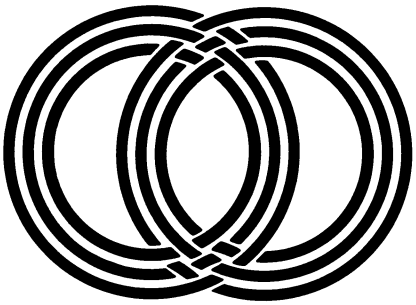
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of world religious 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. 30, NO. 2, SUMMER 1997

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Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published quarterly by the Dialogue Foundation, P.O. Box 658, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84110-0658, 801-363-9988. *Dialogue* has no official connection with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Third class postage paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. ISSN 002-2157. Regular domestic subscription rate is $30 per year; students and senior citizens $25 per year; single copies $10. Regular foreign subscription rate is $35 per year; students and senior citizens $30 per year; air mail $55 per year; single copies $15. *Dialogue* is also available on microforms through University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106-1346, and 18 Bedford Row, London, WC1R 4EJ, England.

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

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FALL 1997

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by Laurie Newman DiPadova

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by Mary Lythgoe Bradford

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by Richard N. Armstrong

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Reading and the Distance Between New York and Utah,"
by John Bennion

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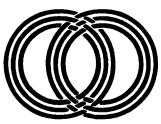

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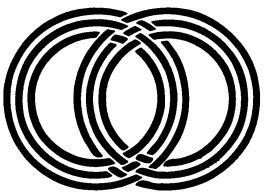

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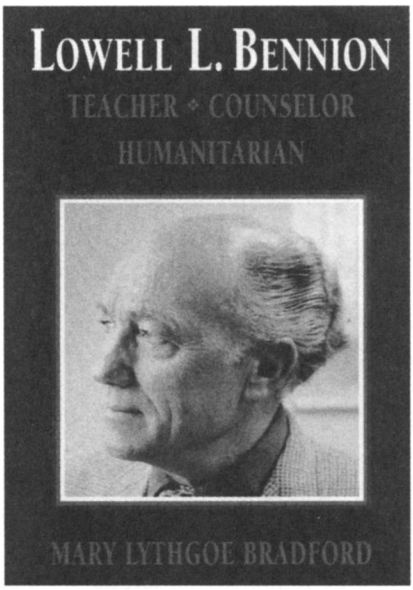

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The Fall: Another View

At some undetermined time in my younger years, I felt bothered by the concept that the fall of Adam and Eve involved a conscious decision to go against the command of God that was to be vindicated because the result was what was originally planned in a premortal setting. The argument seemed to be that it was necessary to break a commandment in order to keep another one, not to eat of the tree of knowledge (Gen. 3:17) on the one hand and to multiply and replenish the earth on the other hand (Gen. 1:28). I began to wonder if that meant that perhaps we should break other commandments in order to fullfill other ones we were not quite sure about in that we had not had previous experience to go by in that particular problem. Should I rob the local bank in order to pay my tithing? Should I lie in order to convert someone and get them baptized into the church?

It also seemed to me that there had been a lot of fuzzy discussion trying to justify a definite breach of a command of God. The Fall was described as a "transgression" and not a sin therefore the act was not as serious and excused because of the end. The end justified the means. Just one scriptural reference caused me to reject such verbal acrobatics—1 John 3:4. The definition of sin seems clear, "for sin is the transgression of the law." Why bother with the discussion? Evidently because the theology was bothersome to the extent that some rationalization seemed necessary to excuse the breaking of God's command.

Far simpler (I am converted to Occam's Razor) and more rational, in my opinion, was a solution which simply involved time. Frequently sin is doing the right thing at the wrong time. There are many instances where the Lord commands with a time limit. Building an ark and storing seven years of grain were not meant to be done at the same time nor evidently at any other time except when commanded. Practicing plurality of wives seemed to be desirable at one period of time but an excommunicatable offense at other times.

An example my students could understand was pre-marital sex. The act itself was encouraged after a marriage ceremony took place. Before the ceremony it was determined wrong. The results in many cases could be the same. Morning sickness, the birth of a baby, and parenthood. A punishment it seems to some if before but a blessed event and reward if after the binding together of two.

This has similarities to the Fall. If the partaking of the fruit would have been after a command from God to do so, the results could have been the same. The only difference would have been they would not have had to repent of doing the right thing at the wrong time. They could have experienced the same trials and difficulties promised and even been separated from the presence of God but it would have been a more acceptable departure away from home and not an expulsion with guilt.

If it was planned in premortality to allow agency in the process, the results of the actions would have been foreknown. God's plan of salvation presumably could not be frustrated in its entirety. But what about Satan? How could he try to derail the program or at least get involved in a way

that would satisfy his desire to become the rebel leader and be an alternate route giver for humans? In many instances Satan just tries to get people to do the right thing at the wrong time or the wrong thing at the right time. If he was aware of what had gone on in other worlds, he could see that an excellent opportunity to get people to follow him was to use the argument that the same thing had been done before in other places but leave out the factor that it was God who had sanctioned it and not him. What if he knew that God would give further revelation in the future that would sanction the partaking of the fruit and becoming mortal? If a revelation had come to Adam and Eve just a week, a month, or whatever, later, the results would have been the same but they would not have had to break a commandment in order to keep another. It was prematurely acting upon the temptation of Satan that could have been avoided. And in order to feel comfortable with the logic and spirit of the situation, I am convinced that that was the other scenerio available. Visits to the temple have encouraged me in this belief.

I have found that most Latter-day Saints are not concerned about the moral dilemma that I see, but in my experience as a teacher I have found between 5 and 10 percent who are bothered and have expressed appreciation for an alternate explanation. It is for this minority of philosophical theologians that this thesis is presented.

Gerald Jones
Concord, California

Ralph Savage and the Salt Lake Temple

The caption on the inside cover of the fall 1996 issue misidentified the photograph of the Salt Lake temple on the back cover. The photograph, which was included because it clearly shows the Garden Room annex on the southeast side of the temple, dates from 1918-22, not 1911, and may or may not have been taken by Ralph Savage, who died in 1928.

Kent Walgren
Salt Lake City, Utah

What's the Point?

I was intrigued at the subjectively conclusive title of Marc A. Schindler's article in the fall 1996 issue: "The Johannine Comma: Bad Translation, Bad Theology." I read with anticipation about "Catholic" corruption of the scriptures, the spinelessness of Erasmus, the fulfillment of Nephi's prophecy that "plain and precious things" would be taken from the Bible. I was waiting for the point. How, specifically, would the writer make his conclusions relevant to readers of " ... *A Journal of Mormon Thought*"?

The most obvious, inescapable direction in which this article was leading (I thought) was toward Joseph Smith's "Inspired Version" of the Bible. Like the reader of an unfinished serial mystery or the impatient listener to a joke without a punchline, I turned the final page of the article with some astonishment and a few suspicions. If ever an article was designed to force us to consider why Joseph Smith failed to catch the

Johannine Comma, this was it! But suddenly the text ended, with a final footnote and some blank space at the bottom of the page.

Rick Grunder
Syracuse, New York

Much Ado About Nothing?

Regarding the article "Embraced by the Church? Betty Eadie, Near-Death Experiences, and Mormonism," by Massimo Introvigne, in the fall 1996 issue.

I see that here is more evidence of how insecure people are in their beliefs. How little trust and faith we actually put in faith and "The Spirit." How little faith we really have that God is in control. How little faith we must have that the church, whichever one to which we may belong, is true.

Why should a book written about one person's near-death experience, which makes no claim to espousing any binding doctrines or specific church, occasion such controversy? It is my assumption that nearly all seriously religious people, certainly Mormons, believe that God is the author of all truth and provides witness to truth through the ministrations of "The Holy Spirit." If we do indeed believe this to be true, then let us leave it at that.

It has always been my understanding that Mormons believe that all religions do indeed contain elements of truth, otherwise they would not be as successful as they are but that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only church authorized and empowered by Jesus Christ to administer his gospel and fully contains his truth as so far revealed. Also, it seems we constantly need to be reminded of the danger inherent in taking as God's word any statement *supposedly* from a general authority of the LDS church and uttered in the context of a private meeting or discussion.

Let us also remember that Mr. Orson Scott Card is a man with an opinion, albeit, an educated one. Nevertheless, we cannot expect that he has an entire grasp of truth as " ... knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come" (D&C 93:24).

It would indeed be wrong to hold Mrs. Eadie responsible if someone were to believe her book to espouse a new "official" religious tradition, unless she herself were to lead or encourage such a movement. Until such an event I hardly think it would be worthwhile for the LDS church to involve itself in the matter. Apparently, we need to be more " ... anxiously engaged in a good cause" (D&C 58:27) if such a matter as this can warrant such attention. Isn't this "much ado about nothing"? Don't we know the essential truth of the matter already?

Todd Sidwell
Hermosa Beach, California

A Dialogue on Dialogue

"Where?"

"It's in *Dialogue* ... but I don't know why you would want to read it."

My friend stands in my doorway with his arms crossed and his normally blue eyes a cool grey. He's late for a meeting, but he's determined to make his point before he leaves.

"The church is masculine and

that's the way it is. It's not an issue for the Mormon women I know ... my mother, my grandmother, my sister, the girls I have talked with ... it's just not an issue for them."

* * *

"Do you have the summer issue of *Dialogue*?" I ask the librarian. "I want the issue on Heavenly Mother."

She looks at me a minute, then goes hunting while I admire the ceramic pottery on her office shelf. When she returns with what looks like a thick paperback, I ask her, "Did you make these pots?"

"Oh, no. I buy them, collect them, but I do want to take the pottery class here at the university ... "

"I'm taking it right now," I say.

We talk for a while.

"Listen," she says, as she hands me the book, "don't turn this in to the front desk when you're finished. Give it back directly to me, would you? I would like to read it."

* * *

In the ladies' room another student picks up the *Dialogue.*

"You read this garbage?" she says.

"It's not garbage. There are some interesting articles in it. Of course, I don't always agree with everything, but ... "

"Did you know that by reading this you can put your immortal soul at risk? You're better off spending your time reading the scriptures."

"Well, I don't think ... "

"Hey, wait a minute. I know this lady. She wrote this? This is my *neighbor!* Say, can I borrow this when you're finished with it?"

"Well, sure."

* * *

At a conference with one of my professors in her office: "Your last test," she says, "shows a strong tendency toward ... what's this?" she asks, grabbing the *Dialogue* off the top of my stack of books.

"Well, it's the summer issue of ... "

She gets up and closes her office door. She sits down and looks at me. She starts to talk in a whisper. "Did you know," she says softly, "I used to live in Salt Lake?"

"Well, no, I ... "

"I could have been involved with *Dialogue,* you know. I almost was. The pain in here. Do you feel the pain in this magazine?"

"Well, actually, I ... "

"I had to stop reading it. The pain was too much for me. I do a lot, you know. I teach. I help women. I do what I can."

"Listen, you don't have to explain ... "

"But I'm a good Mormon. The church is very important to me. Do you understand? Listen, don't return this to the library. Can I have it when you're finished?"

"Well, ... sure."

* * *

A student sitting on a bench in the sunshine greets me as I walk by. "Let's see your assignment for English class," she says.

As I dig through my bookbag, she sees my *Dialogue.*

"Is this good?" she asks. "We were talking about Heavenly Mother in Institute and ... "

"You were talking about Heavenly Mother in Institute?" I ask.

"Oh, yeah, all the time. There is more than one, you know."

"No, I didn't."

"Well, there is, and teacher says ... "

* * *

My pottery teacher looks through *Dialogue.* He immediately recognizes the illustrator, an artist who paints only women, as the wife of a fellow potter and an old student of his.

"What's this about?" he asks.

"It's an issue on Heavenly Mother," I say.

A man of few words, he nods slowly.

I sit at the wheel as the wet clay slowly takes shape under my fingers. I feel the rhythm and start to make up a song as I work. I hum: "The potter's wheel/ turns the clay/ around/ As the Mother/ turns round/ the Son./ And no matter/ the pain./ And no matter/ the fear./ In the end/ we will all/ be one."

As a newcomer to Utah and a woman returning to school after many years, reading *Dialogue* in the university library is like having a friend to turn to during those times when I feel so like an alien. Thank you.

Nylene Schoellborn-Puha
Enoch, Utah

Anthon H. Lund and Plural Marriage

I enjoyed the winter 1996 issue of *Dialogue,* particularly Massimo Introvigne's "Embraced by the Church? Betty Eadie, Near-Death Experiences, and Mormonism" and Kent Walgren's "Inside the Salt Lake Temple: Gisbert Bossard's 1911 Photographs."

Walgren's article contains a quote from Gisbert Bossard which asserts that my great-grandfather Anthon H. Lund was a polygamist, which I do not believe to be true. As the biographical register in volume four of the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* also identifies him as a polygamist, I would like to set the record straight.

Anthon H. Lund was not a polygamist. I have personally known several of his children, daughters- and son-in-law, and nearly all of his grandchildren, all of whom asserted that Grandpa did not practice plural marriage. In fact, family tradition relates that when Grandpa proposed marriage to my great-grandmother, Sarah Ann Peterson, she made him get down on his knees and promise that he would never take another wife and that she could always drink tea.

Knowing that family tradition is not always accurate, we have carefully combed the forty-two volumes of his diary and other personal papers for any mention of another woman in his life. Family members have also examined temple sealing records for the Endowment House and all four nineteenth-century Utah temples. Although Grandpa had numerous men and women sealed to him under the law of adoption while serving as president of the Manti temple, there is no evidence that any of those sealings involved a plural marriage.

So why did Bossard think that "Pres. [Anthon H.] Lund has two wives at least"? He stated that he and another gardener had both delivered flowers from the temple greenhouse to two Mrs. Lunds, one living on West Temple Street, the other on North Temple Street "across the road from the Temple." I have no doubt that they delivered the flowers as instructed, but they missed the family connection. Sarah Ann Lund, wife of Anthon H., resided at 127 North West Temple Street. Emma C. Jensen Lund, wife of Herbert Z. Lund, M.D., and daughter-in-law of Anthon H., resided at 30

West North Temple directly across the street from the temple. In a sweet gesture, Grandpa sent flowers to his daughter-in-law.

Grandpa and Grandma Lund shared a tender love for more than fifty years. His diaries and personal papers are filled with expressions of devotion for her. He penned numerous love poems, including one final one which was found in his office desk after his death. Grandma was the love of his life, and there is no evidence of any other.

Anthony F. Lund
Murray, Utah

"Hypertextual" Correction

In my review, "Hypertextual Book of Mormon Study" (Winter 1996), I inadvertently ascribed Joseph Smith's authorship to an entry in his diary that is a transcription of a letter written by Orson Hyde (see Joseph Smith Diary, 17 Dec. 1835). Hyde's letter serves as an unwitting example for my observation that the phrase "{or} in other words" was used by Smith's contemporaries (203n19).

Brent Lee Metcalfe
Salt Lake City, Utah

The Broadening Embrace of Mormon Culture

I'd like to respond briefly to Levi Peterson's article about me in the winter 1996 issue, if I may.

Although I have never enjoyed reading about myself (and hope never to acquire a taste for seeing my name in print), I think that Levi Peterson's "Lavina Fielding Anderson and the Power of a Church in Exile" is an important article. It articulates a hope I think I share with many about the broadening embrace of Mormon culture and the slow creation of a middle ground between the polarized extremes of rigid orthodoxy and dismissive dissidence. It also articulates an appeal that Mormon religious practices not be construed in a way that excludes the demands of conscience.

I would like to clarify one statement which I think may be misleading: "Lavina filed a thirty-seven-page appeal with the First Presidency, which the latter refused to review." It would be more accurate to say that the First Presidency refused to *reverse* the stake president's decision. I have no reason to believe that they refused to review it.

In fact, my father, suspecting that the document had not been read, called the First Presidency's office. F. Michael Watson assured him that President Hinckley and President Monson (then counselors to President Benson, who was ill) had in fact read it carefully. I have no reason to believe that Watson's statement was not true.

Lavina Fielding Anderson
Salt Lake City, Utah

Mormon Millennialism: The Literalist Legacy and Implications for the Year 2000

Dan Erickson

ONE'S SEARCH FOR MEANING usually leads to eschatological inquiry. More than mere theology, millennialism is a way of looking at world history and the destiny of humankind.[1] Beginning with Joseph Smith's initial religious experience, the idea of an imminent millennium preoccupied Mormon aspirations and set the tone for the new movement. Smith, blessed by his father that he would continue in his ecclesiastical office until Jesus Christ should come again, described the mood of his age when in 1832 he wrote, "It is a day of strange appearances. Everything indicates something more than meets the eye. ... The end is nigh."[2] Smith's account of the angel Moroni's visit records Moroni's citing of prophecies from the Old and New Testaments which emphasized the last days and Second Coming.[3] The texts quoted by Moroni validated the view that Christ's return was near and his millennial announcement was clear: "the day had not yet come 'when they who would not hear his voice should be cut off from among the people,' but soon would come."[4] Prophecy was shortly to be fulfilled. A great work "was speedily to [be] commenced ... that a people might be prepared with faith and righteousness, for the Millennial

1. J[ohn]. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 228.

2. Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974-76), 1:281; 2:32.

3. Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 203-204, 214.

4. Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (1912, rprt.; Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1969), 85.

reign of universal peace and joy."[5]

To Smith and his followers the purpose of the Book of Mormon was also clear. It was to be "united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the *last days*."[6] The book signaled the beginning of the promised winding-up scene prior to Christ's return. Apostle George A. Smith recalled that members in the early 1830s believed that not more than "nine or ten years would be sufficient to wind up the whole matter of warning the wicked nations and the gathering of the Saints preparatory to the coming of the Messiah."[7] Early Mormon historian John Whitmer acknowledged "there was a tradition among some of the early disciples, that those who obeyed the covenant in the last days, would never die."[8] On more than one occasion Joseph Smith himself asserted there were those of his own generation who would witness the Second Coming, predicting that the great temple spoken of by Malachi would be built in America before those now alive would "pass away."[9] No exact date was given, but all believed they were "on the eve of the second coming," living in the generation that would see Christ personally usher in the Millennium.[10]

As premillennialists, Latter-day Saints held that the Millennium was to be preceded by Christ's advent followed by a thousand years of peace. God would not convert the masses; on the contrary, the world was steadily declining both morally and physically. When the earth became ripe for destruction, God would unleash unprecedented destruction on the wicked. This transformation would be both total and sudden, abolishing evil and sin and restoring peace. With the inauguration of his divine wrath, God would destroy all corruption. For only after the wicked are destroyed can Christ abide on earth. Dualist in nature, premillennial-

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5. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2+ vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989-92), 1:393.

6. Smith to John Wentworth, as reported in *Times and Seasons*, 1 Mar. 1842, emphasis mine.

7. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: F.D. Richards, 1855-86), 9:346, 11 May 1862. See also Charles C. Rich, ibid., 19:161, 11 Nov. 1877; Joseph Young, ibid., 9:231, 13 July 1855.

8. F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer, Kept by Commandment* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 45; Milton V. Backman, *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 59. Some members went so far that they refused to call a physician when ill. See *Wayne Sentinel*, 18 Apr. 1832; *Painesville Telegraph*, 5 Apr. 1831.

9. Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:316, 5:336; *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (Oct. 1835): 206; John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (1933; rprt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989), 81; "Levi Hancock Journal," June 1831, cited in Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 188.

10. *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Jan. 1835): 58; *Evening and Morning Star* 2 (June 1834): 162.

ism viewed the overturn of the wicked as the defeat of a superhuman enemy, restoring to humanity its divine inheritance at the apex of history.[11]

Placing millennialism in its historical setting, I will use the common view held by scriptural literalists that the temporal earth is 6,000 years old, on the eve of the seventh or sabbath millennium, to examine the development of the literalist millennial tradition in Mormon thought. Although unofficial, this belief has become the orthodox position held by perhaps a majority of the church's twentieth-century membership. These Saints usually reject the findings of modern science that the earth is of ancient origin, and hold that as we approach the year 2000 humankind is, in fact, on the eve of the Millennium.

In Mormonism's formative years biblical literalism was the norm.[12] Within this context in 1832, while revising the Bible, Joseph Smith recorded revelatory answers he received to specific questions dealing with the Book of Revelation. He confirmed that the inspired explanation included an understanding that the earth's duration encompassed "seven thousand years of its continuance, or its temporal existence. ... God made the world in six days, and on the seventh day he finished his work, ... even so, in the beginning of the seventh thousand years will the Lord God sanctify the earth, ... preparing the way before the time of his coming" (D&C 77:6, 12).[13] As the apostle Peter proclaimed that a day with the Lord is as a thousand years of man, so Christ's pronouncement to Joseph confirmed that "it is the eleventh hour, and the last time that I shall call laborers into my vineyard" (2 Pet. 3:8; D&C 33:3). Smith warned that "the world has had a fair trial for six thousand years; the Lord will try the sev-

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11. Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 24-25; Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 34-35, 76-78; James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), 28-33; David E. Smith, "Millennial Scholarship in America," *American Quarterly* 17 (Fall 1965): 535-49.

12. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 58-75; Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 32-35; Gordon Irving, "The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830's," *Brigham Young University Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 473-88. The Second Great Awakening sheltered American religions from the early onslaught of higher criticism. American theologians were aware of religious theories, developing in Germany, which separated Bible inspiration from scientific knowledge and questioned the validity and authority of a strict literalist interpretation of scripture. But the full impact remained minimal in the United States until the late nineteenth century. See George M. Marsden, "Everyone One's Own Interpreter? The Bible, Science, and Authority in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*, Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 79-100.

13. Copied numerous times in private documents, Smith's comments were first published in *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 Aug. 1844): 595-96. See Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1981; rprt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 167, 312.

enth thousand Himself."[14]

Smith's untimely death at Nauvoo, Illinois, created an eschatological crisis in the church.[15] With the Millennium's imminence the Saints had not contemplated the need for a successor.[16] In the language of an 1837 revelation, Christ had vested in Smith "keys which ... shall not be taken from him till I come."[17] As Apostle Erastus Snow related, most early Mormons "supposed that our Prophet was going to continue with us, to lead us on until the coming of the Savior."[18] Explaining the Saints' forced exodus to the West as but part of God's divine plan, Brigham Young declared "a new epoch, not only in the history of the church but of this nation" had arrived.[19] As the last days approached, turmoil and persecution meant God's words were about to be fulfilled, deliverance was nigh.[20]

After the main body of Mormons relocated to Utah, their leaders continued to emphasize an expected millennial deliverance and a preoccupation with the destruction of the world and the coming of Christ remaining a major theme. The Saints were warned that it would come sooner than expected, that the necessary events would follow in rapid order, and that the Lord would cut his work short.[21] Children were told they would live to bring the dead to life, and that in less than fifty years

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14. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:64. The 6,000-year timetable dates back to the seventeenth century when Archbishop James Ussher, following the ages of the patriarchs, priests, judges, and kings of the Old Testament, concluded that 4,004 years had elapsed from the Creation to the birth of Christ. See R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), 105-106.

15. *Times and Seasons* 5 (15 Dec. 1844); 743-44; Linda King Newel and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe, 1804-1879* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1984), 197-202; Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 154-55; D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith III's Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 77-80.

16. Sarah Scott to Calvin and Abigail Hall, 22 July 1844, in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 152-53; Robert Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 311; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (N.p.: Michigan State University Press, 1970), 106; Keith E. Norman, "How Long, O Lord? The Delay of the Parousia in Mormonism," *Sunstone* 8 (Jan.-Apr. 1983): 52.

17. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:500.

18. *Deseret Evening News*, 9 Oct. 1882, quoted in D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 144.

19. Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:478.

20. *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 Aug. 1845): 983.

21. Heber C. Kimball, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:36, 11 July 1852; Orson Pratt, ibid., 3:17-18, 20 May 1855; Charles W. Penrose, "The Second Advent," *Millennial Star* 21 (10 Sept. 1859): 581-84.

not a person among them would remain on the earth.[22] Apostle George A. Smith warned the world that "the day of the Lord is near ... and we should watch for the coming of the Son of Man."[23]

Viewed in religious terms, the Utah War, the American Civil War, and the anti-polygamy campaign were seen as necessary precursors to Christ's coming. Johnston's Army was but the beginning of the collapse of American sovereignty and would allow the Saints to become an independent nation. Brigham Young assured his people that persecution would only "hasten the work" of the Lord.[24] Apocalyptic anticipations during the Utah War were a prelude to church leaders' declarations during the American Civil War. Surely, they believed, the long awaited end was now in sight.[25] Young calculated he would "live to see wickedness swept from the face of the Earth, the Saints possess it for an Everlasting inheritance, and Jesus reign king of kings."[26] The attack on polygamy became the next major engine for millennialism. Mormons believed the contest over plural marriage represented a "holy war," and defense of the theological tenet re-energized Latter-day Saint millennial hope.[27] Many church leaders and members were convinced, and so preached, that the

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22. Lorenzo D. Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 6:212; 13 Dec. 1857; "Address By President Heber C. Kimball," *Millennial Star* 14 (25 Dec. 1852): 693. See also Orson Hyde, *Journal of Discourses*, 5:141; Heber C. Kimball, ibid., 5:254, 20 Sept. 1857; Orson Pratt, ibid., 6:202, 24 Jan. 1858; "Pestilence and Plague," *Deseret News*, 9 Feb. 1854.

23. George A. Smith, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:333-34, 24 June 1855. See also Heber C. Kimball, ibid., 1:35, 11 July 1852; Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 4:269, 6 May 1854; 4:375, 30 Dec. 1855.

24. "Record of Andrew Jackson Allen," 14 Mar. 1858, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 5:98, 2 Aug. 1857.

25. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:526, 30 Dec. 1860; 5:527-29, 31 Dec. 1860; Thomas B.H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), 420-21. See also the following examples: "Review Of Past And Present Events," *Millennial Star* 23 (1 Jan. 1861): 34; "Civil War In America—Its Importance As A Warning To The Saints," ibid., 23 (11 May 1861): 297-300; "The Fulfillment of Prophecy," ibid., 24 (23 Aug. 1862): 529-33; "Emancipation Of The Slaves—The Prophet Joseph's Plan—Results Of Its Rejection," ibid., 25 (14 Feb. 1863): 97-101; "Minutes Of A District Conference," ibid., 26 (13 Aug. 1864): 517-18; Charles W. Penrose, "A Universal Kingdom," ibid., 27 (30 Sept. 1865): 608-12; Wilford Woodruff, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:13, 27 July 1862; Heber C. Kimball, ibid., 10:46, 4 May 1862; Orson Hyde, ibid., 10:376, 18 Dec. 1864; John Taylor, ibid., 11:26, 11 Dec. 1864.

26. A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1980), 1:225, 27 Apr. 1862. See also "The Consummation Decreed Upon All Nations," *Millennial Star* 25 (4 Apr. 1863): 211-13.

27. John Henry Smith to Joseph Smith III, 21 Apr. 1886, Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri; Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 2:235, 18 Apr. 1873; Orson Pratt, *The Seer* 1 (May 1853): 75; John Thompson, *Mormonism—Increase of the Army* ... (Washington, D.C.: Buell and Blanchard, 1858), 5.

end of the world was near.[28]

The Mormon millennial timetable received official endorsement in 1876 when the church published a new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, adding twenty-six new sections. This included what is now section 77, thus canonizing as scripture Joseph Smith's description of the earth's temporal 6,000-year existence.[29] During this period church leaders continued to emphasize that the world was on the eve of the sixth day of its seven-day existence. President Brigham Young led the charge warning that they were living in "the eleventh hour of the reign of Satan on the earth," prior to Christ's return.[30] Apostle Wilford Woodruff confirmed that "we are living in the dispensation and generation ... appointed by God for the last six thousand years"[31] closing in on the "commencement of the Millennium, and near the close of the 6,000th year of the world's history."[32] The *Journal of Discourses* alone records dozens of times when reliance on the earth's 6,000-year history was used to emphasize that the Millennium was near.[33] In June 1879 Apostle Woodruff blatantly told the Saints in northern Arizona "there will be no United States in the Year 1890."[34]

In May 1888 senior apostle Woodruff counseled his brethren that "we are not going to stop the practice of plural marriage until the coming of the son of man."[35] And as late as November 1889 Woodruff received a new revelation promising destruction of the opponents of the church and forecasting deliverance from their enemies.[36] In his position as church

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28. Louis G. Reinwand, "An Interpretive Study of Mormon Millennialism During the Nineteenth Century with Emphasis on Millennial Developments in Utah," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971, 140-41.

29. Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 75-76.

30. Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:250, 6 Oct. 1863.

31. Woodruff, ibid., 14:5, 1 Jan. 1871.

32. Woodruff, ibid., 25:10, 6 Jan. 1884.

33. A sampling includes Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 6:307, 8 Apr. 1853; John Taylor, ibid., 8:2, 19 Feb. 1860; Brigham Young, ibid., 10:250, 6 Oct. 1863; Brigham Young, ibid., 12:272, 16 Aug. 1868; Wilford Woodruff, ibid., 14:5, 1 Jan. 1871; Orson Pratt, ibid., 14:235, 20 Aug. 1871; Orson Pratt, ibid., 14:350, 10 Mar. 1872; Orson Pratt, ibid., 15:263-64, 29 Dec. 1872; George Q. Cannon, ibid., 20:76-77, 6 Apr. 1878, Orson Pratt, ibid., 21:202-205, 12 Nov. 1879; Orson F. Whitney, ibid., 26:200, 19 Apr. 1885.

34. Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82, 28 June 1879, 87, cited in Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 228.

35. Heber J. Grant Diary, 17 May 1888, quoted in Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1990), 201n121, 17 May 1888. See also Jean Bickmore White, "The Making of the Convention President: The Political Education of John Henry Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Fall 1971): 359.

36. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9:67-69, 24 Nov. 1889; L. John Nuttall Diary, 24 Nov. 1889, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 3:171-76.

president, Woodruff continued to tell members that "many" living in 1889, while "in the flesh," would see Christ come in clouds of glory.[37]

Then, for the "Temporal Salvation of the Church," on 24 September 1890 Woodruff issued the Manifesto publicly abandoning polygamy.[38] Urgently engaged in the Lord's work, the Saints had been counseled to watch for the "signs of the times," anticipating the Bridegroom's return.[39] In the aftermath of the Manifesto, members were forced to pass through a "psychic watershed," compelled, at least partially, to revise their belief in an immediate millennial saving event.[40]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, under church president Joseph F. Smith's administration, assimilation with mainstream America became an institutional goal. At the turn of the century the Saints also faced the complexities of the modern world. As church leaders, educators, and everyday members encountered scientific evidence, many found it necessary to confront this new knowledge and assimilate it into their belief system.[41] Yet others rejected modernity, clinging to the literalism and orthodoxy of their ancestors.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, American Christianity faced formidable obstacles in the form of both science and scholarship.[42] Propelled by the persuasive arguments of Herbert Spencer, Thomas Huxley, and John Fiske, by 1900 biological evolution had gained acceptance

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37. Wilford Woodruff, "Remarks," at Toole Stake Conference, 29 July 1889, in Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols. (Sandy, UT: B.H.S. Publishing, 1987-92), 1:325. On the importance of the millennial world view to nineteenth-century Utah Saints, see my "Joseph Smith's 1891 Millennial Prophecy: The Quest for Apocalyptic Deliverance," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 1-34.

38. Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9:112-16, 25 Sept. 1890.

39. Glen M. Leonard, "Early Saints and the Millennium," *Ensign* 9 (Aug. 1979): 47; Susan Peterson, "The Great and Dreadful Day: Mormon Folklore of the Apocalypse," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Fall 1976): 366-70.

40. Thomas G. Alexander, "The Odyssey of a Latter-day Prophet: Wilford Woodruff and the Manifesto of 1890," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 71; Jan Shipps, "In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth-Century Mormonism," in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, eds. Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie Embry (Provo, UT: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983), 11, 20-22; Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 39.

41. James E. Talmage, "The Methods and Motives of Science," *Improvement Era*, Feb. 1900, 250-59; Charles W. Penrose, "The Age and Destiny of the Earth," ibid., 12 (May 1909): 505-509. See also Dennis Rowley, "Inner Dialogue: James Talmage's Choice of Science as a Career, 1876-84," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 112-30; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 10 (July-Aug. 1980): 8-18.

42. Bert James Loewenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 28 (Dec. 1941): 339-68; Conrad Wright, "The Religion of Geology," *New England Quarterly* 14 (1941): 335-58.

by a large number of American scientists.[43] Subjecting biblical texts to historical analysis redefined the nature of revelation, challenging the holy written word's infallibility.[44] Darwinism and biblical "higher criticism" pitted fundamentalism against modernism, orthodoxy against heterodoxy.[45]

Although important to American Christianity, prior to 1900 Mormon theology remained unaffected by these debates. During this period the anti-polygamy campaign and the church's survival preoccupied Mormon concerns, and the challenges that affected American religion generally were delayed until the twentieth century.[46] The problem first came to the Mormon community at the church's institute of higher learning, Brigham Young University.[47] University president George H. Brimhall's desire to bring to the school "the best scholars of the church" carried with it the seeds of controversy.[48] When these scholars, trained in eastern universities, embraced the scientific community's interpretation of the earth's and human origins, some church leaders sensed inroads to heresy.

Celebrating the centennial of Darwin's birth, in 1909 the head of BYU's biology department, Ralph V. Chamberlin, declared Darwin the preeminent scientific mind of the era. When these sentiments were echoed in BYU's student newspaper, the *White and Blue*, within seven months the First Presidency issued a statement on human origins. The "official position of the church" reiterated the tenet that Adam was the "primal parent of the race."[49] Though not addressing the age of the earth,

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43. Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Darwin in America: The Intellectual Response, 1865-1912* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1976), 10. Examples include Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Biology*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1866-67); Herbert Spencer, *Illustrations of Progress* (New York: K. Appleton and Co., 1875); Thomas H. Huxley, *Evolutionary Ethics* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1896); Thomas H. Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature* (New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1898); John Fiske, *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, Co., 1884).

44. John D. Woodbridge, Mark A. Noll, and Nathan O. Hatch, *The Gospel in America: Themes in the Story of American Evangelicals* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1979), 99-120; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., *A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 4.

45. Schlesinger, *A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900*, 1; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 766-74.

46. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 111.

47. For similar controversies and removal of faculty from other American religious institutions in the late nineteenth century, see Schlesinger, *A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900*, 8-10.

48. Quoted in Gary James Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," in Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg, eds., *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 23.

49. Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund, "The Origin of Man," *Improvement Era*, Nov. 1909, 75-81.

the statement's anti-evolutionary sentiment appeared to refute Darwinism and modern science.[50] Soon a probe of evolutionary teaching was initiated. The investigation reached the twelve apostles when quorum president Francis M. Lyman chaired a committee to resolve the controversy at BYU.

The offending individuals were faced with the ultimatum of either ceasing their evolutionary teachings or of being removed from university employ. Yet even in the church hierarchy unanimity did not reign supreme. Reportedly stating "we are not qualified," committee member Anthony W. Ivins resigned, declaring, "I will not judge those men."[51] Refusing to acquiesce to their leaders' demands, the three professors in question, Henry and Joseph Peterson and Ralph Chamberlin, were dismissed or fired for being out of harmony with the authorities of the church.[52] When students and faculty protested, they were chastised for "dictating" to "the prophets."[53]

Following the incident at BYU, the debate subsided for nearly two decades. Yet by 1920 Elder Joseph Fielding Smith began to lay the foundation for an attack on evolution, which he described as an "idiotic hypothesis," an assault that would continue throughout his life.[54] At this early date Smith linked belief in evolution to a rejection of the plan of salvation. "If you believe in the doctrine of the evolutionist ... the first man was not capable of sin. He could not transgress, and by doing so bring death into the world; for according to this theory, death had always been in the world. If, therefore, there was no fall, there was no need of an atonement."[55] To accept the traditional dispensational calendar required disavowing the contention of an old earth that is continuing to evolve. Belief in evolution necessarily rejected the millennial timetable, otherwise, according to Smith, there was "no Garden of Eden, no Adam and Eve, no fall [and] ... no resurrection."[56] If the world's history entailed mil-

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50. Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," 24-25; Erich Robert Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 175-76.

51. Quoted in Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," 28.

52. Joseph F. Smith, "Theory and Divine Revelation," *Improvement Era,* 14 Apr. 1911, 548-51; Joseph F. Smith, "Philosophy and the Church Schools," *Juvenile Instructor,* Apr. 1911, 208-209.

53. *Deseret News,* 11 Mar. 1911; George H. Brimhall, in "Devotional Remarks," 16 Mar. 1911, both cited in Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," 31. The BYU incident is also discussed in Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 134-48.

54. Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Origin and Destiny of Man," *Improvement Era* 23 (Mar. 1920): 389.

55. Ibid., 387.

56. Ibid., 389.

lions of years in the past, and perhaps carried innumerable years into the future, the stages of the world's progression, as taken literally from the scriptures, must be abandoned.

Although the BYU controversy did not specifically address the age of the earth, it set the stage for the next theological controversy. The issue became hotly debated in the late 1920s, fed by B. H. Roberts's persistence in publishing his grand theological dissertation *The Truth, The Way, The Life*. While serving as an east coast mission president in 1924, Roberts had become senior member of the First Council of Seventy. Contemplating a synthesis of his theological beliefs for years, when his term as mission president ended in 1927 Roberts worked virtually nonstop on the project. Seeking an opportunity to publish the work as the 1928 study guide for Melchizedek priesthood quorums, Roberts presented the work to the president of the Quorum of the Twelve, Rudger Clawson, who appointed a committee to consider the proposal. Due to time constraints, the manuscript was tabled, to be reconsidered for the gospel doctrine department of the Sunday school the following year.

The committee member with the greatest concern for Roberts's treatise was Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith. Roberts was convinced that the earth's fossils indicated that human, animal, and plant life preceded, by innumerable years, the Genesis account of Adam's appearance in the year 4000 B.C. In contrast, Smith prepared an eleven-page document refuting Roberts's attempt to reconcile the biblical account of the Creation with fossil evidence, declaring that there was no death, in any form, before the Fall.[57] The debate pitted Roberts's attempt to harmonize science and theology against Smith's literal interpretation of the consequences of Adam's transgression as given in the Book of Mormon (2 Ne. 2:19-25; Abr. 6:48).[58]

To Smith the scriptures were God's words in print. While the revealed word was fact, science was at best theory, at worst heresy.[59] With the senior quorums assembled together behind closed doors, Roberts and Smith presented their positions with neither argument carrying the day. To defuse the controversy, in a private memo the First Presidency wrote, "The statement made by Elder Smith that the existence of pre-adamites is not a doctrine of the Church is true. It is just as true that the statement

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57. James B. Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life,*" in B.H. Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, John W. Welch, ed. (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1994), clxix-cxcviii.

58. William E. Evenson, "Science: The Universe, Creation, and Evolution," in Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, cxxiii-cxxxiv. The doctrine that there was no death prior to the Fall continues to be the interpretation used in the church's religion instruction manuals. See *Book of Mormon: Student Manual Religion 121-122*, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Education System, 1979), 72-73.

59. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 126.

'there were not pre-adamites upon the earth' is not a doctrine of the church. Neither side of the controversy has been accepted as a doctrine at all."[60] Reaffirming humanity's spiritual heritage, the church refused to acknowledge the actual process of the physical creation.[61] The First Presidency then advised church leaders to leave the "mysteries" alone.

Once again unanimity did not exist in the church's reigning quorums.[62] Although sympathetic to Roberts's attempt to assimilate scientific evidence with Mormon theology, trained geologist Apostle James E. Talmage initially remained on the sidelines. Then, on 5 April 1930, Joseph Fielding Smith presented his anti-science stance in a speech to the Genealogical Society of Utah. Not mentioning Roberts by name, Smith condemned "elders" who attempt to reconcile Mormon theology with scientific theory. Following Smith's speech, Talmage complained officially to the First Presidency. His contention was that although the church had taken no official stance on how evolutionary evidence, as found in the rocks, could be reconciled with the revealed word, by allowing Smith's position to be voiced publicly, the First Presidency had acquiesced to one side of the argument.[63] Roberts's protest went even farther. He challenged Smith's "competence" and objected to the "dogmatic spirit of the speech and its 'finality,' as if 'speaking with final authority.'"[64]

Talmage suggested that to clarify the church's true non-definitive position at an appropriate time in the near future the other side needed to be presented. This was accomplished by Talmage's 9 August 1931 speech, "The Earth and Man," approved by the First Presidency and reproduced in the *Deseret News*. In this address Talmage stated that the earth was considerably older than humanity, and that plants and animals had lived and died for ages before man's arrival on earth. He emphasized that geology and scripture "cannot be fundamentally opposed."[65] Hoping to end the

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60. Quoted in Richard Sherlock and Jeffrey E. Keller, "The B.H. Roberts/Joseph Fielding Smith/James E. Talmage Affair," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony*, 97.

61. Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 175.

62. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 64.

63. Smith's speech was published as "Faith Leads to a Fullness of Truth and Righteousness," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 21 (Oct. 1930): 145-58. At the time Smith was vice-president of the Utah Genealogical and Historical Society. See James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894-1994* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1995), 71-74, where Joseph Fielding Smith is described as the driving force behind the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*.

64. Quoted in Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life*," clxxxi. Roberts was given another opportunity to present his views to the Twelve on 21 January 1931. Smith appeared before the Twelve on 21 January 1931 with a fifty-plus-page response arguing his position. Smith's fifty-six-page memo, dated 14 Jan. 1931, is summarized in Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, Appen. I, 729-34.

public debate, in 1931 the First Presidency directed general authorities to "leave geology, biology, archaeology, and anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church."[66] Agreeing to disagree, the two apostles, at least in public, let the matter rest.[67]

But the issue soon became one-sided, for in 1933 both Roberts and Talmage passed away, whereas Smith lived for another four decades, serving as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles for a quarter of a century, and eventually ascending to the presidency of the church. Two years later, in 1935, Apostle Smith reaffirmed his millennial timetable in general conference stating that the "sixth day now [is] drawing to its close," with the Savior about to "come in the morning of the Sabbath, or seventh day of the earth's temporal existence, to inaugurate the millennial reign."[68]

In Roberts's and Talmage's legacy, over the next twenty years others attempted to moderate Smith's literalism.[69] Apostle-chemist John A. Widtsoe and apostle-physicist Joseph F. Merrill became spokesmen for the scientific world view and continued in their attempt to reconcile the findings of science with the revealed word.[70] "The struggle for reconciliation between the contending forces [science and religion] is not an

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65. James E. Talmage, "The Earth and Man," *Deseret News*, Church News sec., 21 Nov. 1931, 7-8. See also Richard Sherlock, "A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony*, 73; John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 231-33.

66. First Presidency Minutes, 7 Apr. 1931, quoted in William E. Evenson, "Evolution," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 2:478. See also Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn-Winter 1973): 64.

67. Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life*," clxxxix.

68. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Conference Report*, Apr. 1935, 98.

69. In the late 1920s and early 1930s church leaders encouraged several Mormons to attend the University of Chicago Divinity School. This encouragement stopped in the mid-1930s. See Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, 53-63. One participant speaks of this era as "remarkably free of restraints," commenting that one summer the church even sponsored four faculty members from the University of Chicago to teach courses on the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the history of the Christian church to LDS seminary teachers. See Lowry Nelson, *In the Direction of His Dreams: Memoirs* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985), 248-49.

70. See John A. Widtsoe, "How Old Is the Earth," *Improvement Era* 41 (Dec. 1938): 713-15; John A. Widtsoe, "How Did the Earth Come into Being," ibid. 42 (Feb. 1939); John A. Widtsoe, "What Is the Origin of Life on Earth," ibid. 42 (Mar. 1939): 136-37; John A. Widtsoe, "To What Extent Should the Doctrine of Evolution be Accepted," ibid. 41 (July 1939): 417, 444-47; John A. Widtsoe, "Were There Pre-Adamites?" ibid. 51 (May 1948): 305; John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations*, G. Homer Durham, ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960). From July to December 1945 Merrill voiced a radio address each Sunday evening on KSL radio in Salt Lake City which presented his reconciliation on faith and science. See Joseph F. Merrill, *The Truth-Seeker and Mormonism* (Independence, MO: Zion's Printing & Publishing, 1946).

easy one," said Widtsoe. "It cuts deep into the soul and usually leaves scars that ache while life endures."[71] Additionally Apostle James Talmage's son, Sterling Talmage, became an authority, not only on his apostle father's position, but as a trained geologist himself he was sought out by church leaders who desired a different perspective than the one presented as official doctrine by Smith and his followers.[72] Apostles Widtsoe and Merrill, who for two decades resisted Smith's literalist interpretation, both died in 1952. When two years later Smith published his book, *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* a new era of Mormon dogma emerged.[73]

Dismayed at the "dangers lurking in modern thought," Smith was determined to protect traditional truths from modernism.[74] This work's anti-science stance set the tone for the next half century of Mormon decree, a legacy which the church continues to feel today.[75] Citing Joseph Smith's 1832 revelatory answers to questions about the Book of Revelation, Smith concluded that the "revelation confirms the fact that the days of creation were celestial days, [one day is with the Lord as a thousand years according to the Apostle Peter], and this earth is passing through *one week of temporal (mortal) existence,* after which it will die and receive its resurrection."[76]

Smith again asserted that the earth was a few thousand years old, and that there was no death prior to 4000 B.C. He accused those who questioned the premise that all life was but 6,000 years old of rejecting the "fundamental doctrines of Christianity ... caught in the web of modernism and organic evolution."[77] Specifically citing geology as taught in science courses, he declared that those who so believed "reject the fall, and consequently they are forced to reject the atonement of Jesus

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71. John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as Scientist* (Salt Lake City: General Board Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations, 1908), preface.

72. For an example, see Sterling B. Talmage, "Genesis and Geology," *Improvement Era* 42 (Mar. 1939): 143, 179. See also Sherlock and Keller, "The B. H. Roberts/Joseph Fielding Smith/James E. Talmage Affair," 104-10; Jeffrey E. Keller, "Discussion Continued: The Sequel to the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 79-98.

73. Erich Robert Paul suggests that Smith had collected the material to write *Man, His Origin and Destiny* years earlier but waited until after Widtsoe's and Merrill's deaths to publish the work. See Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology,* 179.

74. Quoted in Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life,*" cixxviii.

75. See O. Kendall White, *Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987); Richard J. Mouw, "Evangelical Mormonism," *Christianity Today* 35 (11 Nov. 1991): 30.

76. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man, His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954), 465, 463; 2 Pet. 3:8. See also D&C 88:92-114; Abr. 5:13.

77. Smith, *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* 132.

Christ."[78] According to Smith, Satan authored the theory of evolution which is "the most pernicious doctrine ever entering the mind of man."[79] To Smith's literalist world view, revealed religion was simply irreconcilable with modern science.

The year it was published, Smith's book was used as a text at BYU's 1954 summer school for all seminary and institute teachers.[80] Apostle Harold B. Lee taught from Smith's work, required all teachers to submit papers on it, and urged its use in seminary and institute programs.[81] *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* written by the living president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, placed its author's anti-science position on par with official Mormon doctrine. On hearing of the events at the BYU symposium, First Presidency member J. Reuben Clark travelled to Provo to deliver his well-known speech reminding listeners that only the church president defines official doctrine, and even then only when he is speaking as a prophet.[82] Nevertheless, by declaring that scientists weaken faith and formulate false theories, Smith introduced Mormon neo-orthodoxy.[83]

For those who studied science-oriented concepts, such demands requiring adherence to orthodoxy as a sign of true belief were difficult.[84] Following publication of Smith's book, respected Mormon scientist Henry Eyring, serving as a member of the church's Sunday School General Board, took the opportunity at the next Sunday School General Board meeting to bear testimony that "the world was four or five billion years old."[85] This provoked an immediate response by Smith, followed

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78. Ibid., 322, 319.

79. Ibid., 133.

80. Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life,*" cxcvi n37; Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith,* 153. See also "Pres. Smith Lectures at BYU: Discusses Organic Evolution Opposed to Divine Revelation," *Deseret News,* "Church News" sec., 24 July 1954, 13-15.

81. See Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 96-99, 101nn8-12.

82. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "When Are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?" *Church News,* 31 July 1954, reprinted in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 68-81. See also D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 168-72.

83. Smith noted in his preface the support of Mark E. Petersen, Marion G. Romney, Milton R. Hunter, and Bruce R. McConkie. Petersen in particular would later pit science against "the divine creation" in the 1970s and 1980s in *Church News* editorials. For a sampling, see *Church News,* 1 Sept. 1979, 20 Dec. 1980, 17 Oct. 1981. See also Mark E. Petersen, "Creator and Savior," *Ensign* 13 (May 1983): 63-65; Mark E. Petersen, *Adam: Who Is He?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979).

84. See Richard Pearson Smith, "Science: A Part of or Apart from Mormonism?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 111.

by an exchange of letters.[86] Under the direction of church president David O. McKay, Apostle Adam S. Bennion solicited responses from Eyring and other LDS scientists on the topic.[87] Personally Eyring was able to compartmentalize his religious and secular beliefs. In a letter to Elder Richard L. Evans he wrote, "I never worry what the Brethren believe about my specialty today because it is part of the genius of the Lord's Church that both they and I will understand the entire situation better tomorrow."[88] Eyring publicly expressed an expanded scientific possibility for the earth's origin, stating that "organic evolution is the honest result of capable people trying to explain the evidence to the best of their ability. From my limited study of the subject I would say that the physical evidence supporting the theory is considerable from a scientific viewpoint."[89]

In the spring of 1956 David O. McKay himself asked Eyring for his view on the subject. McKay voiced, at least in private, that the church had taken no official position on evolution and the earth's origins.[90] In response to a specific request for clarification on the authoritative status of Smith's book, in a letter to the head of the University of Utah's Department of Geology, William Lee Stokes, McKay succinctly reported that "on the subject of organic evolution the Church has officially taken no position. The book '*Man, His Origin and Destiny*' was not published by the

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85. Harden Romney Eyring, ed., *Reflections of a Scientist: Henry Eyring* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 53; Steven H. Heath, "Agreeing to Disagree: Henry Eyring and Joseph Fielding Smith," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony*, 139.

86. Church educators who dissented to the approach of the 1954 BYU symposium were transferred to remote locations. One such educator related an incident in 1962 when Apostle Mark E. Petersen articulated the new thrust of the church education system: instructors are to teach the pure gospel, nothing else, and are to instill faith and testimony, not to intellectualize; there is no academic freedom in CES; Latter-day Saints neither want nor need the learning of the world; Latter-day Saints understand the Bible better than others due to direct revelation; and loyalty takes precedent over learning. See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 82, 97-98. See also Mark E. Petersen, "Avoid Sectarianism," 1-3, an address given to the Seminary and Institute of Religion faculty, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 22 June 1962, as quoted in *Book of Mormon: Student Manual, Religion 121-122*, 297.

87. Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, 154-55.

88. Eyring to Evans, 8 Apr. 1954, quoted in Smith, "Science: A Part of or Apart from Mormonism?" 113. See also Henry Eyring, *The Faith of a Scientist* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 60-61.

89. Eyring, *Reflections of a Scientist: Henry Eyring*, 61. See also the collection of writings and talks by prominent LDS scientists in Paul R. Green, comp., *Science and Your Faith in God* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958). Contributors included Henry Eyring, Carl J. Christensen, Harvey Fletcher, Joseph F. Merrill, Frederick J. Pack, John A. Widtsoe, and Franklin S. Harris.

90. Heath, "Agreeing to Disagree: Henry Eyring and Joseph Fielding Smith," 150; Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, 154; Richard D. Poll, "The Swearing Elders: Some Reflections," *Sunstone* 10 (Jan. 1986): 14-17.

Church, and is not approved by the Church. The book contains expressions of the author's views for which he alone is responsible."[91]

Although Smith's book, *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* may not have been read by many current members, Bruce R. McConkie's wide use of it, in both *Mormon Doctrine* and a three-volume compilation of Smith's sermons and writings titled *Doctrines of Salvation,* proliferated its influence throughout the church.[92] McConkie unequivocally identified where heretics lie. If an individual "accepts the untrue theory that death has been present on the earth for scores of thousands or millions of years, he must reject the revealed truth that there was no death either for man or animals or plants or any form of life until some 6000 years ago when Adam fell."[93] As Duane Jeffery has pointed out, this position "sparked a wave of religious fundamentalism that shows little sign of abatement."[94]

Considered by many to be the leading Mormon doctrinal spokesman, McConkie's force has been derived primarily from his position as church leader and apostle.[95] For forty years he served in the church's highest quorums. Called into the First Council of Seventy in 1946, McConkie's ascent to the Twelve in 1972 added to his credibility as the leading voice for doctrinal orthodoxy.[96] The authoritative tone of McConkie's discourses and writings is illustrated by his 1980 counsel to an LDS intellectual that "it is my province to teach to the Church what the doctrine is. It is your

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91. McKay to Stokes, 15 Feb. 1957, in William Lee Stokes, "Epilogue: An Official Position," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony,* 292. In a self-admitted "unofficial" address, Elder Boyd K. Packer later condemned as false "the theory that God used an evolutionary process to prepare a physical body for the spirit of man." He specifically referred to a "letter signed by a president of the Church," which he pronounced "not a declaration of the position of the Church." See Boyd K. Packer, "The Law and the Light," in *The Book of Mormon: Jacob Through Words of Mormon, To Learn With Joy,* Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds. (Provo, UT: Religious Study Center, Brigham Young University, 1990), 1, 21, 23.

92. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 211, 247-56, 492-501; Bruce R. McConkie, comp., *Doctrines of Salvation,* 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 1:78-85, 140-51.

93. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 681.

94. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," 41-75. See also Richard J. Cummings, "Quintessential Mormonism: Literal-Mindedness as a Way of Life," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 98-110. A comparison of the views of BYU students in 1935 and 1973 illustrates the shift towards conservatism. For example, in 1935 36 percent believed man's creation did not involve biological evolution. Thirty-eight years later 81 percent of students surveyed held that man's creation did not involve biological evolution, a 45 percent change. See Harold T. Christensen and Kenneth L. Cannon, "The Fundamentalist Emphasis at Brigham Young University: 1935-1973," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17 (Mar. 1978): 53-57.

95. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 186.

96. David John Buerger, "Speaking with Authority: The Theological Influence of Elder Bruce R. McConkie," *Sunstone* 10 (Mar. 1985): 8-9, 12.

province to echo what I say or to remain silent."[97]

In *Mormon Doctrine,* first published in 1958, McConkie left no doubt as to his literalist interpretation of scripture and earth history. In entries dealing with these topics, he cites as his sources primarily *Doctrines of Salvation* and *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* both by his father-in-law, Joseph Fielding Smith.[98] Here McConkie links belief in an ancient earth with rejection of a literalist interpretation of the Millennium and dispensational timetable. He declares that "evolutionary theories [which] assume that hundreds of millions of years were involved ... in the creation of the earth as a habitable globe, [leave] no place in them for the imminent Second Advent of our Lord, a coming which will usher in the millennial era of peace. ... There is no harmony between the truths of revealed religion and the theories of organic evolution."[99] Under the entry "Higher Criticism," McConkie's first cross-reference reads "See Apostasy." He then castigates these "uninspired Biblical scholars" who base their knowledge on "speculative evolution, on speculative archeological deductions, and on pure imagination." McConkie concludes that as "doctrines of the devil ... [higher criticism is] part of and portion of the promised universal apostasy which the prophets specified would prevail in the last days."[100]

Yet despite its immense popularity among church members, the work was not authorized by the church or endorsed after publication.[101] In 1960 the First Presidency commented privately that *Mormon Doctrine* "had been a source of concern to the Brethren ever since it was published," and "is full of errors and misstatements," concluding that the book should "not be republished even in a corrected form" for to do so "would be embarrassing to [Elder McConkie] and lessen his influence with the members of the Church."[102] For a number of reasons, including its user-friendly alphabetical access to gospel topics, *Mormon Doctrine* has

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97. McConkie to Eugene England, 19 Feb. 1981, 8, copy in my possession.

98. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 211, 247-56, 492-501, 681.

99. Ibid., 255-56.

100. Ibid., 353-55. For a discussion of McConkie's disdain for higher criticism, see Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 188-90. See also Davis Bitton, "Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (1966): 122-23, 127. For an example of Joseph Fielding Smith's antagonism towards higher criticism, see Richard Sherlock, "Faith and History: The Snell Controversy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Spring 1979): 27-41. This is contrasted with John A. Widtsoe's openness to higher criticism in Widtsoe, *In Search of Truth* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1930), 81-93; Widtsoe, "Is the Bible Translated Correctly?" *Improvement Era* 43 (Mar. 1940): 161; Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations: Aids to Faith in a Modern Day* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 99.

101. Buerger, "Speaking with Authority," 9.

102. David O. McKay Diary, 7, 8, 27, 28 Jan. 1960; Marion G. Romney to David O. McKay, 28 Jan. 1959, both quoted in Buerger, "Speaking with Authority," 9. A discussion of church leader anxiety over the publication of *Mormon Doctrine* is found in Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith,* 157-59, 431n57.

become the near-definitive authority on theological matters for the past forty-five years. As with Smith's *Man, His Origin and Destiny,* President McKay privately disavowed McConkie's work and noted in his diary that McConkie had agreed not to reproduce *Mormon Doctrine* in a revised form. Nevertheless, in 1966 McConkie published a second edition.[103]

Once established as the twentieth-century doctrinal spokesman, McConkie's next work, his three-volume commentary on the New Testament, naturally fell into widespread usage as an authoritative interpretation on the Bible.[104] Interestingly the most often non-scriptural source McConkie cites is himself, directly from *Mormon Doctrine.* Also of significance is the fact that when referring to biblical scholars, his sources are primarily books published before the twentieth century.[105]

McConkie also served on the Scriptures Publication Committee which guided publication of the new LDS edition of the scriptures, and his literalist influence in this work is pervasive.[106] The specific purpose of this monumental endeavor was to bring to the Mormon audience a variety of resources including cross-references to other volumes of modern revelation, excerpts from the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, explanatory footnotes, a Bible Dictionary, interpretive chapter headings, a topical guide, and a concordance.[107] Although these guides are not official pronouncements of church doctrine, one writer has described them as "the most comprehensive scripture study aid program ever made by the Church."[108] The Scriptures Publication Committee's doctrinal interpretation was critical, for not only did the revised Bible Dictionary in-

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103. See Romney to McKay, and McKay Diary, 7-8 Jan. and 27-28 Jan. 1960, both cited in Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology,* 180, 189n37.

104. Bruce R. McConkie, *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary,* 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-72).

105. Buerger, "Speaking with Authority," 11.

106. De facto canonization of the King James version of the Bible began in the 1950s with J. Reuben Clark's dismissal of all modern translations. See J. Reuben Clark, *Why the King James Version* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1956); Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years,* 173-79; Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 148-81. Recently the First Presidency reiterated that "in doctrinal matters latter-day revelation supports the King James Version in preference to other English translations." Ezra Taft Benson, Gordon B. Hinckley, Thomas S. Monson, "First Presidency Statement on the King James Version of the Bible," *Ensign* 22 (Aug. 1992): 80.

107. Robert J. Matthews, "The New Publications of the Standard Works—1979, 1981," *Brigham Young University Studies* 22 (Fall 1982): 387-424. Committee members included elders Thomas S. Monson, Boyd K. Packer, Bruce R. McConkie, Marvin J. Ashton, and Howard W. Hunter. Ibid., 388. See also William James Mortimer, "The Coming Forth of the LDS Editions of Scripture," *Ensign* 13 (Aug. 1983): 35-41.

108. Matthews, "The New Publications of the Standard Works—1979, 1981," 422. See also Edward H. Ashment, "Making the Scriptures 'Indeed One in Our Hands,'" in *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture,* Dan Vogel, ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 237-40. The project also rehabilitated Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible by including his interpretations in the footnotes. See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive,* 107.

clude extractions from McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine,* but McConkie himself wrote many of the chapter introductions and synopses.[109] McConkie's version of the earth's creation gained status in 1979 when the Bible Dictionary declared under the term "death" that "there was no death on this earth for any forms of life before the fall of Adam" 6,000 years ago.[110] McConkie predicted that the new scriptures and their accompanying references would aid in the eventual destruction "of the whole theory of organic evolution" and reminded the Saints that the "key to an understanding of Holy Writ lies not in the wisdom of men, not in cloistered hall, not in academic degrees, [and] not in a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew."[111] Within this context McConkie's condemnation of scientific and geological evidence has virtually become the orthodox church position.[112]

Increasing his status as church spokesman on the subject,[113] in a 1982 *Ensign* article McConkie declared the "revealed verities" that "we are duty bound to accept." These include the notion that "there is no evolving from one species to another" and that death entered the world with the fall of Adam.[114] McConkie repeated the theme in his 1984 general conference address, charging that "true believers" must reject evolution and accept that no death, neither plant nor animal, occurred prior to

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109. Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Church Publishes First LDS Edition of the Bible," *Ensign* 9 (Oct. 1979): 16; Buerger, "Speaking with Authority," 12-13.

110. Holy Bible (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), "Bible Dictionary," 655. The same doctrinal interpretation is given in "Fall of Adam," ibid., 670. Under "Chronology," the Bible Dictionary includes a chart which lists the fall of Adam at 4000 B.C. Ibid., 635. An Old Testament chronology chart, given in the September 1980 issue of the *Ensign,* 40-44, shows Adam born near the year 4000 B.C. See also Smith, "Science: A Part of or Apart From Mormonism?" 117; Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 206-12.

111. Bruce R. McConkie, "The Bible a Sealed Book," in *Supplement to a Symposium on the New Testament* (Salt Lake City: Church Education System, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1984), 1-7, quoted in Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive,* 108.

112. See F. Kent Nielsen,"The Gospel and the Scientific View: How Earth Came To Be," *Ensign* 10 (Sept. 1980): 71-72, where the author confirms that "from the time of the Fall until the end of the Millennium is described as seven thousand years."

113. By mid-1979 McConkie had prepared a forty-two-page manuscript titled "Man—His Origin, Fall, and Redemption," which he hoped would be used by the First Presidency to issue an official statement on the Creation for the church's 1980 sesquicentennial anniversary. When the First Presidency decided not to issue a doctrinal statement, individual leaders determined that the duty now rested with them personally. See Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith,* 168-171. See also Bruce R. McConkie, "The Seven Deadly Heresies," BYU Fireside, 1 June 1980, in *1980 Devotional Speeches of the Year* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1982), 74-80.

114. Bruce R. McConkie, "Christ and the Creation," *Ensign* 12 (June 1982): 9, 14-15. In this article McConkie concedes that the definition of the term "day," as used in the Creation narrative, is uncertain. See also Bruce R. McConkie, *The Mortal Messiah: From Bethlehem to Calvary: Book 1* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979), 29, 32-33n7; Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology,* 183-84.

Adam's fall 6,000 years ago.[115] McConkie was joined by Apostle Boyd K. Packer, who downplayed any attempt to reconcile the scientific version of the earth's physical creation with "the workings of God." He proclaimed that "surely, no one with reverence for God could believe that His children evolved from slime or from reptiles."[116] In a 1988 address to church educators he admitted, "How long a time has man been upon the earth? I do not know." Nevertheless, "do not mortgage your soul for unproved theories," he counseled. The notion that "god used an evolutionary process to prepare a physical body for the spirit is ... false."[117]

In addition to promulgating an anti-science position, twentieth-century church leaders also returned to the millennial rhetoric so pronounced during the church's first generation. A prime example is the 1967 general conference priesthood session address of First Presidency member Hugh B. Brown. Brown warned the young men of the church:

> It seems to me that of all the signs of the times (and they are ominous and on every side) this is one of the significant signs of the times—that the Church of Jesus Christ, the kingdom of God, is massing its forces, getting ready for that which is to follow. ... I hope that every young man under the sound of my voice will resolve tonight, "I am going to keep myself clean. I am going to serve the Lord. I am going to prepare every way I can for future service, because I want to be prepared when the final battle shall come." And some of you young men are going to engage in that battle. Some of you are going to engage in the final testing time, which is coming and which is closer to us than we know.[118]

On the 136th anniversary of the church's organization, as president of the Twelve Joseph Fielding Smith reaffirmed that "the coming of the Lord is near."[119]

In unofficial, yet indoctrinating sources, the church continues to endorse a "young earth," millenarian, anti-evolutionary position.[120] Religion instruction manuals for both the Old and New Testaments, published by the Church Education System, either dismiss or ignore

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115. Bruce R. McConkie, "The Caravan Moves On," *Ensign* 14 (Nov. 1984): 82-85.

116. Boyd K. Packer, "The Pattern of Our Parentage," *Ensign* 14 (Nov. 1984): 67. See also Packer, "The Law and the Light," 1-31.

117. Packer, "The Law and the Light," 21, 24-26. Armand Mauss points out that Packer's anti-evolution address was given at a BYU symposium on the Book of Mormon. Since the Book of Mormon has few passages relative to the Creation, Packer's address can be seen as the use of this public forum, in front of church educators, to promulgate his anti-evolutionary stance. See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 193n2.

118. Hugh B. Brown, *Conference Report*, Oct. 1967, 113.

119. Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Signs of the Lord's Coming," *Improvement Era*, June 1966, 499.

120. See Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, 163-67, 434n72.

scholarship associated with the age of the earth.[121] Specifically, when asserting that the Book of Revelation's seven seals represent the 7,000 years of the earth's temporal existence, the manual quotes extensively from Bruce R. McConkie's *New Testament Commentary.*[122]

More recently the church has remained tentative on the issue of science and religion. In the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* published in 1992, church leaders advised the work's editors that the section on evolution should be limited to a brief statement of the church's official declarations.[123] The 1909, 1925, and 1931 First Presidency statements are the only official positions on the subject.[124] Yet in the face of authoritative declarations, Mormon neo-orthodoxy is now more closely aligned with the conservative position of Christian evangelical fundamentalism regarding the Bible than with a broad-based notion of scripture which would accommodate higher criticism, the scientific method, and a mythopoetic approach to holy writ.[125]

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121. Although the study manual for the Old Testament states that the church has taken no official stance on the age of the earth, the essay gives little space to the evidence of an ancient earth. See "How Old Is the Earth?" *Old Testament: Genesis—2 Samuel,* 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Education System, 1980), 28-29. On pp. 33-36 the manual asserts that "there was no mortal death" before Adam fell and goes on to criticize the theory of evolution. The text then quotes Joseph Fielding Smith's *Doctrines of Salvation* that "you cannot believe in this theory [evolution] of the origin of man, and at the same time accept the plan of salvation ... You must choose the one and reject the other." See ibid., 34. See also *Book of Mormon: Student Manual Religion 121-122,* 231.

122. *The Life and Teachings of Jesus & His Apostles,* 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Church Education System, 1979), 457-60.

123. Evenson, "Science: The Universe, Creation, and Evolution," cxxix n10.

124. See Evenson, "Evolution," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 2:478. See also Morris S. Peterson, "Earth," in ibid., 2:431-33. John Sorenson attempted to soften the definitive voice of those who deem the official statements as anti-evolutionary. He states that "subsequent statements indicate that the details of how Adam became the 'first man' are considered not to have been revealed clearly enough to settle questions of process." See John L. Sorenson, "Origin of Man," ibid., 3:1,053. One author hopes that these may represent a trend that literalism has peaked. See David H. Bailey, "Science and Mormonism: Past, Present, and Future," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 29* (Spring 1996): 84-96, 94. For the First Presidency statements, see Smith, Winder, Lund, "The Origin of Man," 75-81; Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, Charles W. Nibley, "Mormon View of Evolution," *Improvement Era,* Sept. 1925, 1090-91; Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 4:199-206, 5:243-44.

125. Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Bible Believers: Fundamentalists in the Modern World* (New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 51-56; Timothy P. Weber, "Premillennialism and the Branches of Evangelicalism," in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism,* Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 5-21; Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive,* 158-67, 178-80; Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, "Membership Growth, Church Activity, and Missionary Recruitment," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 52-53; Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology,* 180-81, 185. The *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* has no entry for "higher criticism."

At times the church has attempted to repress its millennial aspirations. An example of this occurred in the early 1990s. At the church's October 1992 general conference Apostle M. Russell Ballard, responding to inquiries concerning the end of the world, counseled members that "the Lord is in control. He knows the end from the beginning."[126] Apostle Boyd K. Packer's remarks at the same conference reveal that the impetus for this counsel was the LDS survivalist movement whose millenarian fervor had recently been responded to by the church with disciplinary measures.[127] He warned of those "among us ... who tell of impending political and economic chaos [and] the end of the world."[128] Such denunciations underscore the general membership's latent parousian expectations. A more tempered response to a direct question regarding the timing of Christ's second coming is from Elder Neal A. Maxwell. When queried about the church's teachings regarding the Second Coming during the public television series *Searching for God in America*, he simply stated that "there will be much tribulation ahead of that time [Christ's return]. Yet we do not focus upon it unduly."[129]

The continuation of Mormon millennial literalism may best be explained by the personalities involved in the church hierarchy over the past seventy years.[130] Represented in practical terms by correlation and public relations campaigns, the appearance of unanimity in belief and purpose is seen as such an important part of the church's character that in order to project a solid, united front, dissent is repressed and delegated

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126. M. Russell Ballard, "The Joy of Hope Fulfilled," *Ensign* 22 (Nov. 1992): 31-32.

127. See Chris Jorgensen and Peggy Fletcher Stack, "It's Judgement Day for Far Right: LDS Church Purges Survivalists," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 Nov. 1992, A-1, A-2; Christopher Smith, "Hero-Turned-Heretic? Gritz May Be Leading LDS Flock Into Wilderness," ibid., 29 Nov. 1992, A-2; Chris Jorgensen, "Mormons' End-of-World Talk Could End LDS Membership," ibid., 2 Dec. 1992, B-1; Hugh Dellios, "Doomsday Mormons Say LDS Church Rejects Them," *Provo Daily Herald*, 10 Jan. 1993, D-1; "LDS Church Disciplines Ultra-Conservative Survivalists," *Sunstone* 16 (Mar. 1993): 67-68.

128. Boyd K. Packer, "To Be Learned Is Good If ... ," *Ensign* 22 (Nov. 1992): 73.

129. Neal A. Maxwell, in Hugh Hewitt, *Searching for God in America* (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1996), 143. A similar approach is given in M. Russell Ballard, "When Shall These Things Be?" *Ensign* 26 (Dec. 1996): 56-61.

130. One writer identifies the appointment of J. Reuben Clark to the First Presidency in the 1930s as a turning point towards theological conservatism. Clark's appointment coincided with the demise of previous intellectuals and moderates in the hierarchy including B. H. Roberts, James Talmage, and Anthony W. Ivins. During this same period the appointment of three conservatives to the apostleship, Harold B. Lee, Ezra Taft Benson, and Mark E. Petersen, would influence the church for the next half century. See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 80, 168-70. For Clark's campaign against biblical higher criticism, see Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years*, 173-79.

to closed-door meetings.[131] Apostle McConkie summarized the goal of an homogenized Mormon projection. Under the heading of "unity" in *Mormon Doctrine,* he declared:

> this unity among all the saints, and between them and the Father and the Son is reserved for those who gain exaltation and inherit the fullness of the Father's kingdom. Those who attain it will all know the same things; think the same thoughts; exercise the same powers; do the same acts; respond in the same way to the same circumstances; ... All this is the eventual unity that is to be achieved but even now in man's feeble mortal state he can yet attain unity in thought, desires, purposes, and the like.[132]

Additionally, respect for chains of authority is also expected, amply illustrated by Apostle Rudger Clawson. As president of the Twelve during the Roberts/Smith debate, in his report to the First Presidency he chastised Roberts's challenge of Smith's competency as "'very offensive' because it failed to show brotherly deference to one of higher priesthood rank."[133]

As Grant Underwood points out, in the church the words of apostles and prophets of previous generations are given near-scripture status. Both member and leader alike place these declaration on par with the biblical teachings of Peter and Paul.[134] An associate of Hugh Nibley declared the orthodox position held by the membership: "I can't bring myself to criticize a prophet for any utterance, no matter how foolish or profound, on the basis of academic rules. I don't always agree with everything the prophets say, but they are free to say anything they like without opposition from me."[135] The implication is that any utterance by prophets, ancient or modern, is beyond historical, literary, cultural, sociological, or theological examination.[136] In the context of correlation, do recent statements by general authorities in conference addresses now constitute doctrine? How does one ignore such declarations without ex-

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131. See Richard J. Cummings, "The Stone and the Star: Fanaticism, Doubt and the Problem of Integrity," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon History* 17 (Spring 1984): 51. Thomas Alexander describes the "duty-bound" charge to church leaders that once an official decision is made, deliberations and disagreements remain secret. See Thomas G. Alexander, "'To Maintain Harmony': Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 46-47.

132. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine,* 275.

133. Quoted in Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, The Way, The Life,*" clxxxiv.

134. Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism,* 140.

135. Curtis Wright, quoted in Mary Bradford and Gary Gillum, "A Conversation with Hugh Nibley," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Winter 1979): 23.

136. William D. Russell, "Beyond Literalism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 65.

periencing cognitive dissonance?[137]

The fear, of course, is that following scientific methodology, which downplays the supernatural as a tangible force, will undermine Mormonism.[138] Most significantly the polemic nature of the science/religion debate implies that one version or the other must be true.[139] By associating myth with false, vain, and superstitious beliefs, the literalist tradition rejects the mythical mode of portraying religious truths, fearful that acceptance would weaken scriptural authority.

Yet imposing modern standards of history and science on texts written thousands of years ago betrays their original purpose.[140] The mythopoetic picture disappears when one abandons the culture, tradition, and humanity of the revelatory process. As Keith Norman notes, "Recognizing the function of myth removes those blinders and opens us to the universal, symbolic truths crucial to the text's spiritual import."[141] When a less sanitized, documented, and historical view of scripture is employed, its spiritual value can be enhanced. By using analogies to expound heavenly verities to an earthly world, the mythopoetic perspective, exemplified in the Mormon temple ceremony, expresses truths indirectly and at many different levels.[142] If one can believe that the endowment's ritual symbolism was created for this purpose, then why should it be difficult to conceptualize that the writers of the biblical accounts used the same methodology to portray eternal precepts?[143]

Where parables and rituals can be powerful mechanisms for conveying truth, scriptural symbolism functions in the same manner. Myth is not opposed to historical accuracy, it merely serves a different function. Not only does it take us beyond our everyday experience, it universalizes the message by expressing eternal truth through the use of archetypal models. This is illustrated in instructions to Mormons attending the temple to consider themselves to be Adam and Eve. And the literalist tradition itself is waylaid by counseling participants that certain aspects of the

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137. For a discussion of this issue, see Richard D. Poll, "Dealing with Dissonance: Myths, Documents, and Faith," *Sunstone* 12 (May 1988): 17-21; Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 191-92.

138. McConkie stated concisely that "if what scientists say about the age of the earth [and] evolution ... were true, then Mormonism was false." See Thomas A. Blakely, "The Swearing Elders: The First Generation of Modern Mormon Intellectuals," *Sunstone* 10 (Jan. 1986): 8-13.

139. An attempt to articulate the complexities of both sides of the issue is in Hugh Nibley, "Before Adam," in *Old Testament and Related Studies: The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley: Volume 1*, John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum, Don E. Norton, eds. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986), 49-85.

140. Lowell L. Bennion, "How to Read the Book of Mormon," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 13.

141. Keith E. Norman, "Adam's Navel," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony*, 231.

142. See Margaret Toscano and Paul Toscano, *Strangers in Paradox: Explorations in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 265-91.

143. Norman, "Adam's Navel," 236; Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 171-73.

ceremony, specifically man's creation from the dust of the earth and woman's creation from the man's rib, are figurative.[144] Focusing on inner or spiritual connotations, the temple ceremony attempts to give meaning to the present. By abolishing time and space, past, present, and future, heaven, earth, and hell, all meet in the temple to convey, beyond the veil, the true purpose of life.[145]

While science investigates the mechanics of creation, religion portrays its purpose. By focussing on a mythical interpretation of scripture, the Creation revelations produced by Joseph Smith, in the form of the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham, may be seen as doctrinal corrections rather than historical revisions.[146] Galileo, who experienced personally the wrath held against non-orthodox theology, concluded that "the intention of the Holy Ghost is to teach us how one goes to heaven, not how heaven goes."[147] When the biblical narrative is seen not as world history but as the story of God's covenant people, the why, not necessarily the how, of Creation adds spiritual meaning to the text.

Just as the account of the Creation may be appropriated to reveal many interpretations, a view of the millennial era of peace and serenity can also lead one to the metaphorical realm. If millennial history parallels one's own journey through life, God may be seen as redeeming both humanity and individual souls simultaneously.[148] As religion historian James Moorhead shows, using this apocalyptic model moves historical events from crisis to judgement to vindication, mirroring "the evangelical conception of the individual soul's pilgrimage from sin, through the storm of conversion, to new life."[149]

This reinterpretation follows closely the shift from a premillennial to

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144. An example is found in Moses 6:59, which reads that "insomuch as ye were born into the world by water, and blood, and spirit, which I have made, and so become of dust a living soul." The figurative interpretation was promulgated by John A. Widtsoe early in the twentieth century in *Rational Theology* (Salt Lake City: General Priesthood Committee, 1915), 46-47. The 1990 revision of the endowment deleted the instruction that as far as the man and woman are concerned the language is figurative.

145. Norman, "Adam's Navel," 236-45.

146. Anthony A. Hutchinson, "A Mormon Midrash? LDS Creation Narratives Reconsidered," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Winter 1988): 11-74; Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Fall 1986): 85-102; Karl Sandberg, "Knowing Brother Joseph Again: The Book of Abraham and Joseph Smith as Translator," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Winter 1989): 17-37; Norman, "Adam's Navel," 232.

147. Quoted in Cedric I. Davern, "Evolution and Creation: Two World Views," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Spring 1984): 50.

148. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 4-12.

149. James H. Moorhead, "Searching for the Millennium in America," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 8 (1987): 30-31; Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 122-75; Jerald C. Brauer, "Revivalism and Millenarianism in America," in *In the Great Tradition: In Honor of Winthrop S. Hudson, Essays on Pluralism, Voluntarism, and Revivalism*, eds. Joseph D. Ban and Paul R. Dekar (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1982), 147-59.

a postmillennial view of scripture adapted by Christ's followers nearly 2,000 years ago, and the similar potential for dealing with a delayed millennium in Mormonism is striking. From the earliest days Christians were faced with the fact that Christ did not return but had allowed his Saints to suffer.[150] In the third century Augustinian interpretations began to identify the Millennium as a spiritual allegory. Technically, postmillennialism holds that the Second Coming will occur *after* the 1,000-year period of bliss prophesied in Revelation 12.[151] But the theological application of postmillennialism emphasizes that not all supernatural prophecy needs to be taken literally. Literal meanings may be put aside for metaphorical interpretations.[152]

Postmillennialism is more than just placing Christ's return at the end of the thousand years of millennial bliss. It is a way of viewing progress and the world, an understanding that improvement follows rational law which humans can master for their own betterment. Postmillennial philosophy is a compromise between an apocalyptic sense of the end based on the Book of Revelation and a progressive view of humanity's future. With the return of Christ delayed, there is now time for the gradual perfection of individuals and society leading to the creation of heaven on earth.[153] Postmillennial emphasis on human effort redefines the struggle between good and evil into thousands of small contests rather than one climatic battle. God is not removed from humanity's efforts to be perfect;

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150. Theodore Olson, *Millennialism, Utopianism, and Progress* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 84-92; Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850*, xv-xvi, 4; Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 114-21.

151. W. Stanford Reid, "The Kingdom of God: The Key to History," *Fides et Historia* 13 (Spring-Summer 1981): 7; Robert G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1977), 9-10; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 29. Tuveson expressed an aversion to the standard pre- versus postmillennialist dichotomy, believing Augustine would fall into a third category. Although technically postmillennial (the Millennium precedes the Parousia), there remain significant differences between Augustinians who saw the hoped for "City of God" as separate from the evil world and traditional postmillennialists. See Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 34n11.

152. Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 4.

153. James H. Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880," *Journal of American History* 71 (Dec. 1984): 526-41. Neither pre- nor postmillennialists fit given stereotypes and scholars question whether the line can be drawn so neatly and cleanly between the two. Moorhead cautions against "simplistic caricatures," showing that premillennialism sometimes included activism. See Moorhead, "Searching for the Millennium in America," 21-22; and Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse," 525. Other works which call for a greater understanding of millennialism's ambiguities include Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 28-36, 274-77; John M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in *Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 173-206; Ernest R. Sandeen, "The 'Little Tradition' and the Form of Modern Millenarianism," *Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion* 4 (1980): 165-80.

rather he is a co-participant.[154] Believing that the redemption of society entails subduing God's enemies in the world as we know it, postmillennialism shifts the emphasis from the world's cosmic battle between Christ and Satan to the struggle between good and evil within the individual soul.[155]

In the past Mormonism incorporated postmillennial thought by using such notions as the Law of Consecration and the United Order to promote the raising of a people divested of greed and selfishness. This ideal community would serve as a model for the rest of society in preparation for Christ's reign. Additionally, some held that a political kingdom was necessary to welcome Christ, a hope that man's efforts may be able to hasten the Millennium by preparing the way for the Lord.[156] Brigham Young summarized this philosophy, and in so doing epitomized the metaphorical interpretation of the Millennium:

> I find a great many different opinions among these people, with regard to the real essence and effect of the Millennium. The Millennium consists in this—every heart in the Church and Kingdom of God being united in one; the Kingdom increasing to the overcoming of everything opposed to the economy of heaven, and Satan being bound, and having a seal set upon him. ... Let the people be holy, and the earth under their feet will be holy. Let the people be holy, and filled with the Spirit of God, and every animal and creeping thing will be filled with peace; the soil of the earth will bring forth in its strength, and the fruits thereof will be meat for man. The more purity that exits, the less is the strife: the more kind we are to our animals, the more will peace increase, and the savage nature of the brute creation vanish away. If the people will not serve the devil another moment whilst they live, if this congregation is possessed of that spirit and resolution, here in this house is the Millennium. Let the inhabitants of this city be possessed of that spirit, let the people of the territory be possessed of that spirit, and here is the Millen-

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154. Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 28-29; Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium*, 25-28.

155. Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 66; Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 28-31; William G. McLoughlin, "Religious Freedom and Popular Sovereignty: A Change in the Flow of God's Power, 1730-1830," in Ban and Dekar, *In The Great Tradition: In Honor of Winthrop S. Hudson, Essays on Pluralism, Voluntarism, and Revivalism*, 173-92; Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 61 (Oct. 1980): 372; Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium*, 58; Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, 129-31, 175; Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse," 536-41.

156. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, 3-23; Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* ... (New York: W. Sanford, 1837), 9-49, 106-108. Marvin Hill contends the Saints understood they were to rule politically *prior* to the advent of the Millennium. See Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 369.

> nium. Let the whole people of the United States be possessed of that spirit, and here is the Millennium, and so will it spread over all the world.[157]

While not representing Mormonism's predominant tenet in the movement's early years, the idea of perfecting both individuals and society demonstrates that millennial thought can be appropriated to take on different meanings. Additionally, in the need to cope with a delayed millennium one can see a parallel to the plight of the first generation of Christians and the first generations of Mormons. For Mormonism, the aftermath of the 1890 Manifesto thrust the church into the twentieth century. The institutions so crucial to nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints, communitarianism, theocracy, and polygamy, gave way both culturally and intellectually to the need for survival, the quest for statehood, and accommodation.[158] Albeit the Millennium's imminence is not stressed to the degree that it was one hundred years ago, as part of Mormon eschatology the importance of the Parousia remains intact.

Mormonism is basically a creedless religion, with few doctrines discussed on official terms. To determine the tenacity and permanency of theological tenets, one must unravel and decipher both ancient and modern scripture, oracles from the church hierarchy, private revelation (including personal inspiration and patriarchal blessings), and other forms of divination.[159] Theology is therefore necessarily passed down from one generation to the next by unofficial, yet authoritative, directives and discourses.[160] Non-Mormon anthropologist Mark Leone asserts that in Mormonism one becomes his or her own theologian creating and recreating religious concepts.[161] As Peter Crawley notes, "The absence of a formal creed means that each generation must produce a new set of gospel ex-

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157. Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:203, 6 Apr. 1852.

158. Klaus J. Hansen, "Mormonism and American Culture: Some Tentative Hypotheses," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, rev. ed., F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds. (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1992), 2.

159. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, x; Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 508; Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism in the Twenty-first Century: Marketing for Miracles," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 244-47.

160. In describing the ambiguity of Mormon theological tenets, one author breaks down the ecclesiastical status of sermons and writings of church leaders into four categories: canon doctrine, official doctrine, authoritative doctrine, and popular or folk doctrine. See Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of the Pharaoh's Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban Against Blacks in the Mormon Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 32-34. Due to the relative "creedless" factor of Mormonism, leaders can, and do, intermix theology with personal interpretation. See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 161, 175n5.

161. Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 167-93.

positors to restate and reinterpret the doctrines of Mormonism."[162] Yet it is precisely because it lacks a rigid creed that Mormonism is able to encompass a broad range of theological interpretations, including both literal and/or mythical treatment of the Genesis creation narrative and a future millennial era of peace.[163]

Most feared by those espousing a literal tradition is the potential for jeopardizing the mission of Joseph Smith.[164] Viewed in these terms, both higher criticism and allegorical interpretation question the validity of modern revelation.[165] Difficulty is added when latter-day scriptures reinforce difficult literalist historical biblical passages.[166] This position is illustrated by Sidney Sperry who criticized a colleague for being "more in sympathy with the views of modern scholarship than he is with those expressed by the Prophet."[167] As Melodie Moench Charles points out, the implication is that "any Mormon armed with a testimony, a Pearl of Great Price, and a Book of Mormon can understand the Old Testament better than any secular scholar can."[168] This anti-scholarly approach to scripture, which ignores historical, literary, and archeological models, continues to this day.[169]

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162. Peter Crawley, "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 21.

163. Anthony A. Hutchinson, "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 116; Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 172.

164. Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 226.

165. Russell, "Beyond Literalism," 62-63; Heber C. Snell, "The Bible in the Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Spring 1967): 55-74.

166. Smith, "Science: A Part of or Apart from Mormonism?" 111. Recently the First Presidency has taken the position that "the most reliable way to measure the accuracy of any biblical passage is not by comparing different texts, but by comparison with the Book of Mormon and modern-day revelations." See Benson, Hinckley, Monson, "First Presidency Statement on the King James Version of the Bible," 80.

167. Sidney B. Sperry, "Scholars and Prophets," in "The Bible in the Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Spring 1967): 75.

168. Melodie Moench Charles, "A Mormon Perspective—Cockeyed," review of *The Old Testament: A Mormon Perspective*, by Glenn L. Pearson, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 123. See also Paul, *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology*, 170; Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, 104.

169. Keith E. Norman, "A Not So Great Commentary," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Fall 1981): 130-32; Snell, "The Bible in the Church," 60; Sterling M. McMurrin in Brigham H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), xxiv-xxv. In the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* M. Catherine Thomas identifies the following use of Mormon scripture. "Modern revelation and restored scripture offer indispensable interpretations of the Bible. ... Latter-day Saints interpret the Bible in the light of restored scripture and modern revelation because these have reestablished the lost key of knowledge." See M. Catherine Thomas, "Scripture, Interpretation Within Scripture," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1,284. Non-Mormon sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea's prediction, now forty years old, of the encounter with secular thought as Mormonism's greatest source of strain and conflict, remains valid to this day. See O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 222-40.

Myth and religion are inseparable, as they should be. For in myth one structures society's inexplicable features so that meaning may be gleaned from everyday life. As John Updike suggests, "What matters in a myth, a belief, is ... Does it enable us to live, to keep going? ... The crucial question isn't Can you prove it? but Does it give us a handle on the reality that otherwise would overwhelm us?"[170] One's pursuit of knowledge, and an attempt to assimilate secular and religious truths, does not necessarily portray an inability to develop faith in the church.[171] As Albert Einstein once observed, "Religion without science is blind, while science without religion is lame."[172] Brigham Young, not known as a theologian in the true sense of the word, over a hundred years ago downplayed strict literalist interpretation of scripture:

> How long it [the earth] has been organized is not for me to say, and I do not care anything about it. As for the Bible account of the creation we may say that the Lord gave it to Moses, or rather Moses obtained the history and traditions of the fathers, and from them picked out what he considered necessary, and that account has been handed down from age to age, and we had got it, no matter whether it is correct or not, and whether the Lord found the earth empty or void, whether he made it out of nothing or out of the rude elements; or whether he made it in six days or in as many millions of years, is and will remain a matter of speculation in the minds of men unless he gives revelation on the subject.[173]

In this essay I have used the age of the earth to demonstrate the polemity of the debate. But the questions raised here lead to further concerns. With the approach of the year 2000, and the Millennium perceived as nigh, what are the implications for the twenty-first century? Although one study has shown that discourses focussing on the Millennium have decreased since 1920, what is striking is the degree to which millennialism has resisted modernism, remaining an intricate part of Mormon the-

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170. John Updike, *The Coup* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 139-41.

171. Examples include William Lee Stokes, *The Creation Scriptures: A Witness for God in the Scientific Age* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publisher, 1979); Frank B. Salisbury, *The Creation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976).

172. Quoted in Stanley L. Jaki, *The Relevance of Physics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 345.

173. Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 14:115-17, 14 May 1871. See Brigham Young, ibid., 2:6, 23 Oct. 1853, where he equates literal belief in the Genesis narrative to "baby stories." See also Brigham Young, ibid., 18:231, 17 Sept. 1876.

ology from its first generation of expositors.[174] Is there any doubt that survivalist groups in Utah and Idaho communities are merely carrying forward the millenarian tradition of the past 150 years?[175] Since the Saints look to the scriptures and church leaders' statements to guide their theological world view, if the Millennium does not occur near the year 2000, will scriptural literalism, doctrinal orthodoxy, and church leader orations in general be reassessed?[176] If specific scriptural historicity and literalism must be reassessed, then why not all scripture?[177] Faced with the possibility of a delayed millennium, will even the term "latter days" be redefined?

To satisfy spiritual hunger religion must be intensely believed, yet it must also be consistent with one's knowledge of the real, physical world.[178] But when personal religious theory is relayed as eternal truths, the inevitable result is the creation of a chasm between the so-called faithful, who demand a qualifying creed, and all others who must necessarily

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174. Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 196; Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 141. One author has termed this "latent millennialism." See Walter E. A. van Beek, "Ethnization and Accommodation: Dutch Mormons in Twenty-first-century Europe," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 137. A non-Mormon theologian suggested that in attempting to cope with the complexity of modern society people "tend to retreat into yesterday's security systems." See Bishop John S. Spong, quoted in Richard Servo, "Poll Finds Americans Split on Creation Idea," *New York Times*, 29 Aug. 1982, 22.

175. James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 114-32; Mario S. De Pillis, "The Emergence of Mormon Power since 1945," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 16n32; Becky Johns, "The Manti Mormons: The Rise of the Latest Mormon Church," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 30-36.

176. In supporting the orthodox position, one author has prepared for the scenario that Christ may not appear immediately upon the opening of the seventh seal (seventh thousand year), near the year 2000, by referring to D&C 77:13 which designates a period of time between the opening of the seventh seal and the coming of Christ. Describing the interval necessary for the events portrayed in Revelation 9 to take place, he concludes that "a few years, a generation, [or] several generations" would all fit the scriptural timetable. See Larry E. Dahl, "The Second Coming of Jesus Christ," in *The Capstone of Our Religion*, eds. Robert L. Millet and Larry E. Dahl (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 96-97.

177. Grant Underwood plainly states that currently "Latter-day Saints reject [a] figurative vision of the future." See Grant Underwood, "Millenarianism," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:905. See also Paul B. Pixton, "Millennialism," ibid., 2:906-907; Grant B. Barton, "Last Days," ibid., 2:805-806. Philip Barlow notes the difficulty Mormons have in moving to a metaphorical understanding of scripture in *Mormons and the Bible*, 34-35. See also Karl C. Sandberg, "Thinking about the Word of God in the Twenty-first Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1966): 58-79.

178. Eldon J. Gardner, "Organic Evolution and the Bible," in Sessions and Oberg, *The Search for Harmony*, 203-207.

be classified as heretics.[179] Conservative Mormon theologians desire an iron rod grounded in absolutes, firm to grasp and easily held on to. But increasingly the pluralism faced by church members in their everyday lives must be confronted by the church.[180] Although such confrontation is currently muted, the complexity of the issues is no less real.[181]

As each new decade follows the next, Mormons will be compelled to rethink their short-term world view. Perhaps the church will accept, as its reigning ideology, to follow John Taylor's hope, now over a hundred years old. Taylor held that

> Our religion ... embraces every principle of truth and intelligence pertaining to us as moral, intellectual, mortal and immortal beings, pertaining to this world and the world that is to come. We are open to truth of every kind, no matter whence it comes, where it originates, or who believes in it. ... A man in search of truth has no peculiar system to sustain, no peculiar dogma to defend or theory to uphold; he embraces all truth, and that truth, like the sun in the firmament, shines forth and spreads its effulgent rays over all creation, and if men will divest themselves of bias and prejudice, and prayerfully and conscientiously search after truth, they will find it wherever they turn their attention.[182]

A hundred years ago the Manifesto and the passing of polygamy forced the Saints into a new way of viewing themselves and their place in the world. A hundred years from now a new millennial paradigm may also be required.

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179. See Gary James Bergera, "The New Mormon Anti-Intellectualism," review of *To Be Learned is Good If ...* , ed. Robert J. Millet (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), in *Sunstone* 15 (June 1991): 53-55.

180. Edwin B. Firmage, "Restoring the Church: Zion in the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Centuries," *Sunstone* 13 (Jan. 1989): 35-38; Armand L. Mauss, "Saints, Cities, and Secularism: Religious Attitudes and Behavior of Modern Urban Mormons," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Summer 1972): 8-27.

181. Keith E. Norman, "Mormon Cosmology: Can It Survive the Big Bang?" *Sunstone* 10 (Oct. 1985), 23; Sherlock, " A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy," 87; Bailey, "Science and Mormonism: Past, Present, Future," 80, 94-95; O. Kendall White, Jr., "The Transformation of Mormon Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (Summer 1970): 22-24.

182. Taylor, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:369-70, 1 Feb. 1874.

How She Comes

MaryJan Munger

Like a storm rowing in. All around tree limbs stagger,
weeds lie flat. Wind and sun like familiars,
canyons nesting in the shadows. Bright feet
never touching down, while the air boils behind her
with unbound veils. It is a new face you too have looked
to see: eyes and jawbone, brazen skin.
A revelation from the bones out.

So often when you get this far, dinner
rings out. At the bang of the screen door
a woman you've always known stands against the wind,
greasy with chicken fat and the afternoon.
She whisks the air through an iron triangle
to fetch you in. You know the shape of those elbows,
the awkward nose, her shoes.
You know all the steps back to the porch
not one of them in mid-air. In the house behind,
the smell of wet rags, ironed shirts,
onions, dish soap, rising bread. These and other
small labors. Regular windows in the walls.
A table with mended chairs. The calendar
of expected holidays. "Wash up," she'll even talk
to you, "the table needs setting. Let's put up
a few more chairs.Why don't you make a salad?"

Father Sky/Mother Earth

Cathy A. Gileadi-Sweet

I am turning the irrigation water
Into my garden
It's two in the afternoon
The reddening tomatoes jerk up, widen their eyes
And peek over their shoulders at me
The soil relaxes, rich and wet

I have something to say:

Today I join the flow
To the corn and the peppers
I am forty and I still bleed
My children slosh the rushing water in the ditch
I straddle the rows in my skirt
My toes mush the mud on the sides of the channel

My hands on the shovel
Begin to look like my own mother's
I streak the sweat from my forehead
And mutter my claim on this garden
These children
This irrigation turn

Just for a moment I hold the sky with a look
Just for once I want to tell you
What I have planted in
My garden
And my sons
And my daughters

Henry D. Moyle: A Chapter from Richard D. Poll's Unpublished Biography

Stan Larson

IN 1980-81 RICHARD D. POLL, vice-president of Western Illinois University and former professor of history at Brigham Young University, was researching, interviewing for, and writing a comprehensive biography of LDS apostle and member of the First Presidency, Henry D. Moyle (1889-1963). The completed manuscript was eventually submitted to the Moyle family for review, but some members did not think that the biography was sufficiently "faith-promoting." Poll did not agree but nonetheless decided not to pursue publication, given their reaction. Needless to say, he was extremely disappointed.[1]

Earlier Poll had been paid to research and write the biographies of two other Mormons. On the Hugh B. Brown project he had worked with Eugene E. Campbell.[2] On the Howard J. Stoddard project he had worked alone.[3] As he had done with Brown and Stoddard, Poll tried with the

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1. Poll's three daughters donated his papers to the Marriott Library at the University of Utah in 1995, where the collection has been catalogued as Ms 674. Originally, the collection also contained the completed manuscript of Poll's biography of Moyle. However, one of Moyle's sons asked that the manuscript be returned to him. Since the library cannot deaccession a manuscript and give it to someone who was not the donor, and since the collection was given to the library on the condition that it not be restricted, the manuscript was returned to one of Poll's daughters. Moyle's son was given the names and addresses of all three daughters, but he never contacted them. As it turned out, the three daughters decided not only to return the manuscript to their father's collection in the Marriott Library, they also donated without restriction copies of the manuscript to seven other libraries: LDS church archives, the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, the Utah State Historical Society, the Merrill Library at Utah State University, the Huntington Library, the Beincke at Yale University, and the library at Princeton University. Thus Poll's biography is now available to many more readers and scholars.

2. Eugene E. Campbell and Richard D. Poll, *Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1975).

3. Richard D. Poll, *Howard J. Stoddard: Founder, Michigan National Bank* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1980).

Moyle biography to tell an accurate and balanced story, to be sympathetic but not apologetic. He intended that it would be a positive and uplifting account of a man's life, but would also be a "warts and all" story without shirking from those elements that demonstrate the humanness of the subject.

Often Poll compared various aspects of the three Mormon biographies. For example, at the Family History Festival sponsored by the LDS Genealogical Society in June 1984 Poll spoke on the topic of "How to Deal with Sensitive Issues When Researching and Writing Family History." He listed a number of Moyle's characteristics: "dynamic, sharp, strong testimony, generous, drive, . . . temper," and then explained that there were "fewer accomplishments without drive; not so high price without temper. Wonderful lessons in this life, warts and all." Poll concluded his presentation:

> We can learn from their human foibles, faults, and failures as well as strivings, strengths, and successes. Let our family histories, then, be sympathetic but unapologetic tellings of the truth and nothing but the truth. Let us treat the sensitive issues with sensitivity but not with silence, so that our records will ring true to those who know our subjects best, including the Father who will one day judge all our lives from His records.[4]

In 1989 Poll explained in his book of essays, *History and Faith: Reflections of a Mormon Historian,* that his policy on handling sensitive information was to "tell the truth and nothing but the truth but not necessarily the whole truth."[5]

In February 1991 Poll delivered a lecture entitled "On Writing Biography" at Dixie College in St. George, Utah. He said that Brown, Stoddard, and Moyle were "great men, good character, who left world better. My admiration and respect grew [in studying their lives], but they were human."[6] Finally, the next year at the August 1992 Sunstone Symposium he participated in a panel discussion on the "Problems of Writing Mormon Biography." At that time he said:

> Bad judgment is a forgivable offense, and its acknowledgement in a biography may even make the reader more sympathetic. . . . Henry Moyle's overextending the Church budget was a mistake, and it cost him. . . . Henry Moyle, like Brigham Young, loved power. He had uncommon ability, and he had a

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4. Poll, "How to Deal with Sensitive Issues When Researching and Writing Family History," 2, in Richard D. Poll Collection, Ms 674, Bx 74, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

5. Poll, *History and Faith: Reflections of a Mormon Historian* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 104. The chapter is entitled "Confronting the Skeletons."

6. Poll, "On Writing Biography," 1, in Poll Collection.

charitable side that was not widely known. But he was impatient and sometimes ruthless in pursuing his goals, and these traits eventually isolated him from his peers, cost him most of his power, and hastened his death from heart disease at the Florida ranch that still commemorates his tremendous impact upon the church he loved. Great man he was, but "beloved church leader" he was not, and I was unable to inject enough of that flavor into my story to satisfy those who, having paid the piper, have the right to call the tune or call off the concert.[7]

The Unpublished Manuscript

The Moyle manuscript completed by Poll consists of 271 pages, divided into eighteen chapters. The titles of the chapters are as follows: "The Pioneer Moyles"; "Son and Brother"; "Missionary"; "Student, Lawyer, Soldier"; "Alberta and Henry"; "Parents and Children"; "Lawyer and Lecturer"; "Stake President"; "Welfare Worker"; "Oil Entrepreneur"; "Democratic Politician"; "Ranch Developer"; "Missionary Apostle"; "Man of Action"; "Family and Friends"; "Counselor in the First Presidency I"; "Counselor in the First Presidency II"; and "Counselor in the First Presidency III." Poll's approach was to write a fluent narrative, devoid of footnotes or other documentation. However, he included a three-page bibliographical note at the end in which he discussed the printed, manuscript, and oral history sources he used.

The entire text of chapter 14, entitled "Man of Action," is reproduced below. The text represents the final version written by Poll, with five added footnotes allowing readers an opportunity to see Poll's earlier wording. Misspelled words have been corrected. The ellipses are Poll's, showing where he left out words in quotations.

* * *

"Henry D. Moyle: Man of Action"

"Our main business is not to see what lies dimly at a distance, but to do what lies clearly at hand." These words of Thomas Carlyle, copied on the flyleaf of Henry D. Moyle's 1953 pocket diary, epitomize his approach to church work as well as secular affairs. Convinced of the validity of Mormonism, he left the finer points of theology to others and concentrated on making the Church an effective force for good in the lives of its members and in the world at large. Quick in sizing up situations and de-

7. Poll, "Problems of Writing Mormon Biography," 5, 7, in Poll Collection. Poll here alludes to members of the Moyle family who did not want the biography published.

vising solutions, he did not always wait for consensus before going into action. Henry Moyle, Jr., tells of encountering his father soon after he had entered the First Presidency. He was delighted about the outcome of the morning's meeting of the leadership group. Why? Because President McKay had described a project that needed top priority; everything else should be dropped until it was completed. President Moyle had then been "able to look him in the eye and say, 'President McKay, I took care of that last month. It's all done.'"

The key to achievement for Henry Moyle was expressed in a 1960 letter to a grandson:

> I become more and more convinced every day of my life that the difference between success and mediocracy [sic] is the difference between those who do their work with a lack of appreciation and those who develop within themselves real enthusiasm and appreciation for their opportunity and for the work at hand.

Following this precept made Henry Moyle happy, successful, and rich. It also made him a mover and shaker among Latter-day Saint leaders of the twentieth century.

He was not a workaholic, for he played with zest, too. His children remember his robust vocalizing of "Clementine" to his own two-fingered piano accompaniment. Hunting, fishing, golf, photography, chess, German opera, reading, TV watching, sports contest watching, and travel all engaged his attention sporadically but seriously. Participatory recreation like duck hunting, golf, and fishing were enjoyed in the early and middle years. Later an occasional swim and steam bath at one of Salt Lake City's hot springs provided relaxation and a little exercise, but Henry never had time for systematic physical activity. Until his health prevented it, wood chopping was both diversion and therapy. Henry Jr. remembers the enormous chips and prodigious strokes of the axe; they had also impressed Alberta Moyle on her honeymoon.

As circumstances permitted, Henry Moyle took in big league baseball, college basketball and football, professional boxing, and other spectator sports. (He paid off at least one two-dollar bet after backing the wrong team.) Richard Moyle, who often accompanied him, remembers that he got excited, cheering for his team and commenting on the quality of officiating. Alberta once went with Henry to Denver to watch the Phillips Oilers win a semi-professional basketball tournament, but her preferences were for the theatrical and musical experiences in which her husband also delighted. He often quoted Brigham Young: "We don't live to die."

Henry Moyle's love affair with the automobile began with the Nash purchased soon after his marriage and continued through cars of increas-

ing fashionability to the Cadillacs that he and Alberta used after he became affluent.[8] His driving style brought him a collection of legal citations and more than one expression of concern from his family. James H. Moyle wrote to one of Henry's brothers in 1938: "Is there anything we can do to induce him to drive with safety and not take unnecessary chances. . . . ?" Henry was never in a serious accident, but many years later his handling of a traffic ticket after a minor collision generated a brief scandal in Salt Lake City politics and some criticism of President Moyle himself.

Henry Moyle enjoyed money for the good he could do with it and the fun he could have with it. He liked buying clothes in fashionable New York and London haberdasheries, staying at deluxe hotels, and sitting in the best theatre seats. He delighted in buying a grand piano for Alberta and the girls, providing ample spending money for their travels, and having Tiffany send out jewelry for them on approval. The Highland Drive home was one of the first in Salt Lake Valley to sprout a television antenna and the appliances at Laurel Street were the most "up to date." Henry's extravagance upset his parents, who had ample means but also memories of frugal pioneer Utah. James H. Moyle wrote to his fifty-year-old son in 1939: "I do not complain of your indulging in an expensive home or anything else that will be of enduring value, but I do think it is a mistake to spend money so freely on that which administers only to your temporary generous impulses."

Henry D. Moyle always enjoyed giving. His Church position opened up new possibilities even as his business success generated new capabilities. Tithing he always paid. And apparently he followed the counsel that he gave[9] to those who asked: Follow your conscience; my conscience says to take it off the top. He once told his bishop, James Faust, "Bishop, this is a full tithing and a little bit more, because this is the way I have been blessed."

How much he gave beyond the Lord's tenth is probably not known even to the Internal Revenue Service. Much of his philanthropy was not tax-deductible. He had no "worthy causes" to which he routinely gave large sums, though he regularly remembered his alma maters and once served as the state chairman for the American Red Cross mobilization. Brigham Young University became a substantial beneficiary after he joined its Board of Trustees. Mostly Henry Moyle gave to people in need—scores of missionaries who lacked family support, European Mormons suffering in the aftermath of war or trying to get to America, stu-

8. The original typescript has "after he became an apostle."
9. The original typescript has "the counsel that he generally gave."

dents needing no-interest long-term loans to finish college, and ex-convicts needing money and help in finding jobs.

He was an impulse giver. Some of the episodes involving other General Authorities have been noted earlier. Belle Spafford recalls the delight of an elderly German woman to whom Elder Moyle had just given enough to take her to the Swiss Temple. Glen Rudd[10] remembers the night before he and his wife left for a Church assignment in New Zealand. The doorbell rang at 10 p.m. It was Alberta and Henry Moyle, calling to wish them godspeed. Before he left, Elder Moyle quietly handed Rudd an envelope, saying: "Get something nice for your wife." In the envelope was a hundred dollar bill.

Henry D. Moyle was no soft touch. People with money-making schemes were advised to see their local banker or to seek remunerative employment. But Church-related projects were another matter. It was hard to participate in a ground breaking or help a congregation to start a building fund without making a contribution; a thousand dollars often seemed to him an appropriate sum. Early in 1952 he noted in his diary that "President Clark called me about a guardian for me in light of my $20,000 gift to the Swiss Temple." He also recorded that he gave President David O. McKay his black Homburg to wear to the Eisenhower inauguration. Elder Faust recalls how impressed he was as a young bishop when he went to Henry Moyle for help on a ward project and was told: "Bishop, everything I have is yours in the name of the Lord."

It has been suggested in earlier chapters that the operational style which inspired great loyalty and impressive results also generated problems. Henry D. Moyle was tough. The word occurs more frequently in characterizations of the man than any other. Friends and critics agree on it. They also agree that in a measure his accomplishments and in a greater measure his disappointments and failures stemmed from it.

A sampling of testimony illustrates the point. All of the witnesses[11] acknowledge the strengths and positive contributions of Henry Moyle, and almost all of them loved him. To Glen Rudd he was "fearless," "overpowering," "unafraid of criticism," and "a poor loser." Marion G. Romney, whose association was long and close, "never saw Henry Moyle back down." To Frank Armstrong, who worked in Henry's law firm, he was "one of the strongest personalities I have known." As governor and then mayor, J. Bracken Lee developed a good relationship with Henry Moyle, but earlier he disliked him because of his "belligerence" in the courtroom. Judge F. Henri Henriod recalls a shouting match between Henry and an opposing attorney, after which Henry's plain-spoken law

10. The original typescript has "Glen Rudd, Henry's protégé in the Welfare Program."
11. Poll refers to the people he interviewed for the Moyle biography project.

partner, Malan Wilson, asked Henry to explain the difference between the two kinds of "s.o.b." mentioned in the exchange.

Gordon B. Hinckley, who helped President Moyle energize the missionary program, notes that he was "stubborn" and sometimes "went rough-shod over people." Nathan Eldon Tanner, who moved into the First Presidency on the death of Henry Moyle, knew him to be sometimes "short of patience" and "abrupt": he was a man of good business judgment and "he knew it." Which observation recalls the partly-facetious comment by Milton L. Weilenmann, his friend in the Democratic Party organization: "There were no peers to Henry D. Moyle."

In this context it should be noted that Henry Moyle had a very traditional attitude toward stress and other psychological ills. For symptoms of depression the remedy of choice was to work harder[12] at something that would—or should—take the mind off its troubles. When Alberta showed signs of stress, he bore the loneliness patiently while she went somewhere for a rest. His own symptoms of stress were usually physical—fatigue, rising blood pressure, and heart pains, for which rest and medication were reluctantly accepted. Sometimes he blew up, then apologized to whomever was caught in the explosion and went ahead as if the expression of regret had made—or should have made—things right again. Such phrases as "momentarily lost my composure," "upset," "had a fuss," and "lost my temper" are diary witnesses to this aspect of his personality.

Herbert B. Maw, victor over Henry in the bitter 1940 race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, said of his opponent's attitude toward controversial questions: "If he believed it, it was right." He tended, despite his courtroom experience, "to think of opponents as enemies." This point was also repeatedly made by Henry's father. After witnessing an argument between Henry and one of his brothers, James H. Moyle wrote in 1939:

> In expressing yourself generally against those you oppose, there is a severity that does not become the charity, as I have said to you before, that should characterize your utterances and the fine standards which you otherwise so splendidly uphold. If you go through a campaign for Governor you will probably learn more than you know now of the need for reconciliation and less antagonism.

Scores of people, including his wife, told Henry Moyle that he had this problem. And he knew it. Once in a meeting of the LDS General Authorities he asked forgiveness for the sin of pride in a testimony so mov-

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12. The original typescript has "the remedy of choice was to pull up the sox and work harder."

ing that at least one of his auditors wept. Yet he never gave a better explanation for preferring domination to diplomacy than what he once said to Rudd: "I don't have time to explain everything."

At 5′ 10″ and 180 pounds, young Henry Moyle was an impressive figure in football regalia or U.S. Army uniform. His weight problem began while he was on his mission, however, and he fought the scales the rest of his life. He was a candy addict and that probably contributed to the many hours he spent in dental chairs. Henry Jr. remembers working hard to separate the milk from the cows and the cream from the milk, and then watching his father drink a pint of the rich cream without pause. Alberta Moyle was also a lover of epicurean food, so whether Henry traveled alone or with his partner, the best restaurants were visited and the most exotic dishes were tried. A visit to a New Orleans oyster bar provided a feast of oysters, gumbo soup, boiled shrimps, French pastry, and hot chocolate, plus the diary comment: "I sure got off my diet." As health complications made weight loss imperative, Henry tried a variety of reducing systems; Gordon Hinckley witnessed him eating millet and milk from a fruit jar on a trip they took together. After conducting a losing campaign for half a century, Henry said to a friend in 1961: "I can tell you from experience that weight comes from eating. You'd better start dieting before you get too old, like I have."

Weight complicated the problems of high blood pressure and heart trouble that appeared as Henry Moyle entered middle age. The hectic pace at which he worked also contributed. The result was a thirty-year history of intermittent severe colds, extreme fatigue, alarmingly high blood pressure, and chest pains. While organizing a California stake in November 1952 he recorded: "We instructed them until I almost passed out with fatigue—my heart bothered me for two hours before I could go to bed or lie down." The ailments were particularly severe in the fall and winter of 1951-52, September and October 1955 (when shingles added to the misery), and the winter of 1962-63. Hospital check-ups and periods of hospital or home confinement interrupted Elder Moyle's service as a General Authority, while appointments with Dr. E. L. Skidmore and a number of other physicians are frequently noted in his diaries. Sister Moyle and others of his family pressed Henry to slow down, but his drive to make the time count would not be checked.

Henry D. Moyle was straightforward, sometimes dogmatic, in counsel. A lawyer's respect for precedents may have reinforced his testimony-based disposition to follow authority in most Church-related matters and to emphasize obedience in the replies he gave to those who sought his advice.

Sometimes he stressed obedience to Gospel laws. In a talk, "Unto Every Kingdom a Law Is Given," at a BYU student assembly in 1953, he de-

veloped the idea that "there is a law irrevocably decreed" upon which all blessings depend, including accomplishments in vocational, family, and personal life. "The laws by which we are governed make them both hard to obtain and very hard to retain. Thomas Paine said: '. . . Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered.' And you might say the same about ignorance." The goal of education is to master these laws, so that they may be freely observed. As President J. Reuben Clark often said: "Obedience is the foundation of progress."

From the time when Henry Moyle told his father that he had "no choice" but to accept the 1928 call to be president of the Eastern States Mission, he frequently stressed obedience to Church leaders. A small congregation in Kansas heard him say in 1948 that "a suggestion from a prophet of God is a command to those who are in good standing in the Church." In response to a question about whether a Church member with a personal problem should seek counsel from priesthood leaders or go directly to the Lord in prayer, he replied in 1946:

> I do not believe that there is a problem which arises in our daily lives that we would not benefit were we to consult those with whom we are naturally bound together by the priesthood—our quorums, the stake president, the Twelve, the First Presidency. . . . We are entitled in so doing to the inspiration of our Heavenly Father, and when we are directed by the same spirit, a like inspiration will come to those of us who receive counsel and the witness will be given to us that the counsel is true.

On the other hand, Henry Moyle, Jr., was reminded while a missionary that "we have never claimed infallibility." The letter from his father continued: "You are safe in assuming . . . that that which is said by the Brethren during the General Conference is largely an expression of their own understanding of the Gospel." Elder Moyle wrote in the same vein to a friend: "Sometimes we speak and that is final, and other times we speak and it isn't final, and sometimes the only way you can determine which is which is by your perseverance." A man who was habitually persistent once responded to the denial of a request by saying: "I think I'll pray about that." He described Henry Moyle as replying that "he didn't think this was anything to pray about; that President Clark had one time said that matters of this kind we had to think out for ourselves . . . and he thought the Brethren had already decided."

Leaders were frequently reminded of their responsibilities. Lethbridge Stake President Charles Ursenbach remembers being twice asked by Elder Moyle about the number of people in his stake and twice replying that there were about five thousand. Elder Moyle then said, "Those are members. How many people in this area?" Ursenbach replied, "Well, there's about half a million." The apostle then said: "As long as you are

stake president, as far as these people are concerned you are their president." Ursenbach added in his reminiscence about the interview: "That shook me."

Henry Moyle had an acute rather than a reflective mind, and his expressed distrust for intellectualism made him something less than the most popular figure in academic communities—even the several that granted him honorary degrees. It was almost inevitable that he would give offense to people whom he may not have had in mind when he spoke of "pretended" intellectuals in these terms: "I feel sorry for them, because some of them have believed and wished it so long, that they might be wiser and smarter than everybody else, that they really come to the conclusion that they are." He told a conference of missionaries that "a good way to become that kind of a man is to read books on your mission that do not pertain to the commission you have received. . . ." He said that such books were distracting, but he seemed also to be saying that they were dangerous.

There is some irony in this, for Elder Moyle read prodigiously during the first years of his apostleship. Volumes of doctrinal commentary, church history, biography, and sermons supplemented his study of the LDS scriptures. He also read books on secular themes like church-state relations that impinged upon his new responsibilities. He did recreational reading, especially when homebound with illness, and some times books mentioned in his diaries are surprising—such as John Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilacs*, described as "a treatise on education and training of a woman." He read quickly and he read for information—for answers. As his apostolic duties multiplied, he acknowledged in a 1953 meeting of the Council of the Twelve:

> There is beginning to come into my life a greater insight into the scriptures than I have ever had before. However, it is getting so I cannot get an hour to myself to study. Some things I understand and some I do not, but I never make part of me anything which is not clear to me. . . .

Elder Moyle was generally conservative on doctrinal questions that evoked controversy. "We believe that it is not in keeping with the nature of the Sabbath Day . . . to go to places of amusement," he wrote to one member. "We do not believe that the earth was created in seven days of twenty-four hours," he told another, but he advised a missionary who had encountered questions to "confine your answer to the testimony you have that God lives and He has revealed some things to men which demonstrate the fallacy there is in evolution." He collected materials that supported the Church policy on withholding priesthood from Negroes and sent them to questioners without additional argument. "This is done without any pretension that these matters when so portrayed will satisfy

every inquiring mind, but rather in the hope that those who feel obliged to discuss the subject will not base their opinions and conclusions on false premises." Regarding contraception: "We do not believe that we have the right to tamper with birth any more than with death. . . ." And to a woman who suggested that her husband's poor sexual technique may have contributed to her own infidelity, he wrote: "When we marry we take each other for better or worse. . . . Whatever has been lacking is not of a serious nature, something which you can overlook and do without."

Henry Moyle believed that happiness came from doing one's duty with a clear conscience. "As bearers of the priesthood we are obligated to be happy," he told a General Conference audience in 1961. "If we are truly to enjoy our maximum potentialities in life, we must be at peace *with ourselves—our neighbors—our God.*" He declared that such peace is only attainable[13] through repentance, and true repentance requires confessing and forsaking sin. Priesthood interviews should provide a young man opportunity to face up to transgressions and turn from them. "Having thus honorably progressed through the various steps or grades of the priesthood, he will not take with him confirmed, sinful habits to be continued secretly while pretending deceitfully to be a missionary, or an elder, a husband, a father, a member of the church in good standing."

If Elder Moyle was inclined to be dogmatic about sin, he was magnanimous toward repentant individuals. He was forgiving and encouraging toward missionaries who confessed transgressions that had been covered up in their pre-mission interviews. "So far as those things which happened," he wrote, "you should immediately forget them and consider that you have an opportunity now to obtain a complete forgiveness through your activities in the mission field." A woman who grieved that a previous sin was responsible for a stillbirth received the assurance that she "would receive from the Lord the most merciful treatment, and that in his loving kindness he would be most gracious in forgiving you of that mistake. . . ."

He could be very comforting. He wrote a moving apology to a woman who could not reconcile the loss of her son in the Korean War with a sermon in which Elder Moyle had spoken of a family whose sons had received blessings that they would return home if they kept the faith, and who did return. Remembering the remorse that attended the loss of his own infant son, he added this assurance: "It has never been a doctrine of the Church that death, whether in line of duty upon the battlefield, or at home, was any indication of transgression on the part of the deceased." An elder concerned that he was not receiving "spiritual manifes-

13. The original typescript has "Such peace was only attainable."

tations" was reminded that "all gifts are not given to all of us. . . . The fact that some other elder may have had some spiritual experience which it has not been your privilege to have does not in any way reflect upon your faith or faithfulness. . . ."

"I feel it incumbent upon us who have been more fortunate in regulating our lives to extend all the charity we can to those who have been less fortunate," Elder Moyle wrote to the wife of a man who was being released from prison. For two years he spent time, advice, and money on the rehabilitation effort before coming ruefully to the conclusion that "to assist him further financially was neither wise nor was I able to continue to do so indefinitely. . . ."

This pragmatic side of Henry Moyle often affected his advice. He disliked zealots. When Millie Cornwall told about a sermon condemning the use of liquor flavoring, he said: "Rubbish! Have some rum toffee." He could adjust means to what he regarded as legitimate ends. Richard Moyle remembers being instructed to drive the wrong way on a one-way street in Germany in order to get to a meeting on time. And he had no inclination to equate righteousness with poverty. Henry Jr. received this vocational advice while he was in law school:

> You will find that no matter what activity you engage in, you will have an opportunity to be charitable and to be generous, both with time and with your means. But neither a desire to be generous or kind should control your thinking as to the profession or business you desire to follow. You have to be cold-blooded about that and look upon it from a purely economic standpoint.

The father acknowledged, however, that "it is always unfortunate for men to get into work which they do not enjoy. . . ."

Henry Moyle practiced directive rather than non-directive counseling, but he reminded people of their right and obligation to seek solutions through prayer. His advice was occasionally leavened with humor. To a friend trying unsuccessfully to quit smoking he said: "Go ahead and smoke; it won't keep you out of heaven and it may get you there sooner." When he was asked for the source of a quotation just used in an elders conference, he replied: "I got it out of my Doctrine and Covenants." Then he opened the book to show where a clipping was tucked inside the cover. An eleven-year-old convert in Illinois received a note of congratulations and this fatherly counsel:

> You ask in your letter if it is all right for an eleven year old girl to like a fourteen year old boy. I see no objection to your liking a fourteen year old boy but I think that you had better wait until you are much older before you like any boy very much.

Convinced, as he told Gordon Hinckley, that "the Holy Ghost can teach men things they cannot teach one another," Henry Moyle became a strong advocate of prayer and fasting as an approach to problem solving. He was always willing to administer to the sick and many people felt these ministrations to be effective. Elder Marion D. Hanks remembers receiving from him "one of the sweetest and tenderest blessings" that he had ever experienced.

Elder Moyle liked to preach, and as he became more involved with the missionary program a favorite text became the words of the Book of Mormon prophet Alma: "O that I were an angel, and could have the wish of mine heart, that I might go forth and speak with the trump of God, with the voice to shake the earth, and cry repentance unto every people!" (Alma 29:1). He was not a rhetorician and there were some—including his children—who thought he was more sensitive to long-windedness in the preaching of others than in his own. As for humor, he told more than one audience that Sister Moyle had suggested that he liven up his sermons with a little wit. But after she heard two or three of his efforts, she told him to forget about it.

He was aware that he lacked pulpit charisma. His diary notes with a touch of pride when President McKay, President Clark, or another of his colleagues commended one of his talks. He worked hard on gathering speech material and some of his earliest addresses as a General Authority were hardly more than series of scriptures and other quotations illustrating his themes. In time he came to rely more on his own memory, on brief notes, and on inspiration. (He was also one of the first Church leaders to rely on the teleprompter for his conference addresses.) His most effective speeches were at stake and mission conferences where he addressed immediate situations with directness and a degree of spontaneity. The congregation at a Lansing Stake Conference has not forgotten one encounter with Henry Moyle. "Some of you say that Coca Cola is against the Word of Wisdom," he stated. Then he took a glass and a bottle of the beverage from inside the pulpit, poured out a portion, drank it, and said: "I hope you understand the message."

Elder Moyle was a hard man *not* to listen to. His talks were action-oriented, they were plain in the message if not always in the syntax, and they were driven home with a powerful testimony. He closed a sermon on "The Value of a Personal Testimony" to a BYU Leadership Week assembly with this witness:

> . . . which has been born in upon me by the gift and power of the Holy Ghost and has given me to know that God lives and that Jesus is the Christ to the point where no vision, no revelation, no divine manifestation could . . . add

to the assurance that I have in my being that Jesus Christ is the son of God, and that he and the Father appeared to Joseph Smith, and through divine manifestations of the servants of God, he received the keys of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Time.

"My 'Word of Wisdom Blues'"

Garth N. Jones[1]

Where lucidity reigns, a scale of values becomes unnecessary.
—Albert Camus[2]

MY DEAR GRANDDAUGHTER, DOLLY SRI, I knew you would cause me problems the first time I held you in my arms. My anxiety became real when I saw you win your first gymnastic meet. It heightened as I watched you walk across the stage as a junior prom princess. When you went to BYU as a freshman, I warned you about newly returned missionaries who

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1. This essay underwent considerable soul searching and improvising. Although in my initial drafts I did not realize it, I was in a deep "Blue Mood." As I pondered, re-read, and redrafted, I sank deeper into the dissonance of "My Melancholy Baby." I finally discarded my simplistic thesis of a personal struggle with hardened doctrine and inflexible organizational practice. The issue was how to be honest with myself. Hence I retitled the essay, "My 'Word of Wisdom Blues.'" Upon listening to my fifth version with the "Blues" theme, Marie, my wife of forty-six years, said, "I am beginning to understand you! However, you need to explain to the reader the 'Blues.'" She went on to say, "Young Nate Brown is home from college. You should talk with him." Nate Brown is a second-year student majoring in jazz music at Cornish College of the Arts, Seattle, Washington. He helped me immensely in the technicalities of jazz. His cassette tape, Leonard Bernstein's *What Is Jazz* (Columbia Special Production, 1972), provided the contextual harmony of this personal essay.

Besides my wife, Marie, and neighbor, Nate Brown, I must thank several other people for their assistance. Lavina Fielding Anderson forces me to think in straightforward terms. I am grateful when she takes time out of her busy schedule to read and comment on my writing efforts which are foreign to my research pursuits on technical subjects such as design of population programs. My sons Edward, Kevin, and Drew listened to me, surprised with my revelations of past misdeeds, but still retained their good humor. Janet Burton, assistant to the dean, struggled with my drafts and helped in important ways. To these people and others not mentioned I give my thanks.

2. In Andre Hodeir, *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence,* trans. David Noakes (New York: Grove Press, 1956), 6.

fasted and prayed and through personal revelation knew that you were chosen for them. There were good reasons for their aggressive behaviors—two or more years of pent-up testosterone. You would be a disconcerting figure in their eternal salvation when in your saucy eighteen-year-old way you sauntered over the campus's remote by-ways.

When you were called on a mission, I gained a full measure of relief! You would be in a purgatory for eighteen months. Spanish-speaking El Paso, Texas, was a good place to confine a choice young girl with a good figure. You took it all in good stride and returned home a beautiful young woman. When you returned to BYU, "I woke in the morning with an awful headache, my" (only granddaughter had sped away).[3] She was now her own person, playing her own tune of life. I was neither wholly sad nor wholly happy. I could only sing alone my blues. "What will be will be."

In quick time you accepted a returned missionary's proposal. With this act I was "Bout to Wail."[4] I had not only lost my ski bunny, but your decision had ruined my "Word of Wisdom"! I can only express my exasperation with the Indonesian word, *Adu*! I resigned myself to a terrible fate. I cannot get a temple recommend and would not be able to attend your wedding! For I too often drink forbidden tea! I am one of the "weakest of all ... who are or can be called saints." These are the words of the long-gone apostle J. Reuben Clark, Jr., but in doctrinal intent they are stronger today than when he uttered them in 1935.[5] I only wish that his contemporary, J. Golden Kimball, had said them. General conference attendees would have clearly understood his intent. Elder Kimball enjoyed his coffee. He'd be tolerant of tea drinkers, although not understanding why one would prefer tea over coffee—especially a sort of person like your grandfather who has a Scandinavian blood-line. Grandmother Sophronia Nell Nielson Jones Dubois believed that she had a special dispensation from those on high to drink her daily morning cup of coffee. She was a wise one because studies show that women who drink pure caffeinated coffee, say two to three cups a day, "are less likely to commit suicide than those who do not."[6] Grandmother Dubois's life was full of terrible events. I am certain that her morning cup of coffee provided her moments of joy, giving her emotional strength to endure to the end.

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3. Bernstein, *What Is Jazz?*

4. *Jazz Creations of Dizzie Gillespie,* American Recording Company, Jazz Division.

5. In Robert J. McCue, "Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 74. Note 50 states that these remarks were given at the *One Hundred and Sixth Semi-Annual Conference*, p. 92; compare Boyd K. Packer, "The Word of Wisdom: The Principle and the Promises," *Ensign* 26 (May 1996): 17-19.

6. "Don't Be Suicidal About Coffee or Cheating for Lent," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, 11 Mar. 1996, 1.

I never told you the reasons why I so sin. Several times tea saved my life, although these tea-drinking acts represented in Mormon tradition and faith a Faustian bargain. I've never been able to extricate myself from Mephistopheles's grip. He is a tough fellow who does not forget or forgive! Once in his control a multitude of other such sins will eventually occur. This fact should never be doubted!

I took my first step toward a fallen state in an innocent and ignorant way. In the month of March 1957 a group of tired foreign service officers escaped the humid heat of Jakarta, Indonesia, by fleeing to a weekend retreat at an old Dutch tea plantation. This was a great place since it had as well a citronella factory. There were absolutely no pesky or deadly mosquitos, if you can believe that.

At that retreat, mindful of my Mormon heritage, I drank Fanta, an orange drink, while others of the party consumed Heineken beer. Tea was also served, which I avoided. I returned home ill with a bad case of dysentery. My friends escaped unscathed. Over the next ten days I steadily got worse. A Texan M.D., Dr. Winfred Wood, who was in charge of the malaria eradication program, recommended that I drink tea. "I know that you are a Mormon," he said. "However, you must realize that tea has several powerful ingredients which will cure you." He mentioned them in technical language which I did not understand then or now. I just had a bad case of gastroenteritis and could not think very well. However, this should not be an excuse for my weak behavior. I was a person of little faith. I took his advice. I was so feeble that I could hardly hold in my trembling hands the first glass of hot tea filled nearly one-third with large grains of brownish sugar. At first I could take only small sips. Before the day was over I'd eaten a slice of toast dipped into the tea. The next day I ate two hard boiled eggs and one banana. After that I steadily progressed. It took me a full month to regain my strength.

From that dreadful experience I learned the medicinal value of tea. The Chinese sages were right! According to their ancient wisdom, tea drinking started in the year 2737 B.C. when a leaf from a tea plant accidentally fell into a pot of boiling water. I am surely thankful for that accident. And for the Dutch who in the mid-1600s introduced tea to my American forebears. Tea was a miracle drink! In my later wanderings across the far-flung Indonesian archipelago, I saw many a board front on Chinese stores touting the powerful health remedy of tea for disorders of the spleen, kidneys, heart, lungs, eyes, digestive tract, and gallbladder, and as a relief for colds and fevers. Tea as well was a great disease "preventor."

For the next decade and a half living in poverty-stricken societies it was hot tea as much as anything else that preserved my health and well-being. My Mormon thought processes also underwent a transformation,

and possibly to the bad. I learned that there were two kinds of Saints, Liahona ones and Iron Rod ones. The former think and practice free agency and the second do the opposite (apologies to the late Richard D. Poll).[7] This newly discovered and applied syncopation resuscitated as well as liberated my soul.

Let me explain. If you are going to relate with people you have to learn how to "break bread" with them. On this matter Apostle Paul had a difficult time with Apostle Peter. Kosher Peter could not bring himself to eat unclean food with uncircumcised gentiles (see Acts and Matt.). After much argumentation, with the Lord making a strong statement, Apostle Peter conceded his old beliefs and broke bread with worthy gentiles. By eating gentiles' unclean food, Peter opened the way for Christ's gospel to spread throughout history.

In Pakistan tea is the "social-broker." In most instances it is black tea, and often not of the best quality. Like their former British masters, Pakistanis enjoy their tea laced with milk and sugar. The milk I avoided, since it was usually not boiled and thus full of vicious microorganisms.

Black tea poured out of a hot teapot for me was frequently a great "protector" and "preservator," and in more ways than you will ever realize. Some of my most memorable experiences were sharing meals with tribal people, mainly Pathans, of the Northwest Frontier who at times can become very unfriendly and mean individuals. I've squatted with them on dirt floors covered with beautiful carpets eating with my right hand out of a large round tray loaded with warm food. Copious amounts of hot black tea were consumed which was served out of Imperial Russian-made china teapots undoubtedly stolen long ago from some Russian colonial officer. Under no circumstances would I ever abridge their hospitality. You could quickly be "done away with."

On one of these occasions a former British colonial officer informed me that as long as he drank lots of black tea he was never ill. The same applied to these people, even though they were very unhygienic. Except when they prayed at the mosque, I never saw a tribal man wash his hands. On the other hand, his toilet practices made good sense, although we Americans would believe them to be crude. They used only their left hand to assist in bodily "relief" and wiping their rear ends.

In my "Messing Around" (Ray Charles's rendition), I've discovered that there are many different kinds of tea, numbering into several thousands. For some reason in Mormon culture teas grown throughout Asia are *verboten*. The only explanation I've ever heard as to why this should

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7. See his "What the Church Means to People Like Me" and "Laihona and Iron Rod Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Winter 1967): 107-17 and 16 (Summer 1983): 69-78. Also see his *History and Faith: Reflections of a Mormon Historian* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).

be the case is that these teas contain a terrible chemical called caffeine! I quickly point out that green tea has no caffeine, so I've been told by good authority. I know that young missionaries in Korea feel free to drink it. My Chinese friends tell me that green tea particularly has a lot of wholesome qualities. It particularly assists in the digestive process after partaking of a heavy meal. I agree with them, especially when I've been served a combination of dog and snake meat. I believe that this was a consequence of the tea's powerful ingredient of *prussic acid*, which in *The Journal of Health*, published between 9 September 1829 and 25 August 1830, had been identified as the "most deadly of poisons." (On this matter I am indebted to Samuel W. Taylor and late BYU sagacious Professor M. Wilford Poulson.[8])

In spite of the redeeming prussic acid I always refused to drink the blood of poisonous snakes mixed with their venom. My Chinese friends never understood why, since it can be a powerful A. For you I'll just use the letter A, and let you discover from experience what comprises the remaining letters of this forbidden word.

When I observe Mormon eating and drinking habits, I conclude that many in authority are hypocrites. Maybe I am wrong. Just possibly their behavior is correct. There may be found good caffeines and bad caffeines. Incidentally, I do not like the word caffeine. I prefer the term used by biochemists called xanthines which is a feebly based compound $C_5H_4N_4O_2$. Xanthines contain three closely related substances: caffeine, theobromine, and theophylline. Xanthines are found in cocoa, cola, coffee, and tea.[9]

Several days ago Grandmother Marie and I joined two good members of our ward for a noon Chinese buffet. I drank green tea, and our two friends drank two big glasses of Coke. They admitted that they were addicted to caffeine but preferred not to secure the drug from the forbidden drink. They were soon going off to a temple excursion! This is why I say that there may be good caffeines and bad caffeines. The green tea that I drank had no caffeines. It was just considered bad.

What constitutes tea greatly disturbs me. Nearly every Utah Mormon has heard of Brigham's tea which was ordained by the prophet as good stuff. I hate it. As a child my mother would force me to drink the terrible liquid, especially if I had a bad cold. With a cup half full of sugar I could stomach it. I really have a sweet tooth, or better said sweet teeth, although now many teeth are missing.

I guess that Brigham's tea paved the way for the sanction of herbal teas. President Brigham was a shrewd businessman. Since his passing in

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8. See Taylor's "The Closet Crusade of A. C. Lambert," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Fall 1995): 53.

9. See Clifford J. Stratton, "The Xanthines: Coffee, Cola, Cocoa, and Tea," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 371-88.

August 1877, I feel certain that he has had made several visitations to Zion to further certain business ventures.[10] "Celestial Seasonings," the nations's leading manufacturer of herbal teas, undoubtedly is one of them. With his blessings this manufacturer extols the high medicinal virtues of its line of herbal teas—"featuring herbs, vitamins and enzymes, Echinacea, Extra Gingko Sharp, Detox A.M., Antioxidant Assurance, Diet Partner and steady stomach." These teas are readily available for people who wish "to treat their ailments with natural products."[11]

I once had a secretary with strong Mormon persuasions who took seriously the health qualities of herbal teas. They would also save my soul. After a few sips of that bad-tasting stuff, I knew that these herbals would lead to my quick demise, and I had not yet experienced enough penance to have a clean spirit. To verify my suspicions, I contacted a fellow University of Alaska faculty member, John French, who was a bio-chemist. This young assistant professor had just completed a research project at the University of Utah on the toxicity of herbal teas. His findings revealed that not only did these herbal teas taste bad but they contained all sorts of toxicities. He warned me against drinking decaffeinated teas and coffees. To get rid of the caffeine the food processors use deadly chemicals.

I knew that herbal teas were bad, but I never realized how dangerous until I was enlightened by a recent marriage announcement in *The Anchorage Daily News*. I must protect my journalistic source by not citing it because one can quickly be pushed out into outer darkness by not giving full obedience to sustaining the authorities.

A former authority in our stake high council broke down and drank some herbal tea, which lead to some deviling behavior. I quote a few of the key words. "The couple met on a crisp fall evening, over a steaming cup of herbal tea at ... cafe ... The conversation flowed for hours and they developed a strong friendship." Both of the participants, so their marriage announcement read, held strong interest in the Bible.

After reflecting on this holy event, which for some individuals could be considered unholy, it becomes clearly evidenced that drinking herbal tea and reading the Bible, especially the Songs of Solomon, at the same time can lead to mischievous behavior. This is especially the case for men and women in their late thirties and early forties. In this instance the low cut of the lady's wedding dress may have possibly added to the ex-councilman's predicament. Think about it! All of this disruptive social behavior was caused by steaming cups of herbal tea that steamed them up. The

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10. Full recognition is given to Samuel W. Taylor's observations as found in his *Heaven Knows Why?* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: RIC Publishing, 1979).

11. See "Teas as Medicine?" *Anchorage Daily News*, 24 Jan. 1996, PE-2.

councilman abandoned his old wife and took to wife this new herbal-tea-drinking woman. Well, he was practicing the old but true doctrine of plural marriage as found in late-twentieth-century norm. "Mean and Evil Blues" is what this story is all about.

After reading this announcement and pondering a little, I informed your grandmother Marie not to worry about me. I am sticking to the genuine stuff. Besides, I still get guilt feelings. I do not read the holy scriptures while drinking the forbidden drink. Our marriage is safe along with being reinforced by our ages. Nevertheless, maybe I should try some herbal teas!

In Indonesia there is a popular tea called *Jamu*. Wives make sure that their husbands each morning and evening drink several cups. My research studies revealed that Indonesia could never bring its burgeoning population under control until this practice of drinking *Jamu* was greatly curtailed. I regard this as a major research finding!

Dolly Sri, I take seriously my Word of Wisdom blues, especially its primitive robustness as embodied in early funeral marches ("As the saints come marching home ... "). Here I regret to relate the following sad story. Thirty years ago a group of faculty members at the University of Southern California (USC) was holding a "working" breakfast at the faculty club. One of these members was an "Iron-Rodder" whom I'd known from my freshman years at Utah State University. He expressed great shock when I ordered my "digestive-saving" breakfast of a pot of black tea, two pieces of toast, one boiled egg, and one banana. He was particularly offended because I displayed such indiscrete behavior within this group of gentiles whom I must admit were not fond of Mormons. Over the next several years these individuals academically exterminated the Mormon faculty. This was before diversity and multiculturalism existed.

I quickly but firmly retorted to my apprehensive colleague: "Look, man. I'm in the prime of physical condition. I play handball three times a week with the ROTC faculty. I'm at my fighting weight of 152 pounds. Not one gentile has really beat me. What of you? You are at least 20 percent overweight." He was just fat, which he never lost until it was too late, passing over the great divide which for his age was way too soon. However, he held a temple recommend to the end.

When I think of the masses of people who are hungry, I cannot sing the blues. I angrily ask myself why don't the hefty ones take seriously Fast Sundays and shed their surplus pounds? I feel the same way about people who keep dogs and cats.

Your grandfather is a shrewd investor. However, my conscientious way will not permit me to invest in the rapidly growing pet-food market which now has annual sales over $10 billion. In contrast a stagnant $7 bil-

lion is spent for baby food.[12] Pet owners feed their critters well, while millions of children starve and die.

I really become steamed-up about the way hunters and hunting are treated in our faith. In my youth Utah was an armed camp during the fall deer hunting season. Public schools were closed under the guise that students needed to harvest sugar beets, even though many communities such as mine had no beet fields. In the winter months LDS Boy Scout troops by the droves invaded my Cedar Valley home to slaughter jack rabbits. Now and then they would get a cotton-tail rabbit which was considered to be suitable for eating. Jack rabbits were left for coyotes and foxes.

In Alaska you cannot be regarded as a man, and in some instances a woman, unless you have shot a moose and a caribou. Of course, if you have shot a brown bear and tracked down a dall sheep at a high elevation, you are instantaneously placed in an elite category of "humanhood." A number of my church friends believe in this nonsense. The Word of Wisdom on this matter is very clear: "Yea, flesh also of beasts and of the fowls of the air, I the Lord, have ordained for the use of man with thanksgiving; nevertheless they are to be used sparingly; and it is pleasing unto me that they should not be used, only in times of winter, or of cold, or famine."

I hold true to my strong aversion to hunting. I have no rifle. My 12-gauge shotgun has not been fired for over two and a half decades. It was last used seriously when I and several friends in the spring of 1968 responded to the request of a Pakistani village headman to eradicate a "swarm" of pigs which was destroying the farm fields. Incidentally, we failed—killing only one wild boar which was an ugly animal. In the law of the jungle, he got his "just due."

I have mixed reservations about doctrinal prohibitions on the use of "strong drinks," which are defined as those containing alcohol. I have tampered with forbidden beverages but usually for sound purposes.

During the late fall of 1959 and spring of 1960 I was living alone in Jogjakarta, in Central Java, Indonesia. Fortunately, an older couple who were like my surrogate parents, George and Afton Hansen, lived nearby. Professor Hansen was teaching at the University of Gadjah Mada, on leave from BYU. He was a remarkable scholar, a legend in his own time. Afton was equally esteemed.

I also held a professorship at this university along with several other assignments. Nearly every late afternoon the three of us would take long walks along a meandering stream. Sometimes we would stop at a village

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12. See Jay Palmer, "Well, Aren't You the Cat's Meow? Like Never Before Americans Have Taken to Pampering Their Pets," *Barrons*, 1 Apr. 1996, 19-20, 34.

to listen to a gamelan orchestra and watch children practice their dancing. We were always courteously treated and served afternoon tea. One of our favorite places was a large ancient Chinese cemetery where we would silently wander around inspecting elaborate graves.

We usually tried to return home in time to watch the tropical sunset. On the veranda were invariably set three small glasses of red wine and a small basket of bread crusts. We'd slowly sip the wine and eat small pieces of the crust. I liked to dip my crust into the glass of wine. It was a quiet and wonderful time to meditate and listen to the jazz-like simplicity and subtlety of Javanese gamelan music.

Soon after your grandmother Marie returned to Indonesia, she learned of this afternoon ritual. I was in deep trouble! In a sobbing voice, she said: "I never thought you'd do such a thing. You and George and Afton are terrible people."

I could not stand to see my dear wife and your grandmother cry, so I sadly gave up this terrible but memorable ritual. I've now learned this was probably not a wise decision. Four years ago your father and your two uncles along with Grandmother Marie decided I was in bad shape. I do not know how they reached this decision. I'd seldom lost a racquetball game and had recently trounced your nineteen-year-old brother Matthew. At their urgings I went to a remarkable internist, Dr. John Hall. After a thorough examination he said my thyroid was low, which surprised me since I'm known as the family beaver. He recommended that I consume each afternoon a small glass of red wine to minimize the possibilities of a stroke or a heart attack. When he learned that I was a Mormon, he quietly nodded his head and said: "Too bad." From my recent readings I've learned that wine has medicinal qualities.[13]

What does the Word of Wisdom say in this regard? In searching the Doctrine and Covenants I was again confused. Part of the reason is that it is clear that wine should be used in the sacrament. Let me quote: "That inasmuch as any man drinketh wine or strong drink ..., behold it is not good, ... only in assembling yourselves together to offer up our sacrament before him. And, behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine of the grape of the Vine, of your own make" (89:5-6).

These verses have qualities of poetic jazz. In the early days of the Utah church Brigham Young took seriously this revelatory charge. He sent a wine mission to St. George. The termination of this mission and the current substitution of water perplexes me. I am not the only perplexed person. I recently read a guest editorial where the writer's grandfather had written a letter to Apostle Ezra Taft Benson on this matter. In his

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13. See "To Your Health," *Newsweek*, 22 Jan. 1996, 52-54, and "Wine may spare travelers from gastric distress," *Anchorage Daily News*, 1 May 1996, F-2.

words: "Why do we not use wine in the sacrament as Jesus instructed?" The grandfather received an answer "back from Elder Benson ... with an explanation including reference to D&C 27:2." This grandfather boldly wrote again to Apostle Benson, "pointing out, among other things, that D&C 89:5-6, which was given after Section 27, specifically allows wine to be used in the sacrament." No further exchange of letters occurred. However, this grandfather with his persistence caused a lot of trouble.[14] So your grandfather will quickly depart from this perplexity. I am still thinking seriously about Dr. John Hall's prescription. However, I do not know how to deal with Grandmother Marie. George and Afton Hansen have long gone home; so I have no one in my circle of friends in the faith to share with me this once delightful ritual. It wouldn't be the same with gentiles who would take delight in corrupting me.

I must now put on my Liahona robes. Early Dutch colonials were rather stupid and hard-headed individuals. They could never understand the beauty of jazz. You could say they were steadfast in their Dutch Reform religious belief and, as a consequence, suffered a lot of cognitive dissonance along with other things. When they consolidated their rule over East Java in the late 1600s, they sought to replicate Amsterdam in their new city of Batavia, now Jakarta, West Java. What they created was a haven for tropical diseases, especially malaria. They died by the hundreds, several thousands, and finally several tens of thousands. In the early days a typical young Dutchman lived in his new home for only eighteen months which can easily be verified by visiting the old Dutch Reform church cemeteries. After countless deaths there were two unexpected developments that more than anything else saved and preserved the Dutch Far East empire—Heineken beer and ice.

My discovery of these two remarkable items came by accident. Now I can really sing the blues with jubilation. Professor George Hansen became a good friend of Jesuit priest Father Jugen. In time the three of us fossil hunters were exploring the river bed of the Solo River in Central Java. We especially searched the area where in 1891 Dr. Eugene Dubois found teeth, a femur, and a skullcap from which the much-disputed *Pithecanthropus erectus* or Java Man was determined.[15] Later Dr. R. von Koenigswald undertook extensive surveys in the same river bottom. In the 1930s Koenigswald published extensively on early Neolithic man. We visited the same spot where the skull of his *Homo soloenis* was found, even discovering an old Javanese man who participated in the "dig."

After our searchings we'd retire to a primitive Chinese store which

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14. See Christopher B. Rickett, "Questions," *By Common Consent*, Newsletter of the Mormon Alliance, 2 (Jan. 1996): 2.

15. See Fay Cooper-Cole, *The Peoples of Malaysia* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1945), chap. 2, "Prehistory."

usually had as well a cramped restaurant to partake of three-liter bottles of cold Heineken. During these visits gentile Father Jugen explained to George and me, members of the true faith, the amazing qualities of beer. The liquid was pure and contained valuable nourishments. Dehydration was a terrible scourge in the tropics. Beer minimized this cursed condition. Besides these "beneficences," it made one feel joyful.

Dr. George Hansen and I unequivocally accepted his studied opinion. Father Jugen was first a zoologist and second a theologian. He was a good scientist, grounded in chemistry as well as Dutch culture. I am not sure of his Catholicism, but skepticism runs deep in the Jesuit order.

During our conversations I recalled an experience which I had in Ponape, Eastern Carolines. In 1951 as assistant to the administrator, I found myself in charge of the district. I was twenty-six years old with little understanding as to what I should do. However, I had a good mentor and protector, a Boston Irish Catholic accountant by the name of O'Reilly.

Accountant O'Reilly informed me one day that things were bleak at the bachelors' mess. There was no beer, only hard liquor. If this deplorable situation did not soon change, I'd be faced with bad times. I might be shipping out Sea-B bodies. One body was recently removed from the refrigerator, a Lithuanian M.D., which caused some administrative problems. His wife insisted that her husband's remains be shipped some 1,000 miles to Guam, and with this act her "statelessness" would be transformed into refugee status. She could become an American citizen, even though she and her husband harbored Nazi ideals. She won out because the top administrators knew that we badly needed refrigeration space. However, I am not certain if she escaped from Jewish Nazi hunters. They were a diligent lot.

I followed O'Reilly's advice and canceled all mail scheduled on the weekly flight of the PBY amphibian plane. The pilot, Captain Duffy, another helpful Irishman, purchased with his own money several cases of beer. Soon after this near crisis there arrived unexpectedly from Australia a two-mast schooner loaded with many cases of Australian beer. Most of the hard booze I moved to a Japanese bunker. A few months later I left Ponape, without informing the Hawaiian manager of the bachelors' mess where it was stored. My good Mormon values were still in place. I held strong opinions about saving lost souls, even if I had to use subterfuge.

With Father Jugen's sound advice I added beer to my bug-free diet of tea, boiled eggs, toast, and bananas. I could now shout another hallelujah! In times of desperation I would frequent dirty Chinese restaurants where, unlike Indonesian food preparers, the cuisine was served on dirty but hot plates and the soup in stained but hot bowls. I'd drink copious

amounts of teas. I seldom got sick.[16] The food was always delicious, especially the frog legs and sea-turtle steaks!

However, when all of my evolvement into greater and greater carnal sins was considered, it was the tea that I savored most. By this date I was a tea connoisseur. West Java was one of the leading tea-producing regions of the world. The seed of the *camellia sinesis* or tea plant was imported, or better stated, stolen, from China as early as 1826. By 1835 the first tea shipments were dispatched from Batavia. In the 1950s over one hundred varieties were being cultivated for export. I could have easily become a good tea plantation manager.

I believe that I owe one of my nine lives to ice. As you can gather, I've already used several of them. I'm possibly down to my ninth one.

In October 1957 I was lecturing at the Ministry of Home Affairs Academy at Malang, East Java, when I suddenly fell ill with raging fevers followed by intense chills. Every joint ached; my head was filled with ringing sounds; body fluids were being drained by dysentery. Nearly all the blues were driven out of me. I was losing my humanness.

My Chinese-Indonesian associate, Professor Tan, contacted his Chinese-Indonesian herbal doctor who immediately prescribed that my head and shoulders be "packaged" in ice. In his poor English, along with his weak knowledge of western medicine, he informed me that I had contacted dengue or blackwater fever which are two relatives of malaria. These two fevers often afflicted newly arrived occidentals—white-skinned, blue-eyed devils. Some malicious mosquito had infected me. My Yang-Yin, the two basic forces of the cosmos, were out of balance.

I did not appreciate his humor nor his treatment at that time. I didn't know what Yang-Yin was. I was so weak that I couldn't resist his cutting comments. He was a fervent Communist, the Chairman Mao variety. He didn't like white Americans who supported Chiang Kai-shek. Nevertheless, he had enough of the Hippocratic oath in him that he didn't want me to die, just suffer longer than necessary.

He and Dr. Tan were wasted in the 1965-66 abortive Communist coup. I wouldn't have wished that on either one, but several of my Indonesian associates were delighted about their untimely demise.

In my old-age wisdom I believe that all killing, no matter how strongly sanctioned by ideology and doctrine, priestly and secular authority, violates each of our timeless beings. There can be no blues on this score. The only emotion can be one of dark depression. Individuals who

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16. As to this utility, see J. E. Spencer, *Asia East by South: A Cultural Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954), where, on p. 24, "Thus the very old Chinese customs of drinking hot tea and eating chiefly hot foods from the stove serve ... to prevent sickness."

kill or sanction or justify killing defile their own souls. They will surely have a difficult task in cleansing terrible pollutants out from their eternal essences. To even start they must face up squarely to their awful belief. In doing so they may just experience God's generosity—the greatest of all his gifts, the possibility to give and receive love. For these lost souls "Amazing Grace" would suddenly take on meaning.

I doubt that any of my old Indonesian associates opened their hearts to love. They were indoctrinated into the Muslim faith of fate and vengeance. The killings were justifiable under the fallacious reasoning that a few degenerate infidels were sacrificed to save the greater good of the Indonesian Republic. In my doctrinal thinking these two Chinese-Indonesians would still be around if they had known about the 12th Article of Faith. Yet I must acknowledge that in Indonesia's revolutionary madness there was little secular authority and law. As good Communists they wanted a new order of affairs, which was in effect a promised land.

After one week of ice treatment and consumption of hot teas, my Yang-Yin once again was brought into harmony. The Yang (red) or active male element in the form of hot tea regained its rightful position in relationship to Yin (black) or passive female element in the form of ice. During this raging struggle I lost ten pounds, and at that time in my life (thirty-two) I had few surplus pounds. But as promised in D&C 89 I was able to "run and not weary," "walk and not faint." The blessings of the herbal trained Chinese physician worked—along with my stubborn nature. At age thirty-two I was too young to be placed into outer darkness.

During my years in Asia I was never quite able to abide fully by the stricture found in the Word of Wisdom that follows: "All grain is ordained for the use of man and beast ... ," with a qualifier that "wheat for man, and corn for the ox, and oats for the horse." I am surprised that D&C 89 does not mention rice. Well, it is a grain, the most widely consumed throughout the world today.

Oats is the grain that I find interestingly so ordained "for the horse." Since childhood I've eaten almost daily oatmeal cereal except during my overseas years. Oatmeal is now being proclaimed as a miracle food. I guess I'll continue to eat it as if I were a horse, while singing my blues.

In that vast Mormon literature the reasons for the Word of Wisdom and its now doctrinal character have been exhaustively discussed.[17] It is

17. See Lester E. Bush, Jr., *Health and Medicine Among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), esp. 48-60, and "The Word of Wisdom on Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 46-65. In this same *Dialogue* issue, see Robert J. McCue, "Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?" 67-78, and Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," 78-88.

no longer a sensible health code, and certainly not as it is practiced in daily Mormon life. It has lost its blues quality. A large percentage of the faithful is overweight; they eat the wrong foods; they do not adequately exercise.[18] The Word of Wisdom has become a means to maintain a segmentation between Mormon and gentile worlds. The wisdom in the word has lost much of its relevancy. As found in Proverbs 4:7, "Wisdom is the principle thing; therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting get understanding."

I accept William Graham Sumner's notion that to "accept a doctrine and allow it to go on and grow, you will awaken some day to find it standing over you, the arbiter of your destiny, against which you are powerless, as men are powerless against delusions."[19] A good illustration of what Professor Sumner had in mind may be found in the historical account of the Battle of Verdun in World War I. The French military fervently believed in the doctrine of *l'attaque à outrance.* The doctrine held that "every inch of terrain must be defended to the death," and, if lost, "regained by counter-attack, however inopportune." With their bayonets held low, courageous young Frenchmen by several hundreds of thousands charged into the murderous fire of enemy machine guns.[20] The young men were "powerless against delusions." Songs of blues cannot be rendered under such dark circumstances. I hear only terrible dirge-like sounds.

I have heard individuals in positions of high authority articulate with authority that the mantle is greater than the intellect. My retort has been: "It all depends." One time I found myself seething with anger when a good Pakistani friend informed me that he met a Mormon in Karachi who would not accept his hospitality of drinking a cup of tea. My Pakistani friend informed this individual that he knew a good man, a Mormon, who drank tea with him and ate as well his food. The individual angrily responded: "Your friend is not a Mormon!" Well, let time be the judge. After thirty years my name as a good Mormon is still remembered in Pakistan. I can sing the blues while the bigot was never given the opportunity. He was quickly reduced to a non-person.

In bringing my soul searchings to an end, I fortunately find myself able to sing the blues in several ways. In maintaining my character and integrity, securing a temple recommend still poses problems. It is not a

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18. See Kristen Rogers, "How Healthy Are We? Are Mormons' Claims ... Exaggerated?" *This People* 10 (Fall 1989): 11-19.

19. See his "War" in Albert Galloway Keller, ed. and comp., *War and Other Essays of William Graham Sumner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 7.

20. See Alistaire Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), esp. 10-14.

simple issue of giving up my morning cup of tea. It is one of exercising my full share of intelligence within my God-given right of free agency. Life can be fully lived only by living as a complete player, which can be accomplished only by a lot of improvisation. As the gospel reads: "There is opposition to all things." In the words of Boris Pasternak, in his poem "Hamlet," "Life is not a walk across the field."[21] To progress, let alone survive, each individual must take that walk of life alone. The Word, if it is read fully and applied correctly, will ease the pain and enlarge the joy of each precious step. Here is to be found that great message of the blues in its various colorations, and they can be no better expressed than in the performance of the late Louis Armstrong's "I can't give you anything but love ... "

My terrible blues is that I do not wish to lie to gain entrance into the House of the Lord. I do not want to become a hypocrite. I am relatively comfortable with myself. I seek to live the word of Christ in loving relationships to the best of my ability. I am intensely a private person, jealously guarding my privacy. I dislike anyone who attempts to invade it. The Lord shall be my spiritual judge, now and later, and no one else. There should be only one question asked by those individuals who control the temple gates: "Are you worthy?" My response could only be: "I am trying."

It is the trying, the courage to act, that makes the Word of Wisdom such a remarkable revelation. Its promises are not to be found in "thou shalt not do as I say" but rather in "thou shalt do as you perceive." Your body is a gift of God, a temple for your soul. God gave you a fair share of intelligence, and he expects you to use it. Blind faith will surely push you or anyone else into the pits of disaster. The Word of Wisdom urges one to think! As you enter into your marriage, you will be called upon to think and act as never before in your life. You will succeed in your marriage only to the extent that you and your husband will learn to freely give of yourselves and freely sacrifice, that you fully understand the covenants you make and abide by. These are the true meanings to be found in the Word of Wisdom which are all wrapped up in the amazing grace of love.

In the final words of my second language, Indonesian, I bid you *Selamat Jalan*, a safe journey.

P.S. Granddaughter Dolly Sri was married on Friday morning, the eighth of March 1996, to Peter Douglas Pixton. The marriage was solemnized in the Bountiful temple. Several weeks later I listened to "Happy Blues," a rendition of Buck Clayton's small jazz combo with Nat Pierce on the piano. Lucidity!

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21. See Nobel Prize Library, *Boris Pasternak* ... (New York: Alexis Gregory; Del Mar, CA: CRM Publishing, 1971), 235.

Mountain Turn-out: Week After My Father's Funeral

Dixie Partridge

In the ghost-smoke of eight thousand feet,
the road back looks deserted.
Below me, a hawk rises,
wings throbbing stillness, and I watch
until it turns into nothing I can see—
so much lit sky
the eyes water and sting.
Some days, things hurt more: birds vanishing,
mountains of pine turned thatch
by distance, the leave-taking we want,
wonder over, regret.

For miles I have felt like a child,
powerless and guilty.
I want to see a field
black with soil, just plowed
and glistening; my father's back
sweat-soaked, and his sorrel team.
If it rained now, I would stay out
until my skin was rinsed and shining.

On the northwest rim, a lowering sun
gilds the tree line,
the sky agulf of amber glass ...
such saturated brilliance
I want to shatter it with a stone,
sink long into some sweet, dark acreage.

Psychology as Foil to Religion: A Reformulation of Dualism

Sally H. Barlow

I THINK ABOUT RELIGION AND PSYCHOLOGY all the time. They call to mind a huge quandary based on what appear to be irreconcilable dichotomies: faith versus empiricism (the subjective versus the objective); sin or evil versus mental illness; genetic predisposition versus free will; selfhood versus selfishness ("know thyself" versus "no thyself"), to name a few. I believe my thoughts about this conundrum are echoed by Gregory Bateson in his book *Angel's Fear:*

> I find myself still between the Scylla of established materialism with is quantitative thinking, applied science, and controlled experiments on one side, and the Charybdis of romantic supernaturalism on the other. My task is to explore whether there is a sane and valid place for religion somewhere between these two nightmares of nonsense; whether, if neither muddle headedness nor hypocrisy is necessary to religion, there might be found in knowledge and in art the basis to support an affirmation of the sacred that would celebrate natural unity.[1]

Do we have a system that allows us to organize information, especially contradictory, even paradoxical, data? Certainly, our Mormon culture has trouble with this. Do any of the epistomological domains offer a solution? For instance, can psychology, a "soft science," turn to the "hardest science"—physics—as an exemplar in attempting to resolve these dichotomies? I am reminded of the words of renowned physicist Robert Oppenheimer. In his prophetic address to the American Psychological Association in 1955, he pleaded with psychologists not to base their psychological thinking on models of reality drawn from nineteenth-century physics which physics itself had since abandoned![2] Still, I cannot help but

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1. G. Bateson and M. Bateson, *Angel's Fear* (New York: MacMillan, 1987), 64.
2. In M. Kelsey, *Discernment: A Study in Ecstasy and Evil* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 106.

wonder if an eventual resolution of the debate between classical physics and quantum mechanics might teach us something about endurance and eternity.

How can we develop a "depth religion" (in contrast to a depth psychology) that will allow our accumulated professional wisdom to be couched inside of, not in contrast to, the doctrines of our glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, one that will solve the previously mentioned dilemmas? How do we stay out of the trap noted by Morton Kelsey when he said, "Theologians have, on the whole, either accepted the conclusions of secular psychologists as gospel, or have reacted with narrow-minded anti-psychologizing which denies any value of psychologist thought"?[3]

Additionally, how do we take into account the amazingly ideographic nature of this gospel (where the very hairs of our heads are numbered) versus the nomothetic nature of the world? It appears so huge, and we appear so tiny in it. It reminds me of a poster my best friend had on his wall in college, a statement from a Catholic sister he admired, "Lord, protect me, the ocean is so big and my boat is so small." What a temptation to assume we are all just part of huge actuarial tables, that each of us is but a dot in an innumerable sea of numbers. What does it matter what one person thinks, how he or she behaves? Evil/sin/mental illness; which is it? Or worse, who cares? These dichotomies are so tough to tackle, no one has accomplished a solution so far. Why should we try, suspended between seemingly impossible polemics? John Sanford suggests, "In such a state of suspension, the grace of God is able to operate within us. The problem of the duality of our natures can never be resolved at the level of the ego; it permits no rational solution."[4]

This is perhaps why it matters how each of us struggles with the dilemmas I listed. It puts us in the suspended middle where grace might operate inside of us. Much is at stake; there appears to be an important work to do. Carl Jung wrote to the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous, William W., "I am convinced that the evil principle prevailing in this world leads the unrecognized spiritual need into perdition if it is not counteracted either by real religion, or by the protective wall of human community."[5]

The Initial Hope of Humanism

In order to appreciate more fully the original dilemmas, it might help to situate the struggle historically. Throughout its short history, psychology has been presented almost always in opposition to religion. There are

3. Ibid.
4. J. Sanford, *Evil: The Shadow Side of Reality* (New York: Crossroads Press, 1984), 105.
5. As related in ibid., 109.

a number of reasons for this, not the least of which is the historical context of humanism. At the risk of giving this short shrift, a number of bloody conquests brought Christianity to many places in the world. In addition to bloodshed, religion was often associated with superstition. One has only to read Barbara Tuchman's masterful book, *March of Folly,* to know the medieval disgraces of the papacy. The pursuit of humanism was an attempt to say: Man, not just God, has goodness to offer. Man has reason which can be used to solve the problems of the world. This tradition is rich with wonderful knowledge, of which psychology was but one outgrowth.

In addition, empiricism represented another important step forward, away from the codes of chivalry which often determined what was truth and what was not. I, for one, appreciate being able to rely on data gathered using the scientific method, rather than data which ascended to the status of "truth" based on which nobleman, in the fifteenth century, happened to be the most chivalrous at the time. However, because religion fell into the realm of the metaphysical, it "completely vanished as an area of respectable scholarship by 1930." Psychology became saturated with the spirit of nineteenth-century rational materialism. The study of the religious experience and psychology did not emerge again until the late "1970s after humanism had chiseled away the mystique of 'objective scientific inquiry.'"[6] In the 1990s are we on the brink of being able to conceptualize the human personality utilizing religion *and* psychology?

Taking Sides

We must take a stand even though we might be short of a perfect solution so that we avoid being, as James states, "like waves of the sea ... or double-minded men ... unstable in all ways" (James 1:6, 8). William James suggested that religious representation or symbolization is "translations of a text into another tongue." Many of our religious feelings are the inarticulate, prethematic experience or feeling that is most primary and determinative. "Gendlin argues that while there is always a surplus of meaning in our feelings, that is, we know more than we can say, the drive to render that feeling articulate in metaphor, image, or concept is crucial."[7]

Just such an articulation has occurred in the ongoing debate between internationally known psychologists Allen Bergin and Albert Ellis. Ellis's premise is that "to be religiously devout is equivalent to emotional dis-

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6. M. Alter, *Resurrection Psychology* (Chicago: Loyolla University Press, 1994), xviii.

7. J. McDargh, "The Deep Structure of Religious Representations," in M. Finn and J. Gartner, eds., *Object Relations Theory and Religion: Clinical Applications* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 6.

turbance." He believes no one and nothing is supreme, that personal identity is ephemeral, morality is relative. Contrasted are Bergin's responses: God is supreme, identity is eternal, morality is based in absolutes, mental health is based in commitment, especially marriage.[8] Bergin has gathered empirical data for a decade that refutes many of Ellis's claims. To be religious does not mean to be mentally ill. Instead, it covers an interesting array of skills and traits: believing in a loving God, a willingness to forgive, possessing a strong ethic to serve others, having faith. In a secular or psychological vernacular, comparable words might be: a reliance on something larger than the self, the capacity to accept the common faults and foibles of others, possessing hope.

In his *The Sociology of Religion* (taught to me by the remarkable Lowell Bennion whose death was a loss for us all), Max Weber states, "The significance of understanding this subjective experience is clear, and can only be done from the level of meaning of the religious behavior. Still, it calls for intelligent questioning of perceived reality."[9]

Bergin has been doing just that. In addition to this important data base, he notes that some of the prejudices about psychotherapy might be abating. In his Martin Hickman lecture on 27 March 1996 at Brigham Young University, he quoted a headline that stated, "Hinckley Praises Psychotherapists."[10] Bergin was referring to a meeting where President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke about the utilization of psychotherapy; and Bergin was immensely pleased that, first of all, the reporter had gotten the story right and, second of all, that psychotherapy had been put in a positive light. We are making headway.

Cultivating Charismata

Aside from gathering competing data bases, we need also to develop our gifts. I am reminded of Paul's nine gifts or graces, his charismata of the spirit: wisdom, knowledge, healing, miracles, faith, prophecy, tongues, interpretation of tongues, and discernment. A particularly important discernment we must make is between ideas and authors of ideas. As an example, Martin Heidegger wrote a classic contribution to philosophy in 1927, entitled *Being and Time*. His student, Emmanuel Levinas, wrote his dissertation essentially in support of this. Levinas took a detour, however, later in his writings, and we may never know if this was a result of his having spent five years in a German prisoner of war camp

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8. See A. Bergin, "Life and Testimony of an Academic Psychologist," address given at the Kenneth and Mary Hardy Annual Lecture, Brigham Young University, Mar. 1995.

9. In M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

10. See A. Bergin, "Theopsychology," address given at the Martin Hickman Annual Lecture, Brigham Young University, Mar. 1996.

or finding out later that his mentor was a Nazi. Levinas eventually argued in opposition to Heidegger and wrote *Time and the Other,* a request that we all recognize what we come to be, not through ontological awareness of ourselves in time, but through interactional awareness of ourselves in another's presence, and that we are enormously indebted to others for our very being, "that it is not the knowledge of Being, but ethics—meaning our responsibility for the other person—that is the true subject of first philosophy."[11] It is here I would like to introduce the idea of foil, a person or thing that makes something seem better by contrast. I offer it as a compromise between positivists on the one hand and relativists on the other.[12]

In my own work as a psychologist trying to help clients recover previously lost lives, I have found the ideas of Sigmund Freud most useful. I could not bear using the ideas of what appears to be a godless theory, however, so I embarked on a journey these last ten years that has required assiduous reading. It is interesting to note that while Freud himself did not believe in religion, he did not dissuade his patients from using its comforts. Also, many of Freud's followers have been and are religiously devout. Interestingly, when Freud began writing, the clergy kept pace with his publications, particularly a contemporary clergyman named Pfister. For instance, when Freud wrote *Future of an Illusion* referring to the infantile regressions religion represents, Pfister answered with a widely publicized retort, *Illusion of a Future?* suggesting it was psychoanalysis that did not have a future and accusing Freud of succumbing to the ideology of science. (Freud apparently thanked him for the compliment.)

My search allowed me to know that Freud was not an evil man. He was, however, unwilling to defer to a higher authority, certainly to his own detriment; but many of his ideas, and his sincere wish to alleviate human suffering, have benefitted us. We need to develop ever-increasing abilities to separate out fabulous ideas and theories from foolish, insincere, or even evil authors of those ideas. I continue to hone my abilities to discern what is useful and what is not useful from the father of psychotherapy. I believe this is a discernment that I must continue as long as I choose to treat seriously troubled people for whom there are few depth psychologies such as Freud's. I like a position stated by Antoine Vergote, who creates a possibility of avoiding the reductionism of science or the reactionary apologetics of some religions by stating:

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11. R. Manning, *Interpreting Otherwise than Heidegger: Emmanuel Levinas's Ethics as First Philosophy* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1993), 8.

12. L. Laudan, *Beyond Positivism and Relativism: Theory, Method, and Evidence* (Westview Press, 1996).

> To open new possibilities does not mean, however, that religion is simply a dim reflection of a positive mystical faculty latent in the psyche. My refusal to entangle the bonds between religion and the psychic system is as firm as my refusal to sever them. These two orders of activity, although distinct, become so closely related that one can say of this type of psychology what St. Augustine said about philosophy: true religion is true psychology, and true psychology, in turn, is true religion. It is my contention that religion is so intimately enmeshed in the walls of psychological circumstance that religious pathology is always an effect of psychic causality.[13]

In my continued search I have found powerful accounts from devoutly religious psychoanalysts, in particular, Marion Milner's books *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men* and *In the Hands of the Living God.*[14] The latter book's title is from the D. H. Lawrence poem, "It is a terrible thing to find yourself in the hands of the living God; it is an even more terrible thing to find yourself falling out of them," which expresses graphically the poignant tension Christianity often affords us. A huge, complex literature from these object relationist theorists[15] encourages the exploration of "God as object" in efforts to repair a client's relationships to him. I am indebted to Freud for having been a foil for object relations theorists who came after him, who based their increased knowledge on his pioneering work, and who eloquently write of the beginnings of the human psyche as it develops in relationship to a "good enough" mother and father, just as I am grateful to Heidegger for having been the foil for Levinas.

First Faith

The dilemma of dualism, the increased need for discernment, requires of us not just synthesis, since some dilemmas in our lifetimes may not yield to synthesis, but increased faith as well. I have discovered several authors who have helpful things to say about discernment and such problems as good and evil. Margaret Alter has written a gem of a book, *Resurrection Psychology.* First of all, reading it reminded me that I must be willing to be surprised by God and his plans for us, since surprise is often in contrast to control. In fact, Alter's definition of evil is "the deeply hidden longing in each human being to be in absolute control, and that this

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13. A. Vergote, *Guilt and Desire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 29-31.

14. M. Milner, *The Suppressed Madness of Sane Men: Forty-four Years of Exploring Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1987); M. Milner, *In the Hands of the Living God: An Account of Psychoanalytic Treatment* (New York: International Universities Press, 1969).

15. Compare A. Rizzuto, *The Birth of the Living God* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); and P. Vitz, *Sigmund Freud's Christian Unconscious* (New York: Guilford Press, 1988).

wish presents itself to us at the conscious level quite sensibly as wanting to be safe."[16] The main tenets in her modest book are the centrality of forgiveness, holiness, responsibility, the danger of perfectionism, and the danger of certainty; that is, when we demand that God should rescue us, make us prosper, keep us safe. She notes that practicing Christians have their own version of narcissistic entitlement. Her book centers on a few assumptions about human need, personal fulfillment, the social group—all based squarely on the premise that, first, there is a God in the universe who is intensely interested, available, and full of love for us; and, second, Christ assumes all humans are burdened with a need for forgiveness. Two additional books that surprised me were Kelsey's *Discernment: A Study in Ecstasy and Evil* and Sanford's *Evil: The Shadow Side of Reality.*

What's It All For?

The sixteenth-century Anglican clergyman Thomas Cranmen recited the liturgy, "From lightning and tempest; from earthquake, fire and flood; from plague, pestilence and famine; from battle, murder and sudden death, Lord, deliver us." Kelsey suggests today's liturgy might be, "From floating anxiety and formless terror; from loss of meaning, futility and depression; from guilt and shame; from blind hate and hostility; from compulsion and neurosis, Lord, deliver us."[17]

To find our true, deep feelings about the phenomenology of the spiritual is a worthy goal. To emphasize the spiritual is not to demean the temporal. These co-exist. I wish fervently to see God face to face. But meanwhile I must prove my devotion by living in the world he provided, relying on the spiritual as the way to come as close to him as I can. Partially this requires that I face the earthly facts about mental illness. In Bergin's research, mentioned above, he discovered that there are certainly unhealthy aspects to our religion. Of course, this does not mean that there are no healthy aspects to our religion. There are! Still, some of the unhealthy ones include: (1) *Extrinsic religiosity:* we can role-play and be incongruent; (2) *Perfectionism:* we can be over-controlled, ritualistic, overly scrupulous, self-punitive; (3) *Authoritarianism:* we can control others, be rigid and dogmatic, intolerant and prejudiced, emotionally insensitive; (4) *Narcissism:* we can be self-promoting, status-seeking, charming, competitive; (5) *Aggressiveness:* we can be abusive and violent, anti-social, sadistic; (6) *Dependency:* we can be obsequious, compliant, conflict-avoidant, passive-aggressive; and (7) *Hyper-spiritualism:* we can be oddly mystical, have poor reality testing, be hallucinatory or delusional. Ber-

16. Alter, 151.
17. Kelsey, 87.

gin's data do not replace faith with fact; rather, they provide a list of tangible traits we must seek to overcome in this world.

I have also had several conversations with Dr. Lorna Benjamin, an internationally known researcher who teaches at the University of Utah. She proposes a way to conduct psychotherapy based on her circumplex model, the Structural Analysis of Social Behavior, one of the most elegant such models in existence.[18] Her decade of living and working in Utah has afforded her a particularly close and personal view of the peculiar psychopathology our culture appears to promote. In addition to the work Dr. Bergin has conducted, we need to be appropriately curious about the accurate observations of others, such as Dr. Benjamin, who represent critical sources of information.

Finally

Our experience of dissonance is what encourages us to make meaning of these dilemmas. Perhaps we will be able to articulate a view that will contain the sacred as well as the profane, that will transcend dualism, that we may have an adequately complex theory of human personality. Perhaps it could be entitled, "The Search for the Exquisite Soul," using Goethe's term *Die Schone Seele.* Jesus tells us in Luke 12:7, "But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, therefore." If he can keep track of the sands of the sea, and the hairs on our head, he can keep track of each one of us as we struggle with this. Certainly such a skill represents an intellect that is beyond ours; nevertheless, I believe this is within God's capacity, matched only by the immense capacity he possesses to love us. Because of this, I know we can discern, define, and articulate such a view, and, in the language of Levinas, develop "Ethics as First Psychology."

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18. L. Benjamin, *Interpersonal Diagnosis and Treatment of Personality Disorders* (New York: Guilford Press, 1996).

Better than Sheep and Goats

Angus E. Crane

He who mocks the infants' faith
Shall be mocked in age and death;
He who shall teach the child to doubt
The rotting grave shall ne'er get out,
He who respects the infants' faith
Triumphs over hell and death.

—William Blake, "Auguries of Innocence"

THE SAVIOR COUNSELS HIS FOLLOWERS to "[a]sk, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: For everyone that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened" (Matt. 7:7-8).

As a young boy I believed in these words with such steadfast sureness that I actually formulated a list of wishes to bring before the Lord. The adversity of life, however, has taken that simple child-like faith and dashed it against the rocky shoals of reality.

Had my religious training been tempered with the hard truths of earthly existence, perhaps my collision with reality would have been less painful and disillusioning. Despite my disenchantment with the simplistic teachings of my youth, my spiritual odyssey has brought me to the conclusion that without prayer we are, as Tennyson wrote in "The Passing of Arthur," no "better than sheep or goats that nourish a blind life within the brain."[1] The arduous journey that ended with the restoration of my hope and faith in prayer may prove helpful to others.

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1. Alfred Tennyson, *The Poetical Works of Tennyson* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), 449.

Praying in a Material World

Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* depicts a typical day in a Stalinist labor camp. The cast of inmates includes Alyoshka, a devout Baptist. Indeed, Alyoshka's religious conviction is the catalyst that brings about his incarceration. Despite the degrading environment, Alyoshka perseveres in his principles and admonishes his fellow sufferers to pray. The cynical Ivan Denisovich scoffs: "[P]rayers are like petitions—either they don't get through at all, or else its 'complaint rejected.'"[2]

Alyoshka objects to Ivan's faithless attitude. He accuses Ivan of not praying "long enough or fervently enough . . . Prayer must be persistent. And if you have faith and say to a mountain, 'make way,' it will make way."[3] Ivan bluntly replies: "I never saw mountains going anywhere . . . pray as much as you like, but they won't knock anything off your sentence."[4]

Certainly the fetters restraining Alyoshka diminish his effectiveness as an advocate for prayer powerful enough to move mountains. His petitions to the Lord have not freed him from his chains of bondage. In fact, he shares equally the deplorable filth of his non-praying cell mates.

Solzhenitsyn's portrayal of prayer parallels Somerset Maugham's portrait of Philip Carey, who, as the central character in *Of Human Bondage,* prays night after night that his club foot will be made whole. After persistent pleas fail to remove his handicap, young Philip cautiously confirms his understanding of Christ's promise in Matthew with his guardian, who happens also to be a minister: "Supposing you'd asked God to do something . . . and really believed . . . like moving a mountain, I mean, and you had faith, and it didn't happen, what would it mean?"[5] Philip's uncle, ignorant of the boy's quest for a miracle, replies: "It would just mean that you hadn't got faith."[6]

When my two-year-old son was near death as the result of a horrific accident, I placed my trust in incessant prayer. After administering a priesthood blessing to our baby boy, my bishop informed me that the ordinance he had just performed would bring about my son's recovery if I had the faith. His unintended cruelty, shrouded in piety, amplified to insistence that our child's survival was contingent upon my faith and prayers. Misguided faith in prayer did not end with Philip Carey's uncle

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2. Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1991), 175.

3. Ibid., 175-76.

4. Ibid.

5. W. Somerset Maugham, *Of Human Bondage* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1915), 60.

6. Ibid.

nor is it found exclusively outside the Mormon church.

Upon the death of our son, an all-consuming bitterness exiled even a lingering desire to consult with God. My luminary had been extinguished! Self-respect seemed to dictate the cessation of worship or prayer. But my spiritual emptiness ultimately led me to the scriptures for a better understanding of prayer and the full meaning of the great expectations created by those haunting verses in Matthew.

Conditions upon Prayer

The scriptures reveal a plethora of conditions and mitigating factors that circumscribe, qualify, and limit the seemingly boundless promise of "[a]sk, and it shall be given you." For example:

* Ask not for what is contrary to God's will: Helaman 10:5
* Ask in faith, believing: Mark 11:24; James 1:26; 1 Nephi 15:11; Alma 22:16; D&C 18:18
* Ask not amiss: James 4:3; 2 Nephi 4:35
* Ask in the spirit, according to God's will: D&C 46:30
* Ask not for what you should not: D&C 8:10
* Ask for that which is right: 3 Nephi 19:24
  The prayer of the righteous is heard: Proverbs 15:29; James 5:16
* Pray without ceasing: 1 Thessalonians 5:17
* With thanks let your request be made known: Philippians 4:6
* God knows what things you need before you ask: Matthew 6:8

If an attorney devised a contract with the broad and vague contingencies enumerated above, a suit for breach of contract would be impossible to litigate successfully because the terms and conditions are too subjective. The very conditions placed upon a successful petition to God are so amorphous that the petitioner can never be certain whether he has fully complied with all the prerequisites.

To me the scriptures present a contractual offer—ask, and you will receive. The stipulations on the fulfillment of the bargain, however, are not found in the main clause, but scattered among other provisions not directly connected with the actual offer.

If God knows what I need before I ask, why bother to knock at heaven's door? If I cannot proceed with self-assurance that my entreaty possesses enough faith or righteousness to realize my heavenly solicitation, why pray? If God's will remains paramount, why not allow my future to be dictated by fate and no longer trouble a deaf heaven with my bootless cries?

In an onslaught of confusion, I carefully analyzed the nature of

prayer. I attempted to ascertain why God had ordained this exercise. A glimmer of hope began to battle my doubts, and I came to identify three core attributes of prayer that turned me once again to commune with my maker.

Fundamental Desire

Following their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, one of Adam and Eve's first actions was to invoke God (Moses 5:5). Implicit in their supplication is an acknowledgment that God exists. He is our creator, the father of our spirits. All children are instilled with an instinctive desire to communicate with their father in heaven.

Devotional prayer has a quality that connects us with our origins. Kneeling before God—acknowledging his role and position in our lives—legitimizes God's ordination of prayer. Communion of this nature need not contain petitions for favor or a change of destiny.

In an address to a delegation of former slaves, Abraham Lincoln summarized the joy of maintaining a relationship with the Lord: "It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and *claims kindred to the great God who made him.*"[7]

Prayer seems to be the only expression whereby we may claim kindred to the great God. Indeed, without prayer, we are, as Tennyson stated, no "better than sheep or goats."

Expression of Gratitude

Moments arise when the richness and diversity of life are so overwhelming that we intuitively look for someone to whom we can say "thank you" for these incredible gifts. Frequently the only appropriate recipient of our gratitude is God.

Indeed, the scriptures counsel that thanks should be offered to the Lord (Ps. 50:14; Dan. 6:10). Elder Neal A. Maxwell has stated: "Some prayers ought to be prayers of sheer adoration."[8] Kahill Gibran shared a similar vision of prayers offered in the fullness of joy and abundance.

The most devastating disloyalty can be lack of appreciation. When Caesar recognizes Brutus as one of his assassins, it was the "[i]ngratitude, more strong than traitors arms, quite vanquished him."[9] Alice Walker,

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7. Abraham Lincoln, *Speeches and Writings, 1859-1865* (New York: The Library of America, 1989), 355, emphasis added.

8. Neal A. Maxwell, "What Should We Pray For?" in *Prayer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.), 49.

9. William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (London: Octopus Books Limited), "Julius Caesar," Act III, sc. ii.

perhaps with less conventional grace than Shakespeare but with forthright candor, characterizes ingratitude in this manner: "[M]ore than anything else, God loves admiration . . . I think it pisses God off if you walk by the color purple in a field somewhere and don't notice it."[10]

The carnival of colors and shimmering shades of existence inspire those rare episodes of sheer wonder. Prayer provides the perfect avenue for heartfelt appreciation and, yes, adoration of the Creator. Imparting such reverence to our maker should be completely void of solicitations.

Obtaining Forgiveness

Inevitably life's journey confronts each of us with the need to repent. Prayer is one of the keys in obtaining forgiveness. While seeking a cleansing from our sins is a petition of sorts, the ritual, in and of itself, of seeking redemption has merit. Hence, the repentant gains benefit whether her petition is granted or not. Acknowledging our wrongs and committing to God an altered course has tremendous therapeutic value.

Too many requests to God are grounded in the material world. Forgiveness, however, belongs exclusively to the spiritual realm. Repentance is a miracle in harmony with God's plan for humanity; therefore, a plea for pardon is dramatically different from a plea for God's intervention in earthly dilemmas.

Daniel DeFoe's *Robinson Crusoe* illustrates the difference between a prayer for physical rescue from human plight and spiritual salvation. Crusoe is stranded on an island. A Bible from the wreckage of Crusoe's vessel washes the gospel of Jesus Christ ashore. Left with limited entertainment options, Crusoe studies the Bible and undergoes a genuine conversion.

His remorse for a past strewn with every conceivable violation of heaven's law sends Crusoe to his knees:

> Now I began to construe the words . . . "call on me, and I will deliver you," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of anything being called deliverance but my being delivered from the captivity I was in, for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worse sense in the world; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the Lord of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it or think of it; it was all of no consideration in comparison to this; and I added this part here to hint to whoever shall read it, that

10. Alice Walker, *The Color Purple* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), 167.

> whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.[11]

Crusoe, marooned and detached from civilization, does not petition his maker for deliverance from his isolation, but begs instead for absolution. We live in a material world, so it should not be surprising that many seek earthly gifts when praying. But there comes eventually to all spiritually hungry men and women a realization that we last but a short time. Such understanding discourages the expenditure of energy on gratifying appetites and ambitions. When we reach this point, our prayers reflect a change in values by what we now seek—absent are pleas for fulfillment of earthly ambitions and settlement of worldly concerns.

Because Crusoe removes his prayers from earthly concerns, his risk of disappointment significantly dissipates. He has freed himself from the trap of appetite and ambition. Maintaining prayer in a spiritual context is precisely how Alyoshka, the vigilant Baptist in the Stalinist labor camp, responded to his detractors: "The Lord's behest was that we should pray for no earthly or transient thing . . . We must pray for spiritual things, asking God to remove the scum of evil from our hearts."[12]

Conclusion

Obviously numerous influences persuade people to pray. When I surrender the concept that God will intervene in the course of human events to grant me a favor or so that I avoid disharmony or interruption, an entirely new spiritual vista opens.

God will not meddle in the natural ebb and flow of life's challenges simply to provide a reprieve from the basic nature of existence—struggle and growth—because a prayer was uttered. Life is difficult. We are all every day trying to find our way out of one kind of trouble or another. The alleviation of day-to-day difficulties by prayer would foil the eternal learning process.

Supplication to God may not rearrange our physical circumstances in the material world, but prayer can bolster our spirits and provide the vehicle whereby we commune with God, offer thanks, pay our devotions, and find the joy of forgiveness.

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11. Daniel DeFoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (New York: The New American Library, 1961), 98.
12. Solzhenitsyn, 176.

Moon Phases: Childhood

Dixie Partridge

when it topped the mountains
the shell of moon laid down
    such plenty
        all over the fields
    over the hills the barn and us
it went hunting in the trees
    those cloaked figures
        watching from creekside

and we seemed small in its sweep
but could smooth its potion light
    into our skin
choosing pale clothes
    to mark our places
        more than shadow

our calls carried
like they never did
        on daylight
    deflected across fences
    onto the host of hills
no stars out tonight
        all star points flooded
    by the moon filled to its brim

the bleached wood of barns
the granary roof
        slicked in silver salts
that candescent amulet fastened
    above our night play

                    our pause
as a shadow dampness crossed
    our backs
    a sudden cloud trail
                    wreathing the moon
and we looked up and behind
    knowing that something
                    raven quick
could reach out at any moment
and turn us
        to our own dark sides

Pretender to the Throne? R. C. Evans and the Problem of Presidential Succession in the Reorganization

Roger D. Launius

BORN INTO A POOR CANADIAN FAMILY living in St. Andrews, Ontario Province, on 20 October 1861, Richard C. Evans rose to fame and power experienced by few other members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1] In this process he spent over forty years in the leadership of the Reorganization, working for two church presidents, Joseph Smith III (1832-1914) and Frederick M. Smith (1872-1946), as a seventy, apostle, member of the First Presidency, and bishop of Canada. Yet he left the Reorganization in 1918 over a complex set of issues that reflected the problems of both his own consuming ambition and the unusual administrative and procedural policies in the Reorganized Church's method of choosing its leaders.[2] Evans struck out on his own, denounced the Reorganized Church and its leader, and founded his own church organization. His dissent represented an important episode in the development of both the Reorganized Church and the Mormon dissenting tradition.

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1. Basic information on the life of R. C. Evans can be found in Roger D. Launius, "R. C. Evans: Boy Orator of the Reorganization," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 3 (1983): 40-50; Roy A. Cheville, *They Made a Difference* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970), 258-67; F. Henry Edwards, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1973), 5:605-607; W. Grant McMurray, "'His Reward is Sure': The Search for R. C. Evans," *Restoration Trail Forum* 11 (May 1985): 5-6.

2. The current succession of W. Grant McMurray to the Reorganized Church's presidency, the first non-Smith to hold the office, points up the importance of this earlier controversy.

A large number of studies has explored the nature of dissent and schism in twentieth century religion. They suggest that dissent may arise from any one or a combination of four factors. First, dissent and schism have often been fostered by underlying social, cultural, economic, and other disparities among groups. In this environment differences among groups in an institution are reflected ideologically and lead to conflict as each group seeks to win approval for its conceptions. Second, dissent might be engendered when members perceive that they lack meaningful involvement in setting doctrines, administering organization, and participating in leadership capacities. Third, conflict may result when certain people, beliefs, rituals, and myths are defined as heretical from the standpoint of religious authority. Finally, some dissent might be accidental, unintentioned on the part of the dissenter but defined as such by church leadership.[3] Charisma, of course, due to its volatile nature, has always been a potent source of dissent and schism.[4]

The dissent of R. C. Evans from the Reorganized Church in 1918 was a combination of several of these factors. Intensely charismatic, highly capable, and exceptionally ambitious, Evans was stymied in his personal and professional goals by a system that did not, from his perspective, recognize and reward his talents. His personality was viewed as obnoxious and his actions were interpreted as heretical by other Reorganization leaders, especially President Frederick M. Smith who saw him as a rival. The sociocultural and political differences between Evans and his supporters in Canada and the American church under Smith also fostered dissent. Evans's complaints about church policy and doctrine also in-

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3. These reasons have been advanced by numerous students of sociology. Sociocultural differences have been emphasized in the writings of Gus Tuberville, "Religious Schism in the Methodist Church: A Sociological Analysis of the Pine Grove Case," *Rural Sociology* 14 (1949): 29-39; Christopher Dawson, "What About Heretics: An Analysis of the Causes of Schism," *Commonweal* 36 (1942): 513-17; Anthony Oberschall, *Social Conflicts and Social Movements* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973); and H. Richard Neibuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1929). James S. Coleman, "Social Cleavage and Religious Conflict," *Journal of Social Issues* 12 (1956): 44-56; William Gamson, *Power and Discontent* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1968); and Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987) stress a lack of participation, power, or influence as determinative of dissent. The primacy of intellectual or ideological reasons for dissent have been accentuated by Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Dissent in American Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); John Wilson, "The Sociology of Schism," *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* (London, Eng.: SCM Press, 1971), 4:1-21; and Mary Lou Steed, "Church Schism and Secession: A Necessary Sequence?" *Review of Religious Research* 27 (1986): 344-55. For a discussion of dissent in the context of Mormonism, see Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

4. On this subject, see S.N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), and Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

serted an intellectual component into the conflict. All of these came together to create a rift in the Reorganization that was both significant and irreconcilable.

The seeds of Evans's dissent were planted early in his life. Evans was not raised a Latter Day Saint, and his conversion probably fueled his zeal to preach to others about his belief in the Restoration. When Evans was fourteen years old, his father attended one of the church's periodic missionary series in Toronto and joined the Reorganization, but at the time no other members of the family seemed to care about religion. Evans's conversion came two years later while attending a series of meetings held by J. J. Cornish, a Canadian convert to the Reorganized Church who was revered as one of the great missionaries of the movement. Evans was so taken by his preaching that on the last night of the series he asked Cornish for baptism.[5] His mother, who had also been attending these meetings, decided on baptism a few days later. The two went together into a frozen river on 5 November 1876 and joined the Reorganized Church.[6]

Evans was an especially precocious youth who used his natural abilities to advantage in his church service. He studied the scriptures, Latter Day Saint history, and skills that would make him an outstanding minister. He was especially moved, he later wrote, by the experiences of the youthful Joseph Smith, Jr., and also came to respect the courage and forthrightness of the early leaders of the Reorganization, all of whom at one point or another in their careers had dissented from the larger Mormon movement to strike out on their own spiritual course. Evans freely admitted that he held men such as Jason W. Briggs, Zenos H. Gurley, Sr., and Joseph Smith III as heroes whom he wished to emulate.[7]

In addition, Evans began early to hone his oratory skills and to develop a system for effectively preaching the Reorganization's gospel. By the time he was twenty years old, he was preaching vigorously and serving in a variety of leadership capacities in the local Reorganized Church district. Because of his commitments and capabilities, Evans quickly drew the attention of Apostle John H. Lake, the institutional leader in charge of the missionary program in Canada. Evans was the type of man he needed to work in the expanding Canadian missionfield of the 1880s and he put him to work. In 1886 Lake ordained Evans a seventy and sent him into the field as a general church appointee minister. He was not yet

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5. R. C. Evans, *Autobiography of Elder R.C. Evans, One of the First Presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (London, Ont.: n.p., 1907), 6-9; John J. Cornish, *Into the Latter-day Light: An Autobiography* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1929), 59; Alvin Knisley, *Biographical Dictionary of the Latter Day Saints Ministry from the Rise of the Church to 1948* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1948), n.p.

6. Evans, *Autobiography*, 35-41.

7. Cheville, *They Made a Difference*, 259-65.

twenty-five years old.

Evans did not disappoint. No one, not even the greatly respected J. J. Cornish, was more effective that R. C. Evans in the preaching arena. For instance, Evans developed to its highest form in the Reorganized Church the art of missionary revivals.[8] He gave considerable attention to the special techniques of obtaining an audience for his services. He used sophisticated, at least for his time and church organization, newspaper advertising, handbills, door-to-door invitations, and even sandwich boards worn by willing supporters to promote his preaching series. For his time and circumstances, Evans was as effective at drumming up an audience as any revivalist on the circuit.[9] Were he a late-twentieth-century minister, Evans would have employed radio and television to reach his audiences.

While the advertising campaign might have brought people to the first meeting, Evans kept them coming back with his riveting homiletics. Night after night his powerful preaching persuaded his audience. Evans typically wore a tuxedo at his presentations, after opening hymns and prayer he would walk briskly onto stage, so briskly some have remembered his coattails flapping behind him. He always spoke without notes, making it possible for him to dispense with a podium of any type. He marched around the stage, speaking all the while, using flailing arm motions and other body language to make his points. He always asked his audience to write on slips of paper any questions they had and place them in baskets used in the offertory. At various points in his sermons he would walk over to the baskets and draw questions which he would then answer off the cuff. He had a masterful command of the scriptures and a tremendously charismatic personality which shone in these settings. By the end of his series Evans had convinced many listeners of the Reorganization's claims, and he always ended his preaching with an offer to baptize anyone who desired in what could only be compared to an evangelical Protestant altar call. Many converts to the Reorganization

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8. Examples of his sermons can be found in R. C. Evans, "Baptism is Immersion," *Saints' Herald* 36 (19 Oct. 1889): 684-86, 36 (26 Oct. 1889): 704-706, 36 (2 Nov. 1889): 719-22; "Lecture by Elder R. C. Evans," *Saints' Herald* 39 (9 July 1892): 447-49; R. C. Evans, "Ideas of Hell. As Taught by Both Catholic and Protestant Ministries. Also a Few Thoughts on Probation, Foreordination, and Unconditional Election," *Autumn Leaves* 6 (July 1893): 297-301; R. C. Evans, "The Mother of Harlots and Her Daughter: A Picture as Painted by the Artistic Brush of the Historians now Reposing in My Library," *Saints' Herald* 49 (9 Apr. 1902): 334-37, 49 (16 Apr. 1902): 356-59; R. C. Evans, "What Shall I Do with Jesus?" *Saints' Herald* 49 (3 Dec. 1902): 1172-77; R. C. Evans, "The Eleventh Hour Dispensation," *Saints' Herald* 51 (20 Jan. 1904): 53-59; R. C. Evans, "An Examination of 'Campbellism'," *Saints' Herald* 51 (25 May 1904): 478-84, 51 (1 June 1904): 484-508.

9. Edwards, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 5:606-607.

came from these missionary services in Canada.[10]

In a small church like the Reorganization, it was natural that such a gifted preacher would come to the attention of ecclesiastical officials. John Lake had recognized his talents very early and ensured that Evans received the proper encouragement and advancement in the Canadian missionfield. The Saints in the region also showered him with attention and praise. Joseph Smith III, RLDS president, began to follow Evans's activities at least by the mid-1880s and in 1897 called him to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, when he was only thirty-six years old. Evans's ordination to the Twelve extended his ministry beyond Canada for the first time. Again he impressed those with whom he came in contact.[11] Joseph Smith III initiated a special friendship with Evans during this period, in part because Evans introduced Smith to Ada Rachel Clark whom he married in 1898 after having been a widower for a little over a year. Evans performed the wedding ceremony for the couple in January 1898.[12] Gradually, Smith came to think of Evans as almost another son.

By all standards Evans acquitted himself well in the public ministry required of an apostle. His devotion to the church was probably at least as great as other stalwart members, and his abilities as a preacher were unparalleled in the Reorganization. When it came time to reorganize the First Presidency in 1902, Evans was a logical choice to serve Smith, now a man of seventy years, as one of two counselors. To accomplish this purpose Smith gave a revelation to the church during the April 1902 general conference that called Evans as one of his counselors, and he ordained him on 20 April 1902. Smith also called into the presidency the heir apparent to the prophetic office, Frederick Madison Smith, his oldest son.[13]

As a member of the First Presidency, Evans's widened stage and administrative responsibilities allowed even more church members to meet him. Evans impressed all with his public speaking gifts, and he apparently enjoyed the resulting praise. It appears, however, that he never

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10. Interview with Larry W. Windland, 15 Sept. 1991, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Some of Evans's published sermons have been collected and show something of his unique preaching style. See R. C. Evans, *The Songs, Poems, Notes and Correspondence of Bishop R. C. Evans, and Some Addresses Presented to Him, from Many Parts of the World* (London, Ont.: n.p., 1918).

11. Evans, *Autobiography,* 166-67; "The Canadian Press on President Smith's Visit," *Saints' Herald* 44 (27 Oct. 1897): 677-79; "The Editor Abroad," *Saints' Herald* 44 (10 Nov. 1897): 709-11; *London* (Ontario) *News,* 8 Oct. 1897.

12. For a fuller discussion of this episode, see Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 333-35.

13. Book of Doctrine and Covenants (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1970 ed.), Sec. 126. Biographical information on Frederick M. Smith can be obtained in two fine studies: Larry E. Hunt, *F. M. Smith: Saint as Reformer* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1982), 2 vols.; and Paul M. Edwards, *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Frederick Madison Smith* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1988).

fully controlled his ego. As the years passed and Evans's fame and power grew, he came increasingly to see himself as superior to those around him. Evans's ego was a two-edged sword. His need for aggrandizement pushed him to excel so that his ego would be fed by praise from others. The praise for his successes also created the need for more praise. It was a cycle. In balance it was a healthy dynamic, out of balance it degenerated into egomania. Increasingly, as the years passed, the ego in Evans turned into a monster that fed on public approval and grew increasingly dysfunctional.[14]

Very early Evans began to demand public approval and boasted of his successes to those around him. One such demonstration of this came in 1888 when Evans wrote to presiding bishop George A. Blakeslee bragging that he did not need to draw travel and living expenses from the church treasury as did other full-time appointee ministers. He was held in such high esteem by the Saints, he said, that they gladly contributed to his welfare on their own. "You will observe," he pointed out to the bishop, "I have not had to draw one cent from your agent, for my own expenses since April [1887] conference."[15]

Little signs of conceit gave way to larger displays of egotism, and church officials worried that Evans might become so vain that his success as a minister might be impaired. Joseph Smith III expressed his concern when writing to Evans's wife in May 1896, asking her to help R. C. maintain a proper perspective. She told Evans about the prophet's concern. In irritation he wrote a sharp reply to Smith explaining that he fully understood his limitations and that there should be no fear of his acquiring what Smith had called a "bighead." Smith wrote back a long, fatherly letter explaining his concern. He said, "My intent was only to put you on your guard against the insidious approach of self-esteem degenerated into pride." He added:

> Pride is the most potent factor toward a useful man's overthrow, ever used by the adversary; hence my anxiety to see you free from even the appearance of personal vanity—even in well doing. Hence my charge to Sr. Lizzie, that if she saw you endangered by the flattery of the unwise, kind-hearted saints, she might by wifely regard and counsel help you.

The prophet went on to suggest that all men, including himself, suffered from egotism at times, but that all should work to overcome it. "I *know* that few men are so constituted so as to withstand the encomium of their

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14. For a discussion of such issues, see Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

15. Evans to George A. Blakeslee, 22 May 1888, R. C. Evans Biographical File, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

followers lavishly bestowed," Smith added. He then told Evans: "And, there is awakement of danger in your natural makeup; that is, you like to stand well with your friends and incidentally with others; especially men of note. You are not necessarily jealous because others shine, or please, but you like to please." Smith closed with this advice: "Do not permit the praise of your followers to make you vain is the injuncture, in better expression. And I know that so long as you keep in mind the sources where all strength and truth comes, you will not. For this I pray for you and myself."[16]

Because of Evans's talents as a speaker and administrator, as well as his popularity, Reorganized Church officials overlooked his egotistic excesses most of the time. There can be no doubt, however, that Evans was easy to dislike and that he irritated his fellow appointees repeatedly. Some of that was motivated by jealousy, for Evans was beloved by the Saints, was exceptionally gifted, and had the ear of Joseph Smith III, but much of it was brought on by Evans's own sense of self-importance and other problems that circulated around him. He was haughty and proud when the strictures of the church called for leaders to be humble and self-effacing. It was an especially difficult role for him and his failure to contain his sense of self-importance created many small irritations among the other members of the church's leading quorums.[17]

Gradually, these egotistical tendencies began to outgrow his ability to control them. He boasted in 1919 about how he had done so much for the Reorganization:

> I have been honored by the Latter Day Saint Church as no other minister of the church has been honored. No man living ... has ever preached more than three sermons at a General Conference. Many have not preached one, but for years they have selected me to preach from fifteen to twenty-one sermons, during the conference. Every night R. C. was on the platform. Every fence announced my subject. New bills were out every day telling what R.C. was going to say at night. Did they ever do that with any other man? Never.

Evans's message was clear: he had been insufficiently appreciated for all of this excellent work.[18]

Evans's egotism led to actions that created additional difficulties between himself and other church officials. These took a variety of forms. He began to view himself as different from others, the normal rules did not apply to him, and with that decision, whether conscious or not, he

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16. Smith to Evans, 22 May 1896, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #6, 486-87, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

17. Some of these specifics have been discussed in Launius, "R. C. Evans," 42-43.

18. T. W. Williams, "A Darkened Mind," *Saints' Herald* 66 (6 Mar. 1919): 318.

created additional ill-will. Evans, for example, had constant scrapes with church leaders over contributions. There is a well-known story still told in Evans's hometown of Toronto of how he had extra deep pockets sewn into all of his trousers to hold money given to him by admiring followers. Whether that money was for his personal use or for the benefit of the church was a sore point on numerous occasions. Evans said that it had been contributed to him personally and not as part of an offertory in a service. There were also charges of impropriety with women. None of these complaints, however, could be substantiated to Joseph Smith III's satisfaction and no action was taken against Evans until after 1905.[19]

Besides these incidents contributing to animosity between Evans and other church leaders, one larger problem surfaced after 1900 that in time led to the orator's estrangement from the Reorganization. It arose over the nature and practice of succession in the church's presidency. When Evans entered the First Presidency in 1902, there is evidence to believe that he thought it possible that he might one day aspire to the prophetic office because of his many talents, his longstanding service in the church, and his close relationship with Joseph Smith III. The Reorganization had long held the belief that the prophet chose his successor through revelation, and that there were no formal restrictions on who that might be.[20] Smith told the Reorganized Church membership at the time of his ordination, for instance, that some had suggested that the presidency "came by right of lineage, yet I know that if I attempted to lead as a prophet by these considerations, and not by a call from Heaven, men would not be led to believe who do not believe now."[21] Therefore, while most members recognized that lineal succession could take place, they also understood that nothing in church law excluded others from obtaining the presidency. Evans reasoned that such a restriction would be humanity's attempt to limit God and, consequently, saw no reason to refuse the office should he be called into it upon the death of the elderly Joseph Smith III. Smith fueled this conception with statements such as that offered in an 1894 general conference Resolution, "the President [of the Church] is pri-

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19. Interview with Larry W. Windland, 15 Sept. 1991; Cheville, *They Made a Difference*, 263-64; Williams, "Darkened Mind," 318; R. C. Evans, *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church: Reasons by Bishop R.C. Evans* (Toronto, Ont.: n.p., 1918), 52.

20. Book of Doctrine and Covenants, 43:2; Russell F. Ralston, *Fundamental Differences* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1963), 14-75; Aleah G. Koury, *The Truth and the Evidence* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1965).

21. "The Mormon Conference," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* 1 (Apr. 1860): 103. See also "Testimony of Joseph Smith," in *Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division, at Kansas City, Missouri* (Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1893), 79-80.

marily appointed by revelation."[22]

Although convinced that his successor should be chosen by revelation, Joseph III was also convinced that God would call his son. Such a position had a longstanding tradition in the movement. An 1835 revelation to Joseph Smith, Jr., proclaimed lineal priesthood: "The order of this priesthood was confirmed to be handed down from father to son, and rightly belongs to the literal descendants of the chosen see, to whom the promises were made."[23] In 1841 he announced another revelation making a direct statement about the favored position of his own descendants: "In thee and in thy seed shall the kindred of the earth be blessed."[24]

These beliefs came together in an 1897 revelation which called the sons of key leaders into priesthood offices. It dictated:

> The sons of my servant the President of the church, the sons of my servant William W. Blair, whom I have taken to myself, the sons of my servant the Bishop of the church, and the sons of my servants of the leading quorums of the church are admonished, that upon their fathers is laid a great and onerous burden, and they are called to engage in a great work, which shall bring them honor and glory, or shame, ... These sons of my servants are called, and if faithful shall in time be chosen to places whence their fathers shall fall, or fail, or be removed by honorable release before the Lord and the church.[25]

This enabled the immediate ordination of Frederick M. Smith and several other leaders' sons to the office of elder, much to the chagrin of some longstanding members of the movement. Joseph R. Lambert, an apostle at that time, offered some pertinent comments about Frederick's call. He questioned his ordination on the grounds that Frederick "had not been an active worker in the church."[26] Evans, who had ambitions of his own, wrote about this issue in 1918. He remarked that there had been no evidence of divinity in the younger Smith's priesthood call and "said ordination [was] contrary to the law. ... But, to say the least, this young man was ordained to the Melchisedec priesthood, the order said to be after the order of Son of God, without a call, being the prophet's son, he won out as against the protest of the Apostle."[27]

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22. *Rules and Resolutions* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1964 ed.), Res. 386.
23. Book of Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 104:18.
24. Ibid., 107:18c.
25. Ibid., 124:7.
26. "Conference Minutes: Decatur District," *Saints' Herald* 44 (23 June 1897): 401-402.
27. R. C. Evans, *Forty Years in the Mormon Church: Why I Left It* (Shreveport, LA: Lambert Book House, 1976 ed.), 77. Admittedly, this book was written several years after Evans had publicly broken with the Reorganized Church, but it seems likely that he was always bitter over this action.

In 1902, at the same time that Evans entered the First Presidency, Frederick M. Smith did so too, and it was clear that Joseph III considered this a primary move toward his eventual succession. But the president sent mixed signals to Evans and the rest of the Reorganization. He told the general conference of 1902:

> I have been importuned to settle the question as to who should be my successor. We have advanced upon the hypothesis of lineal priesthood in this regard, and while I believe in it, I believe it is connected with fitness and propriety, and no son of mine will be entitled to follow me as my successor, unless at the time he is chosen he is found to be worthy in character, ... for he should be called to serve in the church who has proved himself to be worthy of confidence and trust.[28]

Smith, therefore, left open the possibility that his son might not be found worthy and that another could be called. Evans always recognized this possibility.

In spite of this, during the rest of Smith's life he increasingly relied on Frederick Smith for counsel, and as his father's health failed Frederick increasingly ran the church's bureaucracy. The younger Smith began presiding at general conferences and quorum meetings, attending to routine administrative matters, and handling most of the church's publishing decisions. The first evidence of this came in 1903 when Joseph Smith III requested that Evans accompany him on a missionary trip to the British Isles. Evans misread this action as a sign of favoritism and a recognition that he would receive the nod as successor.[29] What he failed to understand was that Smith left his son at home to run the church, a sure sign of the prophet's faith in Frederick's abilities and an indication of how the succession issue would be settled. During this lengthy trip Frederick took over daily control of the reins of church government. At the 1906 general conference, furthermore, Smith left no doubt that his son would succeed him by using his revelatory authority. Smith directed: "in case of the removal of my servant now presiding over the church by death or transgression, my servant Frederick M. Smith, if he remain faithful and steadfast, should be chosen, in accordance with the revelations which have been hitherto given to the church concerning the priesthood."[30]

While Evans made no public comments about the younger Smith's designation at the time, he clearly resented it. Frederick had been little more than a schoolboy before 1903, pursuing graduate studies at the University of Missouri and leaving many of the presidency's duties in

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28. Quoted in Edwards, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 5:558.
29. This is discussed in detail in Launius, "R. C. Evans," 43.
30. Book of Doctrine and Covenants, 128:8.

Evans's hands. Evans believed that the prophet's poor choice was attributable to family ties alone. He wrote later, "I had a thousand times more experience in church work, for I had been ordained and labored for years as a Priest, Seventy, and an Apostle."[31] Evans even considered resigning from the presidency and taking another position in the hierarchy. He planted the seed for this action in 1907 when he suggested to Frederick M. Smith that he had experienced a dream in which he should be released from the First Presidency and ordained as bishop of Canada.[32] When Evans talked to Joseph Smith III, however, he reported that the prophet "wept over me and begged me not to insist, to wait till the Lord would speak."[33] Nothing came of this proposal for another two years.

Evans's ambition was trapped in a bureaucratic structure that denied the possibility of acquiring the top position to all except a select few, and all avenues of entry into that group were blocked regardless of how committed and talented anyone might be. For all the church's comments about revelatory calling, no one but a member of the Smith family, and then only those in the direct line, have ever entered the prophetic office. Even as late as 1996, when W. Grant McMurray became the Reorganized Church president, no one but a member of the Smith family had ever ascended to that office. In an environment where a royal family controls power so thoroughly as this, such men as Evans could never be satisfied. It was and continues to be a very undemocratic method of operation that ensures that capable, committed, and ambitious people will be cast aside and ultimately frustrated. Whether the church would have been better for taking a different approach toward succession is debatable, but obviously the 1906 designation of Frederick Smith embittered Evans and set him on a course which led him in later years to withdraw from the church.

Instead of outright resignation, the chagrined Evans returned to Canada and halted much of his ministerial work, confining his religious endeavors to preaching at local meetings in Toronto. He became a dissenter, if not outright, at least in a thousand small ways. While working locally, he spent part of his time writing letters and building his personal following, possibly with the intention of engineering a popular movement among the Saints for his succession to the presidency. A notable example was the publication of an image-enhancing autobiography heroically describing his religious exploits. The book, Evans hoped, would boost his following in the church, although he recognized that some would see it as a bald-faced attempt at self-aggrandizement. He defused this criticism

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31. Evans, *Forty Years in the Mormon Church*, 137.

32. Evans to Smith, 20 May 1907, Evans Papers.

33. Evans, *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church*, 42; Evans to Frederick M. Smith, 20 May 1907, 24 June 1915, 5 Jan. 1918, Evans Papers.

in advance, explaining that he wrote the book only "because the people in and out of the church have requested ... a history of MY LIFE."[34]

In addition, Evans used his preaching services in Toronto to further his image among the public. In 1904 he inaugurated an impressive series of winter meetings in the 2,500-seat Majestic Theatre. He used his well-organized advertising campaign to make the meetings his most successful ever and decided to make the series an annual event.[35] After Evans's estrangement from the church, however, he used the meetings more and more as a personal forum for his dissenting church views. Evans left the impression that he opposed many church policies and that he wanted to change several aspects of church functioning.[36]

Increasingly, after it became clear that Evans was not on the best of terms with church leaders, his old rivals and enemies emerged to take advantage of his fall from grace. They saw an opportunity to strip the egotistical Evans of his position and influence in the Reorganization hierarchy. These bureaucratic games of chance took a variety of forms and were relatively unimportant, except those efforts sponsored by the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Some of Evans's rivals saw an opportunity to chastise the First Presidency for overstepping its jurisdictional authority about administrative control at the local level, while also punishing Evans for real and perceived abuses of power and position.

The issue came to a boil in 1907 when the Twelve suggested that Evans, while serving as chief Reorganization officer in Canada, conducted his duties in a capricious and improper manner. They asserted that his administrative records were poor and questioned his use of church funds.[37] More important, however, and a throwback to the problems that had been present over the management of local jurisdictions, was Evans's continuing service as director of the missionary program in Canada. He had held this responsibility as a member of the Quorum of Twelve before 1902, but when he entered the First Presidency, he continued to serve in this capacity. Joseph Smith III had left him in charge of the region in spite of an agreement that had been reached in the early 1890s which allowed the Twelve only to preside over missionary activities in the church's regional jurisdictions. This had been done as a compromise to remove the Twelve from the administrative management of organized

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34. Evans, *Autobiography*, 270.

35. Ibid., 224-25; "Bro. Evans in Toronto," *Saints' Herald* 53 (28 Feb. 1906): 195-96; Evans to E. L. Kelley, 28 Nov. 1910, Evans Papers.

36. Evans to E. L. Kelley, 9 Mar. 1911, Evans Papers; Cheville, *They Made a Difference*, 261-62.

37. Evans to E. L. Kelley, 21 Jan., 18 Nov. 1907, 5 Jan., 6 Jan., 28 Apr., 6 June, 19 Oct. 1908, all in Evans Papers.

jurisdictions.[38]

The Quorum of Twelve met on 5 April 1907 to consider this issue and prepare a written statement condemning the continued assignment of R. C. Evans as minister in charge of Canada. They cited supporting evidence on organizational structure, especially a key phrase from an 1875 resolution—"It is the duty of the Twelve to take charge of all important missions"—and concluded that "all missions should be under the active oversight of the members of the Quorum of Twelve or members of the Quorums of Seventies by the Quorum of Twelve."[39] It was payback time, to both the First Presidency and Evans, and the Twelve moved swiftly to gain the membership's acceptance of their position.

The effort to embarrass Evans backfired. Joseph Smith III, who might have been more sympathetic, believed that in criticizing Evans, the Twelve was also questioning his own authority. He moved quickly to defeat the apostles' efforts.[40] This controversy set the stage for the most extensive analysis of relationships among the presiding quorums ever conducted in the Reorganized Church. In addressing this issue, Smith completely removed Evans from consideration. The result was a document, "The Right of the Presidency to Preside," prepared by the members of the First Presidency and presented to a Joint Council of the Presidency and the Twelve on 18 April 1907. It was an involved document, explaining the First Presidency's position on governing revelations, resolutions, and other pronouncements on relations among the First Presidency, the Twelve, and other ruling quorums.[41] Following the reading of the document, the Joint Council discussed it briefly and then the First Presidency withdrew from the meeting. Discussions among apostles led to the approval of Evans as missionary in charge of Canada for another year and deferral of the status of "The Right of the Presidency to Preside" until the 1908 council meetings.

In the ensuing year Smith marshaled supporters for a showdown with the Twelve. The apostles did the same. Smith did not question the motives of the apostles in this controversy, although he should have done

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38. See Maurice L. Draper, "Apostolic Ministry in the Reorganization," in Maurice L. Draper and Clare D. Vlahos, eds., *Restoration Studies I* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 219-31; Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* 9 (1 May 1866): 129-30; F. Henry Edwards, *A Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1967 ed.), 411-12; Quorum of Twelve Minutes, 1865-1928, 4 Apr. 1890, Reorganized Church Library-Archives; Joseph Smith III, William H. Kelley, and E. L. Kelley, "Epistle of the Council," *Saints' Herald* 44 (21 July 1897): 257, as quoted in Edwards, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 5:403-406.

39. First Presidency Minutes, 5 Apr. 1907, 180-81, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

40. Ibid., 9 Apr. 1907, 190-91.

41. Joseph Smith III, "A Letter of Instruction," *Saints' Herald* 59 (13 Mar. 1912): 241-48.

so, for many of their efforts were not aimed at reaching a just decision but at punishing Evans. On 16 March 1908 the Twelve issued a detailed critique of "The Right of the Presidency to Preside" which nitpicked at many of its points. The apostles reported:

> We are desirous of reaching an amicable solution of any apparent differences existing between us, and if there be none we see no reason why there should be a continuation of official jealousy, or latent fear that the Quorum of the Presidency is seeking to subvert the rights and privileges of their coworkers in the quorums. We concur in the idea that there are legitimate bounds to the duties, rights, prerogatives, and privileges of the quorum of the presidency. We desire to act in our office and calling in harmony with the Quorum of Twelve, the Seventy, and all other quorums of the church, more especially with the Twelve and Seventy, for the reason that these hold in some respects concurrent jurisdiction, and a serious antagonism between them must inevitably work to the injury of the cause.[42]

Apostolic ascendancy could not be thwarted with these words, however, and the Twelve resolved that "henceforth all missions be placed under the presidency of one of more members of the Quorum of the Twelve, or the Seventy," rather than under anyone, especially Evans, in the First Presidency.[43]

The issue might have ended this way except that in 1909 the Twelve again complained about Evans and Smith made a bold move. By revelation Smith honorably released Evans from the First Presidency, appointing his nephew, Elbert A. Smith, in his place. Smith wrote:

> The voice of the Spirit to me is: Under conditions which have occurred it is no longer wise that my servant R. C. Evans be continued as counselor in the Presidency; therefore it is expedient that he be released from his responsibility and other be chosen to the office. He has been earnest and faithful in service and his reward is sure.

Smith had followed up on the suggestion Evans had made two years earlier about ordaining him bishop of Canada. Evans made sure that this possibility was brought to Smith's attention again before the 1909 general conference. He told Frederick Smith that "I believe God has called me to do the Bishop work and that he had blessed me along that line."[44] Accordingly, Evans received new administrative duties on the day of his release from the First Presidency. Smith ordained him a bishop and assigned him to Canada. With one swift move, buttressed by the author-

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42. This material is in the First Presidency Minutes, 16 Mar., 26 Mar. 1908.
43. Quoted in Edwards, *History of the Reorganized Church*, 6:266-67.
44. Evans to Smith, 22 Feb. 1909, Evans Papers.

ity of revelation—perhaps cooked up to reassert authority, as has also been done both before and since—Smith resolved the matter by moving Evans outside the First Presidency and into a significant and just as unnerving position as Evans had been lobbying for during the previous two years.[45] The action essentially established a semi-autonomous church in Canada and placed Evans at its head. If he could not govern the entire Reorganization, perhaps he could lead the Canadian church. With the protection of the Union Jack, Evans could now establish for most purposes independence from the larger U.S.-based movement.

From his headquarters in Toronto, Evans began to exercise greater control over the Canadian national organization. For the rest of his life Joseph Smith III tried to breech the chasm separating Evans from the rest of the church's leadership, but without success.[46] Smith wrote to him in July 1909 that he thought Evans had what amounted to a persecution complex: "It almost seems to me while thinking about it, that this 'enemies' idea has grown upon you, until it is an obsession; and that it poisons nearly everything you say or write in reference to that which some of them [apostles] have had to do."[47] He refused to carry out the duties of the bishopric as dictated from church headquarters in Independence, Missouri, and many people complained of his aloofness from the "advice and support" of other officials. Evans's conduct in Canada after 1909 was akin to a medieval vassal rebelling against his lord.[48]

Increasingly after being set up in a semi-autonomous position in Canada, Evans had little contact with the church's hierarchy except for Joseph Smith III, who also had his share of troubles with the wayward bishop. In February 1910 Smith wrote to Evans: "I really feel sorry for you Brother Richard, that you have grown too peculiarly sensitive, that if you meet a remark in a letter or hear of one from somebody that you do not clearly understand, you are apt to put an unfortunate meaning to it."[49] Smith added in December, "Pardon my blindness, I cannot see how you can preach so fervently about the efficacy of kind words and kind deeds as I have heard you do, and the peace destroying character of saying unkind things and using harsh words" and still act so mean toward others.[50] A year later Smith wrote in exasperation, "Under the circumstances surrounding our correspondence for the last year and one-half, or two years, I feel considerable diffidence in writing you, as I hardly know

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45. Book of Doctrine and Covenants, 129:1.
46. Smith to Evans, 26 Apr. 1909, Evans Papers.
47. Smith to Evans, 12 July 1909, Evans Papers.
48. "The Work in Toronto," *Saints' Herald* 57 (2 Feb. 1910): 125-26; Evans to Joseph Smith III, 16 July 1909; Evans to E. L. Kelley, 7 Oct. 1909, 12 Jan. 1915, all in Evans Papers.
49. Smith to Evans, 15 Feb. 1910, Evans Papers.
50. Smith to Evans, 7 Dec. 1910, Evans Papers.

at what point I may give offense. It is a painful condition for me. I wish it were otherwise."[51] After this Smith apparently gave up trying to win Evans back into the church's fold until he was about to die. For his part, Evans continued to ignore church headquarters and to do what he wanted in Canada. He complained about continued persecution of him by other church officials. At the same time his egotism and obnoxiousness made him an easy person to dislike. All of these concerns fed on each other and created an especially difficult environment in which church officials had to operate.[52]

A significant incident relating to this touchy situation took place in December 1914 as Joseph Smith III lay on his deathbed in Independence, Missouri, and asked Evans to visit him before he died. Evans came immediately and spent an afternoon with Joseph. It was a closed session and no one knows what they said. Perhaps Smith took one last opportunity to counsel Evans about his ego, which appeared in odd ways and on unfortunate occasions, and to defuse Evans's obvious irritation about the direction of the church.[53] Clearly, in spite of their disagreements, Evans still respected the old Reorganization prophet. Smith apparently also still felt great affection for Evans—perhaps the special affection a father feels for an erratic son—but there is every reason to surmise that Smith wanted to help Evans understand and agree with church policy.

When Joseph Smith III died on 10 December 1914, the last vestiges of loyalty Evans felt toward the church hierarchy died with him. Smith had kept the hostility between his son and Evans from coming to the surface. Now that safety valve was gone, and a feud between the two soon began to take up much of their time. Evans was jealous of Frederick's power and authority as the successor; he thought Smith received the position solely because of his lineage. Smith thought Evans a pompous egotist who did not understand the burdens faced in church leadership and who bucked legally-constituted authority. Letters between the two demonstrate the hostility each felt. For instance, Smith wrote to Evans in January 1915 complaining about rumors Evans had spread about the new prophet's lack of qualifications. He challenged Evans's assessment that he possessed no credentials more impressive than being "only a Smith."[54]

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51. Smith to Evans, 17 May 1911, Evans Papers.

52. Evans to E. L. Kelley, 28 Nov. 1910, 9 Mar. 1911; Evans to Joseph Smith III, 6 Nov. 1912, 12 Jan. 1915; Evans to Frederick M. Smith, 10 Dec., 28 Dec. 1914; Evans to Elbert A. Smith, 15 Dec. 1914, all in Evans Papers.

53. R. C. Evans, "My Acquaintance with Pres. Joseph Smith, At Home and Abroad," *Saints' Herald* 57 (6 Apr. 1910): 356-59; Evans, *Songs, Poems, Notes and Correspondence of Bishop R. C. Evans*, 23, 125; Joseph Smith III to Evans, 12 July 1909, 15 Feb. 1910, 17 May 1911; Evans to Joseph Smith III, 6 Nov. 1912; Evans to Elbert A. Smith, 15 Dec. 1914; Evans to Frederick M. Smith, 10 Dec. 1914, all in Evans Papers.

54. Smith to Evans, 24 Jan. 1915, Evans Papers.

Much of the controversy was personal, extending back over years of disagreement, and not motivated by anything more significant than ambition and dislike. While Evans was certainly motivated by personal concerns, he also seems to have been directed by conscience and concern for the higher ideals of the movement. He complained, for instance, about the undemocratic method of succession that brought Frederick to the presidency in spite of other leaders' qualifications. This was partly self-serving, but Evans had a valid complaint. After Frederick became president in his own right, Evans began publicly challenging what he considered the growing authoritarianism of the Reorganized Church's leadership. Frederick's autocracy, Evans thought, was becoming increasingly repressive and required opposition. Evans also complained repeatedly of Smith's "espionage" on his activities. Smith responded to such charges by writing to Evans in 1917: "I resent the imputation that our office is the lodging place of the fruits of any spy or spies."[55] "Since his advent to that high station," Evans recalled, Frederick M. Smith "has been the chief cause of changing much of the church rules. Rule after rule has been changed to give him almost absolute power over everything in the church, Sunday School Religion, Ladies' Auxiliary, and he had the first and last word in the appointment of every office in the church."[56]

Evans even argued that since becoming president Smith had methodically and subversively maneuvered the affairs of the church with the intention of assuming dictatorial power. He presented what could only be called a declaration of war against Smith early in 1918:

> I may be super sensitive, I may be hot headed. If so I am sorry, but when I think of the way I have submitted to injustice in the years ago, and crushed my feelings and kept my mouth closed, lest I would hurt the work I love, and have given forty years to buildup, I think I have both hurt myself and the church in so mildly submitting to the wrongs imposed, and in so doing both the church and myself have suffered.

He promised to do all in his power to ensure that perceived wrongs would not go unchallenged.[57]

Evans became so convinced of this latent authoritarianism that he formally listed forty incidents where Frederick Smith had exercised control outside his proper jurisdiction. Most of these dealt with the appointment or removal of general church officers. One instance cited by Evans was the passage of a General Conference Resolution in 1917 granting the president of the church power to pronounce administrative silences over

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55. Smith to Evans, 12 Feb. 1917, Evans Papers.
56. Evans, *Forty Years in the Mormon Church*, 79.
57. Evans to Smith, 5 Jan. 1918, Evans Papers.

any priesthood member without the right of review by a church court. Evans opposed the measure with the argument that it gave Smith the absolute power to stop the priesthood functioning of anyone without benefit of trial. It was, he claimed, a violation of liberty every bit as great as the suspension of *habeas corpus*.[58]

Evans's complaints were not without foundation. There was a greater degree of control from above in the Reorganized Church during Frederick Smith's presidency than earlier. Joseph Smith III had sensed a latent authoritarianism in his son and on his death bed had warned Frederick about it. On 29 November 1914 he called Frederick into his chamber to offer him advice about church administration. Taking his son's hand, Joseph asked him to exercise patience in his relationship with the church members. "Be steadfast and if the people are heady, if the church is heady, the eldership are heady and take the reins in their hands as they have done a little especially on the rules and regulations, rules of representation," he told Frederick, "don't worry, let it pass, let the church take the consequences and they will after a while grow out of it. ... It is better that way than to undertake to force them or coerce. That would be bad trouble."[59] It seems probable that Joseph III recognized the potential for trouble in his son's personality.

In hindsight Evans's arguments, while they may have been somewhat self-serving, foreshadowed the turbulence in the Reorganized Church during the "Supreme Directional Control" controversy of the 1920s. This was a serious rebellion by some members of the church's leading quorums against overburdening control from Frederick Smith which resulted in the withdrawal from the movement of approximately one-third of active members.[60] Evans was also right that certain people in Toronto watched his activities and reported them to Smith.[61] Against this backdrop, Evans was not so much an egotistical crank as a forward-looking prophet of disaster.

The difficulties between Evans and the Reorganization hierarchy reached a climax not long after the April 1918 conference when Smith an-

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58. "General Conference," *Saints' Herald* 64 (18 Apr. 1917): 365; Evans, *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church*, 40-42.

59. Joseph Smith III's Last Remarks to his Family, 29 Nov. 1914, Joseph Smith III Papers, Reorganized Church Library-Archives; "Statement of President Joseph Smith to his Son, Frederick M. Smith, Sunday, November 29, 1914," *Zion's Ensign* 26 (11 Feb. 1914): 1.

60. The "Supreme Directional Control" crisis has been analyzed in Paul M. Edwards, "Theocratic-Democracy: Philosopher-King in the Reorganization," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1973), 341-57; Hunt, *F. M. Smith*, 254-65; Edwards, *Chief*, 153-96.

61. See, for example, the large series of letters from James A. Wilson to Frederick M. Smith, beginning 15 June 1917 and ending 22 April 1918, Evans Papers.

nounced that he and some colleagues were going to Toronto to investigate allegations of misconduct against Evans. Just after Smith and his retinue arrived in Toronto, Evans announced that he would not allow anyone to poke into his business. He asked Smith for a letter granting completely autonomous status to a Canadian church under Evans's leadership.[62] Smith refused to discuss the issue with Evans, but after a series of smaller altercations Smith allowed Evans on 2 June 1918 to give his side of the story: "He spoke for more than an hour, making a bitter attack on the church and particularly on some of the leading officials, and displayed such a bitterness and antagonism, that only one course was left for the [visiting] committee, and that was to place him under official silence."[63] Thus Evans fell victim to the 1917 resolution he had opposed.

The next day Evans presented a letter of resignation to the church, commenting that it was necessary "because I can no longer endorse many of your rulings and the many changes you have caused to be made in the faith and practice of the church."[64] A few days later Smith formally accepted this withdrawal during a business meeting at the Toronto church. During these proceedings several of Evans's supporters, and he had many in Toronto, tried to introduce resolutions to readmit him, who was present, or to allow the branch to secede from the Reorganization. When Smith declared these resolutions out of order, Evans walked out of the meeting, followed by about 200 local Latter Day Saints. They met at a nearby house where Evans declared the necessity of a new church that would correct the apostasy of the Reorganization. Reports of numbers and commitment vary, but Evans was popular and drew a large following into his newly formed Church of the Christian Brotherhood from among the Ontario Saints.[65]

While Evans ventured into the new church claiming to be a dissenter seeking to purify the church, he quickly rejected some of the cherished principles of the Reorganization and moved more toward the mainstream of American Christianity. He attacked not just the abuses that he had complained about in the presidency of Frederick M. Smith but also the very foundations of the Latter Day Saint movement. He published two major works that could only be called exposés—*Forty Years in the Mormon Church* and *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church*—which de-

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62. Evans, *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church*, 45-48; Evans to Smith, 22 Apr., 13 May, 17 May 1918; Evans to Benjamin R. McGuire, 22 Mar., 10 June, 13 June 1918, all in Evans Papers.

63. Frederick M. Smith, "R. C. Evans Leaves the Church," *Saints' Herald* 65 (19 June 1918): 589.

64. Evans, *Why I Left the Latter Day Saint Church*, 50-51; Evans to Frederick M. Smith, 3 June 1918; Smith to Evans, both in Evans Papers.

65. Smith, "R. C. Evans Leaves the Church," 605; Walter W. Smith, ed., *Purported Angelic Visitation to R. C. Evans* (Independence, MO: n.p., 1918).

tailed his reasons for withdrawal. Evans wrote in these of the great hoax of Mormonism, of how he had been duped into it and only later, after much study and prayer, did he perceive its essential "evils." He commented that only after coming into contact with the writings of Edward M. Tullidge, a rebel Mormon historian of the late nineteenth century, did he begin to question the church. At the same time, Evans was not fully truthful in offering Tullidge's work as the source of his questioning. He had studied the church's history and doctrine for years, and had debated with other ministers over its viability. It seems impossible that he could have been unaware until the 1910s of Tullidge's work, especially since one of the historian's books had been published by the Reorganized Church in 1880.[66]

More likely, Evans was following the well-tested tradition of Mormonism by former members writing exposés. From John C. Bennett to Sonia Johnson, many ex-Mormons have found it therapeutic and lucrative to write horror stories about their former religion.[67] Evans's two books possess the necessary hyperbole and tenor to fit well into this genre. The reasons why he took this route can only be surmised. He probably thought he could gain greater acceptance for himself and his church in the non-Mormon religious community. He could possibly court sympathy from those same religious groups because of the "ordeal" he had suffered. Outsiders might perceive him as an upstanding person who, as soon as he realized all the bad things many thought about Mormonism were true, left the movement for more orthodox religious pursuits. Most important, the real reasons Evans left the Reorganization were probably not dramatic enough to elicit much public support and Evans chose not to emphasize them. In the end, and this was apparently something Evans did not want to admit, his administrative entanglements with Frederick Smith led not just to Evans's rejection of the church as a legitimate institution but of the entire framework of the Latter Day Saint faith.[68]

Evans was never the same after leaving the church. The Reorganiza-

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66. McMurray, "'His Reward is Sure,'" 6; Edward W. Tullidge, *The Life of Joseph the Prophet* (Plano, IL: Herald Publishing House, 1880); Wayne Ham, "Truth Affirmed, Error Denied: The Great Debates of the Early Reorganization," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 7 (1987): 3-11.

67. Many of these books were published in the nineteenth century. As examples, see John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints, or an Expose of Joe Smith and the Mormons* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1844); and Fanny Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, CT: D. Worthington and Co., 1874).

68. Stan L. Albrecht et al., "Religious Leave-Taking: Disengagement and Disaffection Among Mormons," in David G. Bromley, ed., *Falling from the Faith: Causes and Consequences of Religious Apostasy* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1988), 62-80, argues that doctrine plays little part in individual decisions to leave Mormonism, but it is often the most discussed reason.

tion hierarchy sparred with him during the remaining three years of his life, even taking him to court over alleged misappropriation of church funds, but these disagreements served no useful purpose other than to build solidarity within the institution against Evans and to exact revenge. The church was judged to be sound, the dissenter was defective. This process served as a defense mechanism for members and especially for the hierarchy.[69] Evans continued to hold his dynamic preaching series and to build a following in Toronto. Many of his followers were not ready to reject Mormon ideals, especially when Evans announced that he had spurned the Book of Mormon, and soon drifted off. He was also concerned about the individual rights of members, it should be mentioned, and his organization made it difficult for priesthood licenses to be taken away and for leaders to engage in arbitrary actions like those Evans believed he had suffered. When Evans died suddenly of pneumonia on 18 January 1921, it was a shock to those who knew him in Toronto. Most of the Reorganized Church, however, looked upon the death as a divine retribution for the recent misspent years.[70]

R. C. Evans was a complex person who cannot easily be placed into any particular category. In one sense, he was an ecclesiastical leader who desired some of the right things for mixed reasons. In another, he was an ambitious egotist who alienated those who had any real association with him. In yet another, he was a talented preacher and committed church leader who was squeezed out of positions which he could and perhaps should have filled. This talented, egotistical, ebullient, elegant, and erratic man enriched, infuriated, and challenged the Reorganized Church by his presence. It felt his loss keenly. Evans did not live to see some of his complaints about Smith's leadership expressed by others during the 1920s, but his spiritual presence was there nonetheless. Evans was a person whose ambitions and needs extended beyond what the faith, doctrine, and community would tolerate, but one who served as a precursor of impending conflict. His dissent was motivated by a complex process within specific sociocultural and historical contexts. Evans's dissent cannot be understood apart from the personalities and interrelationships of the time, yet those same personalities and interrelationships cannot be understood apart from Evans's legitimate dissent over church policy and doctrine.

Ironically, Evans lived a century too soon to achieve the full measure of his ambition in the church. Had he been a member of the First Presi-

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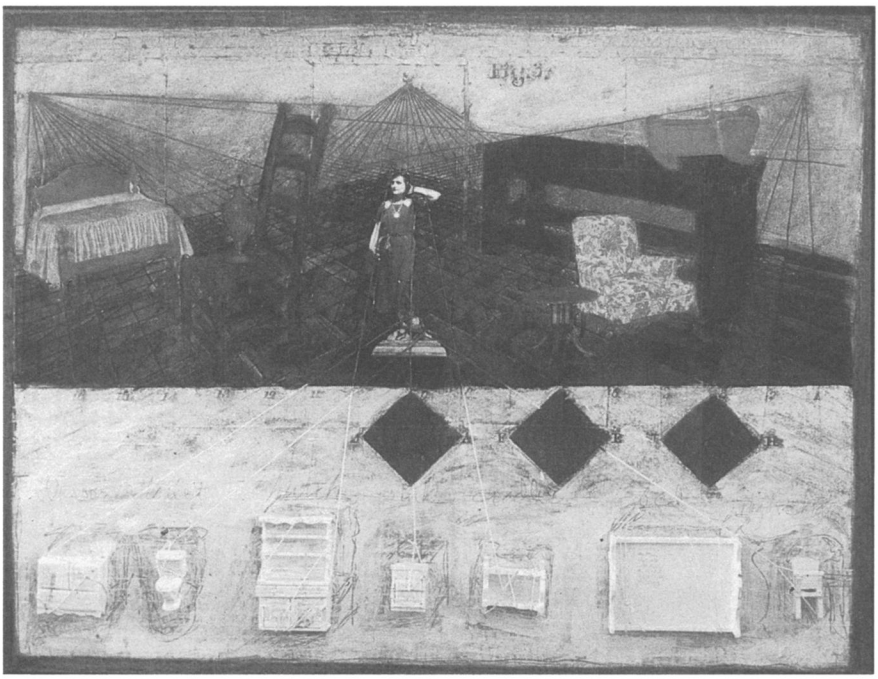
69. Gordon D. Pollock, "In Search for Security: The Mormons and the Kingdom of God on Earth, 1830-1844," 292-93, Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1977.

70. Elbert A. Smith, "The Death of R. C. Evans," *Saints' Herald* 68 (26 Jan. 1921): 76; "Vision Related by I. N. Wight, Talk with Richard C. Evans in the Spirit World," 23 Dec. 1921, Evans Biographical File.

dency in the early 1990s, there is little doubt that his capabilities would have realized his succession to the presidency. As it is, W. Grant McMurray—another talented, ambitious, ebullient, elegant, and erratic man—became the first non-member of the Smith family to lead the Reorganized Church in April 1996. Would Evans have been a good choice as president in 1914? No one knows. Will McMurray be a good choice at the end of the century and millennium? We will soon find out.



Kayenta

Bryan Waterman

Summers we paint relocation houses
on the res, beige and grey,
"Navajo white," our brushes dripping
Dutch Boy on red Arizona earth.

You sit in your hogans, grandparents,
save your smiles for your children,
nieces, nephews, your own.

We cover sheetrock squares, stain
and varnish doors with thick,
choking strokes. Your hogans
are round, bound with living sticks,
hand-dyed rugs on hard clay floors,
the spirit-door wide open.

When we leave, you turn your goats
into the government houses.

You have no future
tense and I, at seventeen,
have no idea why you laugh
to see the goats lick lacquer from the doors,
shit on untouched carpet,

as we haul our paint away.

Laban's Ghost: On Writing and Transgression

Thomas W. Murphy

IN HIS 1955 CLASSIC WORK, *TRISTES TROPIQUES*, French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss recorded a story of unintended social impact evoked by his introduction of writing to the illiterate Nambikwara of tropical Brazil. Several days after Levi-Strauss distributed paper and pencils as gifts to the Nambikwara, one of the chiefs pulled a piece of paper from a basket of gifts that the anthropologist had asked the chief to disperse. Levi-Strauss watched in bewilderment as the chief, apparently mimicking him, began authoritatively reading the wavy lines inscribed on the piece of paper as if they were instructions for the appropriate allocation of the goods.

The sudden employment of writing as a tool of authority by one of their chiefs irritated the Nambikwara who had been accompanying Levi-Strauss as guides. Partially in retaliation for the offense generated by this incident, Levi-Strauss found himself abandoned in the forest with no idea of which way to go and spent a sleepless night reflecting on the surprising episode of which he had been an unwitting protagonist. Years later he wrote:

> Writing had, on that occasion, made its appearance among the Nambikwara but not, as one might have imagined, as a result of long and laborious training. It had been borrowed as a symbol, and for a sociological rather than an intellectual purpose, while its reality remained unknown. It had not been a question of acquiring knowledge, of remembering or understanding, but rather of increasing the authority and prestige of one individual—or function—at the expense of others.[1]

Levi-Strauss hypothesized that when writing first emerged "it seems to have favoured the exploitation of human beings rather than their en-

1. Claude Levi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), 296-98.

lightenment." He proposed that "the primary function of written communication is to facilitate slavery" and argued that "the use of writing for disinterested purposes, and as a source of intellectual and aesthetic pleasure, is a secondary result, and more often than not it may even be turned into a means of strengthening, justifying or concealing" the sociological use of writing.[2]

Following Levi-Strauss, I propose that when writing is viewed simply as a source of enlightenment it conceals a network of possibly exploitative social relations. In the case of Mormonism, writing both conceals and shapes social relations. The Book of Mormon was presented by Joseph Smith as a history of the American Indians, a bridge between the historical Judeo-Christian tradition and a people not originally part of that written history.[3] Although the author of this new scripture proclaimed that God was impartial, the text masked disparate power relations between American Indians and European colonizers. The LDS church, which emerged after publication of the Book of Mormon, challenged the revelatory monopoly that the Protestant Reformation had assigned to the Bible and attached eternal significance to the written word. It thus reified the practice of writing, which has since shaped Mormon practice and belief through the production of new scriptures, extensive record keeping, and an emphasis on correlated instructional materials and genealogical production of salvation. In the past few years Mormon scholars and feminists have used the written word to challenge and limit the power and authority of church leaders. In so doing they have offended those general authorities who claim to represent the God of the record keepers. The writings of scholars and feminists, like those of their church leaders (endowed with the revelatory authority of Logos), also disguise contested social relations hidden within the written word. This contest over the written word is itself shaped by the reification or fetishization of writing as an administrative and an enlightening device of both humans and gods.

To begin this examination of writing within Mormonism I first offer a theoretical overview in which I engage Mormon scriptures (Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price) in a dialogue with the theories of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, and Clifford Geertz. I then discuss the story of Nephi's murder of Laban in which it is dramati-

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2. Ibid., 298-99.

3. Like most Euro-Americans in the nineteenth century, the author of the Book of Mormon categorized the American Indians as a single group (the Lamanites). Such a categorization disguises the diversity of indigenous cultures in the Americas. When I use terms such as "a people" in reference to American Indians, I do not intend to reflect the reality of ancient America in which there was no such cohesion but to represent Euro-American perceptions of the indigenous groups they encountered in America.

cally proposed that Logos, the divine word or reason incarnate in Jesus Christ, cannot exist without a written record. My exegesis of the story of Laban is supplemented by comparisons with contests over the written word in the Protestant Reformation and some reflections by some Euro-Americans on the encounter between Europeans and the peoples of the New World. Finally, I revisit recent conflicts between Mormon leaders and intellectuals and suggest that this struggle is being primarily fought through and over the privileged use of the written word.

Theoretical Overview

Nineteenth-century French sociologist Emile Durkheim observed that humans draw their cosmology from aspects of their own social environment.[4] Writing has played an essential role in the formation, history, and evolution of Mormon cosmology and institutions. The ambitious endeavors of many Latter-day Saints in record keeping and genealogy are believed to have not only temporal but immortal significance.[5] For example, Mormon scriptures proclaim that God will judge humans "out of the books which shall be written" (2 Ne. 29:11), that "whatsoever you record on earth shall be recorded in heaven, and whatsoever you do not record on earth shall not be recorded in heaven" (D&C 128:8), that "all things are written by the Father" (3 Ne. 27:26), that the names of the righteous are recorded in the "book of life" (Alma 5:58), and that apostates and unbelievers whose names "are not found written in the book of law ... shall not find an inheritance among the saints of the Most High" (D&C 85:11), while the righteous who enter the celestial kingdom will be given a white stone on which a new name, a key word for admittance, is written (130:11).

Reliance upon writing in the contemporary world is projected by the authors of Mormon scriptures into the heavens with profound implications for the afterlife. Salvation, for Mormons, is predicated on information recorded both on earth and in heaven. The Mormon God commands a massive bureaucracy which observes and records human actions on earth. This heavenly bureaucracy duplicates the record keeping efforts of

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4. Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: The Free Press). Durkheim's own reifications of social structure, however, should be recognized as such; see Michael Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 9.

5. See Alex Shoumatoff, *The Mountain of Names: A History of the Human Family* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985); M. Guy Bishop, "'What Has Become of Our Fathers?' Baptism for the Dead at Nauvoo" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Summer 1990): 85-97; and Grant Underwood, "Baptism for the Dead: Comparing RLDS and LDS Perspectives" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Summer 1990): 99-105.

Mormons on earth. If records are not kept on earth, then none are kept in heaven. One's salvation depends on the performance of various ordinances on earth *and* the recording of those ordinances in heaven which is possible only if they are first recorded on earth.

In his analysis of commodity as both thing and social relation, Karl Marx derived the concept of commodity fetishism to describe the manner in which social relations among people assume "the fantastic form of a relation between things."[6] In the case of Mormonism, written records, whether scripture, genealogy, or scholarly treatises, exist not simply as physical objects but, like the commodity, are imbued with a fantastic form (which I call an eternal significance) that masks power relationships among individuals and groups of individuals. Yet, in this essay, I am not seeking simply to illuminate the "really real" between the lines of text on a written page. Rather, along with Clifford Geertz, I argue that an examination of writing in Mormonism is sociologically interesting not simply because it helps to "describe the social order ... but because ... it shapes it."[7]

The author of the Book of Mormon addressed the paradox of an impartial God who sanctioned imbalanced social relations between European immigrants and American Indians. In order to portray an apparently partial God as impartial, this narrator suggested cosmic explanations, what Geertz has called "a gloss upon the mundane world of social relationships and psychological events."[8] These cosmic explanations accounted for the contradictions and ambiguities that readers in the nineteenth century found in their own society. By positing, through the story of Nephi's murder of Laban, that a differential access to Logos separated literate societies from non-literate ones, the narrator provided readers with a plausible explanation for social and racial inequality. Yet this logocentric synopsis served not simply as a gloss for contemporary social relationships in the early nineteenth century, but served and continues to

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6. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production,* vol. 1, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward B. Aveling (New York: International Publishers, 1947), 72.

7. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 119. Jean Jackson argued that "in a modern bureaucratic state a document can have a major role in creating the reality; whether you're married or not finally depends on the validity of the marriage license, rather than on your intentions and assumptions at the time" (see "'I Am a Fieldnote': Fieldnotes as a Symbol of Professional Identity," in Roger Sanjek, ed., *Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990], 32). Perhaps Mormonism borrowed this reification of writing from emerging bureaucratic states. See Robert W. Hefner, "World Building and the Rationality of Conversion," in *Christian Conversion in Cultural Context,* Robert Hefner, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3-44.

8. Geertz, 124.

serve as a basis for shaping present and future relationships in the LDS church.[9]

Writing and Its Absence

One way to assess the role of writing in Mormon theology is to ask what Mormonism would be like without the written word. This question has been asked, indirectly, in the story of Nephi's assassination of Laban. In this narrative Lehi and his family had just embarked on a journey that they believed would isolate them from the historical traditions of religious leaders in Jerusalem (see 1 Ne. 3-4). Prompted by a dream, Lehi asked his sons Laman, Lemuel, Sam, and Nephi to return to Jerusalem and acquire, from a man called Laban, a collection of brass plates that contained "the five books of Moses ... a record of the Jews [and] the prophecies of the holy prophets" (5:11-13). The eldest brother, Laman, who along with Lemuel would become the progenitors of the dark-skinned race in the Americas (Lamanites), first attempted and failed to acquire the plates. Under the initiative and leadership of Laman's younger brother Nephi, who along with Sam would become the progenitors of an ancient light-skinned race in the Americas (Nephites), the brothers made a second attempt to acquire the plates. This time they tried to purchase the plates with gold, silver, and other precious things that they collected from their abandoned home. Laban, however, stole the items, refused to deliver the plates, and instead sent his guards to kill the four young men. The brothers escaped and began to quarrel until they were interrupted by an angel. The angel rebuked Laman and Lemuel for striking Nephi and advised them that Nephi had been chosen by the Lord to rule over them because of their iniquities.

Following this intervention Nephi returned, alone, to the city, encountered a drunken Laban, and was ordered by the Spirit to murder him. Initially reluctant to take the life of another human, Nephi was reprimanded by the Spirit who informed him that "the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes. It is better that one man should perish than that a nation should dwindle in unbelief" (1 Ne. 4:13). Nephi recalled that the Lord previously told him that "Inasmuch as thy seed shall keep my commandments, they shall prosper in the land of promise" and that the law of Moses which they must obey "was engraved upon the plates of brass" (vv. 14-16). Submitting to the authority

9. Susan F. Harding argued that conversion is a process of acquiring a specific religious language. See "Convicted by the Holy Spirit: The Rhetoric of Fundamental Baptist Conversion," *American Ethnologist* 14 (1987): 167-81. Following Harding, one might argue that the written word holds a privileged space in the religious language of Mormonism. To convert to Mormonism is to accept the fetishization of writing, to find Logos in the written word (see Moro. 10:1-4).

of the Spirit, Nephi decapitated Laban and took not only the brass plates but the sword with which he killed him.

Noel B. Reynolds, a political scientist at Brigham Young University, has argued that the writings of Nephi in the Book of Mormon "can be read as a political tract or a 'lineage history,' written to document the legitimacy of Nephi's rule and religious teachings."[10] Read as part of a founding constitution of the white Nephites, the story of Nephi's murder of Laban presents Laman, the father of dark-skinned Lamanites, as subordinate to Nephi who was chosen by God to rule over him and his descendants. As the eldest brother, Laman had the first opportunity to obtain the plates, but his failure, together with the subsequent angelic intervention, validated the right of Nephi and his descendants to be both the record keepers and divinely sanctioned rulers over the non-literate Lamanites.

What made the acquisition of the plates so vital that God would sanction murder (see Alma 39:3-5; D&C 49:21)? There was something special, something unique, about these brass plates. They were not just a genealogy or a narrative; they were a written record that included the law of Moses. The Spirit told Nephi that without the plates his descendants would "dwindle and perish in unbelief" (1 Ne. 4:13). The hidden presupposition in this statement is that belief, or at least the "true" belief sought by Nephi, could not exist independent of the written word. All belief by illiterate persons and cultures, not informed by the written word, was preemptively invalidated by the Spirit conversing with Nephi. Laman's failure to obtain the plates served as an explanation for the lack of writing and thereby belief among the Lamanites and by implication (for readers in the nineteenth century) the American Indians.[11] The sociological significance of this narrative is the claim that *without writing there can be no belief.*

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10. Noel B. Reynolds, "The Political Dimension in Nephi's Small Plates," *Brigham Young University Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 15.

11. Since the time of Joseph Smith, Mormons have consistently used the label of Lamanites for all Native Americans. In recent decades, though, this usage has come under criticism and appears to be declining in official publications but is still common in popular Mormon discourse. See Eugene England, "'Lamanites' and the Spirit of the Lord," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 25-31; Lacee A. Harris, "To Be Native American—and Mormon," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 143-52; Keith Parry, "Joseph Smith and the Clash of Sacred Cultures," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 65-80; Arturo De Hoyos, "'I Am a Lamanite ... ,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Fall 1986): 15-17; Steve Pavlik, "Of Saints and Lamanites: An Analysis of Navajo Mormonism," *Wicazo SA Review* 8 (Spring 1992): 21-30; and Thomas W. Murphy, "Imagining Lamanites: Constructions of Self and Other in the Book of Mormon," privately circulated, 1996.

The Protestant Reformation and the Bible

In the Mormon world view one must have a book in which Logos—the Truth—is to be found. One can "believe" only after knowing Logos. In a way the tale of Nephi's murder of Laban is an elaborate re-enactment of some of the central tensions dividing a Europe forever altered by the Protestant Reformation. The conflict between Protestants and Catholics drew upon a long tradition in which the written law was a site of contention in early Judaism and Christianity.[12] Protestantism in contra-distinction to Catholicism offered a relationship with God in which Logos was no longer mediated by the authority of the priest. Instead a more direct relationship was proposed, one mediated only by the Bible. In their emphasis on the Bible the leaders of the Protestant Reformation transferred the mediation of the imbalance of power between God and parishioner from the priest to the Bible, the word of God. The imbalance of power between God and parishioner did not disappear, rather it took on an alternative mask, the Bible.

Before the emergence of the printing press, manuscript knowledge, although not monolithic, was primarily scarce and arcane lore. Following mass production, print knowledge thrived on reproducibility and dissemination. Between the publication of the Gutenberg Bible and the close of the fifteenth century, forty-odd years later, more than 20 million printed volumes were produced in Europe. By a century later the count rose to between 150 million and 200 million.[13] The initial market for books was a thin stratum of Latin readers in Europe, but that quickly changed.

When Martin Luther nailed his theses to the chapel door in Wittenberg in 1517, his complaints were quickly printed and widely distributed in the vernacular throughout the country in as few as fifteen days. Between 1522 and 1546 as many as 430 whole or partial editions of Luther's biblical translations appeared. Luther sparked "a colossal religious propaganda war that raged across Europe for the next century."[14] Advocates of Protestantism challenged the power of the established church through the written word, employed most effectively in the vernacular, while leaders of the Counter-Reformation defended the church through the citadel of Latin. The church buckled but was not destroyed. Protestant churches emerged to stay, their leaders having wielded the newly found power of the mass produced, printed word.

Nephi's bloody acquisition of the brass plates was not unlike the

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12. Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord's Table: The Meaning of Food in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 38, 46, 49, 59, 83.

13. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 32-34, 37.

14. Ibid., 39-40.

publication of the Gutenberg Bible and the subsequent violence which tore the written word from the hands of a few elite in the Roman church. Nephi slew Laban to gain access to the written record of the Jews. Through this violent act a copy of the sacred chronicle was transferred from one of Jerusalem's elite to a rebellious prophet leading his family to a new promised land. Authority was transferred from the elite of Jerusalem to a set of brass plates.

America and the Biblical Silence

When the Spanish conquistadors arrived in the New World after 1492, they sought to undermine the authority of indigenous leaders through the destruction of Mayan and Aztec texts. As a result of the efforts of the conquistadors and missionaries such as Fray Diego de Landa, nearly all pre-Columbian manuscripts in the New World were destroyed. From the few surviving texts and what anthropologists have been able to surmise from archaeological excavation, pre-Columbian writing appears to have been primarily an administrative/political tool of the elite with few records of a historical nature.[15]

There was no printing press or widespread dissemination of books in the New World prior to 1492. Writing was only known in a few societies in Central America, and Spanish invaders quickly eliminated as many traces of that as possible. Two centuries later British colonists invaded illiterate native societies in North America. In response to the destruction of Aztec and Mayan texts by the Spanish and the lack of writing in most North American indigenous societies, English colonizers found an historical void in the New World. There was no book, no Bible, no written sacred history in which to believe.[16] In the terminology of the Book of Mormon, nations were "dwindling in unbelief."

The transition from the brass plates to the gold plates, portrayed in both the product and narrative of the Book of Mormon, exemplified a movement in the status of writing from that of manuscript knowledge as an administrative device and arcane lore to a nineteenth-century text

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15. See Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1978), 182; Michael Coe, *Mexico,* 3d ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 163; Michael Coe, *The Maya,* 4th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 178-87; Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992), 163, 167-71; Friar Diego de Landa, *Yucatan: Before and After the Conquest,* William Gates, trans. (New York: Dover Publications, 1978 [1566]), 13.

16. See Robert Wauchope, *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents: Myth and Method in the Study of American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 3; Allen H. Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth: Suggestions Toward Rewriting Hebrew History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1930); Gershon Greenberg, *The Holy Land in American Religious Thought, 1620-1948* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

written for its reproducibility and dissemination.[17] The author of the Book of Mormon proposed an anachronistic social transformation in the New World at least as early as 1,000 years before a similar upheaval would occur in Europe. In other words, Book of Mormon prophets such as Nephi, Mormon, and Moroni were apparently aware that they were writing and keeping a record for a future mass audience 1,000 years before the emergence of print-capitalism in Europe. For example, Nephi was informed by the Lamb of God that the records he and his people were commanded to keep were to be "hid up, to come forth unto the Gentiles" (1 Ne. 13:35; see also 2 Ne. 3:23, 26:17, 27:6-22, 29:3,11; Morm. 2:17-18, 5:12, 6:6; Moro. 10:1-4).

The Book of Mormon was written as an American scripture, superior to the Protestant Bible. This reproducible American Bible offered liberation to immigrants to the New World from the chains of Europe's Protestant elite, who had previously sought their own liberation by turning from the authority of the papacy to that of the Bible.[18] Primitive Christianity was no longer something that was lived only in the remote past of the Old World, but was posited both in the past and present of the New World. The Book of Mormon offered a rewritten version of the Judeo-Christian tradition and a history of the American continents with an immediacy in the nineteenth century. This apparent act of emancipation for European immigrants to the Americas masked the potential enslaving of the indigenous populations of the New World to a sacred history not of their own creation.

Lost Tribes and Native Resistance to Writing

Beginning with Francisco Lopez de Gomara in the early sixteenth century, Spanish, French, and English authors sought to fill the biblical void on the origin and existence of the American Indians. A sacred his-

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17. For discussions of nineteenth-century messages in the Book of Mormon, see the essays in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993); B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, Brigham D. Madsen, ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985); David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985); John A. Price, "The *Book of Mormon* vs. Anthropological Prehistory" *The Indian Historian* 7 (Summer 1974): 35-40; Michael Coe, "Mormons and Archaeology: An Outside View," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Summer 1973): 40-48; Dee F. Green, "Book of Mormon Archaeology: the Myths and Alternatives," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Summer 1969): 71-80; Mervin B. Hogan, "'A Parallel': A Matter of Chance versus Coincidence," *Rocky Mountain Mason* 4 (Jan. 1956): 17-31; Wayne Ham, *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action* 1 (Sept. 1970): 15-22.

18. The theme of a rise from slavery appears to repeat Old Testament patterns; see Sanders, 48; Feeley-Harnik, xiii.

tory, whether mediated by Catholic clergy or directly accessible to Protestant laity, could not be universal if it was silent in regards to two continents full of people. This vacuum was filled with a genre of literature in which the authors attempted to link Native Americans with the sacred texts of the Old World by speculating that the indigenous peoples of the Americas descended from Old World peoples such as those scattered after construction of the tower of Babel or those who remained of the Lost Tribes of Israel.[19]

This textual remaking of the American past accompanied efforts by conquerors and colonists to "transform this 'New' world and its inhabitants, into a likeness of the old."[20] In the Book of Mormon not only was the Judeo-Christian framework extended to ancient America, but the biological transformation of the Americas (in which the peoples, diseases, plants, and animals of the Old World largely displaced those of the New World) was projected back into the ancient past.[21] The American biological, physical, political, and religious environment of the nineteenth century was posited by the author of the Book of Mormon to have existed for at least 1,000 years (600 B.C. to 400 A.D.) in pre-Columbian America.

The Book of Mormon was not the only attempt to produce an American history connecting Old and New Worlds; nor was it the first to meet resistance from American Indians.[22] In 1775 James Adair's *History of the American Indians* contributed to a literary genre started by the Spanish and set the stage for the proliferation in the following century of numerous texts speculating that American Indians originated from the Lost Tribes of Israel. In addition to offering the scenario of lost tribes as a missing link, Adair recorded Native American resistance to the imposition of a new sacred history from the Bible. He wrote that some Indians claimed that though they were "unskillful in making the marks of our ugly lying books, which spoil people's honesty," they were nonetheless "duly taught in the honest volumes of nature."[23]

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19. Godbey, 2; Wauchope, 53; Sanders, 182-83, 186-88, 363, 367; Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 35-52.

20. Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 10. See also Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 12; Anthony Grafton, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992), 7.

21. See Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

22. On the difficulties encountered by early Mormon missionaries among the American Indians, see Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985 [1938]).

23. James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, Samuel Cole Williams, ed. (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1930 [1775]).

Elias Boudinot, whose publication in 1816 of *A Star in the West* followed Adair, paraphrased one American Indian's rejection of the book of God as a text full of "foolish absurdities" and "nonsense."[24] Native resistance to writing continued well after publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830. In an 1854 speech Chief Seattle objected to Christianity because it "was written on tablets of stone by the iron finger of an angry God."[25] Not all resistance to writing, though, came in the form of rejection. Sequoyah, a Cherokee who knew little more of writing except that it existed, developed a phonetic script that was rapidly adopted by the Cherokee as an alternative to the alphabet imposed by European colonizers.[26] Vine Deloria, Jr., has noted that most tribal religions may be distinguished from historical religions such as Christianity because they "did not base their validity on any specific incident ... No Indian tribal religion was dependent upon the belief that a certain thing had happened in the past."[27] The dependence of truth on particular historical events is a foreign idea to societies lacking a sense of rigid chronology.

In spite of the reluctance and suspicion with which many Native Americans approached the written word, Ethan Smith in an 1823 book, *View of the Hebrews*, went to great lengths (reviving previously discredited tales of the discovery of a dark-yellow parchment with ancient Hebrew writing enclosed by a cover of skins near Pittsfield, Massachusetts) to demonstrate that the Indians of North America as well as those in Central America had once had the ability to read and write.[28] In publishing the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith produced evidence that writing (in a peculiar combination of Hebrew and Egyptian) had, in fact, existed in ancient North America and through the assistance of an angel had been preserved, recovered, translated, and was now owned by him.

If ancient writing could be proven to have existed but been lost in ancient North America, these "facts" would lend credence to the proposition supported by Adair, Boudinot, Ethan Smith, and Joseph Smith that contemporary Indians were dark-skinned degenerates suffering from an ancient loss of white civilization and in need of a restoration to an imag-

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24. Elias Boudinot, *A Star in the West; or a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, Preparatory to the Return to their Beloved City, Jerusalem* (Trenton, NJ: D. Fenton and S. Hutchinson & J. Dunham, 1816), 274-75.

25. "Chief Seattle's Speech" was recorded and translated by Henry A. Smith and published in the *Seattle Sunday Star* on 19 October 1887 (Suquamish, WA: The Suquamish Museum, n.d.).

26. Wright, 214-17.

27. Vine Deloria, Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1994), 99-100.

28. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews: or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, VT: Smith and Smith, 1825), 130, 217-18, 223.

ined version of their own past.[29] Paralleling the colonial suppression of the spoken languages of the original inhabitants of the Americas, the Book of Mormon first appeared in print in English while its golden original (also in an Old World language) disappeared.

Prophets from the Book of Mormon warned that God's judgments would rest upon unbelievers (2 Ne. 1:10, 26:19; Hel. 4:25), that God would cease to do miracles because of unbelief (Morm. 9:20), that the so-called Lamanites who dwindled in unbelief would not have the book for fear they might destroy it (2 Ne. 26:17), and that because of their unbelief God would bring other nations to the Americas and empower them to take away the land and cause the Lamanites to be scattered and smitten (2 Ne. 1:11). The same God who proclaimed that a written record was a prerequisite for belief also removed the sacred records from unbelievers and only permitted their return after a brutal conquest. The reappearance of the records came in the language of the colonizers. The God of the Book of Mormon regulated access to the written word sanctioning the killing and smiting of those who stood in the way of his divine plan.

The Book of Mormon served as a text that could fill the historical void perceived by European immigrants to the New World. While other Protestant American religions responded to this lack through an over-reliance, perhaps fetishization, of the Bible as an object, Mormons accepted the Bible as the word of God in so far as it was translated correctly and elevated alternative scriptures such as the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price (the texts which Harold Bloom has called the "stunted stepchildren of the Bible"[30]) to the same status. Not only did the Book of Mormon fill the gap of illiteracy and connect the New World to the sacred history of the Old World, but to many people it superseded the oral narratives of Native Americans which are subordinated to the written word as superstitious legends of nations "dwindling in unbelief," unworthy of the word of God.

Bodily Inscriptions

While the text of the Book of Mormon may be read as laying the groundwork for a belief in the equality of races, peoples, and genders, this impartiality is actually undermined by the social implications of the text.[31] Women are generally anonymous appendages to male characters,

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29. Thomas W. Murphy, "Searching for Self Amidst Lost Tribes," privately circulated, 1995.

30. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 81, 148, 154, 185, 221.

31. For an attempt to re-interpret the Book of Mormon within a framework of equality, see Eugene England, "'No Respecter of Persons': A Mormon Ethics of Diversity," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Winter 1994): 79-100.

categorized with children, or completely ignored (see 1 Ne. 17:1-2; Jacob 2:28; Mosiah 10:5; Alma 54:3).[32] Cultural differences between Lamanites and Nephites are typically described in a manner that assigns pejorative terms, such as blood-thirsty, idolatrous, ferocious, idle, lazy, and filthy, to the dark-skinned Lamanites (1 Ne. 12:23; Enos 1:20; Mosiah 9:12; Alma 22:28, 24:18; Morm. 5:15).[33] Socially constructed racial distinctions are presented as a divinely ordained punitive measure for unrighteousness. This punitive curse appears as a mark, a dark skin inscribed by the hand of God, upon the bodies of the wicked (1 Ne. 2:23; 2 Ne. 5:21-24; Alma 3:6-18, 17:15; Moses 5:40).[34] This dark skin, as a curse from God, was cited as antecedent for other denigrating characteristics: "And because of their cursing which was upon them, they did become an idle people, full of mischief and subtlety, and did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey" (2 Ne. 5:24). The pretext of equality that appears in the proclamation that the Lord invites "all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, male and female" (2 Ne. 26:33) masks the enslaving potential of representation across disparate social relationships. The making and existence of the Book of Mormon as an authentic document that portrays an American past tied to the racial myths and sacred history of the Old World gives Joseph Smith and his prophetic descendants a dangerous power of representation over the ancient Lamanites depicted in this "word of God."[35]

The Book of Mormon as a golden Bible entered an unequal domain in which it exacerbated, while masking, the disparate power relationship between colonizers and colonized. The pretext is thus set for erasing or

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32. See Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The Grammar of Inequality," in Maxine Hanks, ed., *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 215-30; Lynn Mathews Anderson, "Towards a Feminist Interpretation of Latter-day Scripture," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Summer 1994): 185-203; Melodie Moench Charles, "Precedents for Mormon Women from Scriptures," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 37-63.

33. See Harris; Parry; England, "Lamanites"; David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 26-64; Norman Douglas, "The Sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial Myths in Mormon Scripture and Their Relevance to the Pacific Islands," *Journal of Religious History* 8 (1974): 90-104.

34. For discussions of writing and the body, see Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); Michael Taussigg, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 27; Nicholas Dirks, "Introduction," in Nicholas Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 6-7; Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage, 1979).

35. For commentary on gaining power through representation, see Michael Tausigg, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 13.

denouncing various oral traditions of illiterate groups of Native Americans as well as the few manuscripts that survived the brutality of the Spanish. Offered in place of listening to American Indians was a new book celebrating a Euro-American vision of primitive Christianity and published by a descendant of the same Europeans who assailed the Native Americans and stole their land.

Through publication of the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith accomplished, via writing and representation, the same sort of erasure that Bishop Landa sought through brutality, torture, and consuming fire when he destroyed most of the Mayan codices that had survived the initial stages of the conquest. Ronald Sanders has described Landa as "a paragon of the Catholic Reformation of the late sixteenth-century Spain as expressed in the New World." According to this view, "Pre-Catholic documents like the Hebrew Old Testament and the Mayan codices are not valid on their own ... it is only once their elements have been coopted by the only true religion that they become valuable parts of its tradition."[36] In this colonization of people, space, and language, the dominant colonial "views of languages, of recording the past, and of charting territories become synonymous with the real by obstructing possible alternatives."[37]

While Laban's sword symbolized the destructive power of the state, amply exerted by Bishop Landa and the Spanish conquistadors, the brass plates symbolized not simply the enlightenment of Lehi's descendants but the dominating power of the written word. The brass plates were violently seized by Nephi. The gold plates served as engraved definitions of righteousness zealously invoked as the true record of ancient America by Joseph Smith's followers (D&C 3:18, 20, 10:48). Both pen and sword were and are tools of power and domination. While the brute torture on the body of the colonized by Spanish conquistadors was not the same thing as the public exhibition of colonized bodies in the Book of Mormon, these "two moments of colonial power shared in more than they differed."[38]

The Mormon restoration's opening of the windows of heaven challenged the revelatory monopoly assigned by Protestant reformers. With the publication of alternative scriptures, the monopoly was broken and followers of new Mormon religions were empowered with innovative words of God but not without a cost. Illiterate nations were depicted as dwindling in unbelief and their only hope for equality, according to the Book of Mormon, would be through a rejection of the heritage passed down by ancestors in favor of a Christianity imported from the Old

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36. Sanders, 183. See also Landa, 82.

37. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 5.

38. See Dirks, 5.

World and molded by the hands of colonizers. The removal of a dark curse etched by the hand of God could be achieved, Book of Mormon prophets promised, through acceptance of a denigrating record engraved on golden plates (2 Ne. 30:6).[39] To achieve liberation for the poor and downtrodden European colonizers, the Book of Mormon portrayed a divinely sanctioned murder. The oral traditions of indigenous populations were replaced with illusive metal records that legitimated the usurpation of the Americas and were written in Old World languages by colonizers in the New World.

Engraved on Gold Plates

Joseph Smith reported directly confronting the question of what might be the ultimate value of a golden Bible. Could it be found in the gold? Or in Logos? A dead white Indian, miraculously resurrected and known as the angel Moroni, appeared to Joseph as a liminal figure between an ancient white civilization and European immigrants in the nineteenth century.[40] Moroni presented the young Joseph with a dilemma. In order to obtain this golden Bible from the angel, the incipient prophet had to refuse to use the gold on which the word of God was engraved for financial gain.[41] In return for rejecting the power of riches, Joseph was promised the power instilled in the written word.

Non-Mormon American historian John L. Brooke recently noted that both religion and money in the early nineteenth century "depended upon faith in the legitimacy of printed paper."[42] The Book of Mormon, as a paper record, was like a spiritual treasure "laid up in heaven," while the gold which had been hidden in the earth faded away. The slippery

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39. The post-1981 English version of the Book of Mormon no longer includes the prophesy in 2 Ne. 30:6 that the converted descendants of the Lamanites will become white. Nonetheless, many foreign translations include the prophecy, and similar references in 1 Ne. 2:23; 2 Ne. 5:21-24; Jacob 3:8; Alma 17:15; and 3 Ne. 2:15 have not been removed from the English version. See Thomas W. Murphy, "Re-Inventing Mormonism: Guatemala as Harbinger of the Future?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 177-92.

40. For a discussion of awakening the dead through metaphorical murder, see Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 143; Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits,* Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977). On liminality, see Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93-111.

41. Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), 7; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 61-64; D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 112-49; John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of the Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 149-83.

42. Brooke, 227.

golden plates escaped the permanent grasp of a treasure-seeker-turned-prophet. The written record served as paper money without a gold standard.[43] Faith in the gold was misplaced, but a collective faith in the legitimacy of the printed word offered greater promise.

According to the prophets of the Book of Mormon, treasures sealed up in heaven were imbued with eternal significance, those hidden in the earth disappeared (2 Ne. 9:30; 12:7; Hel. 5:8; 13:18-20, 35; Morm. 1:18). True legitimacy, according to this record, was found within the writing itself, not with the precious metals that backed the printed paper. Those who placed their faith in metal would watch it fade away, while those whose faith was bound to the written word would find an eternal reward.

The pursuit of wealth and power through acquisition and display was denounced in the Book of Mormon (Jacob 1:16, 2:13, 2:18; Mosiah 2:12, 12:29, 29:40; Alma 4:6, 4:12, 7:6, 39:14; Hel. 12:5, 13:20-22, 13:31-33; 3 Ne. 6:15; Moro. 8:27). Yet the pursuit of power through writing and administration was heralded (Omni 1:4,9; Mosiah 8:1; Alma 5:58, 9:34; Hel. 3:15; 3 Ne. 24:16, 26:6, 9) and largely limited to the white Nephites (Hel. 3:15; 3 Ne. 23:9-13). The Spirit's vindication of Nephi's murder of Laban along with Joseph Smith's struggle with the angel Moroni justified the trade of wealth and violence for access to the written word.

Caught in the margins of an emerging world capitalism where counterfeiting and treasure divining were regular features, Joseph Smith may have independently discovered the distinction between, what Karl Marx later identified as, use-value and exchange-value.[44] According to Marx, commodities in a capitalist economy have a two-fold character. In one respect their value is derived from their usefulness (use-value), in another value is derived socially through mutual exchangeability with other commodities (exchange-value). Marx accused political economists of confusing exchange- and use-value by speaking of value as "a property of things, riches" rather than identifying riches (use-value) as a human ascription and exchange value as the social attribute of commodities.[45] When social relations among humans assume the "fantastic form of a relation between things," Marx called this the fetishism of commodities. By employing the term fetishism, he conflated an economic world view with a religious world view in which "the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race."[46]

The narrator of the Book of Mormon decried placing faith in the use-

43. Ibid., 171, 175.
44. See Marx, 71.
45. Ibid., 73, 83.
46. Ibid., 72.

value of riches and encouraged placing trust in the written word of the sacred text, an exchange-value, which was promised to be socially bound in heaven. By de-legitimizing the intrinsic value of metallic treasures, the Mormon prophet erased the distinction between a counterfeit document and one actually translated from golden plates. The "Truth" of the Book of Mormon was not to be found in the existence or non-existence of a set of golden plates; rather, one placed faith in the text, a representation of Logos. This faith had power regardless of whether the plates existed. From this point of view, those who placed their faith in actual metallic records were seeking after the slippery treasures of idolatry. On the other hand, a faith based on the written text anticipated an eternal reward. Yet even faith in the written text was an act of fetishization—an immortal reification of a record-keeping God by members of a record-keeping community.

Salvation and Damnation

While writing served as a descriptive tool by explaining disparate social relations in the early nineteenth century, the fetishization of writing continues to shape many of the activities, perceptions, and social relations in the LDS communities of the late twentieth century. Writing appears to be essential for the salvation of the Latter-day Saints. Mormons are exhorted to read the scriptures and official publications such as the *Ensign* and *Church News*. Books written by the church's general authorities are virtually guaranteed to sell in large quantities.[47] Lessons in Sunday school, Primary, priesthood, Relief Society, and Family Home Evening are today drawn from centrally correlated manuals. Latter-day Saints write in their diaries, mark their attendance on rolls, and pay tithing with paper bills or checks. They are not permitted to baptize, confirm, marry, or visit the temple without first answering questions from a written document in the bishop's office.

The Mormon temple is a sacred shrine to the written word. Willing ancestors may be redeemed from a telestial or terrestrial damnation only if the appropriate documentation can be found.[48] Through participation, by proxy, in a number of vital ordinances, Latter-day Saints add the names of the dead to vast accumulations of genealogical records filed away in a subterranean storage facility bored out of sheer granite in

47. Mary Bradford, ed., "If It's Written by a Living General Authority, It Will Sell: A Report on Mormon Publishing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977): 122-24.

48. The terms telestial and terrestrial refer to the lower two of three levels of the Mormon heavens. Although they are believed to be degrees of glory, they are also a form of damnation because only those who are awarded the highest degree of glory (celestial) can progress to godhood in the afterlife.

Utah's Little Cottonwood Canyon.[49] Visitors to the temple dream of one day becoming a god or goddess so that they, too, may have their own archive in a granite mountainside where they can spend eternity consulting the billions of pages of records their spirit children accumulate.

Writing can be liberating for Mormons. Yet some Mormons find the emphasis on writing somewhat confining. One need only serve as a ward clerk on a Superbowl Sunday, a bishop during tithing settlement, a genealogist descended from a people without records, a Sunday school teacher who cannot teach from a correlated manual, a Relief Society instructor longing for the validation of women independent of male authority, a teenager during family scripture readings, or a scholar whose writings have brought her before a disciplinary council. At these or similar points one may recognize the enslaving potential of the written word. Writing is both the source of the Latter-day Saint's salvation and damnation.

Recent excommunications and church disciplinary actions have drawn increased attention to the potentially transgressive nature of writing in the LDS community.[50] Scholars with credentials earned in secular institutions who speak and publish in outlets not under the direct control of church leadership may be threatening to church leaders because they disrupt the hierarchy of sites of discourse in which the right to speak and/or write authoritatively for the church is limited to general authorities.[51] Scholarly writings become transgressive when authors depart from

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49. Shoumatoff, 247-93; Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 268; Bloom, 120-21.

50. D. Michael Quinn, "150 Years of Truth and Consequences About Mormon History," *Sunstone* 16 (Feb. 1992): 12-14, and "Dilemmas of Feminists and Intellectuals in the Contemporary LDS Church," *Sunstone* 17 (June 1994): 67-73; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 7-66; Richard D. Poll, "Dialogue Toward Forgiveness: A Supporting View—A Response to 'The LDS Community and Church Leadership: A Chronology,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 67-78; Elbert Eugene Peck, "A Response to Paul Toscano's 'A Plea to the Leadership of the Church: Choose Love Not Power,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 109-20; "Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy," *Sunstone* 15 (Nov. 1993): 65-73; "Disciplinary Actions Generate More Heat," *Sunstone* 16 (Dec. 1993): 67-69; "The Wright Excommunication Documents," *Sunstone* 17 (Sept. 1994): 65-76; "Oaks Dissembled Packer's Role in Toscano Excommunication," *Sunstone* 16 (Dec. 1993): 69; Paul Toscano, *The Sanctity of Dissent* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994); "Mormon Feminist Disciplined," *Sunstone* 18 (Apr. 1995): 80; Janice Allred, "An Open Letter to Bishop Hammond," and "Defense of Janice Allred," *Sunstone* 18 (Apr. 1995): 80-84; "Editor of Essays on Book of Mormon Excommunicated," *Sunstone* 18 (Apr. 1995): 88.

51. Richard L. Bushman, "Faithful Histories"; Paul M. Edwards, "The Irony of Mormon History"; Edwin S. Gaustad, "History and Theology: The Mormon Connection"; D. Michael Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," all in George D. Smith, ed. *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 6, 21, 60, 95. For comments on hierarchies of sites of discourse, see Stallybrass and White, 80, 201.

the example set by church leaders, when the right of censorship is denied to their ecclesiastical superiors, when they directly challenge the authority of church leaders or canonical works to speak the "Truth."

For some Mormons, searches for objective or neutral truth in Mormon history disguise assaults on the validity of the beliefs of Latter-day Saints and on the privileged status granted to church authorities in LDS discourse, acts BYU political scientist David Bohn calls "intellectual violence against the believing community."[52] Eugene England, professor of English at BYU, claims that Mormonism cannot be separated from the writings of early Mormon leaders.[53] His colleague, Edward Hart, notes that while "any kind of writing is dangerous enough, ... to be a Mormon writer is to face double jeopardy."[54] Mormon writers, wrote novelist Herbert Harker, are plagued by "a confusion of loyalties between spiritual obligations and artistic yearnings."[55]

While writing outside controlled sites of discourse challenges the social hierarchy in the church, many writings by church leaders may also be labeled "intellectual violence." Recent attacks by church leaders were leveled against feminists, scholars, homosexuals, and advocates of abortion and population control.[56] Writings that non-Mormon historian Lawrence Foster has termed "sanitized, saccharine accounts, treatments which would be characterized as 'propaganda'"[57] (this includes faith-promoting histories and apologetic defenses of the Book of Mormon that present the text as the authentic sacred history of ancient America) also mask attacks on points of view and social hierarchies held by non-Mormons, particularly Native Americans. Mormon writing does not occur in a neutral playing field but *always* is thrust into, creates, and/or emerges from a domain of contested social relations.[58]

In his essay on "Dealing with Spiritual Abuse," Paul Toscano, excommunicated in 1993, questioned the making of definitions, the creation of rules, the rendering of judgments, and the maintenance of control—all

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52. David Earl Bohn, "Unfounded Claims and Impossible Expectations: A Critique of New Mormon History," in George D. Smith, 228.

53. Eugene England, "The Dawning of a Brighter Day: Mormon Literature after 150 Years," *Brigham Young University Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 131-60.

54. Edward L. Hart, "Writing: The Most Hazardous Craft," *Brigham Young University Studies* 26 (Summer 1986): 81-84.

55. Herbert Harker, "Excavating Myself," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Summer 1978): 56-62.

56. "Elder Packer Names Gays/Lesbians, Feminists, and 'so-called' Scholars Three Main Dangers," *Sunstone* 16 (Nov. 1993): 74-75; "Elder Faust Attacks Abortion, Population Control, Homosexuality," *Sunstone* 18 (Apr. 1995): 85.

57. Lawrence Foster, "New Perspectives on the Mormon Past: Reflections of a Non-Mormon Historian," in George D. Smith, 119.

58. Mignolo, 5, has argued that "the past cannot be rendered in a neutral discourse." This is an especially accurate assessment in the case of Mormons.

actions which depend on writing to be enforced.[59] Elsewhere, he decried "the ever-increasing tendency of church leaders to preach and interpret the gospel of Jesus Christ in legalistic and controlling terms."[60] Yet he sought defense and protection for the victims of spiritual abuse through writing itself. Demanding greater accountability, Toscano played a major role in the formation of the Mormon Alliance, whose purpose was to "uncover, identify, define, name, chronicle, resist and even combat acts of defamation and spiritual abuse."[61] Lavina Fielding Anderson and D. Michael Quinn, two other excommunicants from 1993, carried this task out, documenting over a hundred cases of ecclesiastical pressure and publishing these abuses in independent journals such as *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*.[62]

Like Toscano, Janice Allred (another recently excommunicated Mormon) discounted ways of measuring whether standards were being met while simultaneously demanding that ecclesiastical leaders "be strictly accountable to relate the manner in which they received their revelation" and that they be subservient to the word of God as given in the scriptures and other inspired writings.[63]

Both perpetrators and victims of church disciplinary actions wielded the same sword—a metaphorical sword of Laban—the all-powerful pen. Presumably at stake in this battle over the word of God is the eternal salvation of disciplined Latter-day Saints, an immortality to be determined first and foremost by a document of membership, disfellowshipment, or excommunication filed away in a bureaucrat's office or a granite mountainside. These challenges to and defenses of religious authority have generally been surprisingly orthodox; both dissidents and church leaders employed writing as the primary source of religious authority.

Conclusion

The Book of Mormon, complemented by other Mormon scriptures, set a standard for human interaction with God. Mormons mediate death through an ambitious genealogical program. Mormons construct a reality in which death is transmutable by a paper trail to heaven. Through writing they gain a sense of mastery over the ancient non-literate inhabitants of the New World, presenting them with a history that they neither had nor desired, while many Mormons are engaged in a process of ritualized

59. Toscano, 114-15.
60. Ibid., 172.
61. Ibid., 130-31.
62. Quinn, "150 Years" and "Dilemmas"; Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community."
63. Janice Allred, "Freedom and Grace: Rethinking Theocracy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Summer 1995): 75-76.

genealogy that allows them to bestow salvation on European ancestors whose good fortune permitted their names to be recorded by their abominable churches and governments from whom they will now be redeemed. It was death itself, the murder of Laban which Eugene England has likened to the sacrifice of Jesus, that made writing accessible to Lehi, his descendants, and today's Mormons.[64]

The counter-discourses of Janice Allred, Lavina Fielding Anderson, D. Michael Quinn, and Paul Toscano are shaped by a *model for* conflict between writing and authority that originally emerged as a *model of* tensions between writing and authority in the revelations of Joseph Smith. Their struggles with church leadership represent both the enlightening and restrictive potential of writing. Writing is potentially transgressive for Mormons because the authority of the ecclesiastical institution is tied to a book—a book which is both a *model of* and a *model for* social order. In their challenges to the suppressive efforts of general authorities, Mormon intellectuals wield the same weapon of representation to combat spiritual abuse that they decry, thereby reproducing more of the same. Their depiction of abuse contributes to and validates its production through writing. They seek to counter the work of oppressive leaders by oppressively representing and confining the leaders. By defining, identifying, and cataloging abuse in the immortal written word, they seek their own liberation but also reproduce the oppression they fear. Unfortunately, I too am not free from this double-edged sword of Laban. One might legitimately ask, how else may one resist the power of the word?

Those who object to recent disciplinary actions executed against writers who dared to challenge the God of the record keepers may overlook the restrictive tone of their own writing masquerading just beneath the liberating surface of the texts. The Book of Mormon entered a contested domain in colonial relations in which the liberation it offered to Euro-American immigrants masked vindication for the genocide inflicted on the indigenous populations of the Americas. In return, this golden Bible offered a continuity with the sacred history of the Old World as an alternative to listening to Native Americans. The God of Mormonism amply demonstrated a willingness to deal violently with those who trespass into the sacred hierarchy of written texts. If, in this paper world, the vengeful retaliation against Laban and the so-called Lamanites was, in fact, justice, then so too is modern-day excommunication.

Like Laban, church leaders will undoubtedly continue accepting the silver and gold of their followers. They will not, however, relinquish control of Logos. As a primary source of power, their written distributions

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64. Eugene England, "Why Nephi Killed Laban: Reflections on the Truth of the Book of Mormon," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Fall 1989): 32-51.

will continue to be strictly monitored and correlated. Through disciplinary actions intent on silencing, controlling, and/or discrediting criticism, they will rob many members of their riches. Scholars who retaliate will likely continue in their attempts to slay Laban with his own sword and then raid his treasure chest. The tragic ending to the Book of Mormon reminds us, though, that ultimately Logos failed to save the Nephites while the sword of Laban destroyed them.

Stake Mission

R. A. Christmas

Their place was a junkyard with Joshuas,
and they'd play Mom and Pop

to any delinquent on the desert.
We'd be forever having

the first discussion in the front room,
while skinheads rifled the fridge.

Their daughter had boobs
that defied gravity—like Brother Bill said,

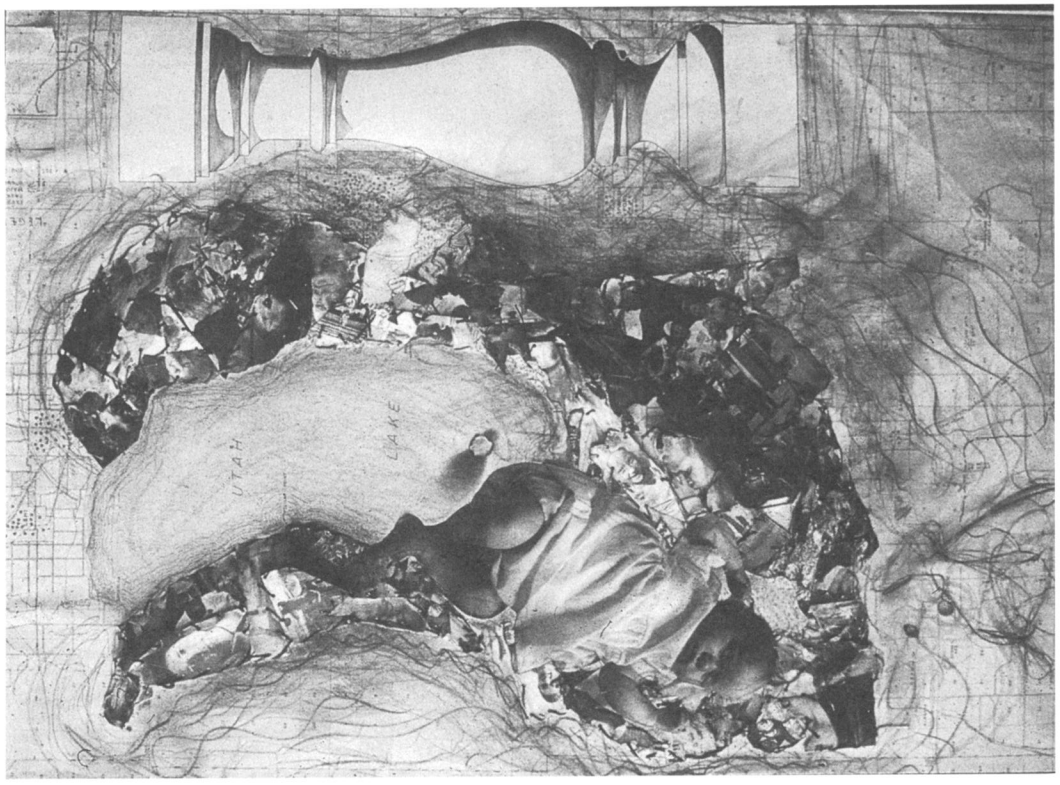
it strengthened your testimony to be there;
and we had hopes for them, until the night

their rowdy son beat his sister's boozer
boyfriend past waking up,

and they all panicked and piled
in the truck and drove fifty miles out

for a hasty memorial on the hardpan.
Miraculously, rockhounds found him.

Then the cops came, with iron questions,
and we were released.


UTAH
LAKE

Editing William Clayton and the Politics of Mormon History

[Editors' Note: In its summer 1995 issue, Brigham Young University Studies *published a review by James B. Allen of* An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton, *edited by George D. Smith and published in 1991 (cloth) and again in 1995 (paper) by Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates. Smith subsequently submitted a reply to Allen's review which* BYU Studies *declined to publish, although it had previously printed such responses in past issues. Because of its interest to* Dialogue *readers and students of Mormon history, we invited George Smith to submit his reply and also asked James Allen for a response. What follows is Allen's original review (slightly edited and reprinted courtesy of James B. Allen and* BYU Studies*), Smith's response, Allen's reply, and Smith's concluding rejoinder.]*

Editing William Clayton

James B. Allen

THE PERSONAL JOURNALS OF WILLIAM CLAYTON poignantly reflect the experiences, concerns, and attitudes of one of the many faithful Latter-day Saints who, though not leaders, were essential to the strength and success of early Mormonism. After 1842, however, Clayton was particularly close to Joseph Smith, and his journals provide some important insight into the life of the founding prophet of the LDS church. They also shed significant light on the history of the church in England, in Nauvoo, during the exodus from Nauvoo to the Great Basin, and during part of the early Utah period.

An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton consists of abridgements of five journals written by William Clayton, the full text of another, and three appendixes. As detailed below, most of the items have

been published before, but two appear here for the first time. The editor, George Smith, has written a fine introduction in which he reviews Clayton's life and accomplishments and adds several miscellaneous facts about Clayton undiscovered by previous writers (including this reviewer). Footnotes provide other important insights into Clayton and his times, and Smith has done a credible job of editing the material available to him. The main value of this publication is that it brings together in one volume significant portions of Clayton's journals, along with some other writings.

Despite its strengths, several problems are inherent in this publication. "Journal 2" is so incomplete that it cannot be relied upon to provide a full or balanced perspective. "Journal 3" is not a William Clayton journal at all, but, rather, a Heber C. Kimball journal. And the abridgements of two previously published Clayton documents, "Journal 1" and "Journal 4," are so severe that the serious student of Mormon history will want to look at the originals anyway.

"Journal 1: England and Emigration, 1840-1842," is an abridgement of the journal Clayton began on 1 January 1840, while serving as a missionary in Manchester, England. The entire journal was previously published—with profuse annotation—in 1974 by this reviewer and Thomas G. Alexander as *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840 to 1842.*[1] It provides important information on the activities of the LDS church in England in 1840, casts light on the emigration process, and illuminates the story of Zarahemla, an LDS settlement in Iowa that ultimately failed. The original journal is housed in the library at Brigham Young University.

Of the 273 daily entries in this journal, Smith eliminated forty-one, or 15 percent. In addition, nineteen entries are incomplete. Though editors have the right to determine what to eliminate, it is unfortunate in this case that some seemingly significant entries were excluded while some relatively insignificant passages were retained. Sunday, 8 March 1840, for example, was a very eventful Sabbath day for Clayton. In the morning he prayed with a Sister Burgess, who had a serious infection on her breast. He also recorded where he had breakfast; who spoke at church meetings during the day and evening; the ordination of certain men to the priesthood; some baptisms and confirmations; visits he made to members of the church; gifts he received of oranges and money (he often recorded such things as a reflection of his gratitude for people who supplied him with food and other needs while he was working without purse or scrip); and, finally, a cryptic comment about using "liberty" toward Alice Hard-

1. James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1842* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974).

man. In his abridgement, however, Smith kept only about one-sixth of the total entry: "Sister Burgess came. Her breast is very bad. I prayed with her. ... Supper at Hardman's. Used great liberty toward Alice Hardman" (33). By including only the somewhat titillating material and leaving out the much more important information about Clayton and what he was doing as a missionary, this "abridgement" does little but distort the day's activity.

The most problematical document in this collection is "Journal 2: Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842-1846." The original three volumes which comprise this journal are owned by the LDS church and cover the period of 27 November 1842 to 30 January 1846. They constitute an immensely valuable source for understanding the life of Joseph Smith as well as the history of the church during its final years in Nauvoo. Clayton made significant observations, for example, on the tender relationship between Joseph and Emma Smith, as well as some of the tensions between them. He also wrote of Joseph's relationship with other people (both friends and enemies), efforts to institute plural marriage, and the recording of the revelation on plural marriage. Clayton kept the accounts related to building the temple, kept other church records, took care of many of Joseph Smith's business transactions, was involved in the prophet's political activities, participated in Nauvoo's cultural life, observed and helped out in the solution of the many problems that followed Joseph Smith's death, and was deeply involved in the preparations for leaving Nauvoo.[2]

Scholars should be wary of this "abridgement," however, for the editor did not have access to the original journals. Instead, he relied, for the most part, on highly selected excerpts compiled in 1979 by Andrew Ehat as notes for his specific research interests. Unfortunately, and through no direct fault of Ehat's, these excerpts were purloined and copied in an unauthorized way by yet another person, who illicitly shared them with friends. Like the proverbial feathers tossed to the wind, duplicates spread rapidly. The excerpts were eventually published, unapproved and with no editing, in photoduplicate form by Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Modern Microfilm Company of Salt Lake City. Smith's abridgement is based almost entirely on that source, with some additions from a few other sources.

Smith's introduction to this journal leaves some misleading impressions about its full content. He says, for example, that the Ehat excerpts comprise "approximately one-half of the original holograph journal" (lvi, note). Since he never saw the holograph, however, he had no way of

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2. These events are all discussed in detail in James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1987), chaps. 4-7.

knowing that there are actually 1,170 daily entries in the three journals. Smith provides a full, or nearly full, reproduction of 102 entries (8.7 percent) and partial reproductions of another 254 (21.7 percent). Considering all the omissions from the partial entries, it is safe to estimate that less than 25 percent of the whole is included in this publication. Scholars should be very cautious when they try to interpret what is there, for 75 percent of the whole is missing.

Moreover, in the case of the Nauvoo journals, George Smith took no real part in the "abridgement." All he had before him were Ehat's excerpts, which were never intended as an abridgement. They were merely verbatim notes to be used in Ehat's writing; they were not meant to be published as a collection. What was finally published by Modern Microfilm, unfortunately, was an agglomeration of unconnected (except as they related to Ehat's studies) and out-of-context excerpts that piqued the interest of the curious because they seemed somewhat sensational.

Smith correctly observes that Clayton's journals were the source for many entries in the documentary *History of the Church*, edited by B. H. Roberts, but he wrongly suggests that most of the 1843-45 entries are present in edited form in that *History* (lvii). Actually, for the period before the death of Joseph Smith, only about twenty-five of the daily *History of the Church* entries are clearly drawn from the Clayton journals. The same is true of the period after the prophet's death. Clayton wrote in his journal almost daily, but only a very small number of entries in volume seven of the *History of the Church* are based on that source. In nearly every instance, moreover, his journals are much more extensive than the excerpts used in the *History*.[3]

The result, so far as *An Intimate Chronicle* is concerned, is an abridgement that leaves the worst kind of imbalance. It is not a scholarly abridgement based on a consistent rationale concerning what is important enough to include or insignificant enough to leave out. For example, Ehat's excerpts reveal some problems between Joseph and Emma, but the original journals show with equal clarity that the two were very close and very much in love. Clayton saw the problems, but he also saw the prophet and his wife working together for a common cause in a variety of ways. The excerpts largely obscure that fact.

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3. In another misleading statement, Smith says that the journals contain Joseph Smith's "translation" of ancient characters from the Kinderhook plates (xxiv). This is inaccurate. Clayton simply wrote that he had seen the plates and claimed that Joseph Smith had translated a portion of them and had described their content and author. This report appears to be based on hearsay, and no translation was ever given. See Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to Be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (Aug. 1981): 66-74.

For example, an entry in *An Intimate Chronicle* for 30 June 1843 mentions a speech given by Joseph Smith after he was arrested in Dixon, Illinois, then freed on a writ of habeas corpus. Missing, however, are what Clayton must have considered the much more important parts of what he wrote that day. He reported Joseph Smith's dramatic entry into Nauvoo amid throngs of Saints grateful to see him. Part of the story, based on Clayton's journal, is recounted in the *History of the Church,* but Clayton observed some intimate, heartwarming particulars that did not appear in the *History.* Emma was at the prophet's side, and Clayton described in beautiful detail the love that was apparent at the reuniting of Joseph and his family: "Prest J. left the buggy and mounted old Charley he called for sister Emma & his brother Hyrum who when they came up and took him by the hand all wept Prest. took hold of the hand of his partner in sorrow and persecution. Surely it would have moved any thing but the heart of an adamantine." Clayton also commented on the non-Mormons who had accompanied Joseph Smith to Nauvoo, "who all gazed with astonishment & rapture to see the enthusiastic attachment of the Mormon people to their beloved leaders." Entries such as these cast quite a different light on Joseph Smith than do out-of-context excerpts that tend to focus on the tensions.

The excerpts bypass many personal entries that reveal the deeply spiritual nature of Clayton himself. They also say little about Clayton's multitudinous daily activities or about the vibrant social life of Nauvoo, yet the journals are filled with notations regarding business affairs, concerts, plays, parties, and other activities that rounded out the lives of Clayton and his friends. In short, the excerpts provide insights into some aspects of Nauvoo history, but they do not reveal the warm, positive image of the church and of Joseph Smith that pervades the journals themselves. They also distort the real character of William Clayton and fail to provide some very important information about the period after the death of Joseph.

All these issues raise questions about the propriety of republishing the excerpts at all. Working without permission to study the original documents doomed their editor to the production of a manifoldly flawed volume.

"Journal 3: Nauvoo Temple, 1845-1846," in this reviewer's opinion, has no place in a publication of Clayton journals, for it is really the journal of Heber C. Kimball, as George Smith himself recognizes (lvii). The Kimball family deposited it in the church archives in 1903 along with several other Kimball journals. It fits exactly, chronologically, with the other journals in the set and carries a handwritten inscription on the first page indicating that it is the journal of Heber C. Kimball. Smith justifies including it with the Clayton journals simply because the major portion of

this particular volume, from 10 December 1845 to 6 January 1846, is in Clayton's handwriting.

Anyone who has studied the keeping of journals in church history must know that Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other church leaders often called on their scribes and secretaries to record their journals for them. No responsible historian presumes to publish such journals as part of the papers of the scribes who wrote them. Such journals are the journals of those for whom they were written. Smith correctly observes that when Stanley B. Kimball published the journals of Heber C. Kimball, he left this one out. That still does not legitimize publishing it here. If such a journal could be called a Clayton journal, then so could the journal Clayton wrote for Kimball while crossing the plains in 1847. That journal has been published twice—as a Heber C. Kimball journal. The temple journal is in exactly the same category. If it is to be published at all, it should be published with a Kimball collection, not a Clayton collection.

The occasion for Clayton's involvement in writing this portion of Kimball's journal is found in Clayton's personal journal entry for 10 December 1845. That morning Clayton was in his office but feeling "quite unwell." Nevertheless, he wrote, Brigham Young "said he wanted me up in the Temple and would not take no for an answer." Accordingly, the faithful Clayton quit work and found his way to the attic of the temple, where several of the brethren were assembled. At that point, "Er Kimball requested me to write his private journal to day."[4] The activities that follow clearly explain why Kimball wanted Clayton (who had performed similar duties for him in England in 1840) to write his journal, for Kimball spent the rest of the day busily preparing the temple for the sacred ordinance work that was about to commence. As a church leader, Kimball was one of the key figures in administering those ordinances to the hundreds of Saints who flocked to the temple, day and night, over the next few weeks. Sometimes working until the early morning hours, he had no time to write in his journal. Clayton, too, was busy, but during all that time he wrote in his own journal as well as Kimball's. He continued the dual journal writing until 6 January, while Kimball was in the temple daily. On many of those days Clayton was also there, but after 21 December he spent most of his days working at the office. Clayton never thought of Kimball's journal as his own.

A significant difference exists between the Clayton journal and the Kimball journal for the days that Clayton was in the temple. In his own

4. Interestingly enough, Smith does not include this entry for 10 December in Clayton's Nauvoo journal although it is among the Ehat "excerpts."

journal Clayton told of the people who received the sacred ordinances, but he gave no details. In Kimball's journal (probably under Kimball's instruction), he gave enough detail that faithful Mormons reading it today might rightly feel uncomfortable, for it too openly reflects things they consider deeply sacred. Clayton saw no need, and perhaps even thought it improper, to place such details in his personal journal.

Nevertheless, the Kimball journal gives a heartwarming perspective on the dedication of the Saints who streamed to the temple during this crucial, hectic period just before the exodus from Nauvoo. The journal shows church leaders working tirelessly day and night, even though they were being hounded by their enemies, to give the Saints the blessing of the temple endowment and to give husbands and wives the blessing of being sealed together for eternity. In addition, church leaders and other high priests met regularly for fervent prayer. If the reader tries to imagine all that was happening to the Saints and all that must have been going through their minds in this time of trouble, the temple story is indeed inspiring. Unfortunately, Smith does little in his commentary to magnify this important theme.

Smith's abridgement, for the most part, eliminates long lists of names of those conducting or participating in the ordinances or of those who took part in the many prayer circles and meetings that were held in the temple during those days. In a few places the abridgement leaves some things unclear. The entry for 30 December, for example, deletes several lists of names. At the same time, however, it deletes a reference to a prayer meeting, which makes it impossible to understand to whom the journal is referring when it says that "they united in prayer, for the preservation of President Brigham Young and his Council" (244).

As in the case of "Journal 2," the Kimball journal is owned by the LDS church, which has not given permission for its publication. Smith may have felt justified in publishing it because an "underground" copy has been circulating for a few years. In 1983 Modern Microfilm printed a photographic reproduction, apparently taken from a microfilm that had been spirited away from the LDS church archives without permission. Apparently Smith worked from this "photographic copy" in making his transcription.

"Journal 4: Pioneer Trek West, 1846-1847," is an abridgement of Clayton's well-known pioneer journal, published by his family in 1921 and republished at least twice since then and readily available. The original manuscript is in the Clayton collection in the church archives. Some differences exist between the text as published by Smith and that published by the family, but they are neither extensive nor serious. In a few instances Smith corrects some errors in the original publication. In his

abridgement, however, he deleted numerous daily entries and condensed many more, resulting in the elimination of close to 50 percent of the original text. On the other hand, Smith provides a few entries at the end that, for some unknown reason, the family did not include in the 1921 publication.

"Journal 5: Visit to Utah Settlements, 1852," is the first of two documents in this collection that have not been published in some form elsewhere. It is short but interesting. Because of its brevity, Smith has not abridged it at all. Unfortunately, he only briefly explains the significance of the expedition covered by this journal. This was the occasion of Brigham Young's second annual visit to the settlements in southern Utah, but the group's mission also included "exploring the country, ascertaining the situation of the Indians, making roads, building bridges, killing snakes, preaching the gospel, and doing and performing all other acts and things needed to be done, as they may be led by the Good Spirit."[5] Clayton was assigned to go along as the official scribe. The expedition traveled over 300 miles southward, visiting all the Mormon settlements between Salt Lake City and Parowan. The journal, which begins on 21 April, comments on the Native Americans the group encountered, gives Clayton's impressions of some of the communities themselves, and provides several other interesting insights. The original manuscript is owned by the LDS church.

"Journal 6: Polygamy Mission to England, 1852-1853," also in the Clayton collection and owned by the church, is the other document that has not been published previously. Clayton was one of nearly a hundred missionaries sent out immediately after the special conference in August 1852, in which Orson Pratt made the first public announcement of the doctrine of plural marriage. These new missionaries were not just to preach the gospel as usual, but also to make the new doctrine known to the world. Clayton's journal tells of the trip eastward across the plains; the many doctrinal discussions held around the campfire; his disappointment when, in St. Louis, he saw the doctrine of plural marriage roundly rejected by some of the Saints as well as other people; and his missionary work for the short time he was in England. Misunderstanding and some personal conflicts led to his temporary suspension as a missionary, though he was soon reinstated after an investigation by the mission president. The facts are incomplete in the diary, but on 4 February 1853 Clayton wrote a letter to Thomas Bullock explaining them in detail. The letter is in the Bullock papers in the church archives; unfortunately, Smith did not see fit to either reproduce

5. Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, 22 Apr. 1852, archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

or summarize it in a footnote.[6]

Since this journal is brief, Smith did not extensively abridge it. Nevertheless, several ellipses in the text tend to diminish the value of the publication. The entry for Saturday, 25 September 1852, for example, is gone, yet it reveals much about Clayton's faith. It would have taken only a few more pages to reproduce the journal completely.

Smith provides three worthwhile appendixes. The source used for the first, "Extracts from William Clayton's [Private] Book," is a handwritten manuscript located in the papers of L. John Nuttall at Brigham Young University. Nuttall's source was apparently a private journal kept by Clayton in which he recorded excerpts from several sermons of Joseph Smith. The extracts are interesting, but they say nothing specific about Clayton. Moreover, whether Clayton actually heard these sermons or whether he copied them from someone else's transcription is unclear. One short entry, titled "A key by Joseph Smith Dec 1840," deals with the "key" by which someone may determine whether a messenger is a "spirit from God" or from the devil.[7] On 9 February 1843 Clayton was with the prophet in Nauvoo when he repeated the same instructions, as recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 129:4-9. That passage is actually a word-for-word duplication (except for one minor difference) of Clayton's Nauvoo journal entry for that date. This entry was the source for the official transcription when it was prepared for the Doctrine and Covenants. The editor of *An Intimate Chronicle* could not have known this, since he had access only to the sketchy, highly selected excerpts from the Nauvoo journal.

The second appendix, "An Interesting Journal," is a historical essay, penned by William Clayton, on the building of the Nauvoo temple. The original handwritten manuscript is in the Nauvoo collection in the church archives, but Smith's source was the *Juvenile Instructor*, which published the essay serially in 1886. The editors of the *Instructor* made numerous grammatical and punctuation changes to the original, shortened

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6. The reader who is interested in what Clayton had to say should try to see it in the Bullock collection or see the discussion in Allen, *Trials of Discipleship*, 290-92.

7. The key is that if the spirit is from God he will not offer you his hand, but if from the devil he will "either shrink from you or offer his hand, which if he does you will feel nothing, but be deceived" (514). Significantly, the same idea is recorded in Wilford Woodruff's journal under the date 27 June 1839. It was among the instructions Joseph Smith gave to the Twelve before they left on their mission to the British Isles. It is also noted in Willard Richards's "Pocket Companion," a notebook that contains many of those instructions. Since Richards was in England when they were given in June 1839, it is apparent that he got his information from notes shared with him by the apostles when they arrived in 1840. George Smith suggests that Clayton heard the idea from Joseph in Nauvoo in an otherwise unknown December 1840 sermon (514). Others have assumed that Clayton got his note either from Richards or Woodruff and recorded it in his book during the month of December. It is possible that the prophet spoke on the subject on several occasions.

some sentences, and reconstructed others. The changes are not serious in terms of historical understanding, but some scholars would have preferred a faithful reproduction of Clayton's original account. The most disappointing thing about the *Instructor* version is that it does not reproduce the entire original. It stops on page 85 of a 100-page manuscript. Even though the original does not tell the story of the Nauvoo temple through its completion, it would be nice to have the full document published.

The last appendix is William Clayton's account of how he was introduced to the doctrine and practice of plural marriage and his recording of the revelation (Doctrine and Covenants 132) as it was dictated by Joseph Smith. George Smith's source is a version published by Andrew Jenson in 1887.[8] The original handwritten manuscript is in the Clayton papers in the church archives. There are minor differences in terms of punctuation, but for all practical purposes both published versions are true to the original.

An *Intimate Chronicle* brings together, mostly in abridged fashion and often relying on secondhand sources, several documents produced by William Clayton. Most of the collection has been published elsewhere, but having it available in one volume, even though the abridgement sometimes leaves misleading impressions, provides students of Mormon history with a modest tool for studying some aspects of Clayton and his times. But it must be used with caution.

A Response: The Politics of Mormon History

George D. Smith

An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton appeared in 1991 as part of an on-going Significant Mormon Diaries series sponsored

8. "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 224-26.

by Signature Books of Salt Lake City.[9] The volume comprised six journals written by early Mormon convert William Clayton, two of which reflect his eyewitness role as personal secretary to the prophet Joseph Smith. The six journals cover the period from 1840 to 1853 and are accompanied by three appendices, including a sworn affidavit in which Clayton discussed plural marriage. In editing Clayton's diaries for publication, I hoped to provide readers with, what several reviewers subsequently described as, a "panorama of the early Mormon movement," including "the beginnings of plural marriage, the relationship of Joseph and Emma Smith ... the Council of Fifty, and the historical development of the temple endowment." For these and other readers, Clayton's journals clearly contain "a richness of information found nowhere else."[10]

Four years after publication of *An Intimate Chronicle* in a limited edition of 500 copies, and coinciding with the trade paperback reprint edition, historian James B. Allen reviewed *An Intimate Chronicle* for *BYU Studies*.[11] Though he acknowledged some value in having all of Clayton's journals together, Allen pronounced my abridged presentation inadequate to provide either sufficient balance or scholarship and implied that it would have been better not to have published the book at all. In his words: *An Intimate Chronicle* was "an abridgement that leaves the worst kind of imbalance. It is not a scholarly abridgement based on a consistent rationale concerning what is important enough to include or insignificant enough to leave out"; "significant entries were excluded while some relatively insignificant passages were retained." "All these issues raise questions about the propriety of reproducing the excerpts at all. Working without permission to study the original documents doomed the editor to the production of a manifoldly flawed volume." Regarding this latter criticism, Allen failed to explain that permission to publish previously unpublished documents resides with the writer's heirs, unless literary rights have been formally transferred to another individual or party. In fact, I did obtain the consent of Clayton family members to publish the

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9. Publications of Mormon journals were among the first projects undertaken by Signature Books. In 1983 Signature released a limited nine-volume typescript edition of *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*. Recognizing that the diaries of Joseph Smith had not been published in their entirety in the 143 years since his death, Signature initiated, in association with Smith Research Associates, a Significant Mormon Diaries Series with their publication in 1987. Since then Signature has published the diaries and journals of Heber C. Kimball, John Henry Smith, Martha Hughes and Angus M. Cannon (correspondence), Rudger Clawson, William Clayton, and Reed Smoot. *An Intimate Chronicle* is the fifth in the series.

10. See, for example, the reviews by Keith J. Clayton, "Clayton journals impress descendant," *Provo Daily Herald*, 30 July 1991; Kenneth J. Godfrey, review in *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 222-27; and Kenneth H. Winn, review in *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (Summer 1992): 282-83.

11. Vol. 35 (Spring 1995), issue 2, pp. 165-75.

journals. (One wonders if Allen also received permission from the family to copy and publish what journal material he has used in his own research.)

Thus Allen dissented from the generally warm welcome the book received from readers, reviewers, historians, libraries, and the public. Even so, his voice commands a serious hearing. For within the Mormon historical community, he is a visible and respected scholar. He is Senior Research Fellow at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History on the BYU campus. He is also a prize-winning Clayton biographer and with Thomas G. Alexander published his own edition of one of Clayton's journals twenty years ago.[12] He may be an expert on Clayton, but I believe a more impartial reviewer would have commented differently. Ultimately, his review reveals more about the contemporary politics of research into Mormon history than it does about my editorial treatment of William Clayton's journals.

Clayton is important. As Allen says: "Clayton was particularly close to Joseph Smith, and his journals provide some important insight into the life of the founding prophet of the LDS Church. They also shed significant light on the history of the church in England, in Nauvoo, during the exodus from Nauvoo to the Great Basin, and during part of the early Utah period." Thus the prospect of making all of Clayton's known journals available was an exciting goal for me.

However, as I noted in the introduction to *An Intimate Chronicle*, I was unable to access the complete text of Clayton's important Nauvoo Journal, a fact that Allen misuses in his attempt to discredit the entire compilation. Moreover, the mass of the other five Clayton journals required a considered decision about what kind of work the collection was to be. I chose to publish an essential one-volume edition of Clayton. In the process I printed an average of 80 percent of all the texts except the Nauvoo Journal. With acknowledgements, introduction, chronology, photographs, maps, three appendices, and index, the resulting compilation amounted to 675 typeset pages. My decisions regarding abridgements were based solely on repetition and relevance: some material was clearly redundant, most notably in Journal Four in which Clayton, while crossing the Great Plains, began many entries with "Morning fine and pleasant." In the case of Journal Three, a record of the Nauvoo, Illinois, temple, the issue was space and reader interest, and this journal appears unabridged, except for deleting the lists of names of temple endowees.

Because of the utility of access to the full texts, complete typescripts or photocopies are now available to interested researchers at the follow-

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12. See his *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); and, coedited with Thomas G. Alexander, his *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1842* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974).

ing repositories: Marriott Library, University of Utah: Journals 1, 3 (including the names of those who participated in Nauvoo temple ceremonies), 4, 5, 6; Lee Library, Brigham Young University: Journal 1; and LDS church archives: Journals 4, 5, 6. An abridged typescript of Journal 2 with an accompanying list of the subjects of many of the absent entries is also available at the Marriott Library. Importantly, the typescript of Journal IV, "The Trek West," now available in *An Intimate Chronicle* is more accurate than any previously published version and has been returned to Clayton's own words. The same is true for the never-before-published "Visit to Utah Settlements" and "Polygamy Mission to England" journals, numbers V and VI, and to the "Nauvoo Temple Journal," number III, which had been published as a photocopied holograph but never before transcribed and annotated.

Insofar as Allen questions my specific abridgements, I am happy to discuss them. But his blanket characterization of the entire book as a "modest tool" completely ignores the criteria upon which I based what to include and exclude as well as difficulties necessarily imposed by my limited access to the Nauvoo Journal. In fact, Allen calls Clayton's Nauvoo Journal "the most problematical document in the collection ... so incomplete [it] cannot be relied upon" for "full or balanced perspective." As Allen knows, this journal is indeed a special case.

William Clayton's Nauvoo Journal is composed of three separate handwritten notebooks dating from 27 November 1842 to 30 January 1846. It reflects an important period in the development of the church, including the earliest practice of polygamy, Joseph Smith's death, and preparation for the trek out of the United States to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Sometime after Clayton's death, this journal was deposited in LDS church archives; later it was transferred to the First Presidency's office where it remains to this day. This is the only one of Clayton's journals for which I did not possess at the very minimum a copy of the holograph. From a variety of official and unofficial sources, I managed to compile a manuscript for the Nauvoo Journal; although my composite was incomplete, my research allowed me to identify the specific subjects, by date, of many entries I could not include verbatim. Some of these were silently included in the *History of the Church* in 1902-11. Although Allen feels that Clayton's journal was a minor source for that volume, that "only about twenty-five of the daily *History of the Church* entries are clearly drawn from the Clayton journals" (168), Elder Joseph F. Smith commented at Clayton's funeral about his Nauvoo Journal: "[I]t is to his pen to a very great extent that we are indebted for the history of the Church ... in the days of Nauvoo."[13]

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13. *Deseret Evening News*, 9 Dec. 1879.

Although *An Intimate Chronicle* made a vital part of Clayton's Nauvoo Journal available to readers, more than had been published before, the value of the volume would unquestionably have been enhanced had I had access to the entire document or been able to publish other entries that I acquired information about. But Allen's judgment of the book fails to mention pertinent context for this particular journal.

In 1988, early in my work on the journals, I invited Allen to collaborate, because of his own interest in Clayton. In fact, in 1979 Allen, at the time Assistant LDS Church Historian, had been among a handful of researchers permitted to examine Clayton's original Nauvoo Journal, and over a three-week period he and colleague Dean C. Jessee had typed a 300-page, double-spaced typescript of the journal. The next year, when he moved along with other members of the LDS historical department to the BYU campus, he took his typescript with him. But according to his own sworn testimony, Allen had only received official permission to "use" the Nauvoo Journal, not to make his own copy of it.[14] By the time I began work on *An Intimate Chronicle,* the Nauvoo Journal had never been published in its entirety, and Allen was a natural choice to participate. When we first spoke about it just prior to the Mormon History Association meeting in May 1988, he was enthusiastic.

Only one obstacle remained to his involvement, a task that came with his roles as Assistant Church Historian and a member of the BYU faculty: to publish his typescript, he believed he first had to obtain permission from the current Church Historian and managing director of the historical department. Over the next six months Allen's disposition toward the project changed significantly. When I visited him in his BYU office on 5 December of that year, he said he could not talk about Clayton, could not offer any help, asked me not to mention his name in connection with the publication of the diaries, and cautioned me that the meeting we were having "never took place." The next time I saw him, on 21 February 1990, he denied ever having asked for permission to edit the Nauvoo Journal. He then gave some warning advice about the project, and we agreed that since he had provided me with no help there would be no acknowledgment of him in my publication. In *An Intimate Chronicle* I explicitly noted that Allen and Jessee "have not shared this [their typescript] with the editor" (lvi, n126).

I continued to gather the journal material into a draft document and consulted with other scholars as I completed the manuscript for publication. Piece by piece I acquired a broad grasp of the contents of the Nauvoo Journal and thus was able to describe missing sections (see lvi-vlii).

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14. See Allen's testimony in *Ehat v. Tanner,* Brief of Appellee to 10th Circuit, January 10, 1985, and Decision from U.S. Count of Appeals, 10th Circuit, December 30, 1985, photocopies in my possession.

In fact, the portion published in *An Intimate Chronicle* comprises significantly more of the original holographic text than the 25 percent Allen erroneously asserted in his review. Allen both undercounted the published Nauvoo Journal entries and ignored my description of omitted entries. His calculations were based on the number of entries printed compared to the total entries in the journal (the latter would include numerous repetitious or relatively uninformative passages and thus was not a particularly meaningful measure). Though Allen objected to it as "misleading," I stand by my estimate based on a comparative page count adjusted for spacing that "approximately half" of the text of the Nauvoo Journal appears in *An Intimate Chronicle.* Now that the way has been paved, hopefully Allen (or others) will soon publish a complete copy of the Nauvoo Journal.

Underlying the barriers to my examination of all the original Clayton manuscripts is the fact that LDS church leaders continue to refuse unrestricted access to selected sources of our common history. Such policies make Allen's debate over scholarly handling meaningless: church leaders choose who has access and how they use the information they get. And for all his assertions regarding my lack of scholarly responsibility, Allen strategically failed to inform readers that his own typescript copy of the Nauvoo Journal was not "authorized," since he did not receive permission to use the handwritten journal left with him in his office and there make a full verbatim typescript of it.[15] Ironically, Allen's own unauthorized typescript became the source of a portion of the "unofficial" copy he now criticizes me for having used. From this unauthorized typescript and other sources, a BYU graduate student prepared 88 pages of extracts, reproduced by Modern Microfilm Company in 1982 and later declared legally uncopyrightable by court judgement.[16]

Unauthorized personal use such as Allen himself has made of Clayton's Nauvoo Journal is but one manifestation of the clandestine and arbitrary process imposed by restricted access; but it does not even contribute to the scholarly responsibility Allen calls for. Furthermore, what is there to hide? By most accounts, the most "explosive" material in the Nauvoo Journal had already been published.

For Allen to question whether I should have abridged all of the journals into a single volume raises a legitimate issue. The same cannot be said for his charge that I intentionally selected sensational passages at the expense of those expressing spiritual dedication or chronicling daily life in the Mormon communities: "[T]he excerpts bypass many personal entries that reveal the deeply spiritual nature of Clayton himself. They also

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15. See Testimony of James Brown Allen, *Ehat v. Tanner* Trial Record, March 21, 1984, 236-37, photocopy in my possession.

16. See *Ehat v. Tanner,* Trial Record.

say little about Clayton's multitudinous daily activities or about the vibrant social life of Nauvoo." These assertions are clearly false.

In one example Allen implied that I excised devotional passages and important details of Clayton's missionary life to make room for passages Allen considered "titillating." He referred to the 8 March 1840 entry as an example of my editorial imbalance and he complained that I kept "only one-sixth of the total entry." The references I deleted included: "Went to Prince's for breakfast. Brother John Moon spake a while then I spoke a while in P.M. I opened meeting. Brother John spoke a little." What did Allen find "important" about the repetitive passages I left out? And why did he not consider in his analysis the many devotional passages I included? Allen disregarded passages such as the 23 May 1847 entry: After treating Nathaniel Fairbanks's snakebite, Clayton records

> the Camp were called together for a meeting, and after singing and prayer addressed by Erastus Snow. Followed by President Young. The latter said there was many items of doctrine which he often felt like teaching to the brethren, but as to administering sealing ordinances &c. this is no time nor place for them, they belong to the house of God, and when we get located we shall have opportunity to build a house &c ... If all the knowledge in this camp were put together and brother Joseph was here in our midst, he could comprehend the whole of it and wind it around his little finger, say nothing of the knowledge of Angels, and above that, the knowledge of Gods (321).

The Nauvoo Journal does contain material some readers might consider sensational; and Allen pointed to unpublished passages he knew the journal contained to make the point that I intentionally left out Clayton's accounts of daily life. But Allen ignored the many memorable accounts of Mormons at work, play, rest, and prayer in *An Intimate Chronicle*. In fact, some of the richest descriptions are included in the journal Allen said should not have been included in the first place: "Journal 3: Nauvoo Temple ... has no place in a publication of Clayton journals, for it is really the journal of Heber C. Kimball, as George Smith himself recognizes (lvii)." Clayton wrote the so-called "Nauvoo Temple Journal" for Heber C. Kimball from 10 December 1845 to 7 January 1846. Not only is the document in Clayton's handwriting, but his observations are recorded in his distinctive style, which differs from the journals Kimball wrote himself. In fact, Stanley B. Kimball, the editor of Kimball's journals,[17] decided not to include it in his edition of Heber's journals because "it is not a Kimball diary [but] should more properly be classified as a William Clayton diary, or, perhaps, as a kind of Nauvoo Temple record."[18]

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17. See his *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987).

18. Ibid., xiv.

Allen suggested that I included it simply because it was in Clayton's handwriting and that in my eagerness to publish sensational material I overlooked the fact known to "anyone who has studied the keeping of journals in Church history" that "Church leaders often called on their scribes and secretaries to record their journals for them. No responsible historian presumes to publish such journals as part of the papers of the scribes who wrote for them." Though he cloaked his objection in the vocabulary of professionalism, Allen nonetheless communicated the posture of those who simply did not want the journal to be published. The same general authority who denied Allen permission to work on the Nauvoo Journal asked me in October 1990 not to include the Nauvoo Temple Journal either. Apparently, three entries provoked concern: On pages 205-206 Clayton describes how the "main room" of the temple was "divided into apartments for the ceremonies of the endowment." Then he provides measurements of rooms, "alleys," partitions, arches and their divisions, portraits, mirrors, paintings, tables, sofas, and carpets, and how different spaces represent different afterlife kingdoms, and he speaks briefly of what he refers to as charges, tokens, and key words.[19] Finally, on 16 December 1845 he describes two sisters "overseeing the washings and anointings in the female department, and instructing the Sisters in cutting and making robes and garments," some of which is explained in a footnote.

Parts of Clayton's Temple Journal reflect sexist or patriarchal attitudes inherent in the Nauvoo theocracy. For example, women are given second-class status in this male-dominant society; they are told that "the man must love his God and the woman must love her husband," and that "woman will never get back [to God] unless she follows the man back" (238-41). In addition, Clayton records frivolous activities in the temple. On 26 December 1845 he reports that some men were doing "things that ought not to be done ... Some three or four men and perhaps more, had introduced women into the Temple, not their wives, and were living in the side rooms ... and toying with their women." Some readers might find this "sensational," but it is what Clayton wrote, part of the overall Mormon story in Nauvoo. The Temple Journal holds social and religious portent. Its account of the Mormon temple and acceleration of plural marriages in Nauvoo before the Saints crossed the Mississippi River in early 1846 is an important part of Mormon and American history. If sexism or sensation is there, what do we do? Rewrite history to achieve some "politically" expedient interpretation that men and women were treated equally? Bury it because it is embarrassing? Or, in the role of apol-

19. Yet compare the published description of the Nauvoo temple ordinance rooms in *History of the Church*, 7:541-42.

ogist rather than historian, find a reason why the journal should not be published?

What Allen did not indict in *An Intimate Chronicle* for being left out or wrongfully included, he dismissed as being nothing new. Indeed, before Signature Books published Clayton, some of his journals had already been printed. Allen implied repeatedly that *An Intimate Chronicle* was therefore redundant: "The entire journal [1] was previously published [by himself and a colleague]." He overlooked the incremental contribution of accuracy in each of the six journals collected. In preparing my edition, I corrected textual errors in the earlier publications. Even my re-editing of the "complete" and "profusely annotated" England journal, as Allen characterized his own work, *Manchester Mormons*, was based on the task of scrutinizing Clayton's hard-to-read holographic pencil diary. During the time I spent with that diary at the Lee Library, I discovered in Allen's own edition numerous changes introduced to Clayton's original words. Missing illegible words were occasionally not noted, such as at the end of the entry dated 10 January 1840. Even legible words were silently omitted: "He has heard about some work [*about*] 17 miles from Manchester" (24 Jan. 1840). In other cases, Clayton's sentences were disjoined by adding a period in mid-sentence: "Conversed a good deal on the order of the church [period inserted] after I returned home" (13 Feb. 1840); "She also saw in a dream [period inserted] Brother Richards and Robert Williams and one of Hardmans sons and old Richard Hardman sitting in a room together" (6 Mar. 1840). Allen substituted his own, sometimes less appropriate, words for Clayton's language. Whereas Clayton had written: "She had the same feeling with them but *fully* stronger," Allen used *full* instead (25 Jan. 1840). Speaking of the Burgess brothers in Manchester, Clayton wrote: "Wm. [Burgess] rejected our testimony. The other would seek *after* it." Allen replaced *after* with *upon* (15 Feb. 1840). Even more misleadingly, Allen altered Clayton's reference to Brother *Moon*, probably Clayton's father-in-law, to Brother *Moore* (21 Jan. 1840). In misspelling Clayton's words, such as using *greaved* for *grieved* (31 Jan. 1840), Allen made Clayton appear less educated than he was (Allen spells the word correctly later in the entry). Where Clayton articulated a specific past perfect action, "Sister Walmsley *had* told lies," Allen omitted the helping verb *had*, blunting Clayton's meaning (8 Feb. 1840). The entry date 4 March 1840 is missing in Allen's edition and he included the text for that date in the previous day's journal. Corrections now available in *An Intimate Chronicle* to such misinterpretations bring Clayton's language and ideas into sharper focus.

Despite Allen's criticisms, I abridged very little from the England and Emigration Journal in *An Intimate Chronicle*, mostly redundant passages and a few illegible lines such as the following: (23 Mar. 1840) "At

home all day. [.....]ing dogs &c."; (21 May 1840) "Went to Preston in the P.M. Water at Sister Morgan"; (16 June 1840) "To Sister Booths at Newton. Sarah and Rebecca with"; and (23 June 1840) "Had a good meeting at night." The abridgement of these entries has little to do with Allen's issue of "balance" and, in fact, tends to highlight the more meaningful sections.

While Allen's edition was competent, I believed it was possible and valuable to enhance its clarity in textual interpretation, to annotate neglected subjects within the narrative, and to place it in the context of the rest of Clayton's journals. For instance, some of the introduction and annotative material in *An Intimate Chronicle* contributed aspects to Clayton's early life that had never been published before. Charnock Moss, the place where Clayton was born and raised, was not described in Allen's biography of Clayton nor in his annotations to the England journal: Clayton's only mention of his early home is found in his 1852-53 journal of a return to England. Charnock Moss was a hundred-acre farmland drained from a peat bog in rural England and in Clayton's day was a square mile in area, about a third of Clayton's resident township, Penwortham. Further research also led to Clayton's marriage certificate, which told a small story in itself, with its X marks for the signatures of his first wife and later sister-wife, Ruth and Margaret Moon, alongside Clayton's signature.

Clayton's previously unpublished final journal, which describes his return to England to explain polygamy in 1852-53, contributes to the context of the entire collection. Even here Allen looked for omissions rather than for the value of making the previously unpublished journal available. He complained that an important letter from Clayton to Thomas Bullock, dated 5 February 1853, which explained Clayton's difficulty preaching polygamy to the British, was missing: "Smith did not see fit to either reproduce or summarize it in a footnote." Allen had featured the letter prominently in his biography of Clayton but he overlooked its presence in my edition. On page 490 of *An Intimate Chronicle*, footnote 44 excerpts and cites the letter in which Clayton explains that a "scoundrel to be revenged on the doctrine of plurality, made use of arguments which I used to show him that it was scriptural, as though I had more wives than one, and has trumped up a malisious set of lies [that Clayton was an adulterer] and told them to some of the brethren in Manchester." For attentive readers, the full story is there in the journal and in the annotations.

Clearly I am disappointed with what I see as Allen's lack of scholarly balance. In fact, I believe he managed to accomplish what he accused *An Intimate Chronicle* of doing: he wasted an opportunity to provide a useful research document. He reflected the attitude of those church officials and historians who call for the restriction of important historical materials. After refusing to contribute to the publication of these important histori-

cal journals, and then actively discouraging the process, he turned judgments about historical standards to political ends. He raised issues—some legitimate, some spurious—of sources and balance rather than addressing underlying problems of restricted access which have borne upon his own career as well as the publication of William Clayton's journals. In assuming this role, Allen failed to take advantage of an opportunity to speak out against the policies which weaken the practice of good scholarship among Mormons.

A Reply

James B. Allen

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND to George Smith's critique of my review of *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton.* I am also pleased that, in fairness to *Dialogue* readers, the editors saw fit to publish my original review along with Smith's critique. This makes it easier for readers to evaluate both perspectives.

Even though I questioned the propriety of publishing two of the items reproduced by Smith, I agree that the publication of all the Clayton journals under one cover, even in abridged form, was worthwhile. I said as much in the review, and I also emphasized the value of the three important appendixes included in the book. I further believe, as I said in the review, that Smith did a credible job of editing the material available to him. I should probably underscore that point more strongly, for in my comparison of the texts in *An Intimate Chronicle* with the original texts available to Smith, I found remarkably few errors of transcription. I also agree that, for the most part, Smith's abridgements were responsible, though I pointed to a few passages that illustrate problems often inherent in abridgements. My major concern was with what Smith identified as "Journal 2: Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842-1846." It was *only* the excerpts from this journal that I described as "an abridgement that leaves the worst kind of imbalance." Contrary to the inference in Smith's critique, I did not intend

this statement to characterize *An Intimate Chronicle* as a whole, but only "Journal 2." I am sorry if it was misstated or misread, but I believe that readers who examine my review carefully will see that the statement is in the section dealing with "Journal 2" and applies only to that journal.

Smith's response to my concerns over "Journal 2" points to some essential differences in perspective between the two of us. He raises the question of permission to publish the excerpts, correctly emphasizing the fact that he obtained the consent of Clayton heirs who, he explains, retain the literary rights. My own feeling is that since these journals are owned by the church, it is inappropriate to publish them (or any other manuscripts in the church archives) without church permission, regardless of the legal technicalities relating to the heirs. My comment in the review, however, was not about *literary* rights. Rather, it concerned the fact that Smith did not have "permission to *study the original documents,*" and therefore had no basis for determining the accuracy of the material available to him. For the most part, all he had were excerpts from the Clayton journals, taken as research notes by Andrew Ehat. (Smith also drew from a few other sources, but the Ehat notes provided the overwhelming bulk of the entries in "Journal 2.") These verbatim notes reflected Ehat's particular research interest, but were never intended as an "abridgement" of the Nauvoo journals. My own analysis of the Ehat excerpts shows that they are reasonably accurate transcriptions of the original. Smith's reproduction, moreover, was generally faithful to the Ehat material. Nevertheless, the excerpts are highly selective, they usually include only a portion of the daily entry, and they do not constitute more than about 25 percent of the whole.[20] For these reasons I felt it important to warn prospective readers that "Journal 2" is not a real "abridgement" based on the same consistent rationale that governed Smith's abridgement of the other journals in *An Intimate Chronicle.* Rather, it is an often misleading "agglomeration of unconnected ... and out-of-context excerpts." This is not a criticism of Smith's editing, for he did a good job with what he had before him. It is simply part of my concern over whether this journal should have been published at all in that form.

Smith cites other reviews of *An Intimate Chronicle,* including one by

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20. Smith claims that the excerpts constitute around 50 percent of the whole, based on a "comparative page count adjusted for spacing." He discounts my estimate by saying that the total entries in the journal "would include numerous repetitious or relatively uninformative passages and thus was not a particularly meaningful measure." Such passages, nevertheless, help make up the whole, and there are really far fewer of them than this statement implies. Please refer to my review for my own explanation of how I arrived at my estimate. I simply do not understand how Smith could make his count or reach the conclusion he did without also having direct access to the whole.

Kenneth W. Godfrey, that praised the book more highly than I did. His point is well taken, but it should be noted that Godfrey also had misgivings about the publication of both "Journal 2" and "Journal 3" (the Nauvoo temple journal). His position with regard to "Journal 2," in fact, was essentially the same as mine. In his words: "Compelled to publish an abridgement and being unable to verify the printed manuscript against all the holographs would cause many, if not most, historians, including me, not to publish this uncheckable text and thus to fault Smith's decision to do so. Only through close scrutiny of the originals can a documentary editor produce a manuscript with some confidence that it is error free."[21]

The question of how much of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* was drawn from William Clayton is an interesting one.[22] I hold that a comparison of Clayton's Nauvoo journals with the *History* will show that only a small portion of the entries are drawn directly from that source.[23] On the other hand, Smith cites Joseph F. Smith's statement that we are greatly indebted to Clayton's pen for the history of the church in Nauvoo. Ironically, both statements are correct, for Clayton's handwriting appears in many records, other than his personal journals, used to compile the *History.* These include "The Book of the Law of the Lord," described by Dean Jessee as "a large leather-bound letterbook-diary-account book containing copies of letters, revelations, and other documents of historical importance intermixed with Joseph Smith's diary entries and a record of donations to the Church during the Prophet's Nauvoo years. It is the original source for portions of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church.*"[24] Beyond whatever came directly from his personal journal, Clayton's recording of revelations, letters, and other things clearly made a substantial contribution to Joseph Smith's *History.*

Smith also comments on various conversations between the two of us regarding the possible publication of the Nauvoo journals. It is to be expected that our respective notes and memories should result in somewhat different perspectives, but, for the record, here is my reconstruction of those conversations. According to my notes, early in 1988 Signature Books asked me if I would be interested in editing all of William Clayton's journals for publication. My response to that early contact was

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21. Kenneth W. Godfrey review, *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 225.

22. Those who compiled the *History* drew from many sources. See Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11 (Spring 1971): 439-73.

23. I made such a comparison when I was writing the original review, and I made it again in preparing this commentary. The second time around I found about five more entries that were possibly drawn from Clayton (mostly very short—two or three lines), but not enough to make a difference in the point.

24. Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 691.

"yes," but only if Signature Books could get approval from the church to publish the Nauvoo journals. Later, on 11 November, George Smith telephoned me, affirming Signature Books's plans to publish all the Clayton journals. It is not clear from my notes that he specifically invited me to collaborate, but my memory says that this is what happened. I also remember that I expressed some "excitement" at the possibility of getting the Nauvoo diaries published, for I thought they would make a valuable contribution to scholarship. I make a point of this because of Smith's comment that my disposition had "changed significantly" by 5 December. I made it clear from the beginning that I would love to see the journals published but that I did not want to participate in such a venture without church permission. Later in November I had a conversation about the Clayton journals with Elder John K. Carmack (Assistant Executive Director of the LDS historical department). It was clear from that conversation, however, that it would not be possible to obtain permission at that time, so I dropped the matter. On 5 December George Smith came to see me in my office, and we also had lunch together. I told him, again, that I did not want to be involved, for I thought it was improper to publish the Nauvoo journals without church permission. Although I certainly showed less enthusiasm in December than I did in May, my basic position did not change. I also told Smith, according to my notes, that "he would get criticism from the scholarly community, including myself, for publishing things [the Nauvoo journals] in such incomplete form, and out of context." Smith claims that on 5 December I said I "could not talk about Clayton" and that the meeting we were having "never took place." There is nothing of that nature in my notes, but if I said anything like that it must have been in connection with another item that *is* in my notes. After we finished discussing my feelings about the propriety of publishing the Nauvoo journals, I gave him some suggestions (probably unsolicited) on what I thought would be good editorial procedure, since he had obviously decided to publish. He seemed to appreciate the suggestions, I wrote in my notes, though he probably did not need them. I am confident that this is the part of the conversation I did not want reported for, as he rightly says (and my notes indicate), I did not want my name associated with the publication. I had no reason to want the rest of the conversation kept confidential.

The thing that surprised me most in Smith's critique was his discussion of what he calls my "unauthorized personal use" of the Nauvoo journals. This is a distortion. The reality is that I was fully authorized to use the journals in connection with my then-forthcoming biography of William Clayton. Since access time was limited, and it was essential to get the material in as accurate a form as possible, I assumed it was not inappropriate to take whatever notes would serve the project best, including

verbatim notes. *This is the same assumption that every scholar makes when using any manuscript material.* Given all this, it is highly misleading to say that however I took notes or used them was "unauthorized." What was not authorized was the distribution of excerpts by someone who had obtained them in an unauthorized fashion, and then the publication of those excerpts. Smith believes that the permission of some Clayton descendants provides enough legal authorization for the publication of the excerpts. I continue to question the academic propriety of doing so, however, not only because he did not have church permission but also because, without access to the originals, he had no way at all of checking his transcription and thus assuring either its completeness or its accuracy.

Smith raises an important issue when he comments on a few mistakes in transcription that appeared in *Manchester Mormons*, the journal edited by Thomas G. Alexander and me, and later published in abridged form as "Journal 1" in *An Intimate Chronicle*. This is a perfect illustration of the fact that before any of us publishes any transcription we should be extra careful to check and double-check that transcription against the original holograph. Clayton's Manchester journal is particularly difficult to transcribe, for it is written in tiny script, in pencil, and much of it is faded or, in places, smudged. I remember spending days, with the help of a research assistant, poring over it with a magnifying glass, trying to get a correct transcription even of the faded parts, and then checking over it again. After reading Smith's critique I went back to it, again with magnifying glass in hand. I found that, with one possible exception, Smith's examples were correct, and I was particularly embarrassed at having transcribed the word "Moon" as "Moore." I also found, however, that Smith himself made a few mistakes in *An Intimate Chronicle*, though they were mostly mistakes of omission. The last sentence in the entry for 16 January 1840, for example, reads "Bought cloth for trousers[]." Smith uses brackets to "indicate words that are missing or illegible." In this case, the financial expression 18/6 (meaning 18 schillings 6 pence) is clearly visible in the original. In the next day's entry, Smith's transcription reads "Went to see Brother []Heath." Again the brackets should not be there because even under a magnifying glass there is no illegible word between "Brother" and "Heath." At the end of the same entry is another set of brackets, but in this case the words "a great excitement" can be made out in the original. In the entry for 21 January 1840, Smith indicates, in brackets, that there are six illegible lines, whereas in *Manchester Mormons* we indicate at the same place that there are only two unclear lines. On reexamination, with my magnifying glass, I could still make out the other four lines, which are, I was happy to discover, correctly transcribed in *Manchester Mormons*. There are other examples, but the fact that neither the Allen/Alexander transcription nor the Smith transcrip-

tion is perfect only serves to emphasize the more important point that has been made by Godfrey, Dean Jessee, and others: the necessity of comparing a transcription with the original holograph several times before publication. This is something Smith was unable to do in the case of Clayton's Nauvoo journals.

Some of Smith's comments clearly highlight how easy it is for scholars to have differing perspectives on what is or is not important, especially when it comes to deciding what to delete in an abridgement. My observations on this issue were intended to suggest some of the problems that could be involved in any kind of abridgement, and to demonstrate why research scholars eventually must consult either the original manuscript or a full (and hopefully accurate) transcription anyway. Smith had to cut somewhere, and I respect both his need to do so and the generally judicious nature of his abridgements. I am surprised, however, that he would accuse me of making a false assertion when I noted that the excerpts left out much of the spiritual and daily life of Clayton as well as the social life of Nauvoo. This comment was aimed *only* at the transcription of "Journal 2," and it is accurate, based on my personal knowledge of what the rest of the journal contains. I did not accuse Smith of "intentionally" making omissions in "Journal 2" for, as I observed, Smith himself was not responsible for those excerpts. At the same time, as Smith says, his abridgement of the other journals retained much of that kind of material, and I did not deny that in my review.

With respect to the Manchester diary, I chose one example of an entry in which I thought something especially important was left out: the entry for Sunday, 8 March 1840. Smith asks, legitimately, "What did Allen find 'important' about the repetitive passages I left out?" The answer is very subjective, but we could also ask, "What did Smith find 'important' about the passages he left in?" Such decisions usually reflect either the editor's research interests or the editor's considered judgement on what would contribute to the most balanced overall view. Smith's abridgement simply reads: "Sister Burgess came. Her breast is very bad. I prayed with her ... Supper at Hardman's. Used great liberty toward Alice Hardman." The full entry, however, reads as follows":[25]

> Sister Burgess came. Her breast is very bad. I prayed with her. Went to Prince's to Breakfast. Brother John Moon spoke[26] a while then I spoke a while in P.M. I ordained Isaac Royle and Charles Miller Priests, Brother John Gill

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25. Here I have followed the editorial conventions adopted in *Manchester Mormons* of providing punctuation and spelling out abbreviated words.

26. In *Manchester Mormons* we transcribed this word as "spake," but in my recent rechecking it appeared that we should have used the word "spoke," though the difference between an "a" and an "o" is sometimes difficult to discern.

> and James Johnson Teachers. 3 confirmed, 3 baptized by Charles Miller. Went to Kenworthy's to tea. At night Brother Moon preached on faith &c. Prayed with many sick. Sister Battersby gave me some grapes. William Whitehead gave me 1/-. After meeting went to Brother Bateman's to see Sister Street. Sarah and Rebecca went with me. Sarah gave me 2 oranges. Brother Bewsher gave me a stick of sealing Wax. Supper at Hardman's. Used great liberty toward Alice Hardman.

I thought this entire passage was important to understanding the nature of the Mormon experience in Manchester and that the deleted lines were more important than those reproduced by Smith, for they provided a dramatic illustration of the great variety of activities engaged in by a missionary on a very busy Sabbath day. This is also another illustration of the fact that, despite the obvious value of abridgements such as *An Intimate Chronicle*, serious scholars must eventually turn to the original sources.

With respect to "Journal 3: Nauvoo Temple, 1845-1846," Smith had access to a photographic reproduction of the original, and did a good job of both transcription and abridgement. Our disagreement is over the question of whether it should properly be considered a William Clayton journal or a Heber C. Kimball journal. My reasons for considering it to be a Kimball journal are clear in the review, and Smith's reasons are clear in his introduction to *An Intimate Chronicle* as well as in his critique. However, on 8 March 1997, I talked with Stanley B. Kimball in order to gain some clarification on the question of why he did not publish the Nauvoo Temple journal in *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball*. According to Kimball, the main reason he did not publish either that one or the 1847 pioneer journal was that neither of them were Heber C. Kimball *holographs* (that is, they were not in his own handwriting). He did not consider the 1847 journal to be a Clayton journal, however, for he knew that Clayton kept it for Kimball, at Kimball's request. He did not know at the time that Kimball had also specifically asked Clayton to write the Nauvoo journal for him, beginning on 10 December 1845, for he did not have access to Clayton's personal journal, where that becomes clear. That is why he wrote in his introduction that even though the first part of the volume is in Heber C. Kimball's handwriting, "the latter section should more properly be classified as a William Clayton diary, or, perhaps, as a kind of Nauvoo Temple Record."[27] In other words, he simply was not sure how to classify it. Had he known that Clayton kept it for Kimball, at Kimball's request, he said, he probably would have considered it to be in the same category as he did the pioneer journal.[28] To be consistent with

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27. Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987), xiii-xiv.

28. Telephone conversation with Stanley B. Kimball, 8 Mar. 1997.

his own view, however, Smith should have published the 1847 Kimball journal also, since that, too, was in Clayton's handwriting.

In summary, then, I appreciate George Smith's meticulous work in ferreting out considerable new information about William Clayton, and I recognize that some parts of *An Intimate Chronicle* deserve more praise than I gave. At the same time I feel that his publication of the Nauvoo journal was professionally irresponsible, and I still question whether the Nauvoo "Temple Journal" may legitimately be considered a Clayton journal at all. I hope this response to Smith's critique has shed additional useful light on our differences, and I thank the editors of *Dialogue* for this opportunity.

A Rejoinder

George D. Smith

JAMES ALLEN HAS DONE AN EXTRAORDINARY job of placing William Clayton before the Mormon community. That is why I wanted to involve him in helping to prepare the journals for publication. But even with that accomplishment, the question arises: What should one say to an historian, however well-meaning, who advocates depriving a community of its history? We should not be diverted by Allen's specious arguments about whether Clayton's valuable Nauvoo temple record should have been published somewhere else (it would not have been), and whether one should await the reluctant acquiescence from a church repository when one has permission to publish from family members who hold the literary rights to the manuscript. I suspect Allen is speaking on behalf of the silent but incessant voice of those church authorities who did not want this important document published.

The community is ill-served by an elitist system which allows one historian to hold a document and, with feigned impartiality, then issue judgements which fault others for not having the same access. I am glad Allen made a personal copy of Clayton's Nauvoo journals, even if he did

so without the formality of official permission. I hope he will now redeem his role as a highly qualified historian by encouraging and cooperating with efforts to make the entire journal available. Any goal less than full access to the historical record is ultimately unacceptable. I hope the six Clayton journals abridged and collected in *An Intimate Chronicle* will further the process of an open Mormon history.

Desert Bloom

Megan Thayne Heath

There are no maybes in the desert;
you have to be lizard-quick or shrivel and die.
The Rio Grande is muddy from its occasional pause,
here where survival is yes or no.

The Yucca spears the sky for moisture
making the horizon look scattered with armed warriors
waiting to attack, amidst bone-clean rock.

Nothing is quiet.
The sunset in its passing
shouts its last hurrah in crimson and orange.

The hearty crickets begin their chirping
in native tongue, "hola, hola, hola ... "
teaching you to learn from the ground up
turning your blood Spanish red, pulsating like a mirage.

It's then that you can see the miracle:
Magnolias, politely rising above sand,
dainty stems bent low from voluminous color,
magenta petals bursting forth to say,
"even without a drink, I'm here to stay."

FICTION

An Episode from the Memoirs of Elder Thomas, A Somewhat Less than Good and Faithful Servant

Mark Goldrup

[Tuesday, November 19.] Brother Duvalier—the branch president—had us out to his farm for dinner tonight. Which is to say, he had us out to milk cows with his farmhand while his wife made us dinner.

It strikes me as a little odd that I seem to be spending so much of the best two years of my life providing free labor for local ecclesiastical leaders. Even so, I diligently went ahead and put my shoulder to the wheel, or more literally to the crap-covered beast.

We did get a new investigator out of it, though, when President Duvalier introduced us to the farmhand, a timid guy named Cliff Littlewood with greasy hair and a shocking, fuzz-covered underbite.

He called Cliff over and said, "These are the elders, Carlisle and Thomas. They have something they want to talk to you about." Then he walked away, while Cliff sort of shuffled his feet and looked at the ground.

I had no clue what Duvalier was talking about, but apparently he and Carlisle had arranged it all beforehand. Carlisle stepped right up, shook Cliff's hand, and boldly set an appointment for tomorrow night, easily dismissing Cliff's weak objections. It reminded me a little bit of the calf-roping event in a rodeo I once saw on TV. Carlisle had Cliff down on his back in no time flat, three legs tied with a flourish and one good leg twitching within five seconds.

Then Carlisle took off to the other end of the barn to talk to Duvalier, while Cliff and I set about plugging finger-length nipples into pulsating metal suction devices.

After we got the milking done, he took me to a back room where they keep the sick heifers and it was pretty amazing to watch how good he was with them. He was a sweet guy, he really was.

There was one heifer in there whose nipple was all ripped up and infected. Cliff had to stick a catheter up the hole of her teat to let the milk out or else she would have had a swollen udder to go with her torn teat. She was obviously pretty displeased about the whole thing. She was stamping her hoof and it looked like she might give poor Cliff a kick until he coolly sort of put his hand up onto her side and held it there. He was pretty firm and pretty gentle at the same time, and the cow calmed right down and let him finish what he was doing. It blew my mind, actually, but not as much as it blew my mind when he told me how she had ripped her nipple.

Apparently, she had been sleeping peacefully in a big pile of manure and hay with all the other cows one morning when Cliff came in to wake them up. He yelled or whatever he does when he wants them up, and they clambered off their knees to get their morning milking.

But this one cow had been sleeping with her hoof resting on her teat. So when she got up, her hoof shredded it. Just like that.

I couldn't believe it. I had no idea such a thing was possible.

"Wow," I thought, "we live in a world inhabited by animals capable of stepping on their own teats."

I asked Cliff if there was anything he could do besides sticking a catheter in the cow's wound. He said there wasn't much, short of aborting the calf the cow was carrying so she would stop producing milk—which wasn't an option, he explained, because if a dairy cow isn't producing milk then it's not much good at all.

See, it's just like the bishop said it would be: I'm learning something new every day.

[Wednesday, November 20.] We went to Cliff's house today. He and his wife, Sylvia, live in the basement of a split-level down the road from the Duvaliers.

Up close, Sylvia wasn't exactly ugly, not the way Cliff was. She just looked a little malnourished. She had the body of a thirteen-year-old, small and thin, like she had a thyroid condition. Everything about her seemed fragile. Even her hair, which looked as if she had cut it herself, was brittle and uncertain. Her eyes bulged a little and she looked nervous the whole time.

In fact, they both seemed nervous. But we taught them the first discussion anyway. It was pretty crazy. We told them the Joseph Smith story and they kept asking whether it was God or Jesus who came to the sacred grove. Carlisle would say it was both and they would ask if there wasn't

only one and he would say there were two, actually three. They would ask which one and he would say both and they would begin again. It went on like that for a while until I was ready to call it an unidentified flying object and leave it at that. But they eventually agreed to nod their heads and stare dumbly.

Anyway, they said they would read the Book of Mormon, although they looked uneasy about it. I think either they don't know how to read or else they think the devil will get them if they read our book. Sometimes it's hard to tell.

Carlisle and I had a little argument about them when we got back. Sort of. I guess I didn't argue very persuasively.

I was just trying to say that I think Cliff and Sylvia didn't seem to want us to teach them all that much. I mean, they obviously didn't. They didn't understand what was going on and they seemed reluctant about reading the Book of Mormon and also about letting us come back. They just gave in because they were afraid to say no.

So I said I felt sorry for them. I told him I thought maybe we ought to leave them alone or give them a while to think things through before we come back. It was pretty stupid, it really was, because it's not like I was unsure about it or anything and I was talking like I was unsure of myself. The only thing is, I'm a missionary so how can I tell my companion that I don't think we should teach two of the few people who will even let us through their door?

Of course, Carlisle picked right up on that. He said, "Elder Thomas, if you didn't want to teach people the gospel, why did you come on a mission? If missionaries just walked away from everyone who seemed a little hesitant, there wouldn't be eight million members, worldwide." That was his most salient point. The rest was personal attack-type stuff.

He said I have too much "fear of man" in me; I get a little nervous about teaching the discussions, so he figures I'm just trying to get out of doing it. Carlisle should think about a career in the foreign service, he's such a brilliant diplomat. He said I was trying to cloak my fear behind false concern for Cliff and Sylvia, but if I was really concerned I would do everything in my power to bring them unto Christ.

Okay, maybe the guy's right. I don't always feel that comfortable teaching and maybe it's a little contradictory for a missionary to hesitate to share the gospel. But, first of all, I've been out five months and I'm really starting to get better, and, second, I don't find Cliff and Sylvia particularly daunting anyhow. So I don't think I'm cloaking anything. And furthermore, all I'm saying is that maybe we should be mellow with them, because it seems like they're the type of people who have concerns and stuff, but are just too timid to voice them. It's not cool to steamroll people like that.

Cool or not, though, Carlisle won the argument and we'll probably be riding the Littlewoods pretty hard over the next little while.

[Thursday, November 21.] No Littlewoods today—it was Flood the Earth Day. The mission president apparently had this great idea that all the missionaries in the mission should do nothing but walk around for one day and give everyone Book of Mormons to plant as seeds in their hearts. We weren't supposed to set up teaching appointments or anything, just give out books. So we tracted all day and barely managed to unload three.

Still, it wasn't a bad day. Tracting is a bit like exercise. It's never enjoyable to do, but you have to admit you always feel good about having done it afterwards.

[Friday, November 22.] We went back to the Littlewoods today, but we didn't teach them. I think the plan was to give them the second discussion and challenge them to be baptized, although I can't be too sure as Carlisle, being the senior companion, doesn't always divulge his secrets to me.

Cliff stammered for a while when we showed up and then told us his TV wasn't working and so now wasn't a good time to have the discussion. Carlisle argued with him a little, his point being that our presentation was not a multi-media event and so lack of television wasn't necessarily a detriment. It was a well thought out and rational point, if you were moron enough not to see the guy didn't want us around.

These people really have a tough time telling Carlisle no. It was interesting to watch, actually. The whole thing reminded me of something I read in a dog-training manual once. With dogs, everything is based on dominance and submission. So the trick to training dogs, according to this book, is to convince them that you are the dominant one, the leader of the pack. The dominant dog gets to tell all the other dogs what to do and they just do it, whether they like it or not. Like if the dominant dog wants to eat a submissive dog's bone or something—if the dogs know each other well enough to have established who is dominant—then the submissive dog will just give up the bone and do nothing about it except maybe look a little depressed or something. Carlisle is the dominant dog.

And the Littlewoods are the sort of people who just go around assuming that everyone else will always be dominant. So poor Cliff wouldn't tell Carlisle a clear no, he would just sort of mumble about the TV being broken and then look down at the ground, almost exactly like he was afraid Carlisle might growl at him and bite.

I guess it sort of worked out, though, because Carlisle eventually gave up and rescheduled the appointment for a couple days from now.

[Saturday, November 23.] Tracting today. We did the card trick where you both look at the map and pick a street then write each street on opposite sides of a card and shut your eyes so you don't know which side of the card your street is on and turn the card around a bunch of times. Then you pray to see which side of the card the Lord wants you to tract on. Once you've both agreed on a side of the card, you go to the street written on that side. That way, your egos don't get involved—nothing but pure, unfiltered revelation.

But I didn't really feel like tracting then, at least not with Carlisle, so I kept saying the opposite of whatever side he picked. He got pretty frustrated after a while, which was gratifying. After about twenty prayers he decided I'd better say which one I felt prompted on first. So I did and we still couldn't agree. He kept mumbling how we just didn't have the Spirit and how I needed to be better about getting up on time. After a while he said we would just go to the street he picked.

So we went to his street and he said he'd go first. No one was home for the first seven houses. Finally at the eighth house this woman answered the door and Carlisle gave his spiel: "Hi. I'm Elder Carlisle and this is Elder Thomas. We're missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and we're in the neighborhood giving away free copies of the Book of Mormon today. Would you—"

And she said, "Young man. You can take that book and you can stick it up your ass." Then she slammed the door.

Carlisle looked ready to cry. He decided we'd better just call it a day after that. I suggested we go try my street, but he ignored me so we just walked home.

He left a copy of *The Miracle of Forgiveness* close to my study desk before he went to bed.

[Sunday, November 24.] Church today. President Duvalier had to speak for about forty minutes because Brother Arsenault, the scheduled speaker, didn't show up. I was surprised, because Arsenault is one of about five people in this branch who show up regularly. Must have had stagefright. So Duvalier ended up talking for forty minutes on the importance of obeying your leaders, which basically means him. His wife was the only one listening.

We taught the Littlewoods again after church.

It didn't go very well, even though Carlisle taught all my parts for me, which was upsetting. Usually he just repeats my parts once I finish, but this time he actually taught the entire discussion from beginning to end.

Anyhow, Cliff freaked out hard when the baptismal challenge came up, while Sylvia just sat there and got all shifty-eyed. He didn't know

what to say, so he told us they'd think about it. I don't think he realized that we were actually going to ask them to do anything beyond just letting us preach to them.

Of course, he tried Old Faithful—"I've already been baptized"—but Carlisle explained that his baptism was invalid, the product of the Apostasy. This, however, didn't do the trick and Cliff would only agree to think about it and pray. He won't openly disobey, but he's not so submissive that he can't think of a way out of making a firm commitment.

I don't know. Maybe Carlisle's right to push them a little. I mean, who knows what is best for people? One thing, though, it's frustrating to study and pray and memorize your discussions, and in your head you start to become a pretty good teacher and you feel the Spirit and all that, and then have your senior companion shut you out of the conversation.

[Monday, November 25.] P-day again, finally. We went to Charlottetown and played basketball with the elders there. We're spending the night because there's a Missionary Broadcast tomorrow and our branch doesn't have a satellite dish. I'm looking forward to waking up tomorrow and finding that I'm not alone with Carlisle.

[Tuesday, November 26.] Missionary Satellite Broadcast from Salt Lake. How marvelous it is that we can hook up with the rest of the missionaries in the world as a great and mighty army, and so on. That's all I really heard, then I tuned out. I'm sure it's pretty marvelous and everything, but it reminded me a little too much of the MTC.

Anyhow, I wanted the time to think about the Littlewoods. I'm not really sure what I think we should do; not, of course, that Carlisle would ever let me in on the decision-making.

I'm wondering if it's such a hot idea for us to teach them right now. They don't seem to be enjoying it much. The whole time we're teaching them they're sweating it out, waiting for us to leave so they can be alone again.

But the problem is, they are exactly the sort of people who could use the gospel. I mean, what could suit them better than being told that they're loved by God himself and that they are, in fact, his children and they're destined to be divine?

After all, if I don't want to teach people who will listen, then what the hell am I doing here? I don't know. Maybe it's that I don't think these people are all that willing; they're just afraid to say so.

[Wednesday, November 27.] Home again. Carlisle borrowed a TV from the branch and we showed the Littlewoods a video tonight: *What Is Real?* I don't know why we showed them that one. It has this weird, disjointed

story line. Even smart investigators have a hard time figuring out what's going on. But I guess Carlisle figured it had to be good because it came from Salt Lake.

The Littlewoods didn't seem to care too much one way or the other. They just looked worried and said it was real nice and that sort of thing. Carlisle bore his testimony, which is ironic because I guarantee he doesn't get it. He asked me to bear my testimony after he was done. I said, "Of what? Church videos or just the church in general?" He said he thought a testimony of church videos might be appropriate under the circumstances. I wasn't sure if he meant the camera angles or the ideas, but I was afraid to ask so I testified, and boldly I might add, that *How Rare a Possession* was the best one.

Tomorrow morning we'll study the art of testimony bearing for companion study. He'll explain to me how we need to build testimonies of various parts of the gospel, like church videos, so that we can share more effectively.

Something cool happened, though, after we finished affirming the church's prowess in filmmaking. Carlisle challenged the Littlewoods to come to church on Sunday. They tried a couple of different excuses and Carlisle shot them all down. Then they said they didn't have a car and since it's winter they didn't think they'd be able to walk. So Carlisle said we could give them a ride in our car. And Cliff stood straight up and looked at the floor bravely and said, "No." Just like that.

I jumped right up, before Carlisle could start arguing with him again, and shook Cliff's hand, then Sylvia's, then said we understood and walked out the front door. Carlisle had to follow me. He was a little mad because we didn't reschedule an appointment, but he figures we see them often enough that it shouldn't be much of a problem to do it tomorrow. He says they are the perfect investigators and he thinks they'll join the church. They're humble and teachable. "Teachable," in this context, must mean too poor, ugly, and downtrodden to put up much of a fight. All Carlisle has to do with a "teachable" person is give him a light tap on the shoulder and he'll go tumbling headlong into the waters of baptism.

[Thursday, November 28.] We went back to Cliff and Sylvia's this morning but no one answered. I was sure they were home but I didn't tell Carlisle that. I could just see them in there hiding from us in their home, all afraid we'd find out they didn't want us, and then they'd have to confront us and wait for us to yell at them or kick them, or whatever it is they're afraid people will do to them.

Since they're our only investigators, we spent the rest of the day driving around finding inactives, most of whom seemed a lot like the Littlewoods.

[Friday, November 29.] New money came in from the mission office. I sent Dad twenty bucks for using his calling card and I bought postage for all the letters that have been sitting on my desk since last month's money ran out a week ago. Carlisle counseled me to be more frugal. He's a very useful guy to have around.

I went shopping too. I got a lot of lettuce and tomatoes and stuff. I think I'm going to start eating better.

Carlisle was telling me all day about this great feeling he's having about the Littlewoods. He said he thinks we could have them baptized before zone conference next month.

[Saturday, November 30.] The Duvaliers had us out for dinner again tonight—a good, sturdy, farmer's dinner.

Carlisle started to do the dishes afterwards and I ducked out and headed for the milking barn, where I knew Cliff would be. I wanted to talk to him alone—just so we could speak about something other than the church, maybe let him know I liked him for reasons other than the fact we might be able to baptize him.

The wind was blowing off the iced-over Northumberland Strait, over the bare fields and around the barns and greasy old tractors. I tugged shut my jacket and rushed across to the foggy windows and golden lights and the sweet-sickening smell of milk inside.

The cows were all strapped into their stalls, but I didn't see Cliff, so I went back to the sick room.

He was huddled over a heifer, lying still on her side, and was looking close at her rear haunch. It was spooky actually, with the wind outside and the moaning cows in the other room and this dirty man kneeling over a sick cow in the harsh light of a dangling bulb.

I asked him what was up and he answered sparingly, "Infected."

I looked over his shoulder and saw that he was telling the truth. About a good square foot of her right haunch was covered in a very deep-looking, raw sort of messy wet scab.

"What happened to her?" I asked.

"Don't know." He was really opening up to me.

"So what are you doing?"

"Gonna hafta cut it out."

"Why? I mean, won't it just scab over or something?"

"No, it's infected," he said. I figured he knew what he was talking about even if it was futile to try and get him to explain it to me.

He sat silent for another few minutes, touching the wound with his fingers every once in a while, inducing the cow to writhe in a lackadaisical, bovine sort of way. But he was very soft about it, as gentle as a person could be about something like that. I thought again of the way his hand

had calmed the cow with the torn tit the first night we met him.

"Maybe you can help me," he turned and looked up at me.

"Sure," I said, "whatever you need."

He walked across the room and got a short, clean-looking knife off one of the benches, then came back and knelt over the cow again. "You hold her down."

"Aren't you going to anesthetize her or anything?"

He just looked at me, and I'm not sure if it was blankly to let me know that he didn't know what anesthesia was or, incredulously, as if anesthetizing cows was some kind of city slicker idea. Either way the answer was no.

I knelt down too, and put both hands firmly on the cow's side, ready to push her back down if she tried to get up.

"No, like this," he said, and reached up to the side of the cow's head and held one hand at the top of her neck. "All you have to do is hold her neck. If she can't move her head, she'll think she can't move her body."

I'm sure she would have preferred anesthesia, truth be told, but he was right. Stupid thing didn't move an inch the whole time, although she whined like crazy.

He held her skin taut with his left hand and began to scrape away at the outer layers of her wound with the knife in his right. The cow would try to lift her head every once in a while, but I'd just push it back down and she'd stay put.

It went on like that for a long time, maybe fifteen or twenty minutes, and I could hear Carlisle and Duvalier in the other room. Carlisle was calling my name, but I obviously couldn't come right then and I didn't exactly want to see the guy all that much anyway. So I kept quiet and held on to the cow's neck.

Then, sort of abruptly, in mid-scrape, Cliff said, "She was pregnant."

"Was?"

"We had to kill the calf inside her because what with the infection and cuttin' it away now, we figured she wouldn't be able to handle the stress."

"Yeah," I said, "but didn't you tell me a dairy cow is useless without a calf? I mean it's not going to make any milk if you kill the calf, right?"

He sort of chuckled at me, which was strange. It was the first thing I'd seen him do that gave any clear indication that he was aware I was a kid and he was an adult.

He said, "She wouldn't be giving any milk any more at all if she was too weak to birth her calf when it came up. A dead cow ain't no good to a farmer." He paused. "Sometimes you gotta give up now for later—no sense hurting a thing worse than she's already hurt just 'cause you're in a big rush to get some milk."

Cliff the philosopher. I thought about that one for a second. That is, I started to think about it but was interrupted by Carlisle roaring into the room all in a fury.

"Thomas, what the heck are you doing?" he blazed, while Cliff looked down and continued to scrape. "You can't just leave your companion. We're supposed to be *unified.* Do you know what I thought? I thought you were out in the car listening to the radio. You have to tell me when you want to go somewhere and I'll go with you. Otherwise, I might think you're trying to break the mission rules."

I struggled to digest all that, and he continued, "Anyway, I'm glad you found Cliff 'cause we need to set up a new appointment, eh Cliff?" He patted Cliff on the shoulder. "How's tomorrow at seven?"

Cliff turned and looked up at Carlisle and started to answer him, but was cut off.

"You don't have any plans, do you?" Carlisle stated.

"Well, no," Cliff answered.

"All right then," Carlisle said, "we'll be by at seven. Come on, Thomas, maybe we can get back to town and do a little tracting before 9:30."

"Uh, well, I'm trying to help . . ." But Cliff already had his left hand up by the cow's neck. He looked up at me long enough to nod goodbye and then went back to his work.

[Sunday, December 1.] Church this morning. Nothing spectacular happened.

The Littlewoods wouldn't answer the door again when we came over. Carlisle was pretty mad. We went outside the building to see if they were in there, and you could see Sylvia peeking out through the blinds and all the lights were on.

Why is it only apparent to me that they want us to leave them alone and why are they so incapable of just explaining it to Carlisle?

All they can think of is to hide from us and hope we will leave them be. I wish we would. I mean, the only difference between them and someone who slams the door in our face is that the Littlewoods are afraid of loud, banging noises.

But I saw her there watching us through the blinds, a grown woman hiding from a couple of teenagers, and that was finally it. After yesterday and today I've seen all I need to see. They don't want us and they're never going to say anything and it's pathetic.

[Monday, December 2.] P-day again. We drove by the Littlewoods on our way to Charlottetown this morning and we saw Cliff taking his trash out. Carlisle pulled over and I rolled down the window and he tried to set up an appointment. Cliff gave some excuses like he usually does. I

guess Carlisle was probably going to argue with him and keep persisting or whatever. But I sort of cut him off.

Nothing major or anything. I mean I didn't beat anyone up or anything. I just spoke faster than Carlisle for once.

Cliff said something like, "Tonight's not so good."

Carlisle started to answer, but I interrupted him, "Yeah, that's okay, we understand. If you're too busy, that's no problem."

Carlisle tried to talk again, but I said, "You know, Cliff, if you don't want us to come around anymore, we understand that too. All you have to do is say so. Do you want us to keep coming by?" I knew, if the answer was no, all he needed was a chance to say it once. Even if Carlisle tried to argue with him after that, it would be easier for Cliff to stand his ground once he had claimed some. Especially if I backed him up a little.

"It's just that we have our own religion and we don't want to join another one."

Carlisle began to speak, "Cliff—"

But I spoke louder, "Okay. We'll stop coming by. Maybe we'll see you over at the Duvaliers sometime." I rolled up my window.

Cliff looked at me and mumbled something and walked back inside. Carlisle looked at me too. He said, "What'd you do that for? We could have baptized those people. I had a feeling about them. You can't do something like that without discussing it first."

I just kept my mouth shut and waited for him to start the car. I'll explain it to him later.

Oasis

Linda Sillitoe

At dusk, the pool waits in silence,
found by your feet after you rip up
the map. Suddenly in the tangled grasses
and twilight the birds stop calling,
and the trees finger your face.

You shed your jacket, drop the rod
that measures a son lost to highway
or gun, a daughter to cancer or fist,
a parent to diapers and bibs, each
ending the wrong size and time.

In this clearing, your story is known
without words where the logic twists
from sight. Everything pools and settles.
And then the pond of blood becomes water,
cold and real; we kneel at its edge to drink.

The Body of the Lord's Fair Night

Barbara Richardson

FLORENCE GRADON WAS A GOOD-LOOKING GIRL, but her looks were nine out of ten parts spirit. Her skirts swung just so, while she danced, her brown hair liked its ribbons fine, and the great good of her heart swept outward like a hay fire, spreading contagion. Even Tom Dean's fiddle had a fit keeping up.

Clair sipped at her juice punch and swerved internally at Florrie's near collisions on the floorboards which echoed, reeling with couples, under lanterns hung from wagons parked three to a side. Several elders watched Clair's best friend, too, and those elders' wives, and a man whom Clair had never seen before, lean and block-shouldered, in a white linen coat, fresh pomade in his hair.

The air in the poplar trees around the ward house yard had its own substance, a powdery slow drift. Bishop Olsen stood watch at the entry, judging the temper of the crowd to reckon, as was his charge, the thorny distinction between wholesome amusement and wantonness. A sister rushed up with news of their earnings—fifteen yards of muslin, fifty-six pounds of flour, a gallon of molasses, and two bags of potatoes. The bishop, polishing his glasses on his vest, took that as a wholesome sign.

"Man is that he might have joy," the prophet Joseph Smith had said. "The great principle of happiness consists in having a body." Thus, from the earliest days, the Saints had conjoined for theater and singing and dancing. When questioned about its saintliness, the prophet Brigham had guessed there was a lot more singing and dancing in Heaven than down in the hot place. The Mormons chose their model accordingly.

Florrie came to Clair's side, at a break in the music. Joe Dean and his friend Ammon followed.

"Who you going to dance with next?" Florrie asked.

A small crowd of girls had circled in. Joe looked girl to girl, his eyebrow cocked like there might have been a doubt in his mind. He was silly

for Florrie, and they all knew it.

Florrie took Clair's arm. "Since you can't choose, why don't you have a dance with Clair."

"I won't," he said good-naturedly.

"But Clair hasn't danced yet, and you're undecided."

He set his jaw. "I won't."

"Joe Dean, don't be log-headed—"

"You gonna fight with her or dance with her, Joe?" Ammon threw this in, impatient for a dance with Florrie himself.

Joe said with heat, "I ain't fightin', I ain't log-headed, and sure as salvation I ain't gonna dance with no girl who has a face like a brush fire."

The words cut Clair like a felling ax.

"Her ma seen a barn burn down," a girl whispered.

"Her ma stood too near to a fire while encumbered."

"Nah," the big-boned girl cut in, "the way I heard, her ma took fright at Indians on the trail. The fright crawled right on up her own baby's neck."

"My cousin Louisa's mama craved fresh strawberries while she was heavy, and sure enough Louisa has a strawberry patch on her elbow, to this day. I seen it."

Clair managed to stay dry and wooden about the eyes while they spread their talk like she wasn't even there to hear them. Florrie shook a little, Clair felt it, and her voice raised up a pitch, "Our Heavenly Father does not stop at the skin. He sees us inside out."

"Well, if *he* was here," Joe said, grinning, "he could dance with her."

"Joe Dean!" The girls lit up at his blasphemy.

Joe swaggered. "He could. I surely would not stop him."

Clair had sat in school with these girls, gone to church in their class. She had borne their taunts like deer flies, brushed them off though the stinging stayed. With boys, the hurt drove deeper. Cut to the bone, Clair made like a slick rock lizard. She held that still. And she numbered them, her persecutors. If aeons could pass into the arms of eternity, boy number forty-nine would too.

A man stepped in, that lean, white coated, penny-haired man, a half foot taller than Joe Dean. He didn't ask their pardon, just said to Florrie straight, "Miss, would you care to take a turn?"

Florrie's posture stiffened. She looked at her companions, then smiled like she'd found gold amidst the dross. She glanced at Clair, to see was it all right. With a nod, Clair let her go. As the others turned to examine the new couple, Clair took her moment of escape.

Out beyond the wagons she gazed up at a bountiful portion of flat black sky. Florrie had dreamed of dancing, that night, of "sanctioned dancing by the light of the moon." No moon for her, at least not yet, but

circumstances bowed to Florrie, always would, men and music, friends and teachers, even the gospel itself. The closer Florrie pulled Clair in, the greater Clair's suffering, chasms of it for a girl who had not been born into this world, but rather cast down in it . . . cast down, no kin, and half her face flayed red as briars.

Tears came. Clair tried to calm her breathing. The cut alfalfa smelled like it trailed to Heaven, but Heaven gave no comfort. It rubbed her raw, how the Lord could tolerate boys who crowed with stiff-necked bandy-legged cruelty—it rubbed her to distraction, how they did it and never felt a hitch.

She moved toward the far side of the church, to cry herself out private, but voices from the dark there stopped her.

"I don't know what my father would say." It was a female, young and frightened. "He ain't—"

"He abides the Celestial Law. Would he keep a daughter of his from the reap of such benefits?" A man spoke, blunt-voiced and sour.

"Well, but, Papa needs me to home, to tend the young ones while Ma works the Co-op counter."

"Your daddy needs a twenty-year-old mouth to feed? God in Heaven knows he don't."

The woman pushed down sobs.

"Fussing only proves it. You need a husband to work you, need a child to suck the poison out of your vain heart. I watched, and I ain't seen no other men plighting their troth. You got no other suitors, young nor old. Huh. You'd get a room and strong children, as my fifth, never want for food. Samewise, it'd give your tired daddy one less mouth at his table. I seen his crops. He'll bless your going."

She was silent.

"Don't you seek for eternal glory?" He said it with force. Clair believed he'd grabbed her wrist.

The woman cried softly. "Yes, sir."

"Don't you know, sure as the prophet received the Law of Plurality, you cannot refuse his Everlasting Covenant once it has been opened unto you?" He paused. "You'll be damned, sure as the Lord spake it, damned to Hell and the buffetings of Satan. That what your folks deserve? Their board burdened with your hungry mouth and their souls burdened with your shame?"

Her voice had shrunk to pearl-size. "No."

He yanked her again, this time a step toward the light. Clair nearly called out at the sight of Erastus Pratt, stout bellied, shaven clean, the lines of his mouth drawn, unnaturally, into a smile. "That's right. That's a good girl." Clair didn't know the woman he held by the arm, smiling down into her face. His fingers stroked outward, alongside of her breast.

"I'm one to enjoy my privileges." He gave a laugh. "Like the prophet says." Then he kissed her hard as a hand's slap.

Clair ducked behind the steps as Brother Pratt walked toward the dance. He called back, "Courtship's over, Sofie. I'll tell your pa when I see him in the field."

She waited for Sofie to come out, waited and watched. The music answered back, and the feet upon the boards. Sofie might have been invisible but for a sobbing Clair heard, low and steady, under the noise of the assembled. It brought the taste of bile into Clair's throat. She had always hated Brother Pratt's bullying. As field master, he worked them all like tools, men and women, without the least affection. But to see him bully in love: his chosen one, without defenses, and him sharpening the words of God to blade points. He'd bloodied them, and he'd won. She wished she had not seen it. She wished she had stayed home.

Clair leaned back on the granite steps. Horses approached, dragging a pale comet of dust in behind them from the fields. The riders dismounted, boys or men, Clair could not tell. They blacked together in the trees, and then four figures made for the dance floor. Clair didn't recognize the two men or the young cowboy who climbed between the wagons, but the bishop's son, Inger Olsen, crept in right along behind them. Inger was skinny, his white hair combed back over his ears like a ram's horns. In the light slanting from the Gradon's buckboard, it shone like the full of the moon.

The voices inside grew to a squawking, and the two men came back out, this time by the entry. The penny-haired man stepped out, his hand at his hip, the fingers curled back, menacing for all their ease. Bishop Olsen shouted, the top of his bald head wet as a newborn calf, "Go back on to Corinne and dance with your own kind," and, having a shoulder to shout over, "Ye wicked and accursed!" The men walked soberly enough out toward their horses, but they turned at the ditch to spit and *baa* like penned sheep.

Clair stood a moment, listening, then rejoined the safely gathered. The dance floor was a transport of light, lanterns glowing bright as her window glass burdened with sun-up. The musicians swayed above the dancers. Tom Dean's bow arm wobbled and sawed.

Florrie danced the quadrille, far end of the floor.

Clair stood in, next to Elsa Dean, who said, "Ain't she something? Ain't she pretty?"

Clair smiled, "Yes," and Elsa smiled right back. Clair clapped her hands, gave her heart to the music—take a lift and a blessing wherever it was proffered—till the sight of the cowboy caught her, him and his red neckerchief coming her way.

His hat bobbed to the music as he sweet-walked up. He tipped its

brim at Elsa. "Want to dance, pretty one?"

Clair felt hot shame. How she had thought he might—

Inger Olsen crushed her foot just then, no comment, leaning into Elsa from up behind and whispering in her ear. Elsa Dean was only twelve, too young to dance and Inger knew it.

Elsa's face, caught close between the boys, was a misery.

The music switched to a reel, and the cowboy snatched up Elsa's hands, locked fingers, and pulled her on the dance floor with a shuffle-step unlike any Clair had seen. Inger *yipped* as his friend whirled Elsa in a spiral.

From across the room Tom Dean yelled, "Hell and fire, man. Leave my sister be!" He stopped his fiddling, but the dancers kept right on.

With an arm at her waist, the cowboy snagged Elsa in to him and kissed her mouth, full on, then *whooped* and bounded for the wagons, Inger Olsen gone behind him, step for step. Tom Dean waded the dance floor after them, and Bishop Olsen raised the alarm, "Gentiles! Heathens! I defy you to sport with the handmaidens of our Heavenly Father, and in our very midst!" Two elders pounced on the bishop by mistake, his cry and the sinners' exit had followed one-the-other so quickly. Bishop Olsen's fists pounded the air, his waistcoat rearing up over his belly a notch at every swing—and, oh, it was hard for a crowd to be solemn when that waistcoat had reared up.

"Devils! Demons in red neckerchiefs! Do you think the mighty righteous of Zion will stand idly by?" He had failed to note this rednecker demon had left the dance just as he'd come, with his own son, and the mighty righteous, under the hail of his rebuking, stood absolutely still. "Serpents passing as men, lying in wait to tempt the daughters of Zion down to wanton darkness and dread sin. Foul vipers!"

Young and old, the dancers stood apart, eyes on anything but each other. Brother Pratt and the elders looked like they'd drunk pee.

It was Sister Olsen who came and touched her husband lightly on the shoulder, saying in a whisper, "Almon, that'll do, dear. That's just fine."

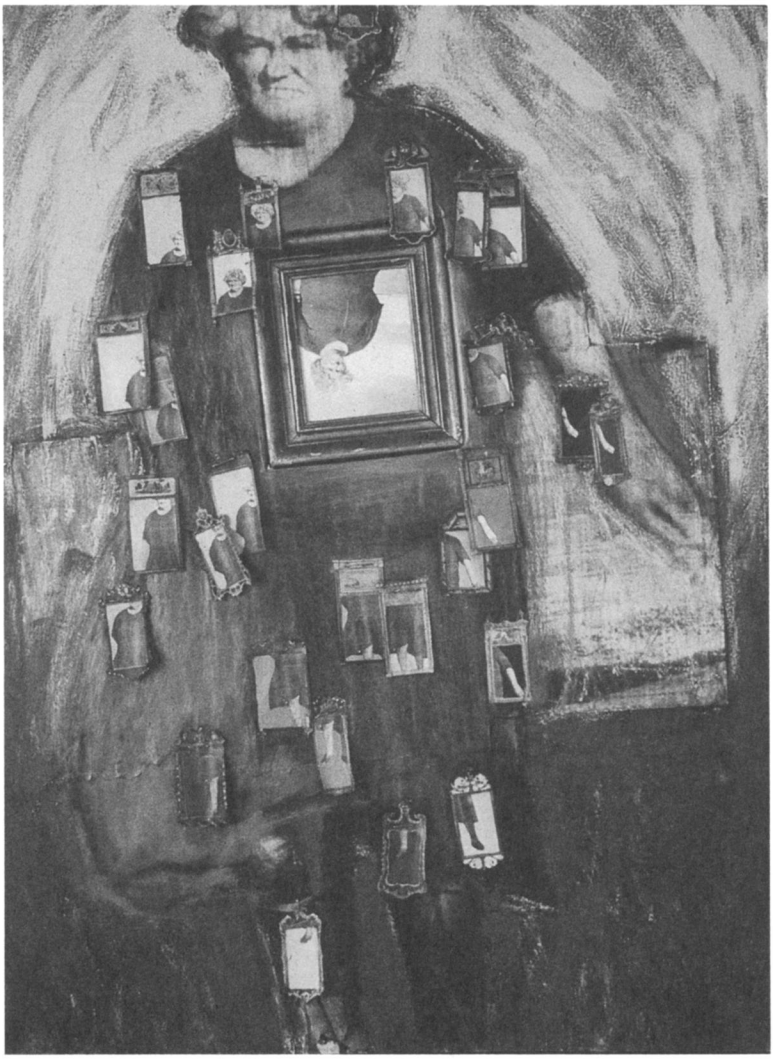
"They have rent the body of the Lord's fair night," he countered, but the zeal had gone out of him, quick as the merriment had gone from the dance floor. A gunshot split the dark beyond the wagons, then wild laughter and the galloping of horses.

Clair rode home in Lester Madsen's fringe-top buggy. Florrie sat in the middle, shaking her head. "The bishop is not like that, Brother Madsen, he really isn't. He is kind and peaceable."

"Please, call me Lester, Florence."

A slant moon had risen. The usual chorus of frogs gave welcome, but all Clair could hear on the drive home was Sofie's weeping.

Florrie smiled at the penny-haired man.



A Scholarly Feast of Contemporary Mormonism

Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives. Edited by Marie Cornwall, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

Reviewed by Elaine Englehardt, Professor of Philosophy, Assistant Vice President, Utah Valley State College, Orem, Utah.

THE EDITORS OF THIS BOOK HAVE assembled a plethora of outstanding social science scholarship. The works selected are astute, readable, and thought-provoking. The book is filled with research in almost prose form, as well as quantitative and qualitative analyses of issues important to Mormonism today.

Particularly striking is an article by Marie Cornwall. "The Institutional Role of Mormon Women" is a compelling look at women's roles in religion, specifically Mormonism. With some Jewish comparisons as a foreground, Cornwall documents the role of women in the Mormon religion from its inception to the present day. The piece is not rancorous, but rather fair and even with its treatment of the topic.

Cornwall finds that historically the role of women in Mormonism was generally ambiguous. More avenues for contribution were available through Joseph Smith, but these have disappeared as the church has become larger and more bureaucratic. She believes that through bureaucracy men were given ever expanding roles, while women were assigned a specific sphere which emphasizes the notion that women are an "organizational liability" thereby increasing their invisibility and silence in the church bureaucracy (261).

The book does not shy away from controversial topics such as missionary companionship. "The Mormon Missionary Companionship" by Keith Parry is an ethnographic study rich in comparisons of the social values of young, Mormon, male missionaries with young men trained in "bush" schools. The comparisons demonstrate the discovery of "self" and "other" as a missionary is taught by peers and near-seniors, as well as by authority figures, as in "bush" schools. This is only one of Parry's emphases. One finding brushes on the gender-based missionary roles in the church, with the basic expectation that a young woman is discouraged from serving a mission (203). The views are sociologically compelling through the focus on male roles, male mentoring, and male role models for missionaries. His conclusions are thought-provoking and hopefully motivating.

Another interesting article deals with religion and mental health. This study by Allen E. Bergin, I. Reed Payne, Paul H. Jenkins, and Marie Cornwall concludes that there are many variables associated with mental health, with religion being only

one. Commitment to religion is somewhat a factor in determining mental health. Separating factors to make a claim that religion definitely affects mental health was not a leap the authors were willing to take. They do claim that education and gender may be more predictive of depression than church affiliation, but this is not distinct for Mormons.

The role of minorities in the church is also addressed. Bruce Chadwick and Stan Albrecht give a historical account of Mormons relationships to Native Americans. Particularly they study programs, policies, and practices as well as beliefs. Two articles look at the church's history and policies on blacks in the United States and Africa.

The South American mission experience is examined by David Knowlton in "'Gringo, Jeringo': Anglo Mormon Missionary Culture in Bolivia." Through delightful stories, myths, folkways, and lore, Knowlton examines the complicated life of the missionary in Bolivia. The stories in themselves are a reason to buy the book. The myths and stories differ from one another, yet in the telling become contoured to find current attitudes and needs of the audience and culture.

There is not one article in this book that I couldn't recommend reading and studying. The length of the articles make them easily digestible during a lunch hour, or as a refresher after a busy day at work.

Revealing Insight

A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal. Preface and notes by Norman R. Bowen; profile by Mary Karen Bowen Solomon (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, 1995).

Reviewed by Wayne K. Hinton, Professor of History, Southern Utah University, Cedar City.

THE PUBLICATION OF ELIZABETH Kane's journal for the months from December 1872 to March 1873 at St. George, Utah, was made possible by the Tanner Trust Fund of the University of Utah Marriott Library. (The Tanner Trust Fund is known for publishing exceptional materials on Utah, the Mormons and the West, culled from the library's extensive holdings.)

Elizabeth Kane was a keen observer who recorded in some detail her observations of the people, problems of individuals and of the community, local customs and culture, general and specific material circumstances, Indian customs, characteristics, and relations with Mormons at St. George. But most significantly she recorded her observations and feelings regarding Mormon practices, doctrines, achievements, past sufferings, and the "unnatural conditions" of polygamy.

As wife of Colonel Thomas Kane, Mormon friend and benefactor, she found every door open to her and came to enjoy friendly associations with women and children of the community. Although she arrived with nega-

tive preconceptions of Mormons, through her experiences she came to conquer some of her prejudices. She found that Mormons were easily persuaded to tell stories of their persecutions, and as she intermingled, worshipped, and socialized, she came to pity a people so often driven from their homes and grew thankful for their prayers for her ill husband's recovery.

Elizabeth's outrage over polygamy even dimmed. She found in polygamous families a unity and a fondness for one another. She observed with some approval that women were required to be more independent as they often assumed management of families, households, and businesses while husbands were on missions, or, less agreeably, because polygamous men only visited wives instead of living with them day in and day out.

The women of St. George, as seen through Elizabeth Kane's diary, were generally pleasant and intelligent. A few even dressed in modern fashions and spoke cultivated English. They expressed themselves clearly and sometimes eloquently regarding their faith, but continual toil and hardship kept them from scholarship. While some homes contained luxuries, most showed signs of poverty, but everything was spotlessly clean and the people bright and cheerful. Eventually, Mrs. Kane judged the people of St. George to be "the very best in the territory" (44).

She was impressed by the "perfect sincerity" (70) of all speakers at Sunday meetings and was convinced they believed what they said. There was nothing irreverent even as they took up temporal concerns in worship meetings. In fact, she found much to sympathize with in their religious life and their resignation to the Divine Will.

Brigham Young proved to be shrewd and so full of common sense that Mrs. Kane sometimes forgot he was a Mormon. His wonderful voice thrilled her even when he sometimes spoke for over an hour. After hearing him introduce the concept of the United Order of Enoch in February 1873, and observing the reactions of the Mormon people, she wondered if they abrogated the right to their own opinions. With his great persuasive power she wondered, "what might he be but for this slough of polygamy in which he is entangled"? (117)

Although she never could understand how a first wife brought herself to give her husband a new wife, she never asked any Mormon how a woman received only a part of her husband's love. Although plural families seemed well governed, and some plural marriages, even after twenty years, seemed loving, she remained most repulsed by the sight of an old man married to a wife of his grandchildren's age.

Even though Mormons erred from what she thought was the truth, she enjoyed her associations in St. George and allowed the stake patriarch to give her a patriarchal blessing (usually reserved for worthy Mormons) which she recognized as somewhat prophetical but which would never make her a Mormon.

Elizabeth Kane found it hard to say farewell to St. George and did penance for her earlier hard thoughts and opinions. She vowed not to betray her honored and trusted Mormon friends because they had suffered enough from prying eyes and curious strangers, and she feared they would suffer still more in the future.

The Kane journal offers revealing insight into Mormonism of the 1870s. It is a quick and interesting read made more useful by helpful notes. There are, however, two minor errors observed in the notes. The first is an apparent misprint which has William Hickman dying in 1833 (139), when he actually died in August 1883. The second identifies Augustus P. Hardy as a founding father of Harmony, Utah (91). This is a stretch since Harmony, the first settlement in Washington County, was founded in 1852. Hardy arrived in 1854 and spent just over two months there before going to preach to Native Americans near the Virgin River. Nevertheless, those interested in gentile impressions of Mormons, in southern Utah history, or in early Mormon village life will find this work illuminating and valuable.

How the History Is Told

My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, A Mormon Frontiersman. By William G. Hartley (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993).

Reviewed by Robert M. Hogge, Associate Professor of English, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

"WHATEVER YOU DO, DO NOT prettify me!" This declaration by Walt Whitman to his friend and biographer, Horace Traubel, might have also been in William Hartley's mind as he finished writing an in-depth history of John Lowe Butler (1808-60) based, to some extent, on Butler's autobiography, but even more upon a wealth of historical data culled from years of research. Although Butler had written his autobiography at the end of his life primarily as a selective and highly focussed testament to his family about his conversion and commitment to the LDS church, Hartley's history does not exalt or mythologize Butler, but presents him to us more comprehensively and (within his cultural, political, and social milieu) as a flawed but faithful Mormon frontiersman and ecclesiastical leader.

My Best for the Kingdom is not hagiography but a "scholarly treatment" (xi) of early LDS history; though Hartley writes about Butler's life and times, he is often more concerned with the times than the life. The result then is not simply a Butler-centered history, but a revisionist LDS church history as well.

Butler was an early convert to Mormonism "in revival torn central Kentucky" (xi). Though never a charismatic church leader, he was nevertheless a militiaman, missionary, polygamist, and bishop. Six feet two-and-one-half inches tall, stout, with blond hair and blue eyes, Butler described himself as a frontier Samson: "I felt like as if I could handle any two men on the earth" (11).

Surrounded in controversy almost all of his life, Butler was a Danite (one of the sensationalized "Destroying Angels" [41]), an "ordained" bodyguard for the prophet Joseph Smith (120), a member of the misunderstood Emmett expedition and

Miller encampment, and an almost legendary fighter who roughed up ruffians at the Daviess County election in Gallatin (1838) precipitating the Mormon War in Missouri. And toward the end of his life, he was called by President Brigham Young to be a pioneer bishop in Spanish Fork to resolve conflicts and bring a sense of unity within the settlement.

At the end of his life when he knew his health was failing, Butler penned his autobiography, which was later placed on file in the LDS church historical department in Salt Lake City. In 1985 the John Lowe Butler Family Organization contracted with Hartley to produce a biography (x). Hartley wrote a book-length manuscript, then changed his plans when he discussed the project with his colleagues at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at Brigham Young University. They agreed with him "that the Butler history and autobiography had such importance for LDS history that it merited scholarly treatment" (xi). Hartley's manuscript then evolved from a biography to an in-depth history in which "80 percent of the autobiography is woven into the narrative" (xi). The result is an informative and thought-provoking history with all of the scholarly trappings.

Although *My Best for the Kingdom* has already been recognized for its excellence by both the Mormon History Association and the Association for Mormon Letters, I am still troubled by the way Hartley narrates the history, particularly by his use of two narrators (one objective and the other introspective), a narrative strategy often used in the novels of Henry James.

In Hartley's history, the main narrator pieces together the chronicle using a reasoned, "objective," and basically linear approach. But another more "introspective" narrator intrudes, at times, into the narrative to editorialize on the historical accuracy of the information being presented by the "objective" narrator. The two narrators may be both projections from Hartley's inner conflicts, the one a writer who loves to tell a story—the other, a historian obsessed with accuracy.

When Hartley is a writer, he can be a gifted prose stylist. In addition to integrating a wide range of historical data into an engaging narrative, Hartley also is often imaginative and descriptive, letting himself see as Butler might have seen: "His eyes must have scanned white sheets of sun-bleached flax drying in the yard, dried yellow-brown tassels of ripe corn, the orange of sweet potatoes and pumpkins, and brilliant reds and yellows of leaves during autumn" (5). Hartley will also occasionally break the rigid chronology, shifting to the present to help readers better conceptualize an area. Describing the Camp Vermillion journey, he writes: "Today's I-29 from Council Bluffs to Sioux City generally follows the route John and Cummings took" (195).

But sometimes the narrator, instead of being helpful, is merely critical, carping at Butler, often undermining his credibility. For example, Hartley reminds readers that Butler "erred in his autobiography" (194). When Hartley writes about Nauvoo, Illinois, he says that Butler "made mistakes when it came to dates" (93). After the murder of Joseph Smith, Hartley writes, with obvious disappointment, that Butler "retold a story that spread through Nauvoo and circulated for decades after the martyrdom but was not true" (131). Hartley

continues: Butler "chose, once again, to pen feelings instead of historical details" (133). And the most telling parenthetical exclamation occurs when Hartley relies on James Cummings's diary rather than on Butler's sparse comments to describe the journey they both made from Council Bluffs to Camp Vermillion and back: "Cummings, thank goodness, became the chronicler" (190).

Does *My Best for the Kingdom* portray Butler as he wished to be portrayed? Or does Hartley use history to strip away from him much of what he was: "a religious man from his youngest days forward" (363), "a stalwart Latter-day Saint" (364), "a committed family man" (365), a father idealized by his children (366), a man with "a good sense of humor" (366)—all of the qualities that are the most difficult to corroborate historically? How Hartley tells the history makes all the difference.

A Quest for Understanding

Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Philip Klingensmith. By Anna Jean Backus (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1996).

Reviewed by William W. Hatch, Ph.D. candidate in history, Pacific Western University, Hawaii.

AT LAST, AN ABSORBING SEQUEL TO Juanita Brooks's momentous work, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre.* Just when Mormon church leaders and scholars alike were ready to accept that Brooks has the last, if not final, word on where lay the responsibility for the slaughter of the Fancher/Baker wagon train, along comes Anna Jean Backus with her revealing first book: *Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Philip Klingensmith.* Designed as a quest for understanding, and, like Brooks who professes her loyalty to the Mormon faith, Backus feels, as stated in her introduction: "A kinship with descendants of surviving children of the massacre and an empathy for descendants of the participants. These feelings compel me to further the healing process that has begun on both sides of this tragic event."

Unlike Brooks, Backus goes beyond the now standard acceptance of shared guilt among William H. Dame, John M. Higbee, Isaac C. Haight, and John D. Lee by addressing Philip Klingensmith's sworn testimony in Lee's first trial, convening in Beaver, Utah, on 23 July 1875, naming George Albert Smith, apostle, as General Commander over William H. Dame, thus making Smith the real head of the Iron County militia. Smith, a colonel in the Nauvoo Legion, took command of the Southern Militia Department on 25 July 1853. How could Smith not know of the planned massacre? In reference to Apostle Smith's involvement in the election of officers for the Iron County Militia on 28 July 1857, just prior to the massacre, Backus refers to Klingensmith's testimony: Q. "Was George A. Smith down there about that time?" A. "Not that I recollect; I didn't see him." Q. "Do you remember be-

fore this occurrence?" A. "No, sir, not to my knowledge."

Backus's interpretation of Klingensmith's testimony is: "Philip may not have seen him but probably heard about George A. Smith's being in the area before the massacre. Most likely, Philip was evading the truth on this point. His testimony protected an event he was not likely to forget." She further states: "George A. Smith, in his affidavit for the trial of John D. Lee, denies holding any military command during the year 1857. Evidence shows that he did—giving cause to wonder why he was evading the truth."

The preceding statements by Backus, based on Smith's affidavit, read at Lee's second trial on 14 September 1876, are therefore understandable.

History records that seventeen children who survived the massacre were returned to Carrollton, Carroll County, Arkansas, on 15 September 1859. However, it has always been contended that there were more children spared, perhaps as many as nineteen. Backus is convinced that she is a direct descendant of Alexander and Eliza Fancher who were murdered by the Mormons and their Indian allies at Mountain Meadows. She contends that Klingensmith, after the massacre, took one of the Fancher children, a baby girl, and gave her to his third wife, Betsy, to be raised a Mormon and given the name Priscilla Klingensmith, as revealed by Backus in her preface. The child was not returned to Arkansas in 1859 with the other seventeen children comprising the Forney Party. Backus offers substantial evidence, if not conclusive proof, that Priscilla (Klingensmith) Urie was her grandmother Urie, thus adding credibility to the long suspected existence of an eighteenth child.

In her compulsive quest for our acceptance of Klingensmith's minor role in the massacre and subsequent efforts to save, protect, and find homes for the very young children, Backus seeks our compassion and forgiveness for her great-grandfather. She further states in her introduction: "Because of the way I have written my book, I feel that Philip Klingensmith has been with me, talking to me, all the way to the end."

Backus appeals for our understanding, to judge her great-grandfather's actions, by the prevailing social and religious conditions existing in southern Utah at the time of the massacre. As a bishop of the LDS church, Klingensmith acknowledged the hierarchy of the church leadership. He feared both for his spiritual and physical life if he were to disobey their counsel. Basically, he simply did what he was told. Further, she concludes that her great-grandfather, like John D. Lee, was a scapegoat for higher-ranking church and militia leaders.

Unlike Lee and Haight who were excommunicated from the church by Brigham Young in 1870, it is not clear when, if ever, Klingensmith was excommunicated. What is clear, though, is that his confession to Charles W. Wandell in 1871, which led to a series of scathing attacks against the church leadership and later his testimony at the Lee trial, did lead to Klingensmith's banishment from the church after being protected by Young's former tolerance policy. Also, unlike Lee and Haight, who were both reinstated to full fellowship in the church, Klingensmith remains unloved, unwanted, and misunderstood. The foregoing sentiments help explain Backus's

appeal for mercy (218-20).

Anna Jean Backus has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Bishop Philip Klingensmith. His role in the Mountain Meadows massacre has been thoroughly researched. Some minor errors do appear. William H. Tackett, one of the seventeen surviving children returned to Arkansas, is buried in Protem, Missouri, not Proteus, as cited on page 168; further, footnote 18 is missing on page 168. *Mountain Meadows Witness* is both informative and enjoyable to read, a long overdue addendum to American history.

Fire in the Water

Stanton Harris Hall

Barely a man
he stands trembling
water lapping at thighs in cotton white
right arm to the square
" ... having been commissioned ... "
asking of the stones and the wind
to make this water a crossroad
between the living
and those yet to be borne.

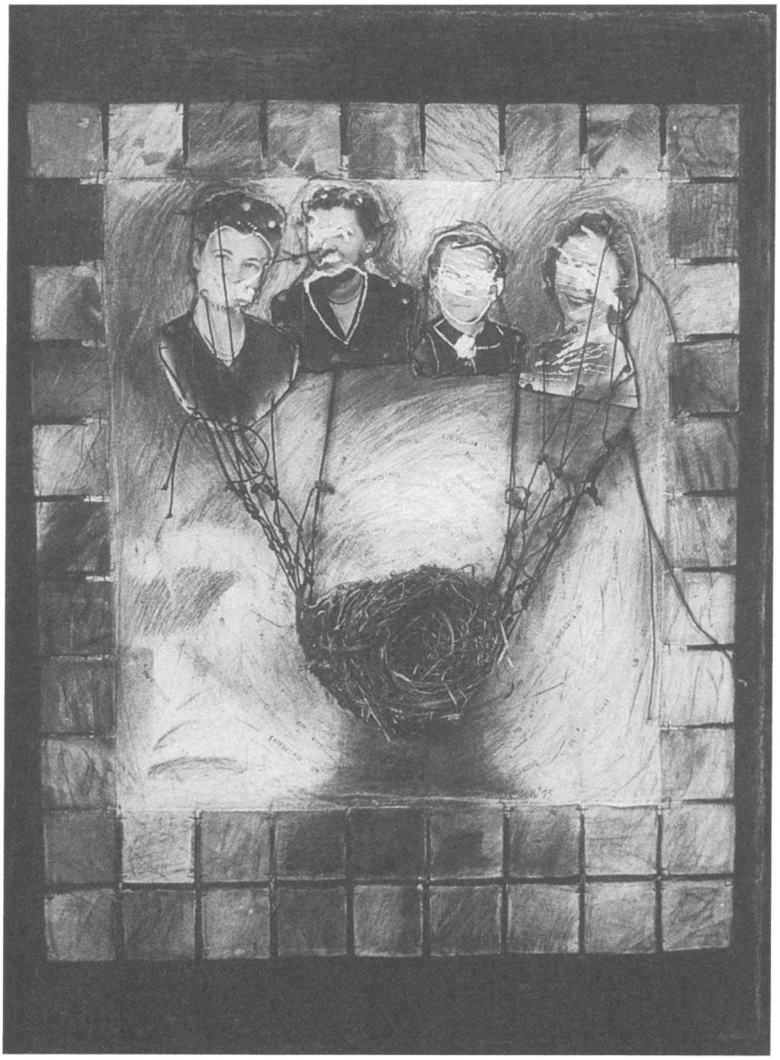
The push of water wrinkles
at the spirit's edge

pushing in
washing, cleansing, changing

pushing out in covenant circles
edge to edge
    and beyond

moist waveforms
radiating renewal

Each cloud-delivered molecule
    hydrogen and
    oxygen,
a covenant between fire and air
and in their grasp
the scene plays into the universe.



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ABOUT THE ARTIST

In July 1997 Jacqui Biggs Larsen will exhibit at the Art Access Gallery in Salt Lake City in a show titled "These Stories That We Carry." Her work speaks like stories, featuring the familiar in unusual new ways. Her work is mixed media and includes collage, oil paint, pastels, charcoal, and many found objects such as torn-up maps, safety pins, miniature furniture, and even a set of piano keys. She says, "These found objects and images are crucial to my work. I see them as artifacts that connect the work to the here-and-now, and provide an entrance to each respective piece."

Her subject matter is also the familiar, in her own words, "I find myself exploring childhood, sisterhood, maternity — in ways that question Western traditions of idealism. By replacing idealized images of femaleness with photocopied photographs of everyday women, I hope to piece together new myths and narratives."

Jacqui Larsen has exhibited in New York, Ohio, Arizona, Illinois, and Texas as well as throughout Utah. She has an MFA from Brigham Young University.

PAINTINGS

Front : "Sitting Lessons," 48"x 36" mixed media, 1996
Back : "Rixa and a Tangle of Babies," 69"x 51" mixed media, 1996
p. *x*: "Backyard Cosmology," 39"x 51" mixed media, 1996
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p. 176: "Alternate Means of Transport," 51"x 39" mixed media, 1996
p. 186: "Willing Suspension," 36.5"x 26.5" mixed media, 1995

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A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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