approximately 20 percent.

I wanted to learn further how those lay perceptions related to my region, so I conducted my own informal survey. Although the sample was too small to be considered statistically valid, the results were nonetheless enlightening and, for the most part, agreed with the top characteristics of cults identified in the Gallop poll. In my survey I asked the following:

* What do you think are the primary characteristics of cults?
* Would you want to be associated with a cult?
* If so, why? If not (and the answer was always to the negative), what characteristics of cults would you find most troublesome?

The responses to these questions without exception drew words like brainwashing and mind control. The conclusion I derived from those responses was that people were afraid of cults primarily because they were afraid of having someone or something controlling them or restricting their freedom.

What must be remembered at this point is the fact that where public relations is concerned perception is what matters. Neither the reality of the situation nor the viewpoints of "experts" are as critical to the issue of resolving public relations problems as is public perception.

Interestingly, however, when comparing the perceptions of cults from the public point of view with the characteristics of cults from the "expert"

point of view, I find that numbers 1 through 4 on the expert list apply to the issue of control most directly. This is relevant in light of the fact that those four characteristics also happen to be the ones that most apply to the LDS church from the standpoint of outside perceptions. The logical conclusion is that people who perceive the church to be a cult assume that the church engages in mind control and in restricting members' freedoms.

Our "Position" Relative to This Perception

This is a fascinating perception when contrasted with Mormonism's doctrine of the plan of salvation and with the pivotal role of free agency as set forth by Jesus Christ in the pre-existence. In that light, our perception problem is ironic. There was, of course, a contrasting plan presented by another of God's children, Lucifer—a plan devoid of free agency. How important free agency must be for God to have suffered the loss of a third of his children over the issue.

President David O. McKay wrote, "Next to the bestowal of life itself, the right to direct that life is God's greatest gift to man . . . Freedom of choice is more to be treasured than any possession earth can give."[3] Marion D. Hanks said, "God so loved us that he would not shield us from the perils of freedom, from the right and responsibility to choose. So deep is his love and so precious that principle that he, who was conscious of the consequences, required that we choose."[4] President Spencer W. Kimball said, "I would not, even if I could, force your thinking, for free agency is the basic law of God and each one must assume the responsibility for his own response."[5] Henry D. Moyle suggested, "Examine any movement that may be brought into our midst . . . and if it . . . attempts to deprive us in the slightest respect of our free agency, we should avoid it as we would avoid immorality or anything else that is vicious."[6]

Of course free agency is pivotal. The purpose of our earthly experience (in addition to gaining a body) is to be tried and tested, to gain experience to learn and grow. We would not inhibit the growth of our children by making all their decisions for them, and neither would God. If we are to become like him we must gain decision-making skill through the choices we make. Elder Neal A. Maxwell described us as being "enclosed in a mortal cocoon or classroom . . . With an understanding of God's plan of salvation, we know that . . . the striving, the suffering, the tutoring, and the enduring experiences of life all play their part in an intelligible

3. David O. McKay, in *Improvement Era*, Feb. 1962, 86.
4. Marion D. Hanks, "Agency and Love," *Conference Report* (Oct. 1983), 21-23.
5. Spencer W. Kimball, "Absolute Truth," *Ensign* 8 (Sept. 1978): 3-8.
6. Henry D. Moyle, in *Conference Report* (Oct. 1947), 46.

process of helping us, if we will, to become as the Savior beckoningly invited, 'Even as I am'." He further emphasizes, "Truly, of all the errors mortals could make, God's plan of salvation is the wrong thing to be wrong about! No error could be more enormous or more everlasting in its consequences!"[7]

The Perception Problem Persists

Clearly, the doctrines of the LDS church are 180 degrees away from any pursuit of mind control. Nevertheless, here we are with this perception problem. And unless we decide to go after only that segment of the population with character disorders (people who prefer to avoid the responsibilities associated with freedom), we must recognize this perception of Mormon mind control as a worthy adversary to missionary and public relations efforts. At one time I was having lunch with a colleague who, as an advertising account executive, serviced a Utah ski resort account. He remarked how impressed he was with Temple Square, how impressive the family orientation of the church was, etc. "But, wow," he said, "all that *control* stuff is down right scary." And his remark was not out of character with comments of other colleagues which reflect the same perception of control.

Interestingly enough, in spite of doctrinal evidence to the contrary, this perception of the church is not restricted to those outside the church—there are those inside the church as well who, though they are active in every sense of the word, feel that their free agency is challenged by others in the church.

If, as we have demonstrated, this cult issue does indeed inhibit the primary mission of the church "to proclaim the gospel," then we must further be willing to explore the possibility that something in the church structure (that is the organization and/or the practices of its people) is out of balance with the gospel relative to our doctrine of free agency.

Causes and Cures?

If we were to speculate on factors that could contribute to internal and external perceptions that the church is control-oriented, many would include such things as the emergence of priesthood leadership with its implication of male domination over women. The list might also include such issues as academic freedom at church educational institutions as well as the guidance to avoid "alternative voices" and the disciplining of

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7. Neal A. Maxwell, "The Great Plan of the Eternal God," *Conference Report* (Apr. 1984), 27-31.

the "September Six." But the issue I wish to explore is much less well defined. I would refer to it as "the prescriptive tendencies of the Saints."

Joseph Smith said that we teach correct principles and the people govern themselves.[8] And Doctrine and Covenants 58:26 states that "It is not meet that I should command in all things; for he that is compelled in all things is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward." Why, therefore, do so many of us feel duty-bound to prescribe so specifically how we all should live the gospel? And why do so many of us seek to be commanded in all things?

I heard of an excellent high council speech that was entitled "Barnacles of Our Faith." As the title might suggest, the speaker's purpose was to identify the core principles of the gospel and to expose a few of the extraneous things that we tend to attach to the gospel. We probably don't think much about our individual testimonies to sort out which aspects are precious and which are barnacles. And it, frankly, requires an ambitious exercise in free agency to discern where the teaching of principles ends (or should end) and where the governing of self begins. But the larger problem in all this is not so much that our barnacles may inhibit our individual growth, but that we tend to criticize others who may not be following "the program" in the same way that we are. It is human nature to think that one's own approach to life is the right approach and that others haven't seen the light yet. In answer to that tendency, J. Reuben Clark said, "We must give up this idea too many of us have, that our way of life and living is not only the best, but often the only true way of life and living in the world, that we know what everybody else in the world should do and how they should do it."

If God intended us all to be the same, he missed the boat—each individual, indeed each creation, is so strikingly unique that individuality must be highly important to our Father in Heaven. But what of the scriptures that talk about unity and "oneness"? In Doctrine and Covenants 38:27 we read, "If ye are not one, ye are not mine." Indeed, some interpret "oneness" in that scripture to mean "sameness"—the need to think the same and do the same. But when we explore the context of such scriptures we find that "oneness" has a lot more to do with love and compassionate service and economic security for all and caring for each other. A unified society is one bound together in unconditional love—a love that is inconsistent with judging and the resulting imposition of guilt over "the barnacles of our faith." So in reality those two interpretations of that scripture are diametrically opposed to each other.

But we are so good at imposing guilt on each other, and we are so

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8. Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938).

good at accepting and internalizing guilt feelings. I have heard it asked if there is room in the church for the individual anymore. One friend pondered, "Can we each respond differently to the intricacies of life and each still find a place in Heaven?" Indeed many perceive that church practice stifles the free expression of thought and encourages blind obedience. At the very least, it appears that many of us in the church have decided that it is much easier to tell people exactly how to live rather than teach correct principles, as Joseph Smith had proclaimed as part of our creed.

In this respect, we as a people are probably more at fault than most of the general authorities. The "Brethren" rarely make hard and fast rules. They exhort us . . . strongly at times . . . relative to particular issues, but they also exhort us to prayerfully consider the issue relative to our own lives. It is the general church membership that pushes the grey issues associated with the application of gospel principles over into the black and white column. It is, of course, easier that way.

The issue of following the prophet(s) bears further exploration. Since one of the most common characteristics of cults is the existence of an authoritarian leader, the manner in which we follow a prophet is at issue. Certainly, it is not appropriate from a religious or public relations standpoint to defend or apologize for the existence of prophets. But if we insist that everyone "Follow the Prophet(s)" without reference to our individual right and obligation to study it out in our own minds and gain our own individual testimonies of what is said and how it should apply to our individual lives, then, in essence, we are setting the prophet up as a dictator. And we are omitting from public expression the precious principle of free agency—the very thing that sets us apart from the cults of the world. In public relations terms, free agency is our "differentiator."

The scriptures and latter-day writings are clear on this issue. In Thessalonians we are exhorted to "prove [test] *all* things." J. Reuben Clark was quoted as saying that it takes a revelation to know a revelation. Surely we are not naive enough to think that every single word that proceeds forth from the mouth of a prophet comes from a divine source. Consider Paul's message to the Corinthians to the effect that women should not be allowed to speak publicly in church. Consider statements about blacks prior to the revelation granting priesthood to black men. And consider the instances when general authorities seem to contradict each other.

How, then, should we "follow the prophet(s)?" And how should that be reflected in our rhetoric? In accordance with the above, we should follow a prophet in a revelatory way, using individual thought and prayer to discern the truth of the message and how we should apply it in our individual lives. Brigham Young declared, "The Spirit of revelation must be in each and every individual to know the plan of salvation and keep in

the path that leads to God."[9] Apostle Richard G. Scott said, "I am conditioned to receive and to interpret divine aid given to mark my path with clarity. No friend, bishop, stake president, or general authority can do this for me. It is my divine right to do it for myself."[10] That is the kind of rhetoric that will help differentiate us from the cults of the world.

As the ashes started to cool on the cult disaster in Waco, Charlie Gibson, on ABC's "Good Morning America," asked a cult expert, "At what point does religious devotion become religious obsession?" When the member "surrenders his or her logical thought processes to others," came the answer.

During the push for the Equal Rights Amendment many Mormons accepted at face value and with no thought or study the position of the prophet against the amendment. They followed Elaine Cannon's exhortation, "When the prophet speaks, the debate is over." Subsequently, when they demonstrated publicly and were asked by the press, "Why are you against the ERA?" they stated in wide-eyed innocence, "Because the prophet told me to be against it." Now if you're a news consumer outside the church, what perception does that imply? On the other hand, some people made it a matter of study and prayer, and a few who identified a plausible rationale for that stand were subsequently able to be a more positive emissary of the church.

There may be added benefits to this idea of *following the words of the prophets in a revelatory way.* It could indeed boost the overall spirituality of the church as we do a little less resting on an easy "do-as-you're-told mentality" and, instead, do a little more flexing of spiritual muscles in struggling to get answers for applying the gospel to our individual circumstances.

One further note: While it may be true that as a people we are more rule-oriented than most of our leaders intend us to be, we certainly could use more encouragement from our leaders to flex our spiritual muscles. Statements about the importance of free agency are not easy to find in the "official church literature." Those quoted in this essay were mostly buried in articles about obedience to rather black and white commandments. That is not an inappropriate place to talk about free agency—it is certainly true that sins against the more black and white commandments result in the loss of certain freedoms. But I was surprised that I did not find references to free agency in a broader context. Many, if not most of us, are challenged far more with choices that are grey in nature than we are with choices that are black and white. We are daily choosing between the lesser of two evils or the greater of two goods. But we hear little about the

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9. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses* 9 (1862): 279.

10. Richard G. Scott, "The Plan for Happiness and Exaltation," *Conference Report* (Oct. 1981), 12-14.

exercise of free agency in this context and receive little encouragement to think for ourselves and to gain personal revelation for dealing with the grey issues in our lives.

In conclusion, I would summarize the issues discussed in this essay as follows:

1. We have a perception problem in that many people perceive the church to be a cult.
2. Most people equate "cult" with mind control, which means that many people believe the church to be associated with mind control.
3. That perception is detrimental to the first component of the three-fold mission of the church—to proclaim the gospel.
4. That perception is inconsistent with our doctrine of free agency.
5. There are conditions that lend credence to both internal and external perceptions of mind control on the part of the church.
6. Assuming that there is credence to the above perceptions, we must also assume that some of our behaviors are inconsistent with our own doctrine of free agency, which is fundamental to the plan of salvation and is the cornerstone of our gospel.
7. It requires far more than window dressings from the church Public Affairs Department to correct these internal and external perception problems.

Let me briefly illustrate that last point with an example from the advertising industry. Several years ago the Ford Corporation had a serious perception problem—that they made cheap cars lacking in any quality. The advertising department mounted an aggressive campaign to change the perception and they adopted the slogan "With Ford the Quality is Job 1." They measured perceptions before, during, and two years after the start of the campaign and, though they had not yet eradicated the perception problem, they found that overall perceptions of the product improved dramatically, as did sales. However, as much as that advertising manager would like to have taken full credit for that result, he had to emphasize that the key to that growing success was the fact that they could validate their claims, that in fact there were broad and sweeping changes in the organization that gradually resulted in the actuality of improved quality, which gave credibility to their claims.

In church public relations we don't usually mount those kinds of advertising campaigns, but we do create opportunities for publicity, at which time we are asked difficult questions about our negative perceptions. Granted, where the cult issue is concerned we have a great story to tell relative to our doctrine of free agency, but insofar as our perceived ac-

tions do not match our words we lack credibility.

And, finally, it is the gospel that is true and relatively unchanging. The church consists of an imperfect organization and imperfect people striving to become perfect—which is to say—striving to come more in line with the gospel. And if free agency is the basic law of God, the cornerstone of God's plan of salvation, then the problem is critical from much more than a public relations standpoint. As Neal Maxwell said, "Truly, of all the errors mortals could make, God's plan of salvation is the wrong thing to be wrong about! No error could be more enormous or more everlasting in its consequences!" I submit, therefore, that the time has come for the church and its people to take a careful look at the issue of control and blind obedience in an effort to come more in line with the gospel principle of free agency.

Pathological Cultism and Public Policy

James E. Salisbury

MEN AND WOMEN OF UNORTHODOX POLITICAL or religious persuasion and their families and followers or "members" are holed up in an expanded farmhouse. They may be heavily armed and have a food and water supply to last several months, perhaps a year.

One public service agency or another informally reports "concerns." Perhaps "there is reason to believe" that there are illegally obtained or improperly registered firearms on the property. Former members might report that they and others were "brainwashed" or kept on the property against their wishes. And, sooner or later, there are "concerns" that the children in the "compound" may be improperly educated, improperly cared for, possibly even abused.

"Informal concerns" become "official concerns" as an "investigation" is undertaken as "properly" as possible. Charges are filed, and the initiating public service agency allows (or is forced to allow) the cooperative assistance of another agency, and then another. One and then several law enforcement agencies become involved.

In constant quest for just such marketable material, the public news-reporting media keep constant watch on all charges filed with the courts. Journalists with cameras and other equipment appear on the scene.

Soon people return to erstwhile boring news programs to watch the following armies lay siege: the FBI, the highway patrol (usually of two or more states), sheriffs and their deputies of two or more counties, police departments, psychologists and other "experts," S.W.A.T. teams, the National Guard, and of course the heavily-armed agents of the heavily-budgeted U.S. Department of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), then more media trucks and many other watchers.

Does this sound familiar? Indeed, it seems to happen just about every other year somewhere in the United States and Canada.

On the lips of news reporters and "official spokespersons" are two

words that add measurably to their credibility, or their ability to sell and thus escalate the conflict and justify their budgets: "alleged" and "cult." The only subjects that sell more newspapers, air-time, and law enforcement surveillance and assault equipment than sex, violence, and child abuse are "alleged" sex, "alleged" violence, or "alleged" child abuse in a "cult." Throw in a pinch of "suspected brainwashing" and you have a recipe for the self-righteous arousal of a million brainstems.

In an attempt to keep one step ahead of the next potentially violent siege-worthy encounter, several agencies of the U.S. government are currently keeping careful watch (including documented cases of telephone buggings and other privacy challenging surveillance practices) on several hundred organizations. These include extended families, outdoor-survival clubs, food storage suppliers, and not just "extremist" religious gatherings, but many sports, literary, religious, and political organizations with which many millions of us regularly associate in the daily, weekly, or monthly courses of our lives.

In every age both the firm traditionalists and the innovative nonconformists teach, preach, and gather. As they do so, the orthodox majority always becomes indignant or afraid, and the so-called cultists are invariably excommunicated, incarcerated, or killed. It has happened thousands of times, and it will continue to happen, to artists, church members, microscope users, telescope users, and so-called witches.

These human behaviors—both the gathering of the "odd fellows" and the indignant reaction of the mainstream—are now understandable and predictable and therefore should no longer lead to gearing up for battle.

The "group pride," "cult alert," "we-are-right-they-are-wrong" mentality—on both sides of the conflict—leads to the killing of unconvicted (i.e., innocent) group members, innocent children, and law enforcement officers who are increasingly called upon to dress up in battle gear and make peacetime assaults on the homes of their countrymen.

And even when people do not die, the government agencies are seen as fatuous provocateurs—G.I. Joes needing excuses to show off their sieging skills, weapons and uniforms.

Before another police officer and another child dies we must better understand so-called cult behavior and reevaluate public policy for this archetype scenario.

In the common but contrived law enforcement and media connotation, the term "cult" is used as an arousing or stimulating word by holders of the majority philosophy—or the party in power—to sensationally describe what they consider an "unorthodox" or "deviant" minority.

This nomenclature has found itself into esoteric definitions promulgated by some "anti-cult cults" who describe their own denominations

and interpretations as "orthodox" and selected others as "deviant," "extremist," or "apostate" and therefore "cults."

Here are two dictionary definitions:

> cult . . . 1: formal religious veneration : WORSHIP 2: a system of religious beliefs and ritual; also : its body of adherents 3: a religion regarded as unorthodox or spurious; also : its body of adherents 4: a system for the cure of disease based on dogma set forth by its promulgator 5a: great devotion to a person, idea, or thing; esp : such devotion regarded as a literary or intellectual fad b: a usu. small circle of persons united by devotion or allegiance to an artistic or intellectual movement or figure—cultic . . . adj . . . cultism . . . n.[1]

> cult n. System of religious worship; devotion, homage, to person or thing; fad, passing fancy, for some particular thing. cultic adj.[2]

Thus for most clinical, ecumenical, and public administration purposes, "cult" and "cultism" are terms for categories into which all of us fit, not just at one time or another, but all the time in one context or another.

What should matter in daily intercommunication is not what words mean (according to the dictionary) but what people mean. Professional journalists and government spokespersons should refrain from using terminology which, in its colloquial understanding, degrades a particular group. In America today the word "cult" is most frequently used to draw lines of conflict and, albeit subconsciously or unintentionally, to perpetuate bigotry. Today, as in all of history, the frequent result of this fundamental form of bigotry is violence.

By proper and non-discriminatory definition Christianity is a cult. Buddhism is a cult. Catholicism is a cult. Behaviorism is a cult. There is an unofficial but well-respected law-and-order cult. The American Medical Association and the American Psychological Association are, by one definition, "cults." If you have a favorite television series that you watch with any degree of passion or regularity, then you also belong to that cult.

It was largely for this very purpose of protecting minority philosophies that America was founded, not just as a democracy, but as a "Democratic Republic"—a democracy kept in check by written law. America has a "Bill of Rights" and a legacy, albeit imperfect, of statutory and judicial protection for the harmless eccentrics—the benign cultists: "A way of life that is odd or even erratic but interferes with no rights or interests of others is not to be condemned because it is different" (Final judgement,

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1. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G.& C. Merriam Co., 1977), sv. "cult."

2. *Oxford Illustrated Dictionary* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon/Dorset Press, 1985), sv. "cult."

U.S. Supreme Court, *Wisconsin v. Yoder* 1972). By any fair-minded operational definition, being a cultist in a cult cannot of itself be considered a threat to the stability of society.

For the purposes of this essay I shall differentiate between the everyday benign "cult" (and its "cultism") on one hand and the "pathological cult" (or "pathological cultism") on the other.

Let's say there are two groups who are storing guns, storing food, and seem to have a "radical" political or religious agenda. Which group is probably harmless and which may become a threat to the stability of a peaceful society?

At this point it is important to acknowledge the difficulty in placing a given group clearly and cleanly into one of two categories. Just as all of us at any given time are somewhere between totally healthy and totally sick (mentally, emotionally, and physically), a given social group falls (and can move up or down) on a gradient of organizational pathology.

But the following six-point lists are the start of a professional protocol for social scientists, political leaders, judicial officers, and law enforcement agencies to save expenses and prevent siege/violence-related disasters by better predicting the danger of a given group and later by honestly describing that danger to the public while defending its operations.

The six points in each of these lists include categories commonly associated with groups which are frequently labeled "cults." I shall first describe how these typical cult characteristics manifest themselves in sane, non-threatening organizations.

Characteristics of the Benign, Probably Harmless, Patriotic, Religious, or Survival/Preparedness Cult

1. The harmless preparedness cult (for example) may have a mandated centralized leadership or a charismatic one-man leadership which:

a. makes no claims to unwavering divine guidance; or
b. makes no claims to personal infallibility; or
c. makes no claims to irrevocable decision-making power concerning the internal political workings of the group; or
d. poses no "clear and present" threat to intra-community respect or the life or health of persons in or out of the group.

Rather, this leadership—as with leadership in any healthy, freedom-preserving organization—will be intelligent, cool-headed, and humble and can be counted on for mercy and forgiveness. It will demonstrate tolerance for a broad spectrum of alternative ideas and interpretations.

2. The harmless preparedness cult might keep and practice with firearms including so-called "assault" weapons and high tech security and military equipment.

Many healthy, "well-balanced" people believe that keeping and bearing arms and plenty of ammunition, including so-called "assault" weapons and survival supplies, is not just the constitutional right of every citizen, it is a factor in the prevention (as well as commission) of both criminal and (especially) political tyranny; they believe, logically, that this is a factor in preventing our governments from becoming pathological cults.

3. Wise preparedness and safety-conscious groups store basic supplies including warm clothing, food, and water to last several months, perhaps even a year or more, for all members of the group and for philanthropic and barter purposes.

4. The harmless preparedness cult may have what is construed to be "a way of life that seems odd, erratic or perverse" according to "traditional" or "mainstream" society but which: involves fully sober and consenting participants, poses no clear and present physical or mental harm to its members or outsiders, especially children, and respects the safety and property of others; does not prohibit or restrict the regular coming and going of members and visitations by relatives and independent, unbiased health-care professionals; and does not keep its children and members blinded to alternative ideas and lifestyles. The group's lifestyles may or may not include unusual marriage or (in rare cases) slightly unusual but healthy sexual practices for their consenting adults. No matter how strongly we believe in our mainstream, traditional, always-religious mores, we have no right to force them on others.

5. The harmless preparedness cult might have a semi-closed society for its members. They may own an unusually large home or enclosed tract of homes. They might raise much of their own food or provide on-site "parochial" or "home-schooling" for their children. They may conduct little commerce with the rest of society.

But the non-threatening, mentally and socially healthy religion or quasi-political organization is confident in the long-term value and appeal of its philosophy in the universal marketplace of ideas and thus has nothing to fear by giving its children (and other members of the group) full access to alternative interpretations, arts, and lifestyles. This is a key factor in identifying a healthy organization of any kind. They are happy to let their children spend generous periods of time in the homes and communities of relatives and friends outside the group and, for example, would willingly turn them loose in non-censored public, private, and university libraries and bookstores with encouragement to peruse, read, and borrow any book they find.

They do not totally forbid access to styles of music, film, and other mediums which preserve and share the rich variety of ideas and cultures on our planet or which depict truth about healthy sexual and social behavior. This openmindedness fosters mental health, cultural interaction, and understanding and promotes peace by preventing bigoted thinking.

6. The harmless organization will have an absence of paranoid secrecy. I do not use the term "paranoid" in its clinical sense, but in a rather common (but potentially pathological) sense of extreme self-conscious fears especially over such matters as loss of authority or control over others. The socially healthy group and the mentally healthy and peace-respecting group leadership does not serve for or feed upon continual and increasing influence and power over others. They do not keep secret (or "confidential"), inaccessible files on their members and other persons, and they do not repeatedly and secretly probe into private, bedroom matters.

The group or "cult" which observes any or even all of the above practices does not, with any or all of these reasons, pose a threat to a stable society. These are the practices of many individuals and organizations who simply might, for example, have stronger initiative and beliefs concerning "being prepared." Many highly qualified, well-respected scientists and several religions totalling memberships of literally a billion people teach the coming, sooner or later, of "the end" of civilization as we know it. And a solid, peace-loving, society-contributing portion of these memberships can be counted on from time to time to exercise an active "faith" in those teachings to the point of preparing themselves concerning what they sincerely and sanely believe history, a legacy of calculated prophecy, canonized scripture, and/or geophysical data is warning them.

Governmental legislation or enforcement which attempts to discourage or punish people for doing any of the above six things not only contradicts universal natural law (the inalienable civil rights) but is considered by many to be "kicking against the pricks," ignoring the laws of science, the lessons of history, or "fighting against God," not just by a few extremist groups, but by many millions of otherwise law-abiding, stability-promoting citizens.

In addition to the millions of religion-based survivalists and so-called "extremists" are tens of thousands of persons with other consistent philosophies of history and current affairs who are reading "the signs of the times" from a strictly secular and scientific point of view. These people may cite Nostradamus, the daily newspapers, or a dozen widely read scientific and political journals to make a solid case for the decline of civilization or forthcoming natural disaster. Recent political, weather, and tectonic plate studies may convince some intelligent persons that it is

very wise to maintain long term supplies of rotatable foods, medications, warm clothing, blankets, and some equipment and training for self defense.

To pass draconian laws against such preparations and against certain types of weapons is blatantly counterproductive, arguably unconstitutional, and, in its own way, fanatic and thus "pathologically cultish." It alerts and activates millions more otherwise passive "believers" to the point of justifiably construing that its heretofore sane government is becoming an increasingly unstable or uncontrollable power.

The greater wisdom of non-violent response notwithstanding, *millions of people* believe that when a government spies on its constitution-abiding citizens and increasingly arms itself against even the sane and peace-loving population, then that population has every right to be alarmed and take defensive measures. They believe that to do otherwise is to ignore the lessons of history and human nature.

Many Americans have a strong atavistic memory of having built their country on the blood of immigrant and patriotic forefathers who left the religion-squelching monarchies or dictatorships of their homelands, fought and died for their rights and freedoms against tyrannical governments, then fought and died again for the cause of freedom in two world wars, and stood firm under the threat of thermonuclear war against strong regimes that openly threatened to replace the American Republic with the tyranny of rights-threatening, police–state government. Granted that all of the above can be academically interpreted in vastly different ways, but this, as stated, is the clear understanding—the fabric, or "heartbeat"—of American free agency and patriotism.

Therefore, laws against survival storage, group and personal arms, together with increased budgets for stronger, better-equipped, faster-responding FBI, a department of ATF, local S.W.A.T. teams, and so on are not only not part of a viable solution, they are part of the problem. Such government trends tend to constrict, threaten, and punish not the criminals of America, but its strongest patriots.

What then is the difference between the non-threatening, sane survivalist cult and the potentially dangerous pathological cult? Or, for that matter, between the armed religious cult and the armed government cult? And what steps can public policy–makers take to ameliorate the arms race between the government and its own people?

In clinical and medical work we use the term "pathology" (or "pathological") to describe sickness—that "path" away from nominal health to malignant disease.

Behavioral scientists also examine the group- or social-health of a community or society. I have coined the terms "pathological cult" and "pathological cultism" to differentiate between the generally non-threat-

ening survivalist with his family and friends on one hand and, on the other, the probably dangerous fanatic group who is typically lead by a strong, charismatic, but somewhat mentally unstable leader or small group of leaders.

We say, for example, that many generally healthy people tell lies, but that a "pathological liar" is a person who is both mentally and socially unhealthy and is potentially hurtful to self and others. Likewise in studying group behavior, we note that organizations often have secrets: sacred rituals or matters of group privacy. In the healthy group, such matters are accessible, understood, and appreciated. But the pathological cult will have unhealthy secrets and covert acts that cannot be reviewed or checked. They typically keep secret files (usually termed "confidential files" in the typical double-speak of an increasingly pathological institution) about their members—files which the members themselves may not see or correct.

Here is a more complete checklist to help identify an extremist religious, political, or survival group which is likely to pose a threat to a stable, freedom–respecting society.

Characteristics of the Pathological Cult

1. The pathological cult has a mandated, centralized leadership or a charismatic one-man leadership which:

a. claims to have unwavering divine guidance; or
b. claims to have personal infallibility; or
c. claims irrevocable, unappealable decision-making power concerning the intra-political workings of the group; or
d. shows clear and present threat to the life or health of persons in or out of the group—not to mention exclusive sub-groups and/or threats of discontinued fellowship for those who do not acquiesce to the gradually more restrictive mandates from the group leadership.

This leadership may be intelligent in several areas but will be either ill-tempered or un-merciful or both. It is invariably obsessed with self-importance and is typified by gradually increasing narrowmindedness and intolerance for alternative interpretations of policy or doctrine.

2. The pathological group may or may not have large or small amounts of firearms, ammunition, and other defensive or so-called "assault" equipment.

Using intelligent, coordinated non-violent action is better than using weapons, but despite the frequently mentioned discomforts and dangers of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, it remains necessary so that the mili-

tia of the people may reform in case of any of a variety of potential disasters where a stable government and its sane enforcement vehicles may become destroyed, inaccessible, or deteriorate into something of a tyrannical (i.e., socially pathological) police state, which is by definition the situation when the arms and powers of government exceed the arms and powers of the people.

3. They may or may not store food and other supplies. The pathological group might even take a self-righteous stand against serious storage of food and other supplies, or it may wait until stable government protection becomes inaccessible or deteriorates and then becomes one of the inevitable mobs roaming the streets to take what it claims to need for supplies and power.

(Last-minute, panic-based hording is not itself pathological but is unwise and unfair; it is an inevitable result of a certain artificial "group security"—that of assuming that our club, community, or government agencies can wisely handle any problem that may come up. Panic results when the illusion is broken; when it becomes apparent that the government or church cannot actually or fairly take care of basic needs.)

4. The pathological cult may have a lifestyle that is not only odd, erratic, or perverse but

a. involves mentally unstable or partially non-consenting participants; and/or
b. destroys personal property and threatens the health of innocent persons; and/or
c. involves demonstrable "probable cause" (it will be clinically and legally provable as causing clear and present physical or mental harm to any of the participants, especially the children); and/or
d. prohibits the regular coming and going of members and visitation with and by relatives and independent, unbiased health-care professionals; and/or
e. keeps children blinded to alternative ideas and lifestyles.

5. The pathological cult will probably have an excessively closed society for members. It is not identifiable by the size, shape, or security of its compound (it can be one small farmhouse or the largest church or hegemony in the world) and certainly not by their refusal to participate in the public or traditional school system. But there are clear symptoms.

The mentally and socially pathological (and potentially dangerous) religion or quasi-political society is not confident in the long-term appeal of its philosophy if comparable with other ideas or interpretations. This is a key factor in identifying a more or less pathological organization. It tries to control the minds of its children and members by limiting their

access to alternative ideas, images, interpretations, and lifestyles:

a. they severely limit, restrict, and control visitations to the homes and communities of relatives and friends outside the group and its compound; or
b. they prohibit their children from having considerable free time in a non-censored public, private, or university library, or full-spectrum bookstore and typically have a very limited scope of permissible literature; or
c. they take care to restrict access to the music, film, and other mediums of our time which preserve and share the rich variety of ideas and cultures on our planet and which depict truth about natural, healthy sexual and social behavior; censorship causes pathological fear and promotes narrowmindedness, racism, and other bigoted thinking which perpetuate social conflict.

Many wise, mentally healthy organizations might advise general avoidance of certain types of literature in favor of the fine arts and a broad-based study, together with what they consider scripture and doctrine-supporting literature. But when a leader or group flatly forbids any and all exposure to alternative ideas, interpretations, or specific art forms, they lack confidence in their own dogma and foster group and individual paranoia.

6. The pathological cult and especially its leadership tend to be jealous of their influence and control, usually to the point of coldly but gradually craving more influence and control, and they will take covert measures to do so.

The best example of this is the keeping of secret records about members and others. Large, long standing, increasingly pathological organizations keep inaccessible vaults holding group records, diaries, and historical materials—materials to which its citizens or members cannot have access.

Extremely pathological groups may attempt to compromise politicians or innocent persons with terrorism or bribes (direct or indirect).

As another example, a powerful leader with subtle mental problems may use his role as "worthiness interviewer" to "confidentially" discuss private sexual matters in detail with a young parishioner or member.

Again, a given group cannot be simply judged as fitting into one type of group or the other, but somewhere along a continuum. Nor will its position remain static. Any club or denomination will begin as described in the first list but will naturally tend to become more and more closed as its membership and leadership grow in size and group pride. And the

pathological organization will not have all of the characteristics in the second list. It might still have some healthy signs even while developing the seeds of bigotry, secrecy, pride, or violence.

From a historical and sociological perspective, in most of the highly-publicized instances where combined law enforcement agencies have laid siege to the properties of so-called "extremist organizations," especially in those instances where persons have been killed, it is not correct to describe the incident in terms of the stable society and its government versus a "cult." This social phenomenon can be more accurately described as one pride-driven pathological cult versus another pride-driven pathological cult. Too many innocent children and obedient law enforcement personnel have been killed because of the unspoken, narrow-minded assumption—on both sides of the battle line—that "our club is better than yours."

Public policies designed to identify the next potentially dangerous "cult" by defining and restricting different types of weapons, alternative literature, erotic art, or food storage are not only ineffective, they are counter-productive; they are feeding the flames of cult versus cult. Social policy makers need to be more intelligent, more wise, more forgiving, more merciful, and more tolerant (or in other words, less pathological) than other cult leaders.

Law Enforcement and Group Policy to Prevent Cult Siege Disaster

So far we have only discussed group behavior from a philosophical, social science perspective. For the benefit of persons in survival and philosophical organizations—as well as for public administrators—here are some more practical guidelines:

A. *Avoid telling lies and stretched truths.* Never lie to yourself, to (other) public officials, to members of your group, or to the media. Court and law officers frequently must temporarily withhold information, but outright lies and locked-away files make it difficult for us to be trusted by the honest people we represent.

   Every organization, including all associations, churches, institutions, governments, and each sub-agency therein, is by one legal definition a "cult" and can become pathological. *It is a reliable principle of organizational behavior that a given group or agency will gradually develop little pride-based inaccuracies about its value and importance.* These inaccuracies first lead to tiny cover-ups and then to out-right lies. We avoid the lies by understanding the "cult" nature of our own affiliations and by not over-inflating the importance of the organization above its original charter or the on-going authority of the party in

power above the value of the people it serves. Other words like "compound" instead of "farmhouse" or "group-home" may add unnecessarily to fervor and sensationalism.

Always give all of the genuine reasons for your policies and admit the real hierarchy of importance for each policy or doctrine.

Don't use sensational or slanderous language. Don't use words like "cult" to describe another group (unless you can also and intelligently use such terms for your own institution).

B. *Always negotiate in good faith.* This requires not only honesty and justice, but the humility, wisdom, and mercy of persons on both sides of the conflict. Don't be governed by pride or the "law-and-orderism" cult tendency to never give an inch.

C. *Re-examine both the need and the urgency for taking the stand, delivering the writ, making the arrest, or convening a disciplinary body.*

A competent, confident leader or judicial system doesn't have to be right all the time. To admit that is a sign of courage and strength, not a sign of weakness. Let's not hurt people—even their feelings—just "to show who's in charge here."

On the government's part especially, if we have a writ or warrant for a person or persons in a group home pertaining to what they allegedly have done or might do outside of their home don't be too proud to reexamine the need for it. And when it is shown to be just and necessary, there is seldom necessity to enforce it right now: wait.

Wait unobtrusively until the actual suspect leaves the compound. The assumption that they may never leave the compound (because they have enough food and water to last many months) is virtually hypothetical and is always a very weak, pride-motivated, self-righteous excuse for potentially violent action.

Unless you are prepared to prove "probable cause" (for "clear and present danger") that the suspect or suspects are in the act of actually violating the life or immediate health of a child or the life of any person, your writ or warrant can wait, perhaps indefinitely.

D. *Avoid all siege-related activity except in cases of very clear, immediately present, life-threatening danger.* In other words, do your waiting before the siege—and the siege may become unnecessary.

Armed forces personnel, S.W.A.T. teams, and related equipment were devised to prevent armed invasion from a foreign enemy, for a lunatic *in the act* of using guns to hurt people, for an escaped and armed murderer in hiding, or for genuine criminal terrorists or gangs *in the act* of snuffing out other people's lives. They are counter-productive against philosophical organizations with strange lifestyles who temporarily find themselves on the wrong side of widely challenged laws and public policies. This applies to students who are

peacefully protesting in the public square, to the charismatic group leader with many weapons, and to persons with children who may or may not be as uneducated and un-cared-for as the under-achievers in the public school system.

E. *Do not underestimate the ability or the resolve of the other organization (the other cult).*

Nowadays it is foolish, for example, for members of an armed compound (albeit the size of a family farm—or the size of Iran) to think they can win against the U.S. government. It is also foolish for leaders, members, and supporters of the obviously superior force to assume that an armed siege or other operation can be undertaken without innocent persons and members of its own attack force being killed. Pathological cults notwithstanding, most sane members of nations or cults have something they are willing to die for, perhaps even kill for. Always take this factor into consideration before you launch an armed operation. Those who live by the gun, die by the gun. *Don't send your subordinates into a conflict with weapons—unless it is for a cause for which you, yourself, are willing to die.*

F. *Just because we are right about some things—perhaps most things—does not mean we are right about all things.* This applies to all cults including the greatest, most heaven-inspired countries, kingdoms, and institutions today and throughout all history. You may, in fact, have been spoken to by The One True God or an angel therefrom. Perhaps your country, your family, or your church are in fact supported by the preponderance of scripture, prophetic utterance, or majority-supported law. But that does not mean that you yourself are not subject to error.

It is the nature and disposition of almost all individuals, leaders, parents, teachers, ministers, prophets, generals, commissioners, parliaments, quorums, councils, courts, committees, and societies to step innocently but erroneously beyond the limits of their correctness, their jurisdiction, their stewardship, and their purpose to the point where power is exploited, families and lives are damaged, and where children are abused or killed.

Let us all check and recheck ourselves: Does our having been right heretofore mean we have always done, and are about to do, the right thing? Let us ask ourselves: Are we so right and correct that families must be wretched apart, or that soldiers, innocent persons, and perhaps children must die today? Or are we proceeding mainly because of our pride? Because of our own lack of courage, character, or faith? Are we afraid that if we admit our fallibility our people will no longer believe in the righteousness of our mission?

Whether in public administration, church administration, or family

colony, let us make sure the action and policy of our organization is more tolerant, more forgiving, more merciful, and more introspective than that of our antagonists. In terms of human nature and organizational behavior, let us not pretend or assume that our organization or agency is always less "pathological" than the people and the organization on the other side of the fence or the council table. With this self-examination we will usually discover that the reported "concerns" do not justify the proposed level of conflict escalation.

There have been, and will yet be, many "causes" where persons on at least one side of the fence are willing to die and possibly take their children with them. And there are "causes" where leaders are willing to send the obedient and the faithful in to die, sometimes for righteous and life-saving purposes, but usually it happens only for the vanity of pride.

Brides of the Afternoon

Paul Swenson

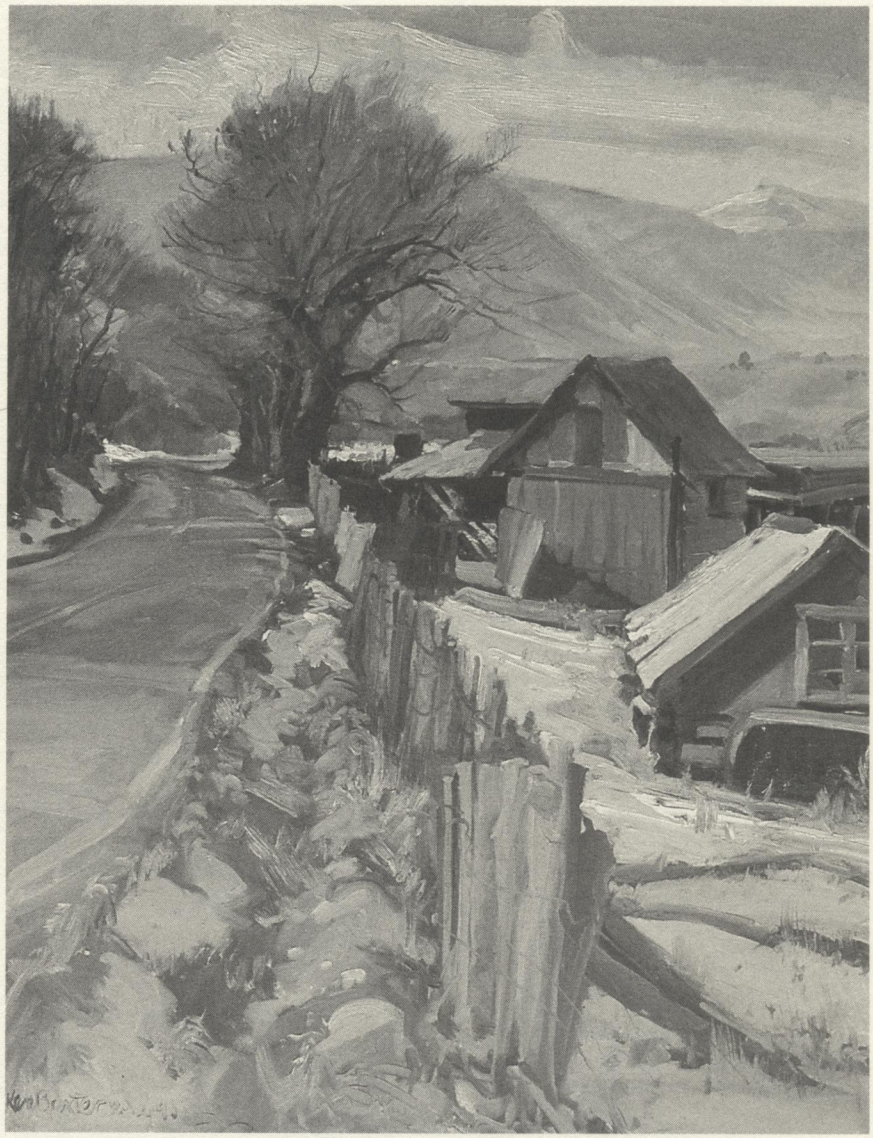
White brides, dark grooms
lustrous silks on
an orange afternoon,
scuffing through dry leaves
crackling in flower beds.
Rice-paper moon far
away over the Oquirrhs
Yards of satin spilling
out of those gray, gothic towers,
stopping rush hour traffic
at Main and North Temple.
These brides of the afternoon
trail long trains of white
held aloft by little girls
drafted for the occasion.
Were these dresses of disallowed
desire crafted by my friend
Jeanette, who smokes a cloud, but
fits these females with the emblems
of their purity? Photographers
trot along in their wake.
For heaven's sake, how can it
start like this? The grooms
see nothing of the loveliness.
They stare across the intersection
at the Don't Walk sign where
electric orange hands prevent
their progress.

The first bride's hair
is like a bonfire.
She wears puff satin
sleeves as big as oars.
What is in store for her?
Hands at her thighs gather
her gown, expose black
shoes, white stockinged ankles.
Something burns in her green eyes.
What is it rankles her? Or is it
some banked passion, out of style,
incongruous, displayed in public.
The town receives its brides
abstractedly—they're like a
filigree on commerce and cement.
As they drift by, men in orange
hardhats drill the streets,
prepare a place for Brigham, who's
been plucked from his pedestal
and placed in storage.

Black is the color
of the next bride's hair.
Her lips are creamy, wondrous.
Skin is ebony, dress is delicate.
The groom's in black
but white as stone—
carved from the canyons
of God's astonished mind.
Now the rabble are not blind to her.
They stare, aghast at contrast.
She smiles at them.
Pedestrians pile up.
The wedding party troops
across the street.

Sometimes a groom picks
up his bride and wades
against the grain
of traffic,
headed for
the fountained
photographic gardens
on the other side,
There, beneath
a phallic tower,
they'll squint into
the glowering sun,
Are they having
fun yet?

Behind the iron
gates, between the
pillars, forever
families pose.
Here on the granite
steps, before the
big bronze doors,
they pack it in.
Among the voyeurs
in the street
I watch the brides.
In blazing white
they'll soon emerge
into an orange afternoon.



FICTION

Rapture

Johnny Townsend

PATTY LOU SAT ON HER GREEN VINYL SOFA, her legs crossed, and thumbed through the daily Brookhaven newspaper. She glanced over at Robert, her thirty-year-old grandson, sitting on the brown vinyl sofa, reading the Jackson daily newspaper. It was a ritual they performed every time he came up to visit from New Orleans, three holidays and two extra visits a year. This was one of the extras, in the middle of the summer, so it was hot, with just a fan blowing, but at least no one else was around. It was peaceful and quiet, just the sound of insects buzzing outside and cows lowing on the neighbor's dairy farm.

Patty Lou read of a factory just outside of town laying off twenty workers, and she worried about her son, Henry, who'd been laid off at the railroad five years now and only had jobs he hated ever since. He didn't complain much, but she could tell he was unhappy. Of course, with that awful wife of his . . . But Patty Lou tried not to think of Lydia and her petty lies. She'd been in the family seventeen years now, and at least she'd calmed down a little since they'd adopted a boy through the church nine years ago. Now, though, they'd taken in Lydia's brother's baby after the brother and his girlfriend had both been put in jail for drugs and stealing. The boy was a terror, but Patty Lou hoped he'd be okay one day. As it was, the boy's behavior always gave her daughter, Cathy, something to complain about, and to act superior about, too. Cathy, with four children of her own, did have reasonably good children, the oldest fourteen, all on the honor roll, but they had their moments as well. Lydia certainly pointed it out whenever she could.

Patty Lou looked again over at Robert, one of her two grandchildren from her oldest daughter, Annie. Neither of them had turned out real well, the girl divorced, with a son who'd failed the seventh grade three times, and with a nursing degree she refused to use to find work, borrowing money from Patty Lou instead. She lived with a man in his house, leaving her fifteen-year-old son alone in her own house for days at a time.

And Robert. Patty Lou looked at him again. He was sweet enough,

but two years ago he'd told her he was gay, and, well, these things were just too confusing. The church said he was a sinner, but she liked him. He was the only one in the family who ever asked her about her life, always taking notes when she told him stories. He also made negatives of all the family pictures and gave copies to everyone in the family for Christmas, even giving every family an extra copy in case they had another child.

Robert turned to the last page of the newspaper, and when he looked up, Patty Lou said, "Ready to switch now?" She laughed, though she didn't know why, and she stood up to trade papers. Soon, they'd finished reading the second paper, and now it was time for their next ritual.

"Do Mormons believe in the Rapture?" she asked. For seventy-four years she'd lived as a Methodist, and only in the last four had she been a Mormon. Annie had started it, joining the church with her family over twenty years ago. Then teenage Cathy had become interested, and both Cathy and Patty Lou took the missionary lessons. But Patty Lou's husband, Webster, who was a Baptist, had come home one day with a six-pack of beer and said, "The day you join that church is the day I start drinking." So she hadn't joined, but Cathy had when she turned eighteen, and a few years later Henry and his wife had joined, too. Then, after Webster died of lung cancer from smoking, Patty Lou waited another couple of years and decided to be baptized. She'd asked Robert to do it, as he'd gone on a mission to Italy. Cathy's husband was the only other one in the family who'd been on a mission, his in Norway, but Patty Lou didn't like him enough to let him baptize her. Robert had told her she ought to ask her only son, Henry, to do it. Later, when he told her he was gay, Robert explained he couldn't baptize her because he'd just been excommunicated, but he hadn't wanted to tell her right as she was becoming converted.

She didn't know if she believed in the church or not. She just wanted to make sure they all went to the same place after they died, and with her daughter Annie dead from leukemia two years before Webster died, she knew which one she wanted to see again most. Not that Webster had been all that bad. He'd been faithful, not like that man on the neighboring farm, and he'd rarely yelled at her. But still, it was easier to be close to other women. She wondered if that was why she liked Robert. She'd hinted for him to tell her if he was the man or the woman in his relationship, but he said they were both men, so he must not have understood, and Patty Lou couldn't bring herself to ask more directly. Robert was like a woman in some ways, wanting to talk about important things rather than sports or tractor pulls, so she enjoyed his visits. She liked being with him, even when she did run out of things to say. She always ran out of things to say, but she still liked when her family visited. But if the church wasn't true, that meant she wouldn't be seeing Robert again. Joining the

church might have been useless.

"No, Grandma," said Robert. "The church doesn't believe in the Rapture."

Patty Lou sighed. He said that every time she asked. Why couldn't the church change its mind? She had, as old as she was. "I listen to the preachers on the radio," she said, "and they talk about how bad it's going to get. I'd sure like to go before it gets bad."

"It's already bad."

"But it's going to get worse. How long do you think it'll be before Jesus comes back?"

"I really don't know. Could be just a few years. But it might not be for fifty more."

"I don't know if I want to be here for it or not. It might get real bad first."

They were silent for a moment, Patty Lou thinking about growing up without water or electricity, about seeing planes and rockets and computers all develop during her life. And she knew there was going to be a big nuclear war before she died. She did wish she could die before that happened.

Her sister Nelda, two years older than she, died six months ago, of lung cancer, though she'd never smoked a day in her life. That wasn't fair of God. He could give her cancer if he had to, but why lung cancer? That wasn't right.

Nelda Sue would call Patty Lou during her treatment, whispering into the phone that their youngest sister, Lucinda, wouldn't take her to her appointments unless Nelda gave all her property to Lucinda in her will. Nelda had already promised most of it to Patty Lou to give to her grandchildren. Patty Lou and Webster had had 200 acres together, and Patty Lou had another sixty acres of her own, so she didn't really need it, but it was the idea. Lucinda was the baby of the family and always got everything she wanted. Even when Annie was lying in the hospital bleeding to death, Lucinda had asked her for her books to read. Annie could hardly talk by then but did manage to stare right at Patty Lou and say, "Don't you give her *anything* of mine." Annie had died two days later, going into convulsions from a brain hemorrhage during Patty Lou's shift at her bedside.

Lucinda had terrorized Nelda Sue for the past forty years, ever since Nelda's marriage ended after a week, and Lucinda moved back into the family house. The house had been in Nelda's name, but Lucinda acted like it was her own, raising her own family there and making Nelda Sue do most of the chores. Patty Lou knew that she was almost as meek herself as Nelda Sue was, but sometimes, sometimes, she wanted to shake Nelda and scream, "Slap her!" It was too late now, of course, and Patty

Lou wanted to slap Lucinda herself, but she could never even manage to say something mean. Patty Lou just smiled and spoke nicely as she always did. It made her mad, but what could she do? After seventy-eight years, how could she say what she wanted to say?

"You know," Robert said then, "the last days don't have to be as bad as we think they'll be."

"What do you mean?" Patty Lou wanted to hear something to believe in, so she quickly tuned back in.

"The scriptures say there'll be wars and plagues, but that doesn't mean *everywhere*. We have AIDS, but the world keeps going on. We have terrorist attacks, but life doesn't really change. The scriptures say the sea will die and all the fish, but really, couldn't the prophets just have been seeing a few oil spills? Some of those spills go on for miles, and they *are* bad, but life still goes on. It doesn't necessarily have to get much worse than it is now."

"You don't think so?"

"Well, I don't know, but it could be. There's really just a handful of prophecies that haven't fully happened yet, and only one of those, the last one, is *really* bad. So that might happen only at the very end."

"But y'all don't believe in the Rapture?"

Robert smiled and shook his head, and Patty Lou sighed.

"The preachers on the radio are always talking about Israel. You don't think they'll get us in a world war?"

Robert shrugged. "It hasn't happened yet. It might not. The preachers don't always interpret things right, do they?"

"No, that's true."

But still, wouldn't it be nice if it was all over? To be taken up in the blink of an eye. Her mother had had a stroke at eighty-seven and lingered on miserably for another year. Patty Lou's older brother, too, at eighty-five. Annie had suffered just five weeks, but they were a miserable five weeks. Webster had been sick a year, but it was really only the last month he suffered, and only the last two days of that when he had to go to the hospital. And of course, Nelda Sue had suffered quite a bit, too. Even Henry, healthy now, had had his ribs torn loose when that car broadsided him a couple of years ago. Patty Lou remembered how ribs felt—she'd had two broken when she was eight and a half months pregnant with Cathy, in that terrible accident that had knocked out two of Henry's teeth and cut up the whole family at that very same intersection thirty-five years earlier. Patty Lou didn't want to suffer any more. And she didn't want to have to watch anyone else suffer, either.

"What does Jimmy think about the church?" she asked, thinking of Robert's friend.

"He's Catholic, and he really doesn't believe in any religion. He used

to, but you know how it is for us. I'm always amazed so many gays still do believe in religion."

"Is he . . . ready to die if he has to?" She really wanted to ask if he was healthy, but she didn't know how. The two had been together for almost three years. Would they know yet if they were sick? She'd been afraid at first that Robert would give AIDS to the other grandchildren, but then she read up on it and learned that wasn't likely. But she still worried for Robert.

Robert shrugged again. "He talks about suicide sometimes."

"Really?"

"His first cousin killed himself right before Christmas. He was depressed because he was out of work, though he still had a pension. They'd grown up together and dated sisters in high school. And you know Jimmy's last lover died of an aneurysm. They'd been together eight years. And his grandmother died last year. Jimmy really loved her. I think the only reason he stays is because of his mother. She has such a jerky husband, always threatening to kick her out. Jimmy wants to make sure she's provided for, but if he dies and leaves everything to her, he thinks her husband will somehow manage to get everything and still kick her out."

Patty Lou nodded. "Well, that happens," she said. "But doesn't he worry about leaving you?"

Robert gave kind of a twisted smile. "I guess we've resigned ourselves to losing people."

Patty Lou nodded again. "Eight of my brothers and sisters are dead now. Just two of us left. And Cathy's youngest is so sickly, you never know what to expect. They had a TB outbreak at her school."

They were silent a few moments. Then Robert shifted on the sofa. "We both had blood tests a couple of months ago," he said, and Patty looked up sharply. "We're both still negative, and you know we're monogamous."

"That's good," she said. After a moment, she added, "I hope I die in my sleep."

"I hope you do, too."

Patty Lou sighed. Robert was the only one in the family she could talk to about death, and it was comforting. "What do you think about suicide?"

"A friend asked me how to do it painlessly, and I gave him the information."

"Did he do it?"

"No, he hung on as long as he could and then just died on his own." He smiled and shook his head. "That was Christmas Eve a year and a half ago. Goodness. Time flies."

Patty Lou looked at her thirty-year-old grandson. Annie had only been forty-four when she died. And Patty Lou had a great-grandson who was fifteen and already dating girls, so soon there'd be a great-great-grandchild. She loved her family but wondered why the thought of their procreating felt so empty to her. Of course, Henry's children weren't really his, though she loved them, too. And Cathy's, well, Cathy's children did give her some hope, the only ones who were really being raised in the church, though Patty Lou knew that Cathy and her husband were having problems. She suspected he was gay, too, like Robert. Robert had certainly hinted about it enough. If that marriage broke up, though, would those kids stay in the church? And Cathy? Would they be able to believe anymore? It was so hard to believe. Why did God make it so hard? It wasn't as if Patty Lou were bad and deserved it to be hard. She'd always tried to believe and do what was right. Seventy-eight years of that wasn't enough? What more did God want? What if she gave up at the age of eighty-two and was doomed to hell because of it? That just wasn't *fair*. So she kept trying to believe.

"The preachers say the Lord will be merciful to us in the last days and shorten the time," said Patty Lou. "Do you suppose that means time really is faster? That all the clocks and orbits and everything are faster, so we can't really tell, but that it's all going by quicker?"

"It could be, Grandma," Robert said slowly. "It could be."

But after a moment, Robert asked about the pace of life back in the 1920s and 1930s, and Patty told him a few more stories. She had a list she kept between his visits, so that every time she remembered a story, she could jot it down and then tell him when he came. She knew she remembered the same stories often, but she always threw in a couple of new ones. She could tell by the way Robert took his notes.

After a while, they fell silent, and when Robert went to stand on the porch, Patty Lou got together some table scraps from the kitchen and went out to the barn to feed the dogs. She'd tripped over one and sprained her wrist a few years ago, and she never had gotten full use of her hand back. So she walked carefully to the barn and back, joining Robert on the porch and looking over toward where the neighbor's land started. He had a gay son, too, who'd tried to kill himself rather than tell his parents. Just how many gays were there? Patty Lou had never even known they existed until she was almost forty. Was this a sign of the last days? There hadn't always been that many gays, had there? The neighbors weren't very pleased about their son, but their oldest boy was schizophrenic, on medication, and their youngest, only twenty-two, was already divorced. Patty Lou guessed parents couldn't be too choosy these days. Kids did used to be better, didn't they?

Patty looked at Robert, who was looking off into the garden where

the vegetables were planted. Robert was about the only one in the family who liked her cooking. Lydia's son told her that his mother threw out the jars of food that Patty Lou put up for her, but Robert always gladly accepted them. The last year or so, he'd also been bringing up desserts from her recipes, but she still liked to cook for him, too, so there were always too many desserts. But he didn't have a garden, so she always loaded him up with fresh vegetables when she could.

It wouldn't be long now. He never stayed overnight anymore since he and Jimmy had moved in together. She missed his staying for a few days at a time, but Cathy and her children came from McComb for up to a week at a time, and her great-grandson stayed for two weeks earlier this summer. She worried about him, but he did mow the lawn for her, trimmed the bushes so she could see if anyone was hiding around the house, and he painted the living room. He might turn out okay. But she still wished he'd finish high school. Even Patty Lou had had one semester of college back in 1934, until her father died unexpectedly.

Patty Lou and Robert talked about the dog and the cat on the front steps who were always so friendly and loving to each other, and soon Henry stopped over on his way home from work and fed the three horses he kept here. It gave him a chance to check up on Patty Lou, and she enjoyed seeing him without Lydia. Henry was the last one in the family Robert had told he was gay, and Henry didn't like it but accepted it, always asking about Jimmy if Jimmy didn't come, and that made Patty Lou feel good.

"Shall I warm up supper?" asked Patty Lou around 6:00.

Robert nodded, and after she asked him to say a blessing on the food, they ate in silence.

And too soon, it was time. They really had very little to say ever, but she still worried every time he left that she might never see him again, that she'd die before he could come back. And there was *something* she always felt she should tell him first, but she could never quite figure out what it was.

She loaded some food in bags for him, and he thanked her and put them in his car. She looked again at the beautiful flowers Jimmy had painted for her hanging on her walls, remembered how they'd both come up for her last birthday and planted flowers where she could see them from the porch, and she hoped Robert would be okay. Jimmy, too, of course. Was he family now? It was just too confusing.

Robert came back to the porch and gave Patty Lou a hug. She knew he had to force it on her because she never had been able to initiate a hug, but though she couldn't do it very well, she was glad he insisted.

"I love you, Grandma," he said. "I'll try to come back soon."

She waved from the porch as he drove off, watching the dust from

the gravel drift into the air. After a few moments she went back to sit on the sofa, looking through the screen until it was too dark to see any longer. And then she closed the door.

Cereal Polygamy

R. A. Christmas

One of his had just spilled
some Cheerios, and one of hers

was griping over the Grapenuts.
He was about to holler

for his new wife, when the name
of one of his exes rose up

and caught in his throat—
and he almost choked on the notion

that nothing is really ever over,
that maybe they were all going to have to live

together unhappily forever after, because God
had found this crazy way

to bend the rules. Meanwhile,
there was a small mess to attend to,

and a complainer to console,
and new life number three to get on with

in a life that just kept unraveling,
but refused to come to an end.

How Things Look from the Other Side of the Lake

R. A. Christmas

Put water between the highway and yourself;
put a fence too, and some cows to graze.

For as long as you sit on this rock,
you are not driving north or south,

to and from the ends of your life.
You are in the middle, looking across.

The lake is like a mirror on the ground,
where no road can show its face.

Behind, up over the west ridge,
there may be the ghost of a trail in the junipers.

Perhaps you can walk home that way.

The Triumph of Conservative Biblical Criticism

Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion. By Philip L. Barlow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Reviewed by Scott Kenney, editor, *Mormon History Association Newsletter*

THE GOAL OF *MORMONS AND THE BIBLE*, according to author Phil Barlow, is "to sketch, through pivotal figures, the main developing lines of LDS biblical usage." The figures discussed are important thinkers and writers, and Barlow's insights into their diverse interpretations of the Bible are fascinating. Whether, as far as most Latter-day Saints are concerned, the liberals were "pivotal," and whether their approaches to the Bible have much of a mainstream following, is, it seems to me, questionable. But there can be no question that as a work of Mormon intellectual history this is a seminal—and eminently readable—work.

Barlow begins with a brief overview of biblical usage from the Puritans, through the First Great Awakening and Revolution, to the early nineteenth century. He keeps the reader abreast of trends in Protestant and Catholic thought throughout the volume, providing fascinating comparative insights to Mormonism. For instance, whereas Joseph Smith's contemporaries applied the Bible to their lives, Joseph viewed his life as a continuation of the Bible story. Biblical figures returned to instruct, bless, and ordain him. In his life, "endings were put on stories that had their beginnings in scriptural text."

Significantly, Joseph did not write his new endings in stone. He routinely revised revelations to reflect subsequent circumstances and understandings. He made changes for the biblical text as well—posthumously published as the Inspired Version—but he believed he was correcting translation and transmission errors, not revising or amplifying the original "word of God." Like most of his contemporaries, Joseph assumed plenary inspiration for the Bible, an assumption he did not extend to the Book of Mormon or his own revelations. The Book of Mormon and "the holy scriptures" were separate. In contemporary accounts of his Nauvoo discourses Joseph cites the Book of Mormon twenty-three times and the Bible 600 times. Mormon periodicals of the 1830s cited the Bible nineteen times more frequently than the Book of Mormon. The significance of the Book of Mormon for early Mormons, Barlow concludes, lay not in its content but in the mere fact of existence. It was proof the biblical saga had been revived and was continuing in the person of Joseph Smith and the experience of latter-day Israel.

The engaging chapter comparing Brigham Young, who tended to disregard the Bible theologically, and Orson Pratt, who worked to synthesize Mormonism and traditional Bible in-

terpretation, is followed by an overview of higher criticism. This sets the stage for B. H. Roberts, Joseph Fielding Smith, and William H. Chamberlin.

Organic evolution threatened the Bible only by implication and primarily impacted only the account of creation. But higher criticism "challenged the Bible directly and entirely. ... Equally sophisticated but not so easily popularized as Darwinism, the new approach to the Bible invited a much deeper and broader redefining of the nature ... than an acceptance of evolution did of itself."

B. H. Roberts was receptive to higher criticism in principle but hostile to its most challenging implications. He allowed that the methods of biblical criticism were legitimate and made real contributions, but he never enumerated what those contributions were. On the other hand, he "lamented ... the tendency of the critics to undermine the faith of traditional believers," particularly in the divinity of Jesus Christ, miracles, and prophetic prediction of future events. With regard to higher criticism, Barlow concludes, Roberts was "profoundly ambivalent."

No one ever accused Joseph Fielding Smith of ambivalence ("Why is it that thousands of intelligent-looking human beings are willing to accept these stupid teachings? Frankly it is because Satan has deceived them and they love darkness rather than light"). He was highly regarded as a scriptorian by his colleagues and lay members. Barlow contrasts Smith's veneration of scripture with Brigham Young's statement, "I would not give the ashes of a rye straw for all [scriptural] books ... without the living oracles." Smith lacked—or rejected—a modern historical consciousness, but he "raised entirely plausible objections against the Bible's critics. Ironically, several of his contentions were more specific and substantive than those of the better equipped B. H. Roberts."

On a continuum of Mormon attitudes, Barlow places Smith on the far right, Roberts and William H. Chamberlin, "the first Mormon teacher to make extended use of modem methods of Bible study," on the left. Chamberlin believed in a personal God, prophets and revelation, and a physical resurrection. Barlow's conclusion that Chamberlin remained "well within the tradition of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young" might be challenged, but his point is that Smith, Young, and Chamberlin all "stressed the limitations of human language, the provisional nature of revelation, and the need of a living prophet."

The perspectives of James Talmage, John Widtsoe, Russell Swensen, Heber Snell, Franklin West, and Sidney Sperry are briefly discussed before Barlow launches into what is, for me, the most interesting third of the book, J. Reuben Clark's wedding of Mormonism to the King James Version and the sealing of that union in the 1979 Mormon edition of the KJV.

Nineteenth-century Mormonism accepted the Bible as the word of God "insofar as it is translated correctly," emphasizing the existence of scribal errors and intentional corruptions. But when twentieth-century scholars offered a revised translation based on careful analysis of manuscripts not available to the KJV translators, Mormons became champions of the KJV. Echoing the conspiratorial suspicions of the McCarthy committee on Un-American Activities (which formally

charged Revised Standard Version members of introducing Communist influences into the Bible), J. Reuben Clark wondered "if there be not behind this movement ... a deliberate ... intent to destroy the Christian faith." He objected to the substitution of "signs" and "wonders" for "miracles," and "epileptic" for "lunatic." Where differences were observed, Joseph's Inspired Version more closely followed the KJV than the RSV. And since God's revelation to Joseph was verbal, not merely conceptual, the Inspired Version, and hence the KJV, is clearly superior. Though there were leaders like David O. McKay, who seemed to favor revisionist principles, no one spoke more forcefully or authoritatively in the 1950s than Clark, and succeeding generations of Mormon scholastics followed his lead.

Barlow presents a convincing case that with Clark Mormonism veered dramatically to the right. That vector continued through Joseph Fielding Smith and his son-in-law Bruce R. McConkie. Barlow points out that on doctrinal and scriptural matters McConkie is the most frequently cited Mormon leader of the twentieth century. His published works total nearly 7,000 pages, and he modestly observed, "It just may be that I have preached more sermons, taught more doctrine, and written more words about the Lord Jesus Christ than any man now living."

McConkie's anti-intellectual bias pervades the 1979 official LDS edition of the King James Version of the Bible, which was compiled by his long-time associate Robert J. Matthews. That influence can be seen in the 813-page harmonizing appendix. The "dictionary" is adapted from the Cambridge Bible Dictionary with emendations such as, "Latter-day revelation teaches that there was no death on this earth for any forms of life before the fall of Adam" ("Death") and the omission of "The book [of Job] should not be regarded as literal history" ("Job"). McConkie wrote the interpretive chapter summaries, including, "Man is justified by faith, righteous works, and grace"—which, Barlow points out, may be doctrinally correct but is hardly the point of Romans 4.

To contrast Bruce R. McConkie, Barlow selected Lowell L. Bennion, the founding director of the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah. Bennion has published thirty books and a hundred essays on philosophy, ethics, sociology, politics, and religion. Considering his forty years of teaching and his publications, "it is doubtful that more than a handful of modern figures have wielded greater enduring influence on major sectors of Mormondom."

Bennion's concern for moral behavior, emphasizing people over doctrine, is well known. "Theology is abstract and intellectual, an organized statement of beliefs, of definitions about God and his relationship to man. Religion is living, actual worship of and service to God," he wrote. Scripture is "the most authentic record we have of religion," but it is a record written by human beings.

Barlow concludes that the tensions in modern Mormon biblical usage were inherent in Joseph Smith, who "in some ways ... 'out-Bibled' the traditional biblicists who surrounded him," but also put "substantial, singular, and progressive" limitations on biblical authority. In the twentieth century "Mormons remained essentially unfazed by historical biblical criticism," and their leaders became increasingly conserva-

tive.

If anything, it seems to me that Barlow understates the conservative victory. The number of Latter-day Saints affected by higher criticism is surely insignificant, and liberal voices among leaders have utterly vanished. I must, therefore, quibble with Barlow's objective, "to sketch, through pivotal figures, the main developing lines of LDS biblical usage." Only the McConkie school of biblical usage persists in the LDS church. There are no other "developing lines" in the institution. Brigham Young, B. H. Roberts, William Chamberlin, David O. McKay, and Lowell Bennion are really not "pivotal figures," they are foils, a backdrop for the triumph of conservative Mormonism.

Barlow points out that in 1980 the church adopted the Uniform Translation for use in Germany—a translation that incorporates modern biblical scholarship in the vernacular. And as modern versions gain the ascendancy throughout the world, Mormonism may be forced to accept modern English versions as well. Then, Barlow asks, "will not the language of their Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, patterned after the KJV, appear increasingly anachronistic? Will any modern prophet feel called to adapt the work of Joseph to the needs of an English-speaking populace in the twenty-first century, or is Smith's English, like Mohammad's Arabic, permanently sacrosanct?" An interesting question, given the heavy Mormon emphasis on missionary success. But my money is on anachronism and continued devotion to verbal revelation for the prophet—at least through the next generation.

A final word. Of the reviews of Barlow's book I have seen, five raved about *Mormons and the Bible*: "Lucid and erudite" (*The Journal of American History*); "one of the most interesting books I have read on Mormonism in recent years" (*American Historical Review*); "achieves remarkable results, . . . establishing a norm for others in researching the scriptural practices of other religious bodies" (*Modern Theology*); "among the five or six most significant works [on Mormonism] . . . to appear over the course of the past twenty years" (*Journal of the West*); "profound in its insights, scholarly to the core . . . effortlessly readable" (*Sunstone*).

I note two exceptions to the high marks, both from ultra-conservative journals. According to the *Southwestern Journal of Theology,* the book "gives the Mormon church a sense of legitimacy and credibility it does not deserve. It is written with a pro-Mormon bias and is anything but objective." Interestingly, *Brigham Young University Studies* faults the book for its non-Mormon bias: "Because [Barlow], with his chosen tools, cannot or does not access continuing revelation, prophets and an active Holy Spirit . . . he seeks to find Mormon interpretive principles in places different from where Mormon leaders have always claimed them to be found. . . . It was the prophet of God, in this case Harold B. Lee, who made the decision to use the King James text . . . Since Latter-day Saints believe the prophet to be inspired, they need not question that institutional decision."

Mormons and the Bible has all the markings of a Mormon classic.

Can You Change?

Born That Way? A True Story of Overcoming Same-Sex Attraction with Insights for Friends, Families, and Leaders. By Erin Eldridge (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994).

Reviewed by Marybeth Raynes, clinical social worker and marriage and family therapist in private practice, Salt Lake City; co-editor, *Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-Sex Orientation.*

Born That Way? asks a question about the origins of homosexuality, readily answers it in the affirmative, then turns to the author's, and the church's, real thesis: You can change your same-sex attraction and "lifestyle," whatever the origin.

The text begins with Ms. Eldridge's personal story, moves to chapters considering the stages of the change process through use of gospel principles and standard psychotherapeutic techniques, then concludes with a chapter addressed to friends, families, and leaders. Appendices of personal stories, books, and organizations focusing on the change process are provided. Although the subtitle implies the book is geared towards friends, families, and leaders, this is considered in only one chapter; the main focus in the book is on people who themselves experience homosexual interest.

Overall, the book written in the standard church book format of thesis-affirming stories with quotes from scriptures and general authorities boldly contrasted with negations of ideas and practices not church approved. Within this scope, the book is well written. The author and her co-writers or co-editors (not specified, but alluded to on p. 128) have written a careful story of a woman who was aware of her attraction to women from an early age, who was sexually abused as a child, who became involved in alcohol and drugs as she battled the split between her "true self" and her "natural self," and who finally chose a years-long process of learning to lean on Christ and follow church commandments culminating in an attraction to the opposite sex and temple marriage. For those Mormons who wish to embark on a process to change gender orientation, this book provides more techniques and strategies while being less judgmental than many others on the same topic.

Some of the ideas in the book exhibit a compassionate step forward in the Mormon perspective on the complex issues surrounding homosexuality. Same-sex attraction may easily be caused by biological factors, abuse, early learning, or a combination of factors. Indeed, "it is no longer believed that families *cause* same-sex attraction. The cause is most likely a complicated combination of factors that are still only partially understood" (141). Any change is a long, arduous process that is often accompanied by depression, behavioral setbacks, suicidal feelings and attempts.

Fear of judgment from other church members as well as abuse or insensitive treatment at the hands of church leaders occur at times. Friends, families, and leaders are encouraged to be compassionate and non-judgmental, and the crushing pain of the spouse of a gay person is acknowledged. Additionally, this book has many good suggestions for any number of changes a Mormon might want to make in his or her life. The chapter on repentance is well done, providing a good balance between strict obedience and compassion for self in the forgiveness process.

When the whole issue of homosexuality is broadened, however, Ms. Eldridge's focus is too narrow. Indeed, the author states, "This book cannot change minds and does not attempt to. This book is for those who believe, somewhere deep within, that homosexual behavior is sin and should be overcome" (back cover). How then should this book be viewed if other factors are considered? What if one is happy with his or her gender orientation? What if one experiences a continuity of the Spirit despite ongoing, persistent same-sex feelings and actions? What if a person has persistently made whole-hearted efforts to change, even for decades, and has not succeeded? Maybe this book is just not for them, and should be disregarded.

It should not be ignored, however, for at least two sets of people—those who either are or know of someone who is Mormon and homosexual, and those who are interested in the whole area of Mormonism and sexuality. Because the church has its unofficial imprimatur on this book, having been published and heavily advertised by Deseret Book, the contents can easily be read not only as the church's current statement on homosexuality, but also as the church hierarchy's current attitudes about sexuality in general.

Given these broader concerns, there are some important limitations to this book. First, the author adopts a number of sealed premises—premises which are completely true regardless of any other evidence—thereby disqualifying the reader from dissent. A sample: The "natural self" is inclined to sin, and only repentance and living the commandments develop the "true self." No matter what etiological evidence emerges, homosexuality is wrong because God has revealed it. Any continuing forbidden sexual thoughts or platonic relationships with others sympathetic to homosexuality (defined as emotional dependency, pp. 98-99) are sinful and idolatrous. It is impossible to have homosexual thoughts, feelings, or actions and have a relationship with Christ. All scriptural interpretations that do not condemn homosexuality are wrong, i.e., "People can present convincing arguments contrary to mine, but they are cleverly mixing philosophy and scripture. But it comes down to eternal truths" (51).

Second, Ms. Eldridge's long battle with abuse recovery, drugs, alcohol, and depression are integrated into her change from same-sex attraction. In her view homosexuality is clearly classified as an addiction. An author who focused only on the same-sex issue would have been better able to accomplish the church's mission in publishing a book designed to denounce homosexuality and encourage church members to change.

Third, the author uses the words "gay" and "gay lifestyle" in ways

which promote stereotyping, not understanding. For example, she maintains that people have homosexual urges or actions, but no one can have the identity of being "gay" or "homosexual." Also, she frequently alludes to the homosexual "lifestyle," by implication unidimensional and sexually promiscuous, ignoring the broader truth that homosexuals have as varied lives and sexual patterns as heterosexual people.

Fourth, although she states that the book is only for people who want to change, Ms. Eldridge clearly asserts that homosexuality or any attendant behavior is sin and that change is always possible. Therefore, one could not read this book and come away feeling that a choice to remain homosexual is a legitimate option. Indeed, there are numerous people who have also made years-, even decades-, long whole-hearted efforts to change their gender orientation without ever encountering substantial change. I am assuming that they are as honest as the author of this book. So if change does not occur, what then? The failure seems to rest on the person's shoulders with no other recourse offered, and with implied blame for not seeking Christ and the commandments first, even if a person has and does.

Heterosexuality and homosexuality are not either/or phenomena, but rather form a continuum. This is illustrated by the Kinsey scale, which ranges from 0 (totally heterosexual thoughts, feelings, behavior) to 6 (totally homosexual thoughts, feelings, behavior). Research since the 1970s documents that those who are most likely to change are those who have preferences for both genders, therefore appearing in the middle of the continuum (3 or 4). A closer look at what factors are in favor of change and if those changes are durable over time is crucial, but a good analysis is too lengthy for this review. Briefly, there is consistently a minority of people who are a 6 on the Kinsey scale and who report a change of gender orientation at the end of a structured, long-term therapy program. These range from a little less than 50 percent downward. However, these figures deteriorate markedly over time. In five–year follow-up studies only 12 percent report durable change, and the numbers continue to decline to around 5 percent for longer than five years. The church has had a program to help people re-orient for several years; unfortunately they have never released outcome statistics. In light of the statistics available, Ms. Eldridge is to be believed in her personal account. But there is an enormous difference between a 5-12 percent likelihood of success and the almost 100 percent chance of success that she promises. Although the author quotes biological and social science research about causation of homosexuality, nowhere does she quote any research outcomes about change of orientation.

This leaves a certain percentage of active, believing people within the church in their isolated, painful, frustrating position. Bishops as well as lay readers will, from this book and other materials from the church such as a pamphlet titled *Counseling Persons with Homosexual Problems*, released to church authorities in 1992, believe that change is always possible. Therefore, all responsibility for lack of change rests on the unfaithfulness of the person with the same-sex attraction.

For those 88-95 percent of exclusively homosexual Mormons who probably will not change gender ori-

entation even with significant effort, I see nowhere in the church whereby an acceptable integration of the sexual and spiritual sides of themselves can occur. All the options are excruciatingly difficult and result in choosing one side or the other. Given this Hobson's choice of no good alternatives, I hope that not too many will receive false hopes in the pages of this book.

Unanswered Questions

The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism. By Grant Underwood (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry, instructor of history, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

JOSEPH SMITH LOOKED FORWARD TO a millennium when, according to the 11th Article of Faith, "Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon this the American continent and Christ will reign personally." But Smith was not the only nineteenth-century American anticipating the Second Coming. How did his beliefs compare with others? Grant Underwood asks this question. First, he examines eschatological thought through the Bible to the early nineteenth century. With this background, he places early Mormon beliefs in context. As the dust jacket boasts, it is the "first comprehensive linkage of the history of early Mormonism and millennial thought."

Underwood then explores how Mormon millenarians used the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and Smith's revelations. He uses church periodicals, personal journals, and other nineteenth-century Mormon writings to show how early Latter-day Saints used the scriptures to support their millennial views. Underwood shows how the early Saints focused on the Bible. When they used the Book of Mormon, they directed their study to the restoration of Israel. This allowed them to expand the definition of Israel to include themselves.

After describing Mormon millennial thought, Underwood compares it with other groups. He argues Mormons were moderates and not the economically deprived usually associated with those looking for a better life. He contrasts the Mormons and the Millerites. By not setting a date for the Second Coming as did William Miller, Joseph Smith did not set himself up for failure. Underwood also presents interesting contemporary reactions of the Mormons and Millerites to each other. Underwood then explains the religious conditions in England during the 1830s and 1840s and how Mormon thought, especially views of the Millennium, attracted spiritual seekers. In a short epilogue, the author then explains that while Mormons still expect a thousand years of peace, church leaders have not focused on it such 1920. "Though Latter-day Saints still talk about the end times, for many Mormons these doctrines have a detached and textbookish quality" (141).

Underwood provides an overview of Mormon millennialism. An underlying theme is that Mormons

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Underwood provides an overview of Mormon millennialism. An underlying theme is that Mormons

were not as radically different from other groups during the nineteenth century. Other historians present stronger cases for the opposite argument, pointing out that one of the reasons Mormons felt so much persuasion from their neighbors was because their only true church concept differed with American pluralism.

Most of Underwood's research is based on early Mormon publications. He uses very few other primary sources. Underwood published many of the ideas as articles; many of the chapters present the same material and have almost exactly the same titles as the articles.

The book does not provide all the answers that it could. All of the material covers from 1830 to 1846 when Joseph Smith headed the church and the short time following his death. But other than on the dust jacket, the author never describes his time frame. He also does not have a clear chronology of Mormon history. While other histories include the church's experiences in Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo, a reader without that background would be lost.

Throughout the book, Underwood drops interesting ideas but does not develop them. For example, he suggests, "It cannot merely be assumed that what a modern reader understands by a given passage in the Book of Mormon is what a Latter-day Saint in the 1830s would have understood by the same passage. To recognize the reality of such interpretive differences one has only to look at the contrasting uses made of the same Book of Mormon by the RLDS and the LDS church" (76-77). Period. The reader unacquainted with the Mormon past is left wondering what the RLDS church is and how it differs from the LDS church. The LDS reader who knows about the Mormon church but nothing about the RLDS church questions how Reorganized members view the Book of Mormon—and as a student of the history of both churches, I am not sure what he is referring to.

On the same page, Underwood carefully shows how "a search of early Church literature" reveals the ways leaders used the Book of Mormon. On page 78 he has two tables of the most common citations and principal themes used. Neither the text nor the notes bother to name the sources. I could point to other examples where Underwood does not present his sources and develop his ideas. Readers will leave the book knowing something about *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* but with many unanswered questions.

Listening to Each Other

Religion, Feminism, and Freedom of Conscience: A Mormon/Humanist Dialogue. Edited by George D. Smith (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, and Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).

Reviewed by Florien J. Wineriter, a certified Humanist Pastoral Counselor and president of Humanists of Utah, a local chapter of the American Humanist Association.

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> *Mormonism*: We believe men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgression.
> *Humanism*: We believe people must take personal responsibility for their individual behavior.

The editor has carefully selected several outstanding papers presented at the three-day Mormon/Humanist Dialogue in Salt Lake City in September 1993. The presenters represent clear, thoughtful, and challenging thinkers from both organizations, including some former Mormons who are now leaders of the Humanist movement. One gets the impression that Mormons and Humanists have many areas of agreement concerning human responsibility for making this life not only tolerable but meaningful, for being concerned about the welfare of the under-privileged and the unfortunate members of society, and for developing a global concept of the human condition. Deliberating the messages of the various authors, one might see Humanism as Mormonism minus its theology!

Paul Kurtz, emeritus professor of philosophy at State University of New York at Buffalo and chair of the Council for Democratic and Secular Humanism (CODESH), opens the seminar by writing, "This dialogue is historic, for as far as we are aware it is the first formal exchange of ideas by Mormons and Humanists. In a pluralistic society, such as America, it is important that people from diverse religious and nonreligious traditions engage in debate to define differences and more meaningfully to discover common ground" (xvii).

The book is divided into three sections for ease in comparing the two philosophies. Part I, "Freedom of Conscience," can be summarized by L. Jackson Newell, a professor at the University of Utah, who writes, "I owe a personal and intellectual debt to both Mormonism and Humanism . . . because I have seen them through both of these lenses." Newell concludes his presentation, "There is no greater hope for humanity, nor any greater threat to tyranny and injustice, than a free and responsible conscience, coupled with the courage and the will to act" (39).

Part II, "Academic Freedom," discusses one of the secular areas where Mormonism and Humanism struggle for accommodation. Frederick S. Buchanan, also a professor at the University of Utah, writes, "I believe that Mormonism officially endorses untrammeled scholarship while unfortunately promoting an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust" (84). Vern L. Bullough, professor emeritus at State University of New York at Buffalo, writes, "Humanists base their belief system on a rational process of arriving at objective truth, namely the scientific method of testing and verifying the empirical world" (63). The long struggle at Brigham Young University to balance religion and scholarship has no chance of success, according to Gary James Bergera whose essay is heavily documented with footnotes. The authors of the Academic Freedom section deal extensively with the moral and ethical requirements imposed at BYU on students, faculty, and curricula, requirements that question whether BYU should be designated a seminary rather than a university.

Part III, "Feminism," is critical of both Mormonism and Humanism for failing to recognize the contributions women have made to religion, secu-

larism, politics, and world culture in general. Bonnie Bullough, professor emeritus of nursing, State University of New York at Buffalo, summarizes the problem: "Humanist men like to be taken care of by devoted wives, just like Mormon men; they continue to focus on great rational philosophers of the past, when paternalism reigned supreme" (121).

My favorite section of the book is the epilogue, an essay written by Waiter Lippman in 1939 suggesting that the Freedom to Speak mandates a Responsibility to Listen. "We must protect the right of our opponents to speak because we must hear what they have to say" (154). I'm pleased the editor added the epilogue because it summarizes the value of this publication—Mormons and Humanists "listening to each other."

The Freeway

Lee Robison

is two currents of light on the hill.
One drains into the western sky,
the other, into the maw of rock behind me.
I am a dazzled part of light that opens
the road ahead of me, and sucks me after it.
Dimly-lit faces float past in the dusk,
pale petals swirled on a black water,
carried away into the dark and darkening.
If I wonder who they are, they are
gone before I care.

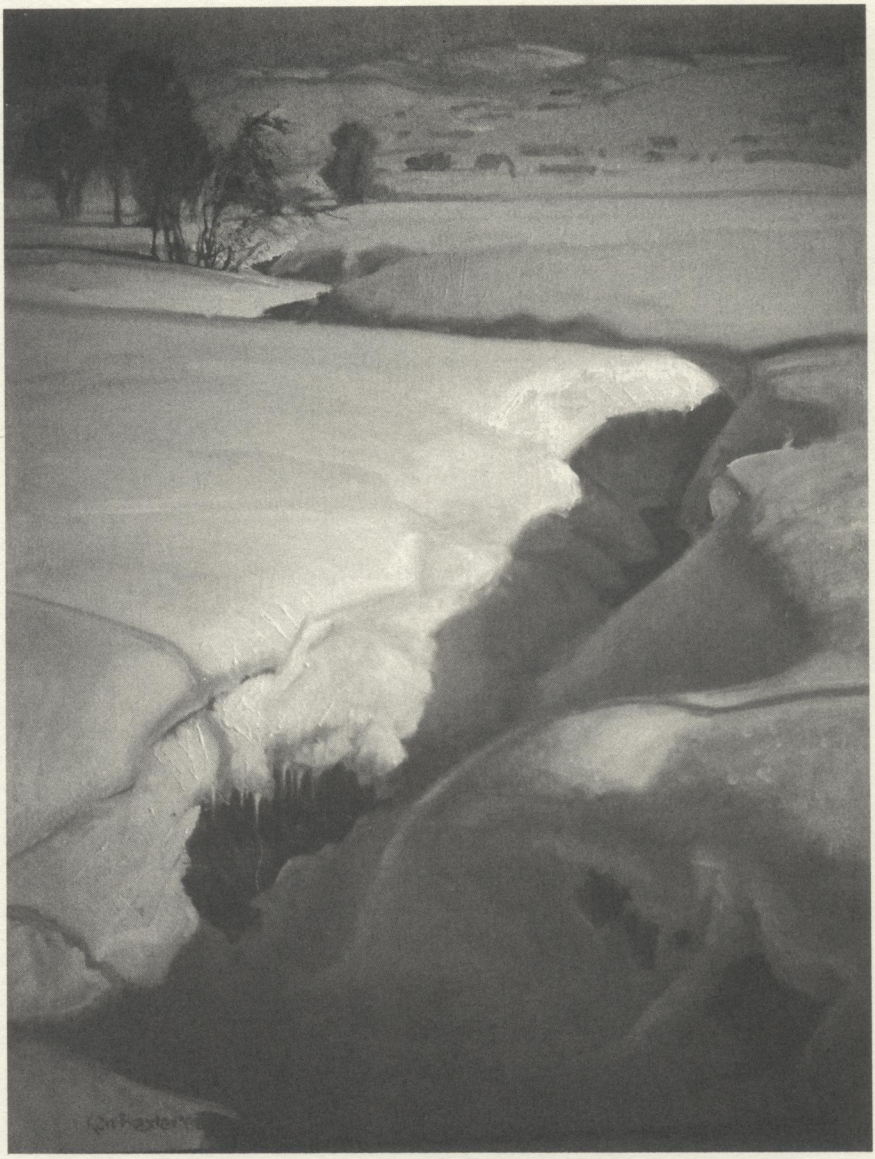
Then on the road
the sizzle of anemic candles
and the annoying pulse of something wrong—
traffic stopped, starting and stopped again.
I slow into the eddy of it, frown
from my daze, then am in the flow

past the focusing narrows where someone
waves a candle, bleeding wan
sparks into the gloom.
Beyond him, a van off the road and something—
someone's wash, perhaps—tossed
on the black road, gathers gray in my light.

But it's not wash. It shapes in my light
into pale clay, then a body unattended
on pavement. There is something here I should
stop for. But I cannot think why. I would
not know how.

A woman's face,
floating past my shell of light for an instant,
peers through glass, her lips moving swiftly,
her face turning, one hand rising to rest,
pale, against the glass, as she
is impelled past me into dark.

Behind me, anonymous light darkens the dusk,
and men check reasons for death.
Ahead anonymous lights
and the last color
of day.



CONTRIBUTORS

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ABOUT THE ARTIST

Oil painter Ken Bischoff Baxter was born in San Diego, California, in 1944. In 1971 he received a BFA in painting and drawing from the University of Utah and later pursued an MFA from Utah State University. Landscape painter Frank Erickson and portrait painter Alvin Gittens were especially influential in his formal education. While Ken has taught art in high school, the University of Utah, and privately for more than twenty-five years, he is a focused, yet versatile career painter who expresses his talent by treating a wide variety of subjects. He enjoys both historical and contemporary themes and is equally adept with portraying rural landscapes and cityscapes. Ken says of his work, "I suppose one might attempt to define my style as 'impressionistic realism.' My themes are traditional yet my brushwork is very spontaneous and often vigorous. In order to communicate effectively, the realist must exaggerate many of the technical aspects of his work."

Ken prefers the traditional plein-air ("open air" or "from life") approach to painting. He remarks, "The constant movement of sunlight requires me to put down my impressions rapidly while continually keeping in mind composition, surface quality, and moving objects." Mentor Alvin Gittens commented that "Ken deals with his subjects with crisp, painterly assurance and a keen sense of mood and atmosphere. The scope of his themes is constantly expanding with design solutions which are novel to each one. It is as though one subject triggers another of a totally different theme and mood so as to challenge his innate resourcefulness and daring. What pleases me most, however, is his ability to 'Pin down' the time of day, the precise season, and even the temperature of his work. I suppose that the ultimate compliment that could be paid an artist is to say that because of his work, one comes to see the world around himself through the artist's eyes. I pay Ken that compliment."

Extensively decorated with awards and exhibits of his work, Ken has placed more than 1,500 of his paintings in numerous museum, corporate, and private collections internationally. The geographic diversity apparent in his paintings attests to his wide travelling to explore new subject matter. His thoughtfully sensitive portrayal of scenes from the Mormon Corridor are particularly valued in the Intermountain region.

PAINTINGS

Cover: "California Wildflowers," 24"x 36," oil painting, 1990
p. *xviii*: "Wildflowers, Toll House Ranch," 16"x 20," oil painting, 1991
p. 60: "Homestead, Midway," 18"x 24," oil painting, 1994
p. 92: "Devil's Castle, Albion Basin," 24"x 30," oil painting, 1994
p. 110: "Peoa Winter Scene," 24"x 36," oil painting, 1993
p. 134: "Heralds," 24"x 48," oil painting, 1986
p. 152: "Creek Near Snyderville," 24"x 18," oil painting, 1990
p. 176: "Road to Herriman," 22"x 28," oil painting, 1991

DIALOGUE
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